

POWER AND PIETY:  
AUGUSTAN IMAGERY AND  
THE CULT OF THE MAGNA MATER

---

A Thesis  
Submitted in Partial Fulfilment  
of Requirements for the Degree  
of  
Doctor of Philosophy

By

Roslynn Bell

Classics Department  
University of Canterbury

2007

---

# CONTENTS

---

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
ABBREVIATIONS.....	vi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
PART I: The Palatine Metroön.....	7
CHAPTER 1: The Metroön	
i. The Palatine Metroön and the <i>Res Gestae</i> .....	8
ii. The History of the Palatine Metroön.....	10
iii. Identifying the Augustan Metroön: excavations.....	12
iv. Identifying the Augustan Metroön: the Valle-Medici relief.....	26
v. (De)Constructing the Augustan Metroön.....	31
vi. Portico and <i>Lavatio</i> : Augustan alterations to the environs of the Palatine Metroön.....	45
CHAPTER 2: The Pediment of the Metroön.....	59
PART II: Palatine Topography.....	106
CHAPTER 3: <i>Domus</i> and <i>Aedes</i> : The Augustan Precinct on the Palatine.....	107
CHAPTER 4: The Circus Maximus	
i. The Magna Mater and the Circus Maximus.....	133
ii. Augustus and the <i>euripus</i> statue of the Magna Mater.....	139
iii. Palatine Topography and the <i>euripus</i> .....	156

CHAPTER 5: The Gemma Augustea.....	176
CHAPTER 6: The Vicus Sandaliarius Altar.....	200
CHAPTER 7: The Sorrento Base.....	217
CONCLUSION.....	242
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND FIGURES.....	246
FIGURES.....	251
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	287

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

---

I would like to thank my supervisor Alison Griffith for the invaluable guidance and support she offered throughout the period in which I researched and wrote this thesis. It is also my pleasure to express my gratitude to the other members of the Department of Classics at the University of Canterbury, in particular Alison Holcroft, Enrica Sciarrino and Graham Zanker for their suggestions and criticism. My work would be the poorer without the tireless efforts of Duncan Shaw-Brown and Eve Welch, UC's fantastic photographers.

I have been fortunate in that various international scholars have generously offered valuable information and advice in their areas of expertise, including Jan Bremmer, Amanda Claridge, Lucos Cozza, Lynn Roller, Brian Rose, Christopher Smith and Susan Walker. I am very grateful for their time and consideration.

In the course of researching this thesis it was essential to visit a considerable number of classical sites and museums. I am especially indebted to Peter Higgs (British Museum, London), Michael Vickers (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), Marina Bertolotti (Centrale Montemartini, Rome) and Anna Maria Liberati (Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome) for allowing me access to vital material. This study and the travel it involved would not have been possible without the award of a Doctoral Scholarship from the University of Canterbury. Additional funding from the Classics Department, and later, a Rome Award from the British School at Rome, also enabled me make two trips to the BSR, where Maria Pia Malvezzi provided me with invaluable assistance.

I am extremely lucky to have had the support of many individuals without whose constant encouragement and forbearance this work could not have been completed. I am grateful to Bruce Penno for his good-natured advice on all things technological, and to Andrea Benedetti-Forastieri, Penny Minchin-Garvin and Cindy Jones for their help. I offer my profound thanks to my fellow graduate students, in particular Gary Morrison, as well as to my friends Claire Levy, Heather Orman, Tamara Pitelen, Adrienne Scott, and Kate Woodall. I owe a special debt to Susan Cook who is both a steadfast friend and an assiduous proofreader. My thanks and love too to Tim.

Finally, this thesis is dedicated to my parents. I owe them everything. I only wish my own *magna mater* was here to see it completed.

## ABSTRACT

---

This thesis examines the ways in which the Magna Mater became an integral part of Augustan ideology and the visual language of the early principate. Traditionally, our picture of the Augustan Magna Mater has been shaped by evidence from literary sources. Here, however, the monuments of the goddess' cult are considered in their religio-political context. Works that link Augustus himself to the Magna Mater are shown to reveal that the goddess played a significant and hitherto unappreciated role in official propaganda.

Part I examines the nature of the Augustan reconstruction of the Palatine Temple of the Magna Mater and challenges persistent claims that the *princeps* was disinterested in the metroac cult. Augustus' use of inexpensive building materials is shown to be, not a display of parsimony, but an attempt to retain the traditional appearance of a venerable structure. A reinterpretation of the temple's pedimental and acroterial sculpture, using the Valle-Medici reliefs, demonstrates that Augustus promoted the Magna Mater as an allegory of Rome's Trojan heritage and as a symbol of a new Golden Age.

Part II investigates the topography of the Augustan precinct on the Palatine, and argues that the geographic linkage of the metroön and the House of Augustus became a topos in imperial imagery. It then demonstrates that several well-known works of art echo this connection between the *princeps* and the goddess. These works range from statues in the Circus Maximus designed to be viewed by thousands, to the Gemma Augustea, a luxury item intended for the elite. They are also found both inside and outside Rome. A reassessment of the Vicus Sandaliarius altar and the Sorrento base illustrates popular recognition of Augustus' reinvention of the Magna Mater as a national deity of Rome and the tutelary goddess of the Julio-Claudii.

## ABBREVIATIONS

---

The names of Greek and Latin authors are given in full; the titles of their works are generally abbreviated as in Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Dictionary*, the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, and *Der Neue Pauly*. Details of books and articles referred to by the name-date system are given in the bibliography. The abbreviations of periodical titles and publications, if not below, can be found in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991): 4-16.

<i>ArchLaz</i>	<i>Archeologia Laziale</i>
<i>ArchPos</i>	Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i Beni Librari e gli Istituti Culturali. 1994. <i>Archeologia in Posca: cento anni di fotografie del Palatino</i> . Rome.
<i>BNP</i>	<i>Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World</i> . 2002-. Leiden and Boston.
<i>CCCA</i>	Vermaseren, M. J. 1977-89. <i>Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque</i> . 7 vols. EPRO. Leiden.
Degrassi, <i>Inscr. It.</i>	Degrassi, A. 1937-63. <i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> . Rome.
<i>IvPr</i>	von Gaertringen, F. H. 1906. <i>Die Inschriften von Priene</i> . Berlin.
<i>JRH</i>	<i>The Journal of Religious History</i> , University of Sydney, Dept. of History, Sydney.
<i>LTUR</i>	Steinby, E. M., ed. 1993-2000. <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> . 6 vols. Rome.
<i>RRC</i>	Crawford, M. H. 1974. <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> . Vols. I-II. Cambridge.
S.H.A.	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>

## INTRODUCTION

---

...incluta Roma  
 imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo,  
 septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces  
 felix prole virum; qualis Berecynthia mater  
 invehitur curru Phrygias turrata per urbes,  
 laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,  
 omnis caelicolas, omnis supera alta tenentis.  
 huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem  
 Romanosque tuos. hic Caesar et omnis Iuli  
 progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem.  
 hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,  
 Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet  
 saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva  
 Saturno quondam...

...great Rome  
 Shall rule to the ends of the earth, shall aspire to the highest  
 achievement,  
 Shall ring the seven hills with a wall to make one city,  
 Blessed in her breed of men: as Cybele, wearing her turreted  
 Crown, is charioted round the Phrygian cities, proud of  
 Her brood of gods, embracing a hundred of her children's children –  
 Heaven-dwellers all, all tenants of the realm above.  
 Now bend your gaze this way, look at the people there!  
 They are *your* Romans. Caesar is there and all Ascanius'  
 Posterity, who shall pass beneath the arch of day.  
 And here, here is the man, the promised one you know of –  
 Caesar Augustus, son of a god, destined to rule  
 Where Saturn ruled of old in Latium, and there  
 Bring back the age of gold...

Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.781-794.<sup>1</sup>

When Aeneas journeys to the underworld and is reunited with Anchises in Elysium, he is shown the souls of his descendants awaiting incarnation. These are the heroes, his father tells him, who will reign in Alba Longa and who will found and rule the great city of Rome.<sup>2</sup> Rejoicing in these events is the Berecynthian Mother, the Phrygian deity known to Romans as Cybele, or the Magna Mater, whom Anchises

---

<sup>1</sup> Translation C. Day Lewis (Oxford 1952, rpt 1986).

<sup>2</sup> *Aen.* 6.756ff.

compares to Rome herself.<sup>3</sup> The goddess wears a mural crown, the turrets of which prefigure the walls that will one day encircle the city. She is proud of her children – the immortal Olympians – and likewise Rome takes delight in her heroic sons, many of whom will eventually join the gods. Just as the Magna Mater’s offspring rule the heavens, so Aeneas’ descendants are destined to rule the earth, and the greatest among them will be Augustus, who will extend the authority of the Julii the length and breadth of the world and usher in a new Golden Age.

Virgil’s use of the Magna Mater to illustrate the future ascendancy of both Rome and Augustus has been called ‘bold and even startling,’<sup>4</sup> and the goddess’ prominence in the *Aeneid* ‘astonishing’ and ‘extraordinary.’<sup>5</sup> This is because, despite her acceptance into the official Roman calendar, the Magna Mater’s ‘foreign’ rites and eunuch priests are commonly perceived as having prevented the Phrygian goddess from becoming fully integrated into Augustan society.<sup>6</sup> Yet conversely, Virgil’s treatment of the Magna Mater has long been taken as evidence of both the *princeps*’ partiality for, and conscious promotion of the goddess and her cult.<sup>7</sup> Which then, is the true picture of the Augustan Magna Mater? Did the goddess remain on the periphery of the Augustan pantheon, a victim of her cult’s apparent threat to traditional Roman *mores* and *virtus*, or was her portrayal as the patron of the *princeps* and his city a sign of the Magna Mater’s newfound pre-eminence in contemporary religious consciousness?

The present study attempts to reconcile these disparate pictures. Regrettably, the evidence with which one might gauge the devotion of Rome’s Augustan residents to the goddess is sparse. This helps explain why many modern studies fail to mention

---

<sup>3</sup> The title ‘Berecynthian Mother’ was derived from Mt Berecynthus, a site of the goddess’ worship in Phrygia. On the nomenclature of the Magna Mater see in particular Graillot 1912: 109; Bailey 1969: 175; Roller 1999: 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> Austin 1977: 241. For analysis of this passage see also Bömer 1964: 140; Galinsky 1969: 224-27; Wiseman 1984: 122-23, 1994: 105-107; Miller 1991: 85-86; Roller 1999: 300-301.

<sup>5</sup> Wiseman 1984: 120, 123.

<sup>6</sup> Cumont’s claim (1956: 52) that Roman authorities completely isolated the new religion ‘to prevent its contagion’ provides an extreme example of this conviction. Cf. Bömer 1964: 144. For a recent revisionist study of the *galli* see Roller 2006.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g., Graillot 1912: 108ff; Lambrechts 1951: 51-53; Bömer 1964: 143; Schillinger 1979: 334; Zarker 1985: 203-205; Miller 1991: 85; Erskine 2001: 212; Knox 2002: 171-72.



the Augustan cult, and instead move seamlessly from descriptions of the Magna Mater's introduction in 204 BCE, her Republican rites and her flamboyant attendants, to the reforms of Claudius, the first emperor to be frequently depicted as taking an active interest in the cult.<sup>8</sup> To discount the *princeps*' relationship to the Magna Mater, however, is to ignore the architect of the ideological climate in which some of the most important accounts of the goddess were written. It is in the *Aeneid*, for example, that the Magna Mater's status as the protectress of Rome and the embodiment of the city's Trojan heritage received its greatest literary expression.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, Ovid's description of the goddess' Megalensian festival in the *Fasti* reinforced perceptions of the Magna Mater as a beneficent national deity.<sup>10</sup> The care taken by Virgil and Ovid to link the Magna Mater to Augustus and the Julii strongly suggests the existence of an officially endorsed ideology.

It seems that the key to appreciating the Magna Mater's position at the time is understanding what the goddess meant to Augustus. This is not easily done. Modern commentators who maintain that the Magna Mater was important to the *princeps* often speak of his 'rehabilitation' of the metroac cult,<sup>11</sup> but there is little evidence that alterations were made to the goddess' rites or ministry under his rule.<sup>12</sup> Nor should we presume to know the *princeps*' mind based on the work of contemporary poets, or

---

<sup>8</sup> See e.g., Cumont 1956: 52-57; Ferguson 1970: 26-31; Thomas 1984: 1518, 1521; Summers 1996: 339, 355; Tomei 1997: 148; Turcan 2000: 109-116; Tripolitis 2002: 30-36; Clarke 2003: 92.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., *Aen.* 2.786-89; 3.111-14; 6.784-87; 7.139; 9.77-92, 107-22; 10.156-58, 219ff, 252-55. For Virgil's treatment of the Magna Mater see Graillot 1912: 108-15; Bömer 1964: 140-43; Bailey 1969: 174-78; Austin 1977: 241-42; Williams 1983: 130-31; Wiseman 1984: 119-28; Zarker 1985: 203-5; Henry 1989: 114-15; Miller 1991: 85-86; Jenkyns 1998: 410-15; Roller 1999: 299-304; Erskine 2001: 211.

<sup>10</sup> *Fasti* 4.179-372. On the Magna Mater in the *Fasti*, see Bömer 1964: 143; Littlewood 1981; Bremmer 1987: 105; Miller 1991: 82-90; Roller 1999: 299; Erskine 2001: 210ff; Knox 2002: 163-74.

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., Wiseman 1984: 127; Miller 1991: 85; Knox 2002: 171. Cf. Roller (1999: 299-301, nn. 52, 56), who is right to question whether the cult was in need of rehabilitation by the time of the Principate, given the Magna Mater's already long-standing status as the protector of Rome (see also La Piana 1927: 296). However, it should also be noted that Livy, our main source for the goddess' intercession in earlier conflicts with Hannibal (29.10.4-6) and with the Cimbri and Teutoni (38.18.9-10), wrote during the Principate. This suggests that at the time, the Magna Mater's role as Rome's defender was particularly resonant. *Infra*, 116-17.

<sup>12</sup> One exception is the *lavatio* ritual (bathing of the goddess) which appears to have undergone a significant transformation after 3 CE (*infra*, 48-58). Schillinger (1979: 335-36) correctly notes, however, that the status of the *galli* and the restrictions placed upon them remained unchanged during the Augustan Principate.

on inferences drawn from Augustus' religious inclinations in general; this temptation has already proven too great for some, with dichotomous results.<sup>13</sup>

Clearly, a disparity exists between what we imagine Augustus thought of the Magna Mater and what can be verified from the literary sources. This study will use archaeological evidence to bridge the gap between perception and reality. We may lack the *princeps*' personal testimony on the subject of the goddess, but in this case actions, and indeed images, can speak louder than words. To paraphrase Paul Zanker, 'there were no mute stones,'<sup>14</sup> and there is much to be gleaned from monuments in which Augustus consciously chose to associate himself with the Magna Mater. Most of the works discussed herein are well-known and are the subjects of intense study. Often the links they display between the *princeps* and the Trojan goddess have been recognised; little of their literature, however, addresses the implications of these connections. This means that the monuments have seldom been considered together, and that the cumulative knowledge to be gained from them remains unappreciated. Taken individually, each monument attests Augustus' promotion of the Magna Mater as a tutelary deity of the Julii. Collectively, the works reveal not only that the goddess played an intrinsic part in the visual language of Augustan Rome, but also that she occupied a central place in the religious, political, cultural and physical landscapes of the city.

The structure of my thesis reflects the monument-based nature of my research. Each chapter is centred on a work that in some way illuminates Augustus' relationship to the Magna Mater. All can stand alone as separate iconological analyses, yet all are linked thematically. In Part I the focus of discussion is the Palatine metroön, the Magna Mater's pre-eminent Roman temple, which Augustus partially rebuilt in 3 CE. Chapter 1 begins with a survey of the structure's history and excavation. It then seeks to identify the exact nature of the Augustan temple, an undertaking that is vital to the evaluation of the *princeps*' attitudes to the cult. The

---

<sup>13</sup> E.g., Bloch (1939: 103): 'On connaît, par d'abondants témoignages, la dévotion particulière qu'Auguste manifestait à l'égard de la déesse phrygienne, et ce n'est pas sans raison qu'on voit celle-ci apparaître si souvent dans l'*Énéide*.' Cf. Bömer (1964: 144): 'Man kann sich nicht gut vorstellen, daß der Kaiser sich persönlich zu Kybele und ihrem Kult hingezogen fühlte, und ich glaube auch nicht, daß er damit gerechnet hat, die Domus Augusta könne durch diese neue Ahnmutter an Sicherheit und Ansehen gewinnen; sie hatte ja Venus, und das konnte ihr genügen.'

<sup>14</sup> Zanker 1988: 114.

metroac precinct as a whole is then considered, with particular attention paid to the removal of a basin presumably utilised during the Magna Mater's *lavatio*. The ramifications of this removal for the cult's rituals and public profile, and for the Julio-Claudii themselves are also discussed.

In Chapter 2 an analysis of the metroön's pedimental sculpture is carried out. This reveals that traditional identifications of the composition's two main figures, either as the Magna Mater's priests, or as her consort Attis, cannot be sustained by contemporary evidence. Instead, I suggest that the *Aeneid* acted as a blueprint for a scene in which the Magna Mater was glorified as both a national goddess of Rome and the patron of Augustus and his family. The figures in question are re-identified as topographical personifications, one of Mt Ida, the goddess' Trojan home, the other of the Palatine, the hill that played a central role in the cult and in the visual language of Augustan Rome.

Intimately linked to recognition of the Magna Mater's nationalisation during the Augustan principate is a reassessment of the cult as a visible and experiential part of the contemporary Roman cityscape. In Part II the landmark status of the Palatine metroön and its allegorical inclusion in a series of diverse monuments are considered. By way of introduction, Chapter 3 examines the temple's place in the Palatine's Augustan precinct and highlights its topographic and symbolic links to the *princeps'* own residence, the nearby Temples of Victoria and Apollo, and historic monuments dating from the foundation of Rome. It also introduces the hypothesis that the geographic proximity of these structures became a visual topos which Augustus exploited on a number of occasions and in a variety of forms.

In Chapter 4 the most ambitious manifestation of this topos is identified in the Circus Maximus, where a series of monuments on the *euripus* are shown to echo the adjacent Palatine structures. Just as the metroön provided a focal point of the hill's Augustan complex, so, it is argued, a statue of the Magna Mater's guardian lion was the centre of an iconographic programme designed to celebrate and promote the Julii's tutelary deities as bringers of victory for the *princeps* and for Rome. In Chapter 5, a reassessment of the Gemma Augustea in light of these findings gives weight to the identification of the cameo's turreted figure, not as Oikoumene, but rather as the Magna Mater. This has important implications for our understanding of the complex symbolism of the work. The possibility that the cameo's topographic allusions refer not only to the expanse of Rome's dominions, but also to the Palatine

metroön and its environs is explored, as is the likely presentation of the Magna Mater as the protector and saviour of Augustus.

In Chapter 6 an analysis of the so-called Vicus Sandaliarius altar demonstrates that the metroac imagery apparent in the Circus Maximus and the Gemma Augustea was also understood and exploited by the *plebs*. A case is made for the identification of a female shown standing next to the *princeps* as a priestess of the Magna Mater, and it is proposed that this juxtaposition demonstrates the Magna Mater's centrality in the Augustan pantheon. Again, the goddess is portrayed as the bringer of victory for the Julii, and allusions to Palatine topography reiterate her intimate connection to Augustus. Finally, in Chapter 7 a reappraisal of the Sorrento base illustrates once and for all the importance accorded the Magna Mater in Augustan religion and propaganda. Traditionally, the goddess' presence on the pedestal along with other of the *princeps*' tutelary deities has been interpreted simply as an allusion to the Palatine metroön. I argue, however, that here we see proof not only that the temple was considered among Augustus' most celebrated building projects, but also that the Phrygian Magna Mater had been transformed into a national deity of Rome.

The present study is not a history of the Augustan cult of the Magna Mater, but it does seek to arrive at a better understanding of the goddess' place in Augustan society, and it challenges misconceptions that the *princeps* was disinterested in her cult. It explores the ways in which a nationalised Magna Mater became a vehicle for the dissemination of imperial ideology, and it illuminates the inseparability of religion and politics during Augustus' reign. By according primacy to the archaeological evidence, this work also creates a platform for a new and greater understanding of many disputed and enigmatic monuments of the early empire.

PART I

THE PALATINE METROÖN

## CHAPTER 1

### THE PALATINE METROÖN

---

#### I. THE PALATINE METROÖN AND THE *RES GESTAE*

*...aedem Matris Magnae in Palatio feci.*

...I built the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.

*(Res Gestae Divi Augusti 19.2)*

With these deceptively simple words, Augustus provides us with his only irrefutable link to the cult of the Magna Mater. The claim, which was included in the *elogium* displayed in front of the Mausoleum of Augustus, firmly places the Palatine metroön in a select group of monuments deemed fitting memorials *in perpetuum* to the liberality and piety of their benefactor. Where the majority of temples to benefit from Augustus' largesse were condemned to anonymity in the record of his achievements,<sup>1</sup> the Temple of the Magna Mater, or metroön, at least in the *Res Gestae*, stands on equal footing with monuments such as the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum.<sup>2</sup> These two structures have long been recognised as playing an intrinsic role in the rejuvenated cityscape of Augustan Rome and in the *princeps'* sophisticated programme of urban imagery. The question thus arises: can we attribute a similar propagandist function to the Palatine metroön, a temple that Augustus also claimed when he listed it amongst his chief building projects?

---

<sup>1</sup> Augustus, *RG* 20.4: *Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex auctoritate senatus refeci nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat* ('In my sixth consulship I restored eighty-two temples of the gods in the city on the authority of the senate, neglecting none that required restoration at that time') Brunt and Moore 1967: 29.

<sup>2</sup> Augustus, *RG* 19.1; 21.1.

At first glance the assertion that Augustus constructed the Palatine metroön appears unambiguous and uncontentious. It is, furthermore, corroborated and augmented by other contemporary or near-contemporary literary sources. Valerius Maximus, for example, provides both the catalyst and the *terminus post quem* of the Augustan project when he tells us that during the consulship of M. Servilius and L. Lamia (3 CE), the previous temple of the Mother of the Gods was consumed by fire.<sup>3</sup> Shortly thereafter, Ovid unequivocally states that while the founder of the temple had been Metellus, ‘...now it is Augustus.’<sup>4</sup> The testimonies of both ancient writers and the *princeps* himself, therefore, promote the impression that it was to Augustus that the metroön of the early empire owed its form.

Apportioning full credit for the construction to the *princeps*, however, has proved problematic for more recent commentators on the Temple of the Magna Mater. As we shall see, modern excavations reveal that significant portions of the metroön claimed by Augustus as his own were, in fact, remnants of earlier phases of temple construction. Yet the *princeps* clearly chose to list the metroön with other temples that he built, and to use *feci*, as opposed to *refeci*, *restitui* or even *instauravi* when describing his relationship to it. What then, are we to make of this apparent exaggeration? Before attempting to determine the nature of the Augustan metroön and thereby to assess the *princeps*’ claim for its credit, it is worth reflecting briefly on the history of this controversial temple.

---

<sup>3</sup> Valerius Maximus 1.8.11; cf. Cassius Dio (55.12.4), who recorded that Augustus’ acceptance of *imperium* for the fourth time (in 3 CE) was followed by a fire which destroyed the imperial palace. Erroneous dates for the temple’s destruction and subsequent reconstruction have been given by Frank 1924: 96; Strong 1934: 575; Lugli 1959: 94 and Pensabene 1996: 206 (3 BCE); and by Tomei 1998: 28 (third century). Gros (1976: 233) places the Augustan rebuilding in the years between 3 and 10 CE. The occasional assignment of the Augustan temple to 2 BCE stems from both the dating of the *Res Gestae* to that year, and Ovid’s omission of the fire in his account of the cult in *Fasti* 4 (written in 3 CE; on the date of the *RG* see Syme 1978: 30 and Beard et al. 1998a: 197). But while the bulk of the *Res Gestae* is thought to have been composed in 2 BCE, it is clear that subsequent events do receive mention (see Brunt and Moore 1967: 6, n.1). Likewise, the dangers of an argument *ex silentio* are well known; thus Ovid’s exclusion need be of limited concern.

<sup>4</sup> *Fasti* 4.347-48: *templi non perstitit auctor: Augustus nunc est, ante Metellus erat*. It is not known whether Ovid composed the *Fasti* chronologically. However, Syme (1978: 21-36) believed the work was written between 1 and 4 CE, and Littlewood (1981: 382, n. 8) dates *Fasti* 4 more precisely to 3-4 CE.

## II. THE HISTORY OF THE PALATINE METROÖN

Throughout the Augustan principate, as in the Republic from the early second century BCE, the metroön on the southwest Palatine constituted the focus of the Magna Mater's Roman cult.<sup>5</sup> Although the goddess, in the form of a black stone, had been introduced from Asia Minor in 204 BCE,<sup>6</sup> (the same year in which the construction of her temple was entrusted to the censors M. Livius Salinator and C. Claudius Nero),<sup>7</sup> it was a further thirteen years before the metroön was completed. Financial hardships resulting from the Second Punic War were perhaps responsible for the delay.<sup>8</sup> The building was finally dedicated by the praetor M. Iunius Brutus on 10 April 191 BCE,<sup>9</sup> at which time the sacred stone was removed from its interim home in the neighbouring Temple of Victoria and installed in the metroön.<sup>10</sup> The occasion provided opportunity for the celebration of Rome's first Megalensia, the festival of the Magna Mater. For eighty years the temple prospered, serving as the cynosure of the annual processions, rituals and *ludi scaenici* held in honour both of the goddess' arrival in Rome and of the inauguration of her home on the Palatine.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, it was in front of the Palatine metroön that participants in various Megalensia were entertained by the work of Rome's most renowned comic dramatists, most notably Plautus and Terence.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> On the history of the metroön see Lanciani 1897: 132-35; Graillet 1912: 320-32; Platner and Ashby 1929: 324; Lugli 1946: 431-34; Nash 1962: 27-31; Romanelli 1963: 221ff; Vermaseren 1977: 41-43; *CCCA* III: no. 1; Coarelli 1982: 39-41; Richardson 1992: 242-43, s.v. 'Magna Mater, Aedes'; Pensabene 1996: 206-7; Claridge 1998: 126-128; Roller 1999: 271-74; Dumser 2002: 163-64, s.v. 'Magna Mater, Aedes.'

<sup>6</sup> Later Christian writers describe the sacred object as a black meteorite set into a silver image of the Magna Mater (Prudentius, *Peristeph.* 10.156-60; Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* 7.49). On the nature of this sacred stone see Freedberg 1989: 70-71. For the source of the sacred meteorite, see *infra* 84, n. 114.

<sup>7</sup> Livy 29.37.2.

<sup>8</sup> See Coarelli 1982: 40.

<sup>9</sup> Livy 36.36.4-5; *Fasti Praenestini* (April 10): *M(atri) D(eum) m(agnae) I(daeae) in Pal[atio] quod eo die aedis ei dedicata est* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 235).

<sup>10</sup> Livy 29.14.

<sup>11</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.179-372.

<sup>12</sup> The plays included Plautus' *Pseudolus* (191 BCE) and at least five of Terence's six comedies: *Andria* (166 BCE), *Hecyra* (165), *Heautontimoroumenos* (163), *Eunuchus* (161) and *Phormio* (141). See Livy 36.36; Cicero, *Har. resp.* 12.24; Valerius Maximus 2.4.3; *fasti Praen.*, *fasti Ant. mai.*, *fasti*



According to Valerius Maximus the Temple of the Magna Mater was destroyed by fire in 111 BCE.<sup>13</sup> The structure was rebuilt by one Metellus, perhaps C. Metellus Caprarius, consul in 113 and *triumphator ex Thraecia* in 111, but most commonly thought to be Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, consul and victor over Jugurtha in 109.<sup>14</sup> Whoever the benefactor, it is likely that the building project was financed *de manubiis*, with additional funds coming from small donations collected by the goddess' priests.<sup>15</sup> The date of the rededication of the temple is unknown, but it has been suggested that the self-emasculation of a slave belonging to one Servilius Caepio in 101 BCE may have marked the event.<sup>16</sup> We hear little more of this Palatine metroön in our literary sources, save in a list of portentous events of 38 BCE, when four palm trees apparently sprang up around the temple.<sup>17</sup>

As noted above, it is Valerius Maximus who is the first to refer subsequently to the Republican metroön, when he records that the temple once again was consumed by fire in 3 CE. He adds that a statue of Claudia Quinta (the illustrious matron credited with enabling the goddess to enter Rome) which stood in the vestibule of the temple and which had survived the fire of 111, was again unharmed by flames.<sup>18</sup>

---

*Quir.* (Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* 13.2 438); cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 2.55; Martial 7.73.3. On the Megalensia's theatrical performances see also Graillot 1912: 85 and Vermaseren 1977: 125. The staging of the plays directly in front of the temple is attested by both literary and archaeological sources. See e.g., Cicero, *Har. resp.* 11.24, where it is written that the festival's *ludi* were performed and celebrated before the temple and in the very presence of the Great Mother (*ante templum in ipso matris magnae conspectu*). *Infra*, 68, n. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Valerius Maximus 1.8.11 (during the consulship of P. Scipio Nasica and L. Bestia); *Obsequens* 39.

<sup>14</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.347-48. See also Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* 13.1 84f. The question of responsibility for the metroön in 111 BCE is too complex to be considered here. For a full discussion see Morgan 1973: 231-45, where the case for C. Metellus Caprarius is outlined. Among those to attribute the new metroön to Metellus Numidicus are: Hommel 1954: 30; Nash 1962: 27; Romanelli 1963: 222; Vermaseren 1977: 42; Richardson 1992: 242; Pensabene 1996: 206; Tomei 1998: 28; Pensabene and D'Alessio 2006: 39 (see also Morgan 1973: 232, n. 84).

<sup>15</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.350-52. For the collection of alms see also Lucretius 2.626-27; Cicero, *Leg.* 2.22.

<sup>16</sup> *Obsequens* 44a: *Ancilia cum crepitu sua sponte mota seruiusque Servilii Caepionis Matri Idaeae se praecidit, et trans mare exportatus, ne unquam Romae reverteretur*. On this event see Morgan 1973: 233-34; Thomas 1984: 1510; Butler 1998. Morgan also believes that the otherwise unattested *ἠπιβικίος*, voted to the Magna Mater by the senate in 102 BCE (Plutarch, *Mar.* 17.9), is a garbled reference to the temple on the Palatine hill, which must have been nearing completion at the time (*ibid.* 234, n. 95; cf. Broughton 1953-54: 210, n. 4).

<sup>17</sup> Cassius Dio 48.43.4-6. See *infra*, 174-75.

<sup>18</sup> Valerius Maximus 1.8.11; (*supra*, 9). For the deeds of Claudia Quinta see *infra*, 69, n. 48; 79-80.

There followed the metroön's restoration by Augustus, which will be discussed at length below. After this, the Palatine metroön features only sporadically in ancient texts. Juvenal, for example, refers to the temple as a place of assignation.<sup>19</sup> Much later, we are told that the goddess' image (presumably the black stone) was among the sacred objects that the emperor Elagabalus wished to house in his newly constructed eponymous temple on the Palatine,<sup>20</sup> and that Claudius II Gothicus was declared emperor at the sanctuary in 268 CE.<sup>21</sup> The metroön is listed in Regio X in the fourth century Regionary Catalogues, and appears for the last time in the work of Zosimus, who mentions that during a visit to the temple, Serena (d. 408 CE), the niece of Theodosius the Great, was chastised by a Vestal Virgin for removing and wearing a necklace belonging to the statue of the Magna Mater.<sup>22</sup>

Archaeological evidence reveals that only a few years later, the Palatine sanctuary was sacked by the Goths in 410 CE, then by the Vandals in 454.<sup>23</sup> After this, the site was gradually abandoned and used only as a depository for refuse. Later, the land on which the metroön had stood passed first into Papal control, then in the Middle Ages became part of the extensive holdings of the Frangipane family, who incorporated existing structures on the southwest corner of the hill into new fortifications. In the fourteenth century when the Palatine no longer served as a fortified castle, vineyards and gardens transformed the area. Finally, in the sixteenth century, the site of the sanctuary of the Magna Mater became the property of the powerful Farnese family.

### III. IDENTIFYING THE AUGUSTAN METROÖN: EXCAVATIONS

In the modern era, it has taken almost two centuries of intermittent excavations in the southwest corner of the Palatine to bring the Temple of the Magna

---

<sup>19</sup> Juvenal 9.23.

<sup>20</sup> S.H.A., *Elagab.* 3.4; whether or not the emperor's plan was realised is unknown.

<sup>21</sup> S.H.A., *Claud.* 4.2. For this event see Lambrechts 1952b: 259, n. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Zosimus, *Hist. nova* 5.38. See Romanelli 1963: 223; Showerman 1969: 92; Vermaseren 1977: 43; Turcan 1996: 74.

<sup>23</sup> On the abandonment and subsequent reclamation of the site see Pensabene 1998: 51-54.

Mater to light.<sup>24</sup> These activities began with the initial recovery of the temple, probably by De Tournon in 1809-1814, on a site close to the top of the *Scalae Caci* and adjacent to the Temple of Victoria.<sup>25</sup> Confusion over the identity of the structure at this stage is evident from the plan of the Palatine published by the architect Costantino Thon in 1828, where the ruins are labelled the Temple of Ceres.<sup>26</sup> Between 1862-1865 and in 1872, Pietro Rosa conducted investigations in the vicinity, uncovering the *Scalae Caci* and the perimeter of the temple (with the exception of the pronaos). Again it was misidentified, this time as an *Auguratorium*.<sup>27</sup> Finally, in 1873, a year after the discovery of a colossal marble statue of the Magna Mater near the pronaos of the temple,<sup>28</sup> Visconti and Lanciani tentatively identified the building's remains as those of the goddess' temple.<sup>29</sup> The work of Christian Huelsen culminated in the first reconstruction of the temple and its architectural details in 1895.<sup>30</sup> Dante Vaglieri, at the beginning of the twentieth century,<sup>31</sup> and Pietro Romanelli from 1949-1951, continued to excavate the area. Uncertainties over the temple's attribution were finally settled by the latter, following the discovery of numerous terracotta votives of

---

<sup>24</sup> For a list of excavations and their publications see Pensabene 1982: 70, 72; 1996: 206. A summary of excavations on the Palatine is provided by I. Iacopi in *ArchPos*: xv-xxxix. For photographs of the early phases of excavation of the metroön and its environs see *ibid.* 37-50, figs. 43-54.

<sup>25</sup> That there was little interest in, or understanding of the site prior to this is apparent in earlier plans, e.g., that by Nolli (*Nuova Pianta di Roma*, 1748), where the entire area is shown covered by the Farnese Gardens, (*Note di ruderi e monumenti antichi prese per la pianta di G. B. Nolli*; published by Rossi in *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, 1884). See also Huelsen 1895: 7, n. 2 and *ArchPos*: xviii, fig. 6.

<sup>26</sup> See *ArchPos*: xxiii, fig. 8 (from C. Thon, *Il Palazzo dei Cesari sul Palatino*, 1828, pl. 3).

<sup>27</sup> On Rosa's excavations on the southwest Palatine see Tomei 1999: 133-83. For the identification of the metroön as an *Auguratorium* see *ArchPos*: xxiv-xxv, figs. 9-11; Tomei *ibid.* 5, 118 n. 162, 133 n. 2, pls. I-III, VII. Other structures in the vicinity misidentified by Rosa include the Temple of Victoria (as a college of Jupiter Propugnator) and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus (as the Temple of Jupiter Victor).

<sup>28</sup> *CCCA* III: no. 3. See also Tomei (1997: 148-49, no. 128), who suggests that the figure may represent either a priestess or an empress venerated as the goddess. It is unlikely the statue is the cult image itself, as the divine simulacrum was aniconic (*supra*, 10, n. 6). No trace of the goddess' sacred black stone has been found, but Lanciani (1897: 133) was certain that 'a stone nearly three feet high, conical in shape, of a deep brown colour, like a piece of lava, and ending in a sharp point,' found during Bianchini's 1725-30 excavations but subsequently lost, was indeed the sacred object.

<sup>29</sup> See *ArchPos*: xxx, fig. 16 (from Visconti and R. Lanciani 1873). Even in 1897, however, Lanciani remained unsure of the identification (Lanciani 1897: 133). For further discussion of the temple's location at this time, see also Gilbert 1886.

<sup>30</sup> Huelsen 1895: 10-11; 14; 16-17; 19-22.

<sup>31</sup> See D. Vaglieri in *NSc* 1907, *passim*.

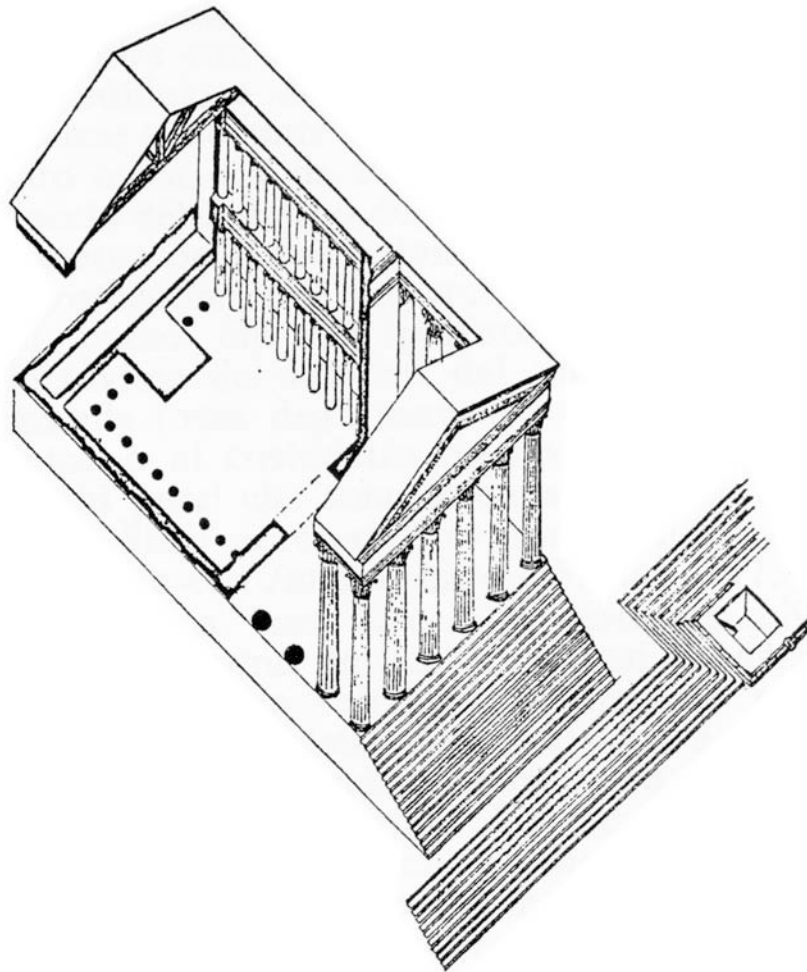
the Magna Mater, her consort Attis, and other cult objects, in the fill of the metroön's podium.<sup>32</sup> Since 1977 work on the temple and its surrounds has been overseen by Patrizio Pensabene of the Università di Roma, in collaboration with the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma.<sup>33</sup> The extant remains of the Temple of the Magna Mater consist primarily of a high concrete podium (33.18 x 17.10m) and fragments of capitals and entablature (figs 1-2.). From these it is possible to determine that the metroön was Corinthian, prostyle, hexastyle and was accessed by a staircase that extended across the structure's façade. It followed a traditional Italic, rather than Greek, temple plan, with a deep pronaos, a cella containing an interior colonnade that ran around three sides of the chamber, and a masonry plinth on which the cult statue presumably stood (ill. 1).

With excavation of the structure itself largely complete, scholarly attention has turned to the broader environs of the sacred precinct. Working within parameters dictated by limited archaeological evidence, it should be possible to determine both the nature of the Augustan metroön, and the veracity of the *princeps*' claim to have built the structure in its entirety. This task is important, as scholars have used the quality of the Augustan temple as a yardstick with which to measure the *princeps*' devotion to the cult of the Magna Mater *in toto*. Such an approach has not been without justification, given the dearth of heretofore unidentified archaeological, literary and epigraphic evidence linking the emperor to the goddess. This thesis will demonstrate that such evidence does indeed exist, and that our knowledge of official attitudes to the Magna Mater need no longer be predicated on the metroön alone. For now, however, there is much to be learned from a study of the temple that stood at the heart of the Augustan complex on the Palatine.

---

<sup>32</sup> Romanelli 1963; 1964: 619-26.

<sup>33</sup> Pensabene's excavations, which are currently focused on establishing the chronology of constructional phases in the metroön and its adjacent theatral area, have produced a wealth of information published in a series of archaeological reports. See, in particular, Pensabene 1982, 1985b and 1998 for summaries of the work in progress, and 1996 for the history of the site. At the time of writing, a new work: *Tempio della Magna Mater sul Palatino*, P. Pensabene and F. Battistelli eds., was listed as forthcoming from L'Erma di Bretschneider in 2004; however, the work has yet to become available.



Ill. 1. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Palatine metroön in the first phase of construction, *ca.* 191 BCE (after Pensabene 1980: fig. 5).

We do not want for comparanda when it comes to using the *princeps'* building projects as a gauge of his personal commitment to individual deities; Augustan Rome abounded with lavish foundations that honoured and glorified the tutelary gods of the Julii. Rather than see the metroön as analogous to temples such as those of Apollo on the Palatine and Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum, however, the tendency has been to emphasise the characteristics that set it apart from other more extravagant Augustan works. Thus, the defining characteristics of the building have become its ostensibly cost-cutting reuse of earlier materials and its construction, not in marble, but in stucco-covered peperino. The following discussion will attempt to assess whether such judgements can be justified.

Unfortunately, the task of assessing the quality and extent of the metroön's Augustan restoration is not easy. The combination of sparse, often enigmatic

remains, and the protracted yet sporadic progression of their excavation has meant that few scholars are in complete accord as to the *princeps*' role in the history of the temple. Indeed, opinions are so varied that assessments of the extant structure have credited Augustus with both virtually all and practically none of what is visible on the Palatine today. We therefore begin our investigation of the Augustan temple with a summary of findings to date.

After early and inconclusive attempts to identify the remains in the southwest corner of the Palatine, one of the first to recognise the need for a new study of the temple was Huelsen. The German scholar conducted limited excavations of the building's interior and exterior at the end of the nineteenth century, ultimately concluding that the extant structure in *opus incertum* should be identified with that of the first temple, constructed at the beginning of the second century BCE. He did not attribute any of the remains of the building to Augustus' Temple of the Magna Mater.<sup>34</sup> In 1924, Tenney Frank likewise assigned all architectural remains to a pre-Augustan phase of the temple.<sup>35</sup> Unlike Huelsen, however, he argued that the podium could not have been that of the original structure, as concrete was not used as early as 192 BCE. This first temple, he believed, must have been constructed of Grotta Oscura stone and of tufa from the Palatine itself. Frank then outlined the case against any extant work being that of Augustus. The mortar of the concrete, he argued, was too light and friable to be classified as Augustan workmanship. The podium's lack of a strong masonry casing enabling it to bear the cella walls was also cited as distinguishing the remains from temples constructed at this time. Thus, rather than attribute the structure to the *princeps*, Frank maintained that similarities between the *opus incertum* facing of the metroön and that of the Temple of Concord (121 BCE) indicate that the podium must date to the rebuilding necessitated by the fire of 111 BCE. He also assigned the majority of architectural details in peperino tufa to this phase of the temple. As fragments of peperino columns and entablature remain at the Augustan level of the metroön, Frank concluded that the *princeps*' architect must have reused as much of the earlier structure as possible, employing new blocks only where absolutely necessary. Because the temple was given a new coat of stucco with

---

<sup>34</sup> Huelsen 1895: 3-28. For summaries of Huelsen's findings see also Romanelli 1963: 223 and Hommel 1954: 31, n. 290.

<sup>35</sup> Frank 1924: 96-97.

a more classical type of ornamentation, the temple was legitimately claimed to be Augustan. Like Frank, Lars Fagerlind also attributed the podium, and the temple's peperino detailing, to the Metellan restoration. However, he was unwilling to assign any work in peperino and stucco to the *princeps*, instead ascribing the Corinthian capitals, for example, to 111 BCE on the basis of stylistic peculiarities; later Augustan capitals, he assumed, were undoubtedly marble, and must have been lost during the Renaissance.<sup>36</sup>

While the majority of scholars in the early decades of the twentieth century thought that little of the extant metroön could be dated to 3 CE, Esther Boise Van Deman credited the *princeps* with all of the temple remains. During her investigation of possible dating methods of Rome's concrete monuments, Van Deman was the first to note that the foundation walls of the Temple of the Magna Mater exhibited two different construction techniques.<sup>37</sup> The lowest part of the walls, she observed, appeared to be made up of *caementa* of friable Grotto Oscura tufa with a facing of *opus incertum* in both the same tufa and peperino. Higher up, the composition changed to red lithoidal tufa, used both for the filling and facing of the walls. On the basis of the same ash-grey mortar present throughout the assemblage, and in spite of the disparate methods of construction, Van Deman concluded that all sections of the walls were of the same date.<sup>38</sup> As nothing that was found precluded the concrete from being attributed to the Metellan restoration, she conceded this date could well have been 110 BCE. On balance, however, Van Deman favoured an Augustan designation for the remains.<sup>39</sup>

In 1938 Marion E. Blake took up Van Deman's work on Roman construction; on the topic of the Palatine metroön, however, she differed in opinion.<sup>40</sup> While admitting that the temple presented a chronological problem and that determining the

---

<sup>36</sup> Fagerlind 1932: 121-23, 130; also cited in Romanelli 1963: 224, n. 1 and Blake 1947: 35 n. 13.

<sup>37</sup> For the chronology of concrete structures in Rome see e.g., Van Deman 1912a, b. Unfortunately, Van Deman's notes on the Palatine metroön were unpublished at the time of her death in 1937; however, they appear in Blake 1947: 249, 330.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Romanelli (1963: 230-231) and Pensabene (1985a: 183, n.2; 1998: 39) who agree that while both parts display similar mortar, they cannot be contemporaneous.

<sup>39</sup> Van Deman 1912b: 393. Samuel Platner accepted Van Deman's assessment without question (Platner 1929: 324-25).

<sup>40</sup> Blake 1947.

extent of the Augustan restoration was difficult, Blake followed the example of Frank, tentatively concluding that the concrete of the temple dated to 110 BCE.<sup>41</sup> The extant columns, she acknowledged, might belong to the original temple, but her citation of Fagerlind indicates a clear preference to attribute them stylistically to the Metellan restoration.<sup>42</sup> Blake furthermore credited a secondary otherwise unattested restoration with the addition of the *opus quasi-reticulatum* wall dividing the cella and the pronaos of the metroön. With these elements thus apportioned to Republican phases of construction, all that remained to identify as the work of Augustus was the recovering of reused peperino columns in stucco, and much of the entablature. The latter, Blake noted, preserved patterns that were Augustan in character and were different from those of the original carving.<sup>43</sup>

Simultaneously considering the remains of the metroön was Giuseppe Lugli. In his 1946 discussion of the Magna Mater's Palatine temple,<sup>44</sup> Lugli arrived at the same conclusion as Frank, Fagerlind and Blake before him, and determined that the podium with its *opus incertum* facing probably belonged to the temple built by Metellus. Likewise, he attributed fragments of the Corinthian colonnade, trabeation and tympanum to the end of the second century BCE on the basis of their archaizing style. To Augustus he assigned only a limited restoration of the sections most damaged by the fire of 3 CE, and the coating of both the old and new parts of the temple with a fresh layer of stucco.<sup>45</sup>

New excavations of the Cermalus (the southwest corner of the Palatine) in 1949 by Pietro Romanelli revealed more about the structure and dating of the metroön.<sup>46</sup> Like Van Deman, Romanelli noted the apparent change in construction of the temple's walls, and while for the most part confirming the former's assessment of the materials and construction techniques used in the temple, he nevertheless rejected Van Deman's conclusion that the upper and lower levels of the extant structure were

---

<sup>41</sup> Blake 1947: 179, 330, n. 26.

<sup>42</sup> Blake 1947: 35.

<sup>43</sup> Blake 1947: 35, 179.

<sup>44</sup> Lugli 1946: 431-34, 455-58; 1959: 93-96.

<sup>45</sup> Lugli 1946: 456; cf. 1950: 277.

<sup>46</sup> See e.g., Romanelli 1963: 228-240.



contemporaneous. Rather than viewing the similarity of the mortar throughout as the principal determiner of date, he instead emphasised the divergence in types of facing: *opus incertum* for the lower portions of the podium, and a mix of *opera incertum*, *quasi-reticulatum* and *reticulatum* above.<sup>47</sup> Unlike Huelsen, Romanelli quickly ruled out any significant representation of the original 191 BCE temple in the visible remains on the Palatine. Although acknowledging that the first (secular) buildings in *opus incertum* appeared in Rome at the beginning of the second century BCE,<sup>48</sup> he argued that it was unthinkable that anything but *opus quadratum* would have been used for a sacred edifice as important as the original metroön. Citing, moreover, the increased use of peperino in construction later in the same century, Romanelli concurred with Frank, Fagerlind, Blake, and Lugli when he attributed the main part of the temple, along with miscellanea such as fragments of painted plaster, mosaics, terracotta cornices and tiles, to the structure's Metellan phase.

When it came to pinpointing the remains of the Augustan metroön, however, Romanelli was less content than the majority of his predecessors to credit the *princeps* with minimal industry. Like Blake, he was willing to concede the possibility that portions of the superstructure belonged to a phase of work unmentioned in literary sources. Should this prove to be the case, he concluded, we would have no idea which part of the extant building belonged to Augustus.<sup>49</sup> Clearly, this was an unwelcome prospect. Instead, Romanelli identified portions of the temple's remains that he believed were dated to 3 CE, including the upper walls of the elevation, which, on the perimeter of the cella and pronaos, displayed variable facings of *opera incertum* and *quasi-reticulatum*, and *caementa* of red tufa that was recognised as being of a type customarily used in Augustan constructions.<sup>50</sup> A layer of ash and charcoal found in the upper stratum of the podium's infill was correspondingly attributed to the fire of 3 CE, while the votives below (including datable items such as

---

<sup>47</sup> Among the walls surveyed, Romanelli (1963: 231) included that in *opus quasi-reticulatum* between the cella and pronaos, which Blake had attributed to an unrecorded restoration.

<sup>48</sup> Romanelli (1963: 232) cites the *porticus Aemilia* (174 BCE) and the portico of Metellus (147 BCE) as examples.

<sup>49</sup> Romanelli 1963: 236.

<sup>50</sup> Romanelli (1963: 236-37), it seems, anticipated challenges to the consequent late dating of these sections of *opus incertum*, and gave the foundations on the north side of the Tiberian *castra praetoria* as a parallel.

lamps and pottery) were assigned to the years between the Metellan rebuilding and the restoration of the temple by Augustus.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, Romanelli argued that since the *princeps* was compelled to work on the temple, he would also have taken the opportunity to raise the podium, thereby affording the metroön greater prominence within the surrounding complex of Augustan buildings.<sup>52</sup>

Somewhat later, Maarten Vermaseren (presumably following Romanelli), accepted that hardly any of the original temple was preserved. He attributed the podium and columns with Corinthian capitals to the rebuilding of Metellus, while Augustus was credited with raising the platform, reinforcing the cella walls and stuccoing the walls, *trabeatio* and peperino columns of the temple.<sup>53</sup> Scholarly consensus proved to be temporary, however. In 1977, Filippo Coarelli advocated a reassessment of Romanelli's dating of the metroön. Highly critical of the latter's 'arbitrary reasoning' regarding the selective use of *opus incertum* in Rome at the beginning of the second century BCE, Coarelli identified the three phases of construction revealed by excavation with the three stages of the temple documented by our literary sources.<sup>54</sup> For him there was no question that the podium of the metroön, covered as it was with *opus incertum* of tufa of Grotta Oscura and peperino, belonged to the earliest temple of 191 BCE. This would make it, he admitted, the first dated example of the technique in Rome, yet the adoption of cement work (presumably in preference to *opus quadratum*) was explained by the financial difficulties suffered by Rome at the end of the Second Punic War.<sup>55</sup> The rough appearance of the stone facing and the use of two different materials further suggested, Coarelli contended, a technique at its earliest, experimental stage. Thus it was impossible to date this part of the metroön to the last decade of the second century BCE, a period when *opus incertum* was gradually superseded by *opus reticulatum*. It followed that the higher level of construction in *opus quasi*

---

<sup>51</sup> Romanelli 1963: 240.

<sup>52</sup> Romanelli 1963: 236-39.

<sup>53</sup> *CCCA* III: no. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Coarelli 1977: 12.

<sup>55</sup> Coarelli 1977: 12-13; 1982: 40. The assignment of this phase of the temple in Coarelli 1997: 158 to the first century BCE must, presumably, be a misprint.

*reticulatum* of Anio tufa belonged, not to Augustus, but to the first restoration of the temple after the fire of 111 BCE.<sup>56</sup> The *princeps* was credited with the majority of the balance of remains, including some of the peperino columns with their Corinthian capitals and fragments of archaising statues, identified as having come from the pediment of the temple.<sup>57</sup>

So it was that scholars throughout the previous century credited Augustus with significantly dissimilar levels of work on the Palatine metroön. As excavation of the temple has continued, the more extreme assessments of Huelsen (who recognised nothing Augustan in the remains as he knew them) and Van Deman (who credited the *princeps* with all that was to be seen on the site), have subsequently been disproved by later observations of the varying techniques and materials used in the construction of the building. It follows that consideration of the most recent archaeological findings should clarify the situation. This, however, is not necessarily the case.

Initial excavation reports by Patrizio Pensabene endorsed Coarelli's hypothesis regarding the identification and dating of the three phases of temple construction.<sup>58</sup> The foundation and podium in *opus incertum* were recognised by the excavator as belonging to the first phase, i.e., to 191 BCE. The fire that prompted the rebuilding of 111 BCE, he believed, left a good part of the podium intact. Thus to Metellus he assigned the reconstruction of the upper part and the cella in *opera incertum, quasi reticulatum* and *reticulatum* using cement consisting of fragments of red tufa from Fidenae. A successive phase, perhaps corresponding to the Augustan restoration, was identified in a long horizontal pier that supported a new internal colonnade. Pensabene more confidently credited the *princeps* with a new cella pavement on the basis of the room's fill, which contained fragments of Augustan pottery. He also attributed column fragments and Corinthian capitals of marble found in the cella, and extant architectural details in peperino (e.g. column drums, pieces of the tympanum and cornice) to the Augustan temple. Like Frank, Pensabene believed that the inclusion of peperino elements demonstrated that the external restoration of the

---

<sup>56</sup> This conclusion has significant ramifications for the dating of the terracotta votives Romanelli found in the infill of the podium; given their stratigraphic position these were assigned by Coarelli to the period between 191 and 111 BCE (1982: 40).

<sup>57</sup> Coarelli 1997: 157-59.

<sup>58</sup> Pensabene 1978: 67-69; 1980: 65-67; 1982: 73-76, nn. 16, 20.

metroön in 3 CE involved the re-use of material from the Metellan phase of the temple. The sometimes double layer of moulded stucco that adorned these fragments was further taken as evidence that the *princeps* recovered his temple in a fresh layer of plaster.

Such were Pensabene's cumulative findings in 1982. In the report of work carried out in the subsequent three years, it seemed initially that little had changed regarding the identification and dating of the Magna Mater's temple, barring reference to the remains of two thick tufa walls in *opus quadratum* in the lower part of the southwest corner of the podium.<sup>59</sup> These walls, Pensabene speculated, may have come from another early building on the Palatine, or from the terracing of the hill itself. Equally, they could have been blocks from the first phase of the temple, later reused as foundations for the new cement podium. Tentatively at first, but with increasing conviction, Pensabene advocated a chronology for the remains of the temple similar to that put forward by Romanelli: a first phase in *opus quadratum*, the second in *opus caementicium* using *caementa* of yellow tufa and peperino, and a third in *opus caementicium* with *caementa* of red tufa from Fidenae (ill. 2). These phases correspond, the excavator maintained, to the now familiar stages of the metroön: those of 191 and 111 BCE, and the age of Augustus.<sup>60</sup>

Pensabene's assessment, which credits Augustus with the rebuilding of virtually all of the upper elevation of the metroön, accords with what little can be discerned about the nature of the 3 CE fire itself. Romanelli noted during his investigation of the site that there are numerous, clear traces of fire to be seen in the excavated remains, not least of which are those on the votive terracottas discovered and dated by the archaeologist to the period between 111 BCE and 3 CE.<sup>61</sup> More securely datable to the Augustan principate itself are indicators of conflagration discovered in strata above the assemblage of votives that consisted first of a layer of ash, then under that, a layer of earth containing many pieces of charcoal.

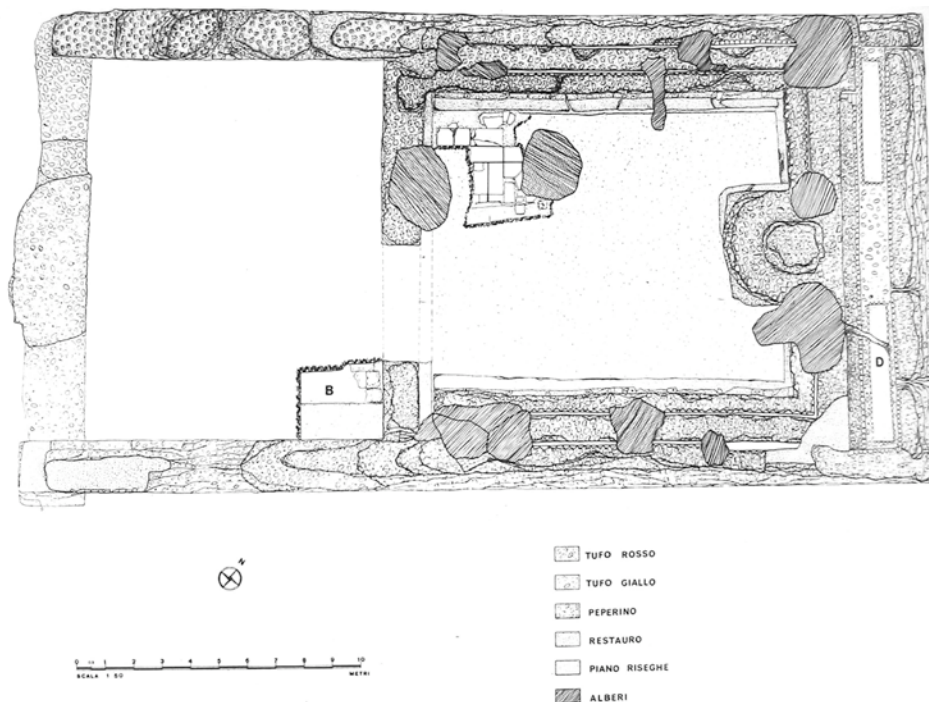
---

<sup>59</sup> Pensabene 1985b: 182-83, n. 2.

<sup>60</sup> Pensabene 1993: 27-28; 1996: 206-208; 1998: 36-39. Recent discoveries have done little to promote consensus on the question of the Augustan metroön. Claridge (1998: 126-28), for example, reiterates Pensabene's findings, while Coarelli (1997: 157-59) continues to assign the bulk of the temple's *quasi-reticulate* superstructure to the restoration of 111 BCE. Those in accord with Coarelli include Adam (1994: 129); Sear (1998: 75) and Roller (1999: 274, n. 54).

<sup>61</sup> Romanelli 1963: 239-40.

Significantly, other datable objects such as lamps and fragments of Campanian and other pottery were found in the surrounding fill.<sup>62</sup> Evidence of the 3 CE fire is similarly affirmed by the damage visible on the remains of a mosaic that decorated the floor of the temple. Romanelli observed that this work, which consisted of small white *palombino* tesserae, is very like mosaics found in the nearby House of the Griffins. On the basis of its early Second-style wall paintings, the latter can be assigned to the first half of the first century BCE.<sup>63</sup> Thus, despite Romanelli's ambivalence about identifying the mosaic either as belonging to the original floor of the Metellan temple, or as part of an unrecorded restoration of the mid-first century BCE, the discolouration exhibited by the pavement must have occurred during the Augustan fire.



III. 2. Plan showing the constructional materials of the Palatine metroön (after Pensabene 1985b: fig. 2).

It is safe to assume on evidence for the fire alone that the 3 CE conflagration left a temple with a cella badly in need of restoration. It seems unlikely the external

<sup>62</sup> Pensabene 1998: 38.

<sup>63</sup> See Blake (1947: 250, n. 10), who noted that the pavements in the house also date to the early first century BCE.

structure of the metroön could have escaped unscathed, and the dimensions of the building itself bear out this conclusion. The strong cella walls, (2.8m thick, resting on a podium with walls 3.84m wide), would certainly have been capable of bearing the weight of a large barrel vault. As Huelsen pointed out, however, the age of the construction makes it more likely that these walls supported a series of large cross-beams and a solid wooden ceiling and roof instead.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, it is only by accepting that wood played a significant role in the building's construction that the successive burnings of the temple can be satisfactorily explained. The fact that the *princeps* found it necessary to provide worshippers of the Magna Mater both with a new cella and a significantly restored temple exterior confirms that a replacement roof would also have been a necessary part of the Augustan rebuilding.

To the archaeological evidence for the nature of the Augustan metroön we can add the testimony of Valerius Maximus, the only author to provide information relevant to attempts to quantify the *princeps*' contribution to the temple. When referring to the fires that plagued the metroön throughout its history, the compiler, as we have seen, noted that while the temple was consumed by fire in 3 CE, the statue of Claudia Quinta that stood in the pronaos *in sua basi flammis intacta stetit*.<sup>65</sup> Taken at face value, this statement has been interpreted as proof that the effects of the blaze were limited in both diffusion and severity.<sup>66</sup> Clearly, the implication that the vestibule of the structure remained intact cannot be easily reconciled with the archaeological evidence. Consideration of the context of Valerius Maximus' assertion, however, reveals that factors other than the accurate detailing of events may have influenced the historian.

Firstly, it is noteworthy that Valerius Maximus mentions the metroön's fires, not during an account of the cult or of the history of the temple *per se*, but whilst cataloguing miracles worthy of remembrance. To the modern reader the image of a statue standing inviolate amidst flame may seem implausible. To Romans accustomed to seeking divine protection against natural hazards, however, the events the historian described may have seemed entirely credible. It need hardly have taken an act of

---

<sup>64</sup> Huelsen 1895: 15; Graillet (1912: 324) and Hommel (1954: 30) agreed.

<sup>65</sup> Valerius Maximus 1.8.11; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.64.

<sup>66</sup> See e.g., Blake 1947: 178-79; *infra*, 31-33.

divine intervention, however, to save the statue of the revered Claudian matron when catastrophe struck the temple in which it was housed. None of our sources mentions what would have been the noteworthy loss of the cult's aniconic stone in either the 111 BCE or 3 CE fires. This is not surprising – the importance of the sacred object would surely have guaranteed that its rescue was the highest priority of temple attendants. That the esteemed statue of Claudia Quinta, situated conveniently outside the cella, was also easily salvaged is also to be expected. Moreover, Valerius Maximus alleges that the statue remained untouched by flames not only in the Augustan conflagration, but also during the earlier burning of the temple. This need not mean that the compiler fabricated his version of the events of 3 CE. After all, he wrote during the living memory of many of his audience. Nevertheless, it is clear that his intention was to impress readers more with the extraordinary than with an accurate chronicle of events. This is particularly true in the case of Tiberius, the emperor to whom the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* was dedicated, and who is the object of flattery throughout the work. By according the statue of Claudia Quinta, Tiberius' divinely favoured ancestress, with miraculous powers, Valerius Maximus paid tribute to both the emperor's exalted lineage and long-standing Claudian connections to the Magna Mater.<sup>67</sup> Thus the statue is presented as a sacred memorial, as protected by the goddess as the real Claudia Quinta had been.

Both the limitations of our key literary source and Pensabene's latest conclusions have profound ramifications for our appreciation of the Augustan metroön; no longer can the *princeps*' contribution to the temple be seen simply as the superficial refurbishment of the structure's exterior. Now we can credit Augustus not only with replacing lost architectural elements in peperino and supplying those that remained with a new coat of stucco, but also, more significantly, with reconstructing the upper level of the podium and the complete rebuilding of the cella in *quasi-reticulatum* and concrete, with all that that entailed: the provision of a new internal colonnade and pavement, roof and architectural decoration.<sup>68</sup> The Augustan metroön may not have owed its entire form to the rebuilding that took place after 3 CE, but it is

---

<sup>67</sup> Links between the Claudian *gens* and both the Magna Mater and Claudia Quinta are discussed in depth, *infra*, 56-57.

<sup>68</sup> For the attribution of the temple's extant entablature and column fragments to the Augustan restoration see Gros 1976: 233-34.

evident that the *princeps*' contribution was substantial; enough even to justify the claim *aedem Matris Magnae in Palatio feci*.

#### IV. IDENTIFYING THE AUGUSTAN METROÖN: THE VALLE-MEDICI RELIEF

Two fragments of a marble relief unearthed in the sixteenth century and immured shortly thereafter, first in the *giardino pensile* of Cardinal Andrea della Valle, then in the garden façade of the Villa Medici (fig. 3), provide our most complete representation of the Palatine metroön.<sup>69</sup> Best studied as casts, the larger of the two blocks shows two disproportionately large *victimarii* standing before the long side of a temple, leading a bull to sacrifice. The other fragment depicts the façade of a Corinthian temple (fig. 4); it is broken away at the left side, but preserves four of the original six columns, the cella wall and door behind them, and a small altar that stands at the foot of a flight of stairs leading from the ground up to the stylobate. Also visible is the bulk of the entablature, the right-hand corner of which supports an acroterion in the form of a shield- and sword-bearing Corybant (fig. 5). The central and left acroteria are lost, as is the left-hand corner of the pediment. The presence of even one Corybant, however, suggests the identification of this temple as that of the Magna Mater, as Corybants are frequently found in the company of the goddess in both mythology and art.<sup>70</sup> The identity of the temple is confirmed by the pedimental sculptures which consist of other companions and attributes of the Magna Mater: her guardian lions; two personifications who rest their arms on tympana (one of whom also holds a pine branch), and, in the centre of the composition, a throne upon which rests the goddess' mural crown (fig. 6).<sup>71</sup>

Seen today *in situ*, these blocks are the victims of sixteenth century restorations that failed to recognise the relationship of one to the other. The relief depicting the temple's flank has been augmented with a seemingly imaginary and

---

<sup>69</sup> CCCA III: no. 2. On the provenance of the reliefs on the Via Lata (the modern Via del Corso) see Bertolotti et al. 1999: 85-89. For the decoration of the villa's garden façade by Ferdinando de' Medici ca. 1584 see Petersen 1902: 5-6; Bloch 1939: 86; Andres 1976: 250ff.

<sup>70</sup> *Infra*, 87-89; 187-91; 235-36.

<sup>71</sup> See chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of the pediment's iconography.



poorly executed stucco façade (fig. 7). Its counterpart represents the portico of the metroön in architectural isolation, surrounded by togate men and women, only one of whom (the *togatus* standing at the right of the temple and looking left) appears to have been part of the original sculpture (figs. 8-9). Not until 1958 was the link between the marble blocks recognised, when Lucos Cozza noted that the architectural details of the temple flank and the Corinthian façade would match perfectly should the intervening stucco additions be removed.<sup>72</sup> Thus the relief fragments were reunited, at least in cast form, and today they provide our most complete rendering of the Palatine metroön (fig. 4).

But which phase of the temple is represented? In part to answer this question, scholars for the past century have attempted to determine the original context of the relief. Writing before the systematic excavation and reconstruction of the Ara Pacis Augustae in 1937-1938, and without the benefits of the recomposed sculptural panel, Eugen Petersen and Henri Graillet assigned both the metroön relief and a similar block depicting the Temple of Mars Ultor (another of the Valle-Medici reliefs) to the Altar of Peace.<sup>73</sup> Subsequent work has, of course, proven that there was no place for a depiction of the Augustan temples on the Ara Pacis.<sup>74</sup> Believing otherwise, however, these scholars did not hesitate to identify the metroön as that of Metellus, as the Ara Pacis was inaugurated in 9 BCE, twelve years before fire necessitated the *princeps*' restoration of the Magna Mater's temple. That Petersen and Graillet linked the Valle-Medici reliefs to the Ara Pacis is unsurprising, given that all these works demonstrate a remarkable correspondence in dimensions and treatment of stone.<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Cozza 1958: 107-108.

<sup>73</sup> Petersen 1902: 66-69; Graillet 1912: 326.

<sup>74</sup> See Bianchi 1994: 33-35 and Conlin 1997: 133-39 for recent bibliographies of the Ara Pacis. Important post-restoration studies of the Altar include: Moretti 1948; Simon 1967; Kleiner 1978: 753-786; Rossini 2006.

<sup>75</sup> The heights of the panels are as follows: metroön (long side) = 1.560m; metroön (façade) = 1.555m; Temple of Mars Ultor (façade) = 1.550m (Cozza 1958: 107-108); the height of the Ara Pacis friezes is 1.60m. For the recomposition of the Mars Ultor relief with another fragment showing the sacrifice of a bull (height = 1.560m) see Cozza 1958: 108-109. Two further reliefs, one currently in the Museo Nuovo Capitolino (inv. 1386), and the other comprising fragments in the Museo Nazionale Romano and the Vatican's Museo Gregoriano Profano, have also been linked to the Valle-Medici reliefs on the basis of shared characteristics. The first relief has been thought to represent the temples of Apollo Palatinus, Artemis at Ephesus, Juno Regina on the Aventine, Fides on the Capitoline, Victoria on the Palatine, and even of a shrine of Augustus himself. For the identification of the temple as that of Victoria, along with a list of other possibilities see Rehak 1990: 176, nn. 20-22 (cf. Bertolotti et al.

Minor advances are visible, however, in the rendering of figures and the use of perspective in the two temple reliefs. Consequently, scholars are now largely unanimous in assigning these to a monument of slightly later date. For many years the Ara Pietatis Augustae and the Ara Gentis Iuliae proved the most popular contenders for provenance.<sup>76</sup> However, more recently caution has prevailed, and the reliefs are simply assigned to an as yet unidentified Julio-Claudian monument similar in structure, perhaps, to the Ara Pacis.<sup>77</sup> Although fascinating, and not without implications for our understanding of links between Julio-Claudians and the cult of the Magna Mater, this debate need not concern this study. What matters is that now we can be certain the reliefs postdate the 3 CE Palatine fire, and accordingly, that the metroön represented in the Valle-Medici relief can only be that of the *princeps*.

What then, do the recomposed fragments tell us about the Augustan Temple of the Magna Mater? First and foremost, the sculptural depiction confirms much of what has already been ascertained from archaeological evidence. The relief shows an Italic temple built on a high podium, the edge of which is delineated by a cornice consisting of a wide cyma recta. The temple is prostyle, and although only four Corinthian columns remain on the façade of the structure, once the cella walls of the relief fragments are joined, it is clear that the front of the temple is sufficiently wide to accommodate a hexastyle arrangement of columns (ill. 3).<sup>78</sup> As was common with

---

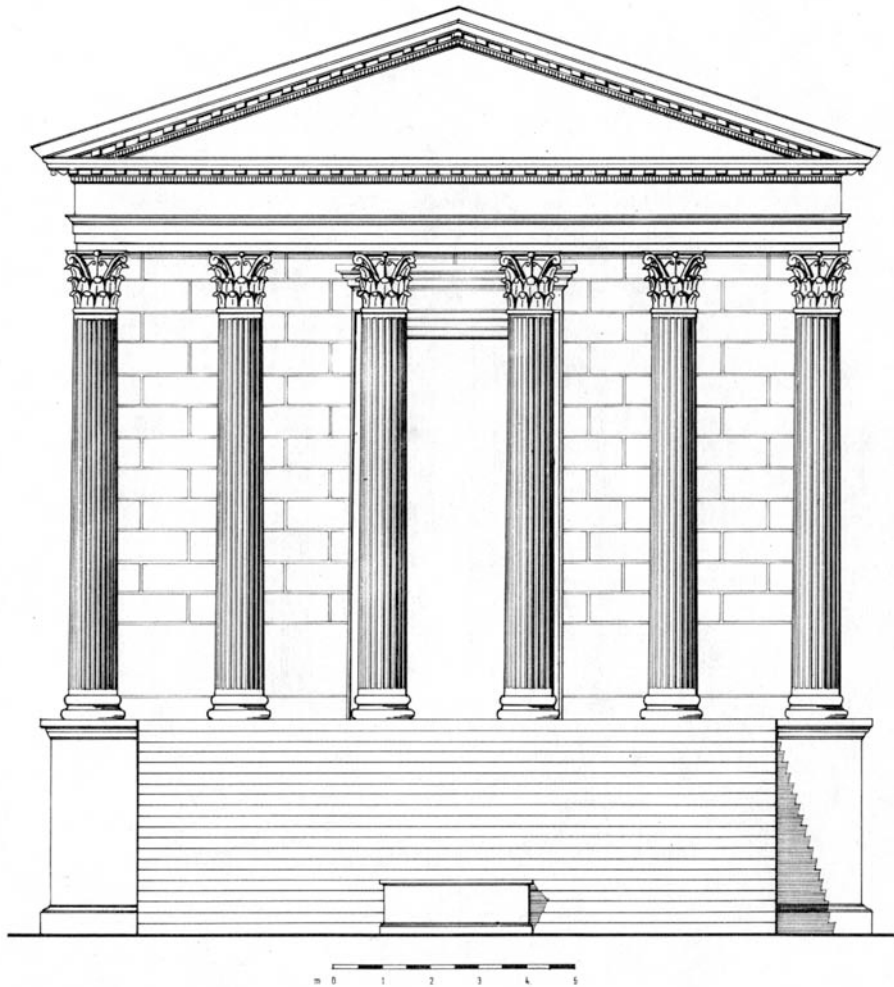
1999: 89). On the second relief, now tentatively thought to represent the Augustan Temple of Mars Gradivus, see Albertson 1987.

<sup>76</sup> The Ara Pietatis Augustae, known only from an inscription that is now lost (*CIL* 6.562 = *ILS* 202), was advocated by R. Bloch in his influential article published in 1939, 'L'Ara Pietatis Augustae,' in *MÉFRA* 56: 81-120 (reprinted in Cagianò de Azevedo 1951: 3-31, who also provides a comprehensive bibliography up to 1951 on page 64). However, Bloch's case has been convincingly challenged by G. Koepfel (1982: 453-55) and now the very existence of the altar is questioned (see, e.g., Richardson 1992: 291, s.v. 'Pietas Augusta, Ara; Bertolletti et al. 1999: 87). Those who continued to follow Bloch include Lattimore (1975: 375-76); Torelli (1982: 63-88); Maier (1985: 76-79); Simon (1986: 20); Roller (1999: 309) and Erskine 2001: 213. For the Ara Gentis Iuliae see Rehak 1987, 1990; Grunow 2002: 67-73, 164-67.

<sup>77</sup> Grunow 2002: 69-73. At the time of writing, attempts are being made to reconstruct the monument in the Museo dell'Ara Pacis in Rome, where (following La Rocca) the structure is tentatively identified as the Ara Reditus Claudii (Rossini 2006: 102). See also Bertolletti et al. 1999: 85-89, where it is suggested that the temple reliefs were later reused as decoration on Diocletian's *Arcus Novus*, the marble arch set up on the Via Lata to commemorate the emperor's decennialia (see also Richardson 1992: 27, s.v. 'Arcus Novus; Rossini 2006: 100).

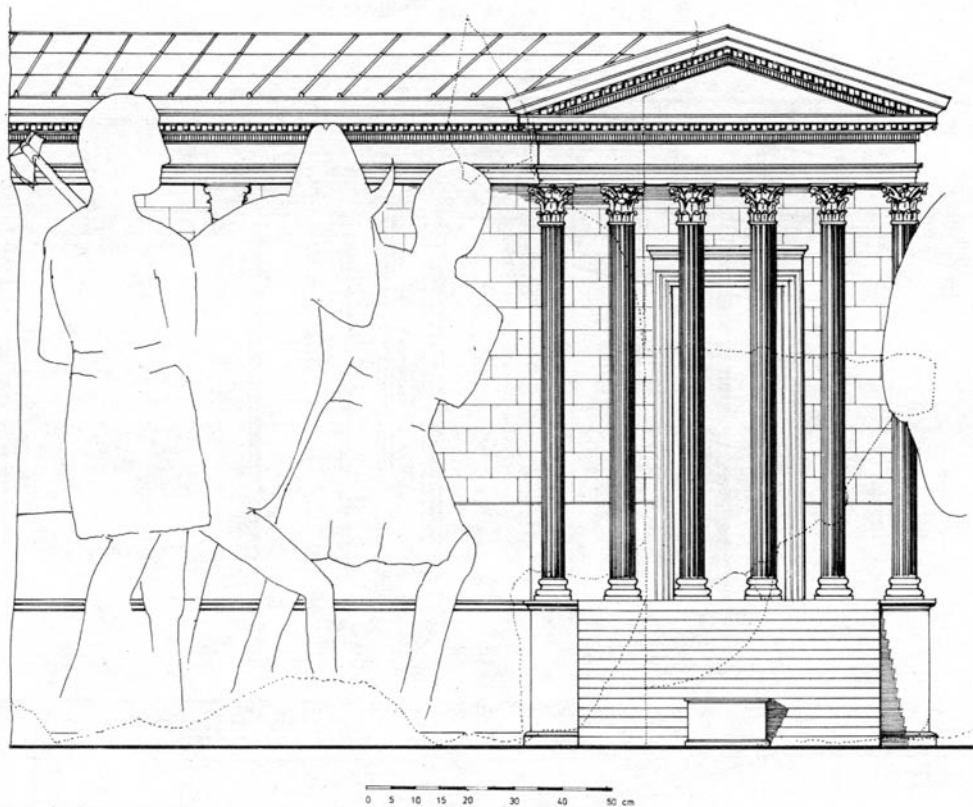
<sup>78</sup> Cozza 1958: 108. As the designer of the relief chose to view the temple from the southwest, and thus to represent both the left side and the front of the structure, he was required to adopt certain artistic devices to ensure that the correct angles of perspective were maintained. For example, the columns of the pronaos were arranged on a slight gradient from right to left. Those furthest from the viewer were

Italic temples, the long sides of the metroön are elaborated by engaged Corinthian pilasters, which would have given the structure a pseudo-peripteral appearance (ill. 4). Faint traces of these architectural elements appear in the sculptural panels in the form of two low relief Corinthian column bases complete with the lower portion of their shafts behind the first sacrificial attendant, and a Corinthian capital above the neck of the sacrificial bull.



Ill. 3. Reconstruction of the façade of the Augustan metroön based on the Valle-Medici relief (after Maier 1985: pl. IV.2).

rendered in relatively low relief, with that on the far right projecting less than half of its circumference from the cella wall behind it; in comparison, the column on the far left is almost completely detached from the background. We can assume that the two missing columns on the left were carved entirely in the round. This would account for the uninterrupted ashlar masonry at the far left of the cella's front wall; six pairs of small holes must have been used in the attachment of the columns to the relief. For the columns to be carved in the round the podium and entablature of the temple that supported them must also have been carved in high relief; this explains why the damage is worst in this section of the sculpture.



Ill. 4. Reconstruction of the Augustan metroön based on the Valle-Medici relief (after Maier 1985: pl. IV.1).

The cella, as it appears in the relief, is composed of twelve horizontal courses of ashlar masonry with drafted channels between each block,<sup>79</sup> which do not rest directly on the stylobate, but rather on a wide intervening dado panel. Access to the cella is by way of sixteen stairs that run from the ground to the stylobate of the pronaos and which have a width less than that of the podium; in the relief these can be reconstructed as extending between the second and fourth columns of the temple's façade. A small altar is shown on the ground in front of the centre of the staircase. The temple's decorative entablature consists of a trifacial architrave surmounted by a cyma reversa that provides a transition to an undecorated frieze. Above this, both the geison and (on the façade) the raking geison of the cornice are formed by rows of dentils followed by a narrow cyma reversa, which in turn supports modillions, another cyma and three fillets. The raking cyma is crowned with an elaborate band of

<sup>79</sup> Albertson (1987: 448) dates this particular combination of *opus isodomum* and countersunk drafting to the late Republic or the early principate.

palmettes flanked by curved calyxes; this motif continues along the flank of the temple, where palmette antefixes surmount the cymatium of the cornice. Regrettably, no trace of this elaborate *corona* has been found amongst the remains of the temple. This absence has led to the suggestion, not that the metroön was inaccurately represented in the Valle-Medici relief (an unlikely scenario, given the consistency with which Julio-Claudian reliefs faithfully reproduce actual architectural forms), but that its uppermost decorative band was modelled entirely in stucco.<sup>80</sup>

#### V. (DE)CONSTRUCTING THE AUGUSTAN METROÖN

Identifying both Augustus' contributions to the Palatine metroön, and the appearance of the temple itself is all very well; what remains unresolved is whether or not these findings shed light on the *princeps'* attitude to the cult of the Magna Mater. This is not an easy thing to determine. After all, an integral part of Augustus' programme of urban and religious renewal was the revitalisation of Rome's temples and shrines.<sup>81</sup> This makes it difficult to separate projects undertaken purely out of necessity from those in which the *princeps* took a particularly personal interest.<sup>82</sup> In this section, details of the Augustan metroön's construction, specifically its materials and plan, will be assessed in order to determine whether or not facets of the temple reveal any extraordinary commitment of resources or funding on the part of the *princeps*. Before addressing issues arising from the archaeological evidence, however, it is worth considering a recent and unique attempt to quantify the amount of effort expended by Augustus in his restoration of the temple.

In 1989, M.K. and R.L. Thornton published the results of their investigation into the management of Julio-Claudian building programmes.<sup>83</sup> A significant part of their work constituted an attempt to determine the relative manpower costs of each project, which was accomplished by first assigning a number of 'work units' (WUs)

---

<sup>80</sup> Gros 1976: 233.

<sup>81</sup> Augustus, *RG* 20.4; Livy 4.20.

<sup>82</sup> On this see Bömer 1964: 143; cf. Schillinger 1979: 333.

<sup>83</sup> Thornton and Thornton 1989.

to each structure. The allocation of work units was determined by factors such as building size, the elaborateness of construction and the type of work done (building, rebuilding, restoration etc). All structures were compared to the Maison Carrée at Nîmes whose replacement value was arbitrarily set at 60 work units. The authors then used the Palatine metroön to exemplify their methodology. Their discussion, which depended largely on Blake's dismissal of the seriousness of the Augustan fire,<sup>84</sup> is of sufficient interest to be quoted in full:

Augustus in 3 A.D. restored the temple of the Magna Mater (*PA*, 594 and 324). Its extant remains are practically non-existent. Its size was 33m x 17m = 561m<sup>2</sup>. We then divided 561 by 8 to adjust it to our standard unit, the temple of Maison Carrée, we found it to be 70 WUs:

$$561\text{m}^2 \div 8\text{m}^2 = 70 \text{ WUs.}$$

Since the temple was not built as a new building but was a restoration, we multiplied the measurement by .4 (factor assigned for restorations):

$$70 \text{ WUs} \times .4 = 28 \text{ WUs}$$

(assigned to this construction). Blake asserts that "The burning of the Temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine in A.D. 3 was not serious enough to injure the statue of Claudia in its vestibule (Valerius Maximus 1.8.11). Consequently, it is difficult to tell how extensive the Augustan restoration was. Apparently Augustus did sufficient work on it so that he felt justified in listing it among the temples rebuilt by him (*Aug. Res Gestae* 19)."

Such a conclusion as Blake drew seems to justify our assigning only .4 to a restoration. Had the burning been serious enough to injure the statue of Claudia, we might have changed our tentative "restore" (.4) to "rebuild" (.6).<sup>85</sup>

Unfortunately, the verdict reached by the authors adds little to our understanding of Augustus' contribution to the metroön. It is true that the remains of the temple are fragmentary and often ambiguous. However, they are far from non-existent, a fact that might have been appreciated by the Thorntons, had they consulted recent archaeological reports.<sup>86</sup> Nor is there any suggestion that the authors considered evidence other than that provided by Valerius Maximus; we have already seen the dangers inherent in accepting this testimony without question. That the

---

<sup>84</sup> Blake 1947: 178.

<sup>85</sup> Thornton and Thornton 1989: 21-22.

<sup>86</sup> The bibliography provided by the Thorntons (1989: 18; 27, n. 2) reveals a complete lack of reference to all scholarship from the last sixty years.

Thorntons' conclusions appear to be based entirely on the problematic claim of one historian acutely undermines the validity of their findings.<sup>87</sup> We would do far better to consider the materials utilised for the reconstruction, an approach that the Thorntons specifically and inexplicably rule out.<sup>88</sup>

The practice of making inferences about the *princeps*' attitude to the cult of the Magna Mater based on the quality of the Augustan metroön itself is nothing new. Tenney Frank suggested just such a correlation in 1924. Rather than view the 3 CE rebuilding as indicative of a personal association between Augustus and the Magna Mater, however, Frank interpreted the remains of the temple as evidence that the *princeps* cared little for the goddess' cult.<sup>89</sup> At the heart of this conclusion was the attribution of the most minimal work (replacement blocks and a new coat of stucco) to the Augustan restoration.<sup>90</sup> When confronted with the enigma of peperino columns and decorative elements on an Augustan building where one might expect to see marble, Frank concluded that such uncharacteristically 'crude work' was deliberate. Augustus, he reasoned, was a zealous restorer only of those cults that were perceived to be truly Roman; thus the questionable quality of his work on the metroön could be taken as a sign that he found little to approve of in the Phrygian goddess and her orgiastic worship.<sup>91</sup> Such an indifferent approach to the project would, Frank continued, have had the benefit of ensuring that the Temple of the Magna Mater did not overshadow the nearby Temple of Apollo.

---

<sup>87</sup> With equally serious implications for the Thorntons' overall study (as critics, e.g., Anderson 1990 and Darwall-Smith 1991 have been quick to point out) is that information derived from Roman topography and architecture is fundamentally unsuited to the kind of statistical analysis employed. Of the buildings included in the Thorntons' survey, a great many are known only from the slightest evidence. Therefore to consider, for example, '...that temples of unknown dimensions were average temples...' suited to an arbitrary allocation of 100 work units (Thornton and Thornton 1989: 21) renders comparisons with more well known buildings (e.g., the metroön) meaningless.

<sup>88</sup> Thornton and Thornton 1989: 19: '[r]elative money costs between, say, marble and tufa were not considered except to the degree that the composition of the different materials made fabrication more or less difficult.'

<sup>89</sup> Frank 1924: 97.

<sup>90</sup> *Supra*, 16-17.

<sup>91</sup> There is little or no evidence that the Phrygian cult of the Mother actually included wild music, flamboyant priests, ritual castration and worship of the goddess' eunuch consort. Rather, these seem to have been characteristic of later Graeco-Roman worship. On this see Roller 1994; 1997; 1999: 110, 113-14; 2006.

There is much to dispute in Frank's assumptions, as will become apparent below in discussions of the Magna Mater's status as a national goddess of Rome and of the metroön's many connections to the Palatine Temple of Apollo. For now, however, it is sufficient to refute the assertion that work on the Augustan metroön was somehow substandard and that, as a result, it can be taken as a reflection of the *princeps'* indifference to the Magna Mater. It is true that in the past, the conspicuous lack of marble found amongst the ruins of the metroac sanctuary has attracted scholarly comment. Such was the discrepancy between the extant fragments of the temple and what had come to be expected of an Augustan foundation that Rodolfo Lanciani even questioned the identification of the structure. Having made note of the temple's peperino columns and entablature, he argued that they could not be the work of Augustus who, he believed, only used marble.<sup>92</sup> Unwilling to seek the temple elsewhere, Fagerlind, as we have seen, chose to attribute the peperino remains to the Metellan reconstruction, surmising that the *princeps'* marble additions must have been lost during the Renaissance.<sup>93</sup>

It is no surprise that early excavators found the modest quality of the metroön's remains noteworthy. After all, Augustus' famous claim to have transformed Rome from a city of brick into one of marble appears to have been largely justified.<sup>94</sup> A simple glance at the *Res Gestae's* catalogue of buildings built or completed by Augustus confirms the extensive use of both local and imported marbles at the time,<sup>95</sup> although these were often employed as economical veneers rather than more expensive ashlar blocks.<sup>96</sup> Regardless of the thickness of stone, however, the results were the same: buildings that were acclaimed for their brilliant colours, reflective surfaces and general *magnificentia*.<sup>97</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> Lanciani 1897: 133.

<sup>93</sup> *Supra*, 17.

<sup>94</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 28.3; Cassius Dio 56.30.

<sup>95</sup> For a complete inventory of materials from a number of significant Augustan buildings see Favro 1996: 184-185, table 5. The popularity of marble as a construction material is attested by Ovid, who noted that 'mountains diminish as the marble is dug from them' (*Ars* 3.125).

<sup>96</sup> Favro (1996: 186) lists the temples of Apollo Palatinus and Jupiter Tonans as well as the Ara Pacis as notable exceptions to this rule.

<sup>97</sup> E.g., Virgil, *Aen.* 8.720-22, where the Temple of Apollo is praised for its dazzling quality. Cf. Vitruvius (7.pref.17; cf. 2.8.16) who wrote of a Republican temple: 'if this building had been of



There is no doubt that amongst the rich urban fabric of Augustan Rome, the Palatine metroön would have been conspicuous in its modesty. The reuse of the lower portions of the Metellan podium clearly indicates that the scale of the temple itself was unaltered by the *princeps*' rebuilding; likewise the reconstruction of the cella and the replacement of architectural details in peperino confirm that, on the whole, the material of the temple remained unchanged.<sup>98</sup> To attribute these factors to a lack of concern or parsimony on the part of Augustus, however, would be a mistake. The expenses incurred in marble construction were considerable, yet in 3 CE, the use of peperino covered in a thick layer of good-quality stucco is unlikely to have been the choice of a benefactor with frugality as a priority. For a start, while the fine-grained blue-grey tufa known as *lapis Albanus*, or peperino, had been common in Rome in the second century BCE, by the beginning of the first century BCE, Anio tufa (*lapis Gabinus*) and travertine were the building stones of choice for ordinary masonry.<sup>99</sup> Indeed, after the Sullan age when peperino was used for paving blocks near the *Lapis Niger* and for the stylobate of the Basilica Aemilia, the stone was little used again until the reign of Nero. The one exception to this rule was the Augustan restoration of the Palatine metroön in the style of the earlier temple of 111 BCE.

When the *princeps* chose to use tufa in other major building projects, it is noteworthy that the predominant material we find is *lapis Gabinus*. This coarse-grained stone is similar in appearance to peperino and is found in large quantities in the great wall of the Forum Augustum, as well as in the Temple of Mars Ultor where it appears beneath a facing of white Luna marble.<sup>100</sup> When so much stone was

---

marble, so that besides the refinement of its art it possessed the dignity coming from magnificence and great outlay, it would be reckoned among the first and greatest of works' (trans. Favro 1996: 183).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Roller (1999: 309) who, contrary to the archaeological evidence, states that the Augustan metroön 'now had a marble façade and sculptural decoration.'

<sup>99</sup> Different dates for the introduction of peperino into Rome are given. Van Deman (1912a: 244) noted simply that the stone appeared in Rome between 210 BCE and the period of Sulla, while Frank (1924: 23-24) placed the first known example of peperino in Rome at ca. 250 BCE, and observed that it was displaced by Gabine stone at the end of the second century BCE. Cf. Blake (1947: 35-38) who believed that peperino was not generally accepted as a building material until the late-second century, and that it 'was practically abandoned for squared-stone construction from after the middle of the administration of Augustus until the reign of Nero.' More recently, Claridge (1998: 37) has noted the use of peperino as a high-quality building stone from the second century BCE onwards. On the use of both *lapis Albanus* and *lapis Gabinus* in Imperial times see Heiken et al. 2005: 44-46.

<sup>100</sup> Platner and Ashby 1929: 222; Blake 1947: 37; Claridge 1998: 158.

required, there can be little doubt that economy must have been a priority.<sup>101</sup> Unlike peperino, however, which had to be hauled approximately twenty kilometres by wagon to Rome, Gabine stone could be easily transported to the Anio River (a mere three kilometres from the quarry) and then shipped by barges into the heart of the city.<sup>102</sup> With such an established, accessible and affordable source of building stone at hand, we cannot consider Augustus' choice of the less common, more expensive peperino for the metroön the act of a patron determined to cut costs.<sup>103</sup>

Nor did the *princeps'* expenses end once he chose to retain peperino as the predominant building material of the temple. Numerous fragments of the metroön's column shafts and capitals clearly indicate that the stone used in the Augustan structure was given a coating of the highest quality stucco (fig. 10). Unlike softer tufas, which required a thick coat of plaster to protect them from the elements when used externally, peperino was able to withstand the extremes of rain and frost, as well as intense heat;<sup>104</sup> the latter characteristic, in particular, goes some way to explaining the retention of peperino in the metroön, which had twice burned.<sup>105</sup> While the *princeps'* Temple of the Magna Mater may have needed no augmentation to enhance its durability, the fact that it nevertheless received a stucco facing illustrates a concern for the metroön's aesthetic appearance. Analysis of this facing, moreover, has shown that the plaster was mixed with marble dust to enhance its look and texture. So impressive, in fact, is the calibre of the resulting finish that it has recently been used as an exemplar of both the expertise of Roman stucco workers, and the high degree of refinement obtainable with this technique.<sup>106</sup> One needs only to look at the Augustan

---

<sup>101</sup> The comparatively restrained use of more expensive travertine in the Forum Augustum illustrates this point.

<sup>102</sup> Frank 1924: 24-25; hence Strabo's description of the quarry as 'more serviceable to Rome than any other...' (*Geog.* 5.3.10).

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Zanker 1988: 109: '...Augustus did not rebuild the temple, which lay near his house, in marble, but *only* [my italics] in tufa (peperino)...'

<sup>104</sup> Claridge 1998: 47.

<sup>105</sup> The advantages of peperino are made clear in Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.43, where it is recorded that Nero commanded peperino be employed in construction after the Great Fire. For the qualities of peperino see Frank 1924: 22-24; Blake 1947: 35-38; Claridge 1998: 37.

<sup>106</sup> Favro 1996: 188. It is true that many fragments of the temple's cornice and columns bear witness to the rough-hewn quality of the underlying masonry. This may be because a rough surface would have helped the stucco to adhere to the peperino. As these elements were never intended to be seen devoid of their facing, however, those like Frank (1924: 97), who judge them on the quality of their

metroön on the Valle-Medici relief to appreciate the extent and quality of the stucco decoration that once graced the temple's exterior. In particular, the high oblique sima that dominated the structure's façade would have offered stucco workers a vast field for intricate ornamentation; that they revelled in their opportunity can be seen by the temple's crown of beautifully carved palmettes, which are interspersed and framed by curved calyxes. Beneath, the details of the Corinthian cornice reveal precisely sculpted dentils and modillions. Two lions' head drainage spouts, which were evidently laid out along the dripstone to form part of an elaborate gutter, further attest the detailing of the temple.

Hiring the best workmen and buying the most expensive of the appropriate materials would have only marked the beginning of the *princeps*' financial commitment to the temple once he chose to cover the structure in stucco. Plaster of the quality used on the metroön rivalled equivalent marble facings in colour, texture and fineness of detail; it even compared favourably in terms of durability. Getting stucco to retain the gleaming finish that Vitruvius proclaims 'reflects from its surface a clear image of the beholder,'<sup>107</sup> would have required almost constant maintenance. As the temple's publicly acknowledged benefactor, the *princeps* would presumably have been responsible for these costs.<sup>108</sup> Elsewhere, Augustus refurbished buildings and allowed the names of their original donors to remain, perhaps as a means of avoiding ongoing costs for their upkeep.<sup>109</sup> This strategy, however, had no place in the Augustan rebuilding of the metroön, where economy and simplicity clearly had little part to play.

It is far more likely that religious convention and the princeps' own personal sense of *religio* dictated both the reuse of the Republican metroön's remains and the completion of its Augustan replacement in comparable materials.<sup>110</sup> At the time of

---

mediocre workmanship, and who, by extension, conclude that Augustus cared little for the cult of the Magna Mater, do both the temple and its benefactor a disservice.

<sup>107</sup> Vitruvius 7.3.10 (trans. Favro 1996: 188).

<sup>108</sup> See also Zanker 1988: 108, who states that '[i]n the case of the renewal and new construction of temples, the princeps himself set the guidelines by determining the location and the level of expenditure for raw materials and building costs.'

<sup>109</sup> Favro 1996: 304, n. 67.

<sup>110</sup> Both of these possibilities have found marked support among commentators on the metroön. See, for example, Graillet 1912: 324; Favro 1996: 188; Galinsky 1996: 295; Beard et al. 1998a: 198. Lugli

the restoration, temples remained the most conservative of Rome's building types. The idea of Augustus deliberately striving to preserve the venerable antiquity of the Magna Mater's temple, then, accords well with his celebrated claim to have restored the Republic and, more particularly, to have reinvigorated Republican piety. Still, caution must be employed when making such assumptions. With the exception of the metroön, few of the temples listed in the *Res Gestae* significantly further our knowledge of the *princeps*' approach to temple restoration. In addition to the Temple of the Magna Mater, it is possible to distinguish only nine sanctuaries able to claim rehabilitation by the *princeps*.<sup>111</sup> Like the metroön, these were Republican temples that, due to neglect or damage by natural causes, required major repair during the Augustan principate.<sup>112</sup> However, the evidence is so sparse that of these nine structures, seven are yet to have their exact locations confirmed.<sup>113</sup> It is due solely to the discovery of an inscription, rather than the existence of actual architectural remains, that we are able to pinpoint the site of the eighth temple, that of Quirinus, in the gardens of the Palazzo del Quirinale.<sup>114</sup>

Only the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus provides even scant archaeological evidence germane to an assessment of Augustus' rebuilding policies. This temple, we are told, was restored by the *princeps* at great personal expense, though nothing survives from the Augustan building *per se*.<sup>115</sup> Instead, all that is to be seen on the Capitoline today are the remains of a massive tufa podium incorporated into the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The fact that this podium appears to

---

(1946: 434) erroneously attributes similar views to Frank, whose actual hypotheses regarding Augustus' choice of materials are discussed above, 16-17, 33.

<sup>111</sup> As with the metroön, Augustus claimed these structures as his own (*RG* 19-20). Of the fourteen temples listed by name in the *Res Gestae*, only four were truly deserving of the designation *fecit*: those of Apollo Palatinus, Jupiter Tonans, Mars Ultor and Divus Julius. The Temple of Concord is sometimes identified as having been rebuilt by Augustus (cf. Anderson et al. 1927: 72), but this was actually restored by Tiberius using the spoils of his German campaigns (Cassius Dio 55.8.2).

<sup>112</sup> For a useful summary of Augustus' restoration of temples in Rome see Favro 1996: 105-110.

<sup>113</sup> These are: the temples of Juventas, Jupiter Feretrius, Minerva, Juno Regina, Juppiter Libertas, the Lares and the Dei Penates.

<sup>114</sup> *CIL* 6.565 = *ILS* 3141. See Richardson 1992: 327.

<sup>115</sup> Augustus, *RG* 20. The date of this restoration is unknown. Platner (1929: 300) suggested it took place *ca.* 26 BCE, presumably because the temple was struck by lightning one year earlier. However, Cassius Dio (55.1) attests that the structure sustained further injury from at least one other lightning strike in 9 BCE.

belong to the original temple of the sixth century BCE indicates that Augustus must have retained at least a portion of the structure; he was, however, obviously not the building's only restorer to do so.<sup>116</sup> To gauge more accurately the extent that a prevailing belief in the inviolability of sacred structures may have influenced the *princeps'* programme of restoration, we must turn to evidence provided by contemporary authors. Dionysius of Halicarnassus is particularly useful in this regard when he notes that the existing Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus stood upon the same foundations as its ancient equivalent, and differed from it only in terms of the costliness of materials used.<sup>117</sup> The temple to which Dionysius referred is that begun by Sulla but which Q. Lutatius Catulus, who dedicated it in 69 BCE, largely rebuilt.<sup>118</sup> Catulus, it seems, was eager to impress, but religious restrictions prevented him from altering the foundations of the temple.<sup>119</sup> Instead he chose to extend the building vertically, thus remaining within the bounds of religious convention, whilst simultaneously enhancing the grandeur of both the site and his own reputation.<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately, we have no literary evidence attesting the influence, or even the existence of strictures governing the Augustan Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. It is significant, however, that when the temple was once again destroyed in 69 CE,<sup>121</sup> religious dictates forced Vespasian, like Catulus, to temper his rebuilding plans. Haruspices, we are told, instructed the emperor to erect the new temple on the same site as the old, giving as their reason the gods' refusal to sanction alterations to the earlier plan. Vespasian complied, but added even greater height to the structure – the one change religious scruples allowed.<sup>122</sup> Ultimately, with the exception of the

---

<sup>116</sup> Others to reuse the earlier podium included Sulla and Q. Lutatius Catulus (after 83 BCE), Vespasian (69 CE), Titus, and Domitian (after 80 CE). For the dating of the podium see Tagliamonte 1996: 147.

<sup>117</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 4.61.4.

<sup>118</sup> See, e.g., Platner 1929: 299; Richardson 1992: 223; De Angeli 1996: 149.

<sup>119</sup> Favro 1996: 25.

<sup>120</sup> That the rebuilt temple may not have been entirely successful in an aesthetic sense can be inferred from a passage in Aulus Gellius (2.10), where it is recorded that Catulus wished to lower the surrounding Area Capitolina to ensure that the older podium was in better proportion to the new elevation and pediment; however, *favissae* beneath the temple made this impossible.

<sup>121</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.71; Suetonius, *Vit.* 15.3; Cassius Dio 64.17.3; Statius, *Silv.* 5.3.195-8; Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 8.5.

<sup>122</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.53.

project's considerable cost and its retention of earlier foundations, all conclusions as to the nature of the Augustan temple on the Capitoline must remain speculative. Like those before and after him, however, Augustus appears to have been willing to respect the sanctity of the *templum* plan.

Our knowledge of the conventions governing Roman temples may be limited, but to it we can add Dionysius' observations on the Hut of Romulus, which he described, adding that:

...ἦν φυλάττουσιν ἱερὰν οἷς τούτων ἐπιμελὲς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον  
ἐξάγοντες, εἰ δέ τι πονήσειεν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἢ χρόνου τὸ λείπον ἐξακούμενοι  
καὶ τῷ πρόσθεν ἕξομοιοῦντες εἰς δύναιμι.

...those in charge of it maintain it as a holy place: they must not embellish it at all: but if by weather or lapse of time it is damaged in any way, they repair it as closely as possible to the original condition.<sup>123</sup>

More than any other, this passage sums up the prohibitions that could govern the restoration of a sanctified structure in Rome. It is true that amongst the city's rich landscape of revered sites, the house in which Rome's founder was supposedly raised enjoyed a special place in the Roman psyche. Unlike the monumental Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the Hut of Romulus was a modest structure, built of wattle and daub, and roofed with thatch. Accordingly, it is difficult to envisage potential patrons ever transforming it into something conspicuously more grandiose.<sup>124</sup> Under Augustus, the hut was restored at least twice using traditional materials;<sup>125</sup> this illustrates not only that the *princeps* was aware of the strictures that could govern sanctified buildings, but also that he was willing to uphold them.

Elsewhere there are suggestions that Augustus' respect for the traditions of the Capitoline temple and the Hut of Romulus extended to other venerable structures. We know, for example, that when the *princeps* completely rebuilt the Temple of

---

<sup>123</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.11 (trans. Claridge 1998: 126).

<sup>124</sup> On the traditional appearance of the Augustan Hut of Romulus see Vitruvius 2.1.5. For the burning of the hut in 38 and 12 BCE see Cassius Dio 48.43.4; 54.29.8.

<sup>125</sup> Favro 1996: 203.

Quirinus, he reinstated the building's traditional dipteral layout.<sup>126</sup> This choice is significant when considered alongside the *princeps*' own religious foundations. Few details are known about the architecture of either the elaborate Palatine Temple of Apollo, or the small but impressive Temple of Jupiter Tonans.<sup>127</sup> The remains of the temples of Divus Julius and of Mars Ultor, however, reveal that when planning new foundations Augustus apparently preferred traditional Italic models.<sup>128</sup> As Diane Favro has pointed out, Italic forms served to reaffirm the *princeps*' commitment to the restoration of the Republic.<sup>129</sup> In choosing to retain the original Greek plan of the Temple of Quirinus, therefore, Augustus set aside personal preference in favour of an adherence to tradition.

One final structure may yet add something to our investigations in this regard. Augustus is known to have restored the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius at the suggestion of Atticus, probably in 31 BCE.<sup>130</sup> Soon after, however, Dionysius of Halicarnassus recorded that traces of the earlier temple were still visible on the Capitoline.<sup>131</sup> This must mean that the Augustan temple in some way preserved facets of an older venerable structure.<sup>132</sup> Exactly how this was accomplished is unclear. Nor is the precise nature of the older temple known, although Dionysius tells us that its longest sides measured less than fifteen Roman feet. This tantalisingly brief and ambiguous testimony has led scholars to suggest a number of scenarios for the Augustan temple.

---

<sup>126</sup> Vitruvius. 3.2.7; cf. Favro (1996: 147), who refers to the temple as peripteral. (See also Augustus, *RG* 19; Cassius Dio 41.14.3, 43.45.3). For the restoration by Augustus see Gros 1976: 116-18.

<sup>127</sup> According to Vitruvius (3.3.4), the Temple of Apollo was diastyle. However, Favro (1996: 312, n. 11) believes that it must have been closer to systyle. For accounts of the sumptuous detailing of the Temple of Apollo see Propertius 2.31; Pliny, *HN* 36.24, 32. The Temple of Jupiter Tonans is shown on an Augustan coin as hexastyle and Corinthian (*BMCR* 2.28-29 nos. 4412-15). When listing Augustus' most impressive public projects, Suetonius (*Aug.* 29) included the Temple of Jupiter Tonans along with that of Apollo and the Forum Augustum.

<sup>128</sup> Both temples stood on high podia; the hexastyle Temple of Divus Julius was prostyle, while the octastyle Temple of Mars Ultor was peripteral *sine postico*.

<sup>129</sup> Favro 1996: 147.

<sup>130</sup> Nepos, *Att.* 20.3; Livy 4.20.3. See also Springer 1954-55: 31.

<sup>131</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 2.34.4. The location of the temple within the Area Capitolina has yet to be confirmed.

<sup>132</sup> According to tradition, the temple of Jupiter Feretrius had been bounded and dedicated by Romulus as a receptacle for the *spolia opima* taken from Acron, king of Caenina; as such, it was held to be Rome's first temple (Livy 1.10.4-7).

These include the possibilities that the second temple was larger and enclosed the earlier; that the plan of the original temple was marked on the floor of its Augustan successor; and that the dimensions, and perhaps even the foundations of the Augustan temple were the same as those of the original.<sup>133</sup> The improbability that either structure could have measured less than fifteen feet in length prompted Lawrence Springer to put forward a further hypothesis in which the ancient remains Dionysius mentioned are attributed to a *sacellum*, built in the early regal period, and preserved within a temple proper during the first half of the fifth century BCE.<sup>134</sup> It was this temple, Springer maintained, that the *princeps* rebuilt, but did not redesign. Based on no discernible archaeological evidence, Pierre Gros has credited the Augustan temple with even greater fidelity to its predecessor, suggesting it encompassed not just the plan, but also the elevation and architectural details of the earlier structure.<sup>135</sup> Which, if any, of these hypotheses is correct must remain speculative. Clearly though, a case can be made for Augustus' retention of the older temple plan.

Appreciation for the sanctity of ancient buildings in need of restoration, however, had its limits. Literary evidence suggests that it was not beyond the realm of possibility for changes to be made to the layout of a sacred site or a *templum*. Such alterations are likely to have required the issue of a special dispensation.<sup>136</sup> It is significant, therefore, that among the temples restored by the *princeps*, the Augustan metroön stands out as the only sanctuary dated with certainty to Augustus' tenure as *pontifex maximus*. As chief priest, the *princeps* was ideally positioned to realise any changes he envisaged for the Temple of the Magna Mater. Yet few discernable alterations were made, either to the metroön's plan or to its structural fabric. This suggests that Augustus felt a genuine reverence for the traditional form of the temple

---

<sup>133</sup> Platner 1929: 293-94; *LTUR* III: 149 s.v. 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes (fasi tardo-republicane e di età imperiale)'; Haselberger et al. 2002: 155 s.v. 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes.'

<sup>134</sup> Springer 1954-55: 31. It is unlikely that the dimensions Dionysius gives were from an original temple dating to the foundation of Rome. For his part, Livy (1.33.9) mentions a later enlargement of the building by Ancus Marcius. Both Springer (1954-55: 31) and Rodriguez (1989: 62, n. 119) identify Cornelius Cossus as a likely founder of the temple, ca. 428 BCE.

<sup>135</sup> Gros 1976: 45.

<sup>136</sup> See e.g., Livy 1.55.2; Servius, *Aen.* 9.446; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 3.69; Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 4. 23 and Florus 1.1.7.8, who record that augurs gave permission for the removal of altars and several small temples from the Capitol prior to the construction of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Conversely, for the interdictions that could govern sacred sites see *CIL* 6.576; 30837.



and that he was willing to allow religious architecture's *mos maiorum* to dictate its rejuvenation.<sup>137</sup> A comparison of the metroön with equivalents in Asia Minor may reveal why the Palatine temple was especially privileged in this fashion. At Pergamum, when Roman envoys petitioned King Attalus I for the Magna Mater's sacred meteorite in 204 BCE, the goddess was worshipped in an extra-mural temple with a deep pronaos and a cella that contained a cut stone 'throne' for the cult statue (fig. 11).<sup>138</sup> Recent excavations in the West Sanctuary at Troy have likewise identified two successive structures that followed a similar plan. The so-called Mosaic Building, dated to the mid- to late-third century BCE, and its apparent mid-second century BCE replacement, known as Temple B, are now thought by excavators to be temples of Cybele (i.e., the Magna Mater).<sup>139</sup> To suggest that the Palatine's Republican metroön was designed to echo this type of deep-pronaos temple is speculation; certainly it was built on a much grander scale.<sup>140</sup> However, that the *princeps* was aware of the similarities is feasible, especially in light of his visit to Troy in 20 BCE, and his subsequent refurbishment of parts of the West Sanctuary.<sup>141</sup> Honouring the metroön's debt to Troy's architectural koine would have reiterated the Magna Mater's Trojan heritage, which, as we shall see, was to play a pivotal role in the goddess' Augustan incarnation. The fact that this temple-type with its deep front

---

<sup>137</sup> The suggestion by Gros (1976: 234) that the demands of a conservative priesthood were in part responsible for the metroön's traditional appearance presents an intriguing possibility. However, it is doubtful that Augustan *galli* were sufficiently influential to implement such stipulations. The status of the *galli* in Augustan Rome is discussed below, 92-95.

<sup>138</sup> The sanctuary lies approximately thirty kilometres from the city at Mamurt Kale. I am indebted to Lynn Roller for drawing my attention to the more accessible Megalesion that Varro tells us was located near the entrance to the Pergamene Acropolis (*De ling. lat.* 6.15; see Roller 1999: 207). Unfortunately, little is known about the form of this intra-mural shrine; thus we can draw no conclusions as to its potential influence on the Palatine metroön. However, the close connection of the Mamurt Kale sanctuary to the Attalids (see *CCCA* I: nos. 388-90) and the fact that Strabo (13.2.6) described it as the most important site in the Pergamene cult of Meter, allows for the possibility that it was visited by the Roman delegation. For the Mamurt Kale sanctuary see *CCCA* I: no. 387; Vermaseren 1977: 26, pl. 12; Roller 1999: 209-11; Lawall 2003: 97. For the transferral of the Magna Mater from Asia Minor to Rome see *infra*, 84, n. 114.

<sup>139</sup> Rose 1995: 93-94, 1998: 85-90; Lawall 2003: 95-97.

<sup>140</sup> The temple at Pergamum measured 11.5 x 7m; the Mosaic Building 13 x 8.5m (Lawall 2003: 97); according to Rose (1988: 86) '[t]he pronaos of Temple B is slightly larger than that of the Mosaic Building, but their cellae are identical in size.' The Palatine metroön, on the other hand, measures 33.18 x 17.10m.

<sup>141</sup> Rose 1992: 44-45; Lawall 2003: 89-90. Temple B, however, had been irreparably damaged in 85 BCE during the Mithridatic wars. The absence of cult activity at the Mamurt Kale sanctuary after the first century BCE suggests this site was abandoned during the Roman period (see Roller 1999: 211).

porch, truncated cella and prostyle columns had much in common with the *princeps*' favoured Italic plan must have further ensured the integrity of the metroön's original Republican form.

One final facet of the Augustan metroön's construction deserves mention. Thus far, our focus has been on the exterior of the superstructure where deliberate archaism, not frugality or indifference, dictated the appearance of the temple. Any lingering suspicions that cost-cutting influenced the *princeps*' reconstruction can be dispelled when the structure's interior is considered. Here we find that the strict canon of rites and restrictions governing this most conservative of Roman buildings gave way, in part, to Augustan opulence. Traditional peperino may have dominated the façade of the metroön, but inside we find traces of the marble expected by both Lanciani and Fagerlind.<sup>142</sup> Notably, Pensabene's excavations in the southwest corner of the cella have uncovered concentric rectangular blocks of original Augustan paving still *in situ*. These ran parallel to the interior colonnade and included slabs of a red and white *breccia rosa*, pink-grey *portasanta* from Chios, black slate and white marble. The latter, the excavator suggests, may have come from as far away as Docimium in Phrygia.<sup>143</sup> If this is true, it is tempting to speculate that the material held a special meaning for the temple, as this was the quarry closest to the Magna Mater's Asiatic home.<sup>144</sup>

Traces also remain of the temple's interior architectural detailing. Fragments of Corinthian columns and capitals that once formed part of an internal colonnade in two orders, have been found inside the cella. Unlike their exterior counterparts, these elements were constructed not of stucco-covered peperino, but rather of white marble.<sup>145</sup> However, the discovery of fragments of a peperino cornice with long dentils characteristic of the Hellenistic period, and an earlier Ionic-Italic capital, suggest that even inside the structure, Augustus retained facets of the Metellan

---

<sup>142</sup> *Contra* Huelsen (1928: 62) who maintained that the metroön was 'an example of a Roman temple built in Republican times entirely of native materials without the use of marble and maintained throughout the entire Empire in this archaic form.'

<sup>143</sup> Pensabene 1980: 67; 1982: 75; 1996: 207.

<sup>144</sup> That marble from this region came to be directly associated with the cult is clear from Statius' testimony (*Silv.* 1.5.37-38; 2.2.87-89) that the red graining in white Docimium marble was caused by the blood of Attis washing through the stones. See Roller 1999: 342.

<sup>145</sup> Pensabene 1980: 67; 1982: 75.

temple. Perhaps then, it is the cella that affords us a glimpse of the *princeps*' true concept for the temple: a harmonious mix of tradition and transformation, calculatingly designed to present Augustus as the restorer of the Republic, yet indelibly stamped with evidence of his more grandiose vision for himself, for the Magna Mater and for Rome.

## VI. PORTICO AND LAVATIO: AUGUSTAN ALTERATIONS TO THE ENVIRONS OF THE PALATINE METROÖN

Augustus' plans for the reconstruction of the Temple of the Magna Mater were constrained by convention and a sense of *religio*. More tangible barriers to the expansion and elaboration of the sacred precinct came in the form of the topography of the Palatine itself. In front of the temple was the forecourt that had played such a vital role in the *Ludi Megalenses* since their historic inception in 194 BCE.<sup>146</sup> Beyond this was the slope of the Cermalus, the revered House of Romulus and the *Scalae Caci*. A residential quarter lay immediately to the north of the temple, while to the east, mere metres away, stood the sanctuaries now identified as those of Victoria and Victoria Virgo, not to mention the houses of both Augustus and Livia themselves. The steep slope of the hill approximately twenty metres from the metroön provided the Magna Mater's temenos with its western boundary. Clearly, even if the *princeps* had not wished to retain the time-honoured plan and appearance of the metroön, such marked and proximate confines afforded limited opportunities for the development of the site.

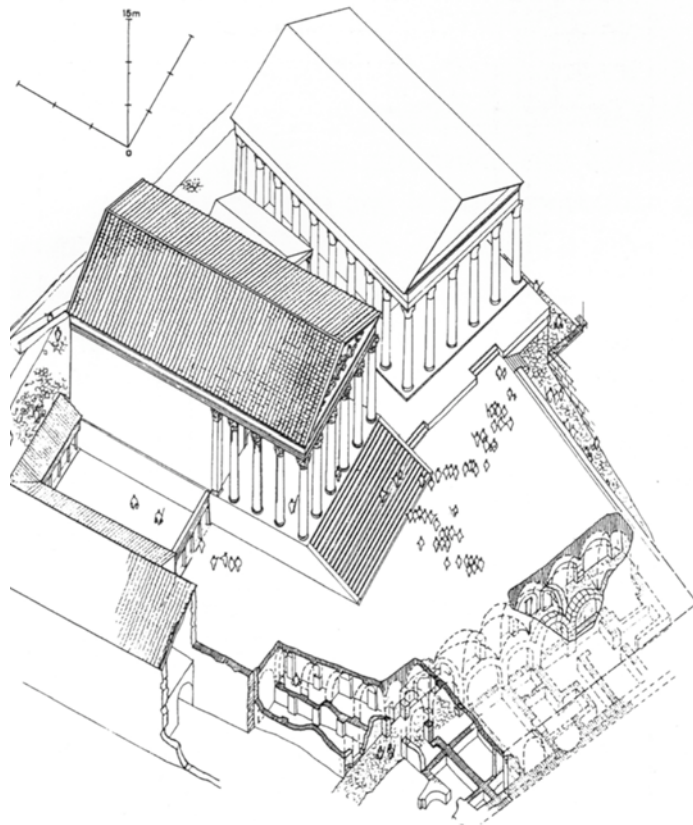
It is significant that within the boundaries dictated by both geography and tradition, Augustus nevertheless improved and augmented the Magna Mater's sacred precinct. The first metroac buildings on the extreme western edge of the Palatine, for example, date to Augustus' principate. Here, the limit of the temenos had previously been marked simply by walls of *opus caementicium* and paving partially made up of reused blocks of *opus quadratum*; these Pensabene has attributed to the rebuilding of the area in 111 BCE.<sup>147</sup> Under Augustus, the sanctuary was redefined by a new 45m

---

<sup>146</sup> Livy 36.36.

<sup>147</sup> Pensabene 1993: 28.

long retaining wall in *opus reticulatum*. This thick ‘*grande muro*’ ran parallel to the temple, 12m away on the western side of the sanctuary’s earlier perimeter. It served to strengthen both the site and its structures, and supported a new colonnaded portico, perhaps with two storeys, that opened out towards the metroön (ill. 5).<sup>148</sup>



Ill. 5. Axonometric reconstruction of the Palatine metroön ca. 200 CE showing the Augustan portico to the west (after Cecamore 2002: fig. 40).

Adjacent to this peristyle are the remains of a series of rooms, separated by *opus reticulatum* walls capped on the ends with pilasters and constructed on a level three metres below that of the temple’s main precinct. The exact purpose of this stoa-like structure remains a mystery. Its rooms may have offered accommodation for *galli* (priests of the Magna Mater) charged with the maintenance of the site;<sup>149</sup> a more recent study has suggested they simply provided the cult with additional storage space.<sup>150</sup> Pensabene, however, is convinced that the rooms were connected to the

---

<sup>148</sup> Pensabene 1993: 31.

<sup>149</sup> Graillot 1912: 332; La Piana 1927: 219.

<sup>150</sup> Dumser 2002: 164.

sacred functions of the sanctuary.<sup>151</sup> Whatever the case, the serviceability of the new Augustan portico is evidenced by its retention, virtually unchanged, in the following centuries.

Clearly, the new buildings on the western side of the sanctuary attest the grand scale of the metroac precinct's Augustan reorganisation.<sup>152</sup> Ironically, just as the nature of the 3 CE restructuring can be deduced from what was added to the site, what was removed is equally telling. Closely associated with the construction of the new retaining wall and portico (and perhaps even utilising earth from the excavation of the area to the west), was the elevation of the intervening ground stretching to the temple itself.<sup>153</sup> This appears to have entailed the paving over of a large subterranean basin (16.5 x 3.0 x 1.85m) that was constructed on the west side of the metroön's podium following the fire of 111 BCE (ill. 6).<sup>154</sup> To appreciate fully the significance of the basin, and more particularly the import of its destruction, it should be noted that in fact two basins served the needs of the cult during the Republic. The earlier, a rectangular pit (3.05 x 3.65 x 1.7m) constructed in *opus quadratum* of Grotta Oscura tufa and situated at the eastern corner of the metroön's staircase, is dated to the early second century BCE (ill. 1; fig. 12).<sup>155</sup> Subsequently, during the sanctuary's reconstruction in the late second century BCE, this basin was filled with earth and with the foundations of a new stairway that lead to the nearby Temple of Victoria.<sup>156</sup> The second rectangular basin (in *opus caementicium* and *cocciopesto*), was constructed after the fire of 111 BCE along the west flank of the metroön to compensate for this loss (fig. 13).<sup>157</sup>

---

<sup>151</sup> Pensabene 1993: 31. Similar rooms found bordering the Temple of the Magna Mater at Ostia have been identified as possible living quarters for temple staff (Vermaseren 1977: 62) and, less specifically, as having some connection to the cult's sacred rites (Calza and Becatti 1974: 55). Cf. La Piana (1927: 216), who noted that it was standard practice for the shrines of foreign cults in Rome to be served by a national priesthood who lived in adjoining buildings; these structures often contained *cenatoria* and *triclinia* for the use of religious associations connected to the cult.

<sup>152</sup> For discussion of the remains see e.g., Pensabene: 1985b: 189-191; 1988: 59-61; 1993: 31-33; Dumser 2002: 164.

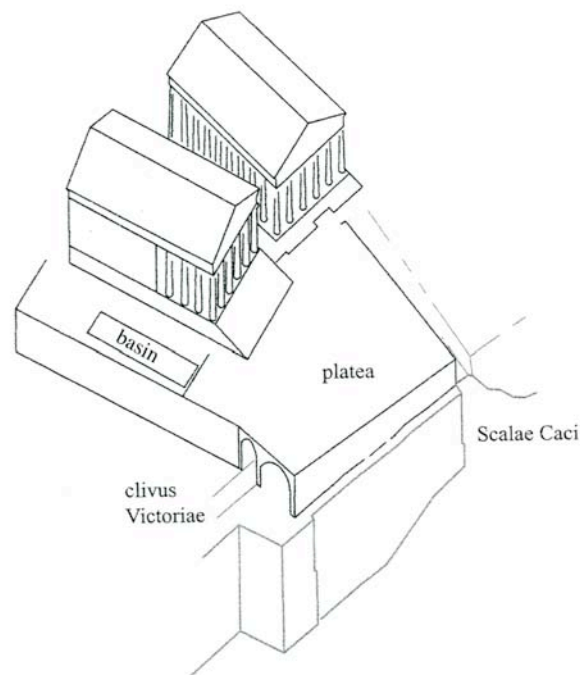
<sup>153</sup> Pensabene 1988: 60-61.

<sup>154</sup> Pensabene 1993: 28-30; 1998: 40-41.

<sup>155</sup> Carettoni 1960: 200; Romanelli 1963: 302-316; Pensabene 1980: 69.

<sup>156</sup> Pensabene 1993: 30, n. 44.

<sup>157</sup> Pensabene 1998: 40-41 (where the depth of the basin is erroneously given as 85m).



Ill. 6. Axonometric reconstruction of the Palatine metroön *ca.* 111 BCE showing the basin to the west (adapted from Pensabene and D’Alessio 2006: fig. 12).

After its Augustan reconstruction, the Temple of the Magna Mater was without ready access to large volumes of water for the first time since its dedication in 191 BCE. Yet scholars generally agree that water played a significant role in the rituals of the cult of the Magna Mater, just as it constituted an important purificatory element in the worship of many goddesses.<sup>158</sup> In particular, it has been suggested that the Palatine basins were used in the *lavatio* – the annual rite involving the bathing of the goddess’ sacred image.<sup>159</sup> If this is so, it can be argued that Augustus not only dictated the physical form of the Magna Mater’s sanctuary, but also actively intervened in the practices of the cult.<sup>160</sup> Rather than downplay or even eliminate one of the cult’s long-standing rites, the *princeps*, it seems, forewent the use of a Palatine

<sup>158</sup> For water as an element in the cult of the Magna Mater see Pensabene 1998: 41; Roller 1999: 274. On water in goddess worship in general see Graillot 1912: 136-37 and Burkert 1985: 79.

<sup>159</sup> Romanelli, the excavator of the earliest Republican basin, was certain the structure had been used in the service of the temple, most notably for the *lavatio* (1963: 314-16), hence the set of worn stairs that descend into the pit. He also noted that the structure was originally covered and had an inlet mouth (‘*bocca di adduzione*’) which, he believed, proved that the basin did not depend on rainwater but was fed from a source elsewhere. Although cautious in his conclusions, Pensabene ultimately accepted Romanelli’s interpretation (1980: 69; 1998: 41). See also Stambaugh 1978: 592; Roller 1999: 274; Dumser 2002: 164 (who makes no mention of the second basin); Takacs 2003: 1038. Cf. Lambrechts 1952a: 143-45 who denies the presence of the *lavatio* before the reforms of the emperor Claudius.

<sup>160</sup> Dumser (2002: 164) would agree; cf. Schillinger 1979: 335-36.

basin in favour of sending the goddess' cult image to the Almo, a tributary of the Tiber known today as the Acquataccio. This stream ran between the Via Appia and the Via Latina, crossing the former mid way between the Porta Capena and the Tomb of Caecilia Metella, and flowing into the Tiber at a point close to the Via Ostiensis (ill. 7).<sup>161</sup> Significantly, it is during Augustus' reign that we learn for the first time of the *lavatio* taking place at the Almo.

When Ovid recounts the introduction of the Magna Mater to Rome in 204 BCE in *Fasti* 4, the poet mentions 'a place where the smooth Almo flows into the Tiber, and the lesser river loses its name in the great one.'<sup>162</sup> Here, we are told, the ship bearing the goddess' sacred stone from Phrygia was halted, while a grey-haired priest in purple robes washed the aniconic image and the cult's sacred accoutrements in the waters of the Almo. Then, after transferral to a wagon drawn by flower-strewn oxen, the goddess was driven through the Porta Capena and into the city, presumably by way of the via Appia, to the Palatine, where the sacred stone was housed in the Temple of Victoria until construction of the metroön could be completed.

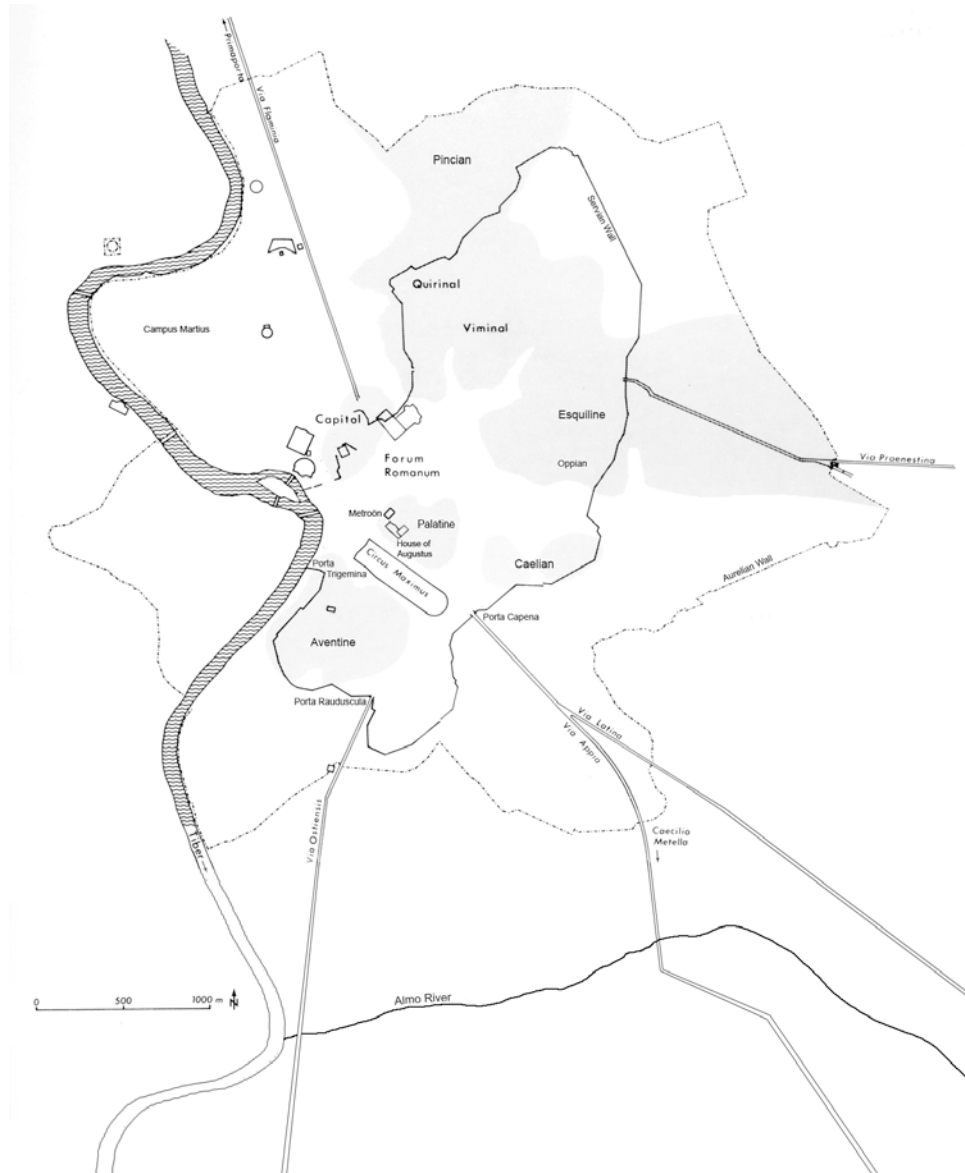
A number of issues arising from Ovid's account require consideration. Firstly, as the events related by the poet are purported to have taken place in 204 BCE, it has been assumed that the *lavatio* was celebrated in this form from the inception of the cult in Rome.<sup>163</sup> However, Ovid makes no claim that the rite he describes formed part of Republican observances. Nor do we find any evidence, literary or archaeological, to sustain the suggestion that the rites of the cult prior to the Augustan period included an annual procession to the Almo, and the bathing of the Magna Mater's statue therein. Instead, the existence of the large basins proximate to the metroön, dating to the origins of the sanctuary and to its reconstruction in 111 BCE indicate that, until the time of the Principate, the rite of the *lavatio* was held close to the temple on the Palatine itself.

---

<sup>161</sup> On the Almo see Davies 1875: 30-31; Smith 1877: 22-23; Platner and Ashby 1929: 323; Holland 1961: 29, n. 1; Richardson 1992: 5; Takacs 2003: 1038.

<sup>162</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.337-47; Livy 29.37.2. See also Leoni and Staderini 1907: 89; Ripostelli and Marucchi 1908: 59-60; Quilici 1977: 22-23.

<sup>163</sup> See e.g., Cruttwell 1946: 5-6, 11 cf. 26; Showerman 1969: 36; Turcan 1996: 38.



Ill. 7. Plan of Rome showing the course of the Almo river and inter-urban routes from Ostia (adapted from Simon 1986: 6).

How then are we to interpret Ovid's account of a *lavatio* performed some distance from the goddess' sanctuary?<sup>164</sup> It is noteworthy that doubts have long been expressed as to the credibility of Ovid's itinerary for the Magna Mater's arrival in Rome.<sup>165</sup> Instead of advocating the use of the Almo and the Porta Capena, for

<sup>164</sup> It was not unknown for the rite to take place somewhere other than the Palatine during the Republic, although it appears that only extraordinary circumstances prompted a change in venue. Such was the case in 38 BCE, when ominous portents led to the protracted bathing of the cult image of the Magna Mater in the sea (Cassius Dio 48.43.4-6).

<sup>165</sup> Graillet 1912: 54; Porte 1984: 99-100.



example, Graillet maintained that the procession was more likely to have entered the city through either the Porta Trigemina or the Porta Rauduscula. The former, in particular, would seem a viable alternative, due to its situation at the end of the Via Ostiensis (the inter-urban route connecting Rome and Ostia) and its proximity to the Tiber and the Palatine (ill. 7).<sup>166</sup> The existence of easily travelled and more direct routes between Ostia and Rome, either by water (the Tiber straight to the Porta Trigemina), or by land (the Via Ostiensis to either the Porta Trigemina or the Porta Rauduscula), validates Graillet's reservations regarding the circuitous path outlined by Ovid. Tellingly, in Livy's account of the goddess' advent in Rome, the journey of the Magna Mater's ship ends at Ostia. No mention is made of a ritual bath or a procession through the countryside to the Porta Capena. Instead, the historian simply records that the goddess was received by Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica at Ostia, disembarked, and then transferred to the care of Claudia Quinta and other matrons who carried the sacred stone directly into the city and to the Temple of Victoria.<sup>167</sup>

Evidence that the events Ovid described were far from an accurate chronicle either of the Magna Mater's arrival in Rome, or of the 204 BCE *lavatio*, suggests that other factors influenced the poet's account.<sup>168</sup> An obvious explanation is that in *Fasti* 4.337-47, Ovid presents a fictional event, whose purpose was to provide an aetiology for the new form of the *lavatio* introduced by the *princeps*. While no pre-Augustan evidence exists for the Almo ritual, many sources confirm that throughout the imperial period the rite observed on March 27 was the bathing of the goddess' sacred image at the confluence of the Almo and the Tiber.<sup>169</sup> In the first century CE alone,

---

<sup>166</sup> The Porta Trigemina was located at the foot of the Clivus Publicus between the Forum Boarium and the northern slopes of the Aventine. Wiseman (1994: 104) confirms that, 'from the second century BC onwards, most traffic probably landed at the Emporium below the Aventine, but travellers would enter the city itself at the same place, via the Porta Trigemina.' Evidence that the *Navisalvia* received its own cult at the Tiber end of the Aventine further suggests the Magna Mater's legendary ship docked nearby (Roller 1999: 314). It has also been suggested that it was here that the Magna Mater '...was at hand to receive the thanks of those who arrived safely [from Asia] and the prayers of those who were ready to sail for Asiatic ports' (La Piana 1927: 220). On the Porta Trigemina see Haselberger et al. 2002: 199, s.v. 'Porta Trigemina;' 262, s.v. 'Via Ostiensis.' For the intriguing hypothesis that Ovid may have excluded mention of the Porta Trigemina or the Porta Rauduscula on metrical grounds see Porte 1984: 100.

<sup>167</sup> Livy 29.14.10-14.

<sup>168</sup> See also Fantham 2002: 33-34, for Ovid's account of the *lavatio*.

<sup>169</sup> There is little merit in the assumption (Graillet 1912: 76, n. 2; Cruttwell 1946: 5-6, 24) that Ovid would have us believe the *lavatio* took place on the morning of April 4. The account of the Magna

Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Statius, Silius Italicus and Martial attest this version of the rite,<sup>170</sup> while Ammianus Marcellinus' and Prudentius' accounts from the fourth century confirm its longevity.<sup>171</sup> Thus we have a concordance between archaeological and literary evidence: the paving over of the remaining Republican basin during the Augustan reorganisation of the Magna Mater's sanctuary coincided with the first written proof of the Almo as the site of the *lavatio*.<sup>172</sup>

It remains to determine what reasons Augustus may have had for initiating these changes in cult practice. One thing is clear – the transferral of the *lavatio* from the Palatine to the Almo demonstrates that the *princeps* was fully prepared to raise the public profile of the Magna Mater's cult. Before the Principate the *lavatio* was confined to the metroac precinct, with observance presumably so unobtrusive that our Republican sources overlook it entirely. Afterwards, the rite was transformed to incorporate a public procession whose visibility must surely have rivalled that of the cult's other famous *pompae*, for example, the *pompa deorum* held during the Megalensia's *ludi circenses*.<sup>173</sup> Our imperial sources certainly provide a picture of an elaborate and distinctive spectacle: the black stone set in a silver statue, transported in a carriage preceded by the city's barefoot and togate leaders, and accompanied by religious officials and the goddess' clamorous foreign retinue.<sup>174</sup> It would be a mistake to assume, however, that the creation of a highly visible event was the sole aim of the *princeps*' innovation. It is likely that the enhanced version of the rite

---

Mater's arrival in Rome is narrated in the context of festivities taking place on that day, but there is no suggestion the poet conflated the two events. The date of March 27, however, is attested by two *Menologia rustica*, *CIL* 6.2305 (= *ILS* 8745) and 6.2306. On the date of the *lavatio* see also Vermaseren 1977: 113, n. 624; Porte 1984: 100-103.

<sup>170</sup> Lucan, *Phars.* 1.600; Valerius Flaccus 8.239-40; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 8.363; Statius, *Silv.* 5.1.222-24; Martial 3.47.2.

<sup>171</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus 23.3.7; Prudentius, *Peristeph.* 10.154-60. Others to refer to the rite include Arrian, *Tactic.* 33.4; Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem* 1.13; Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* 7.32; Ambrosius, *Epist. primae classis* 18.31. For a comprehensive list of sources for the rite in Rome and elsewhere in the empire see Graillot 1912: 137-38, n. 5.

<sup>172</sup> The new prominence accorded the Almo during the Augustan principate might also explain Virgil's attribution of the river's name to Tyrrhus' oldest son in *Aen.* 7.532, 575; cf. Cruttwell 1946: 3-10.

<sup>173</sup> *Infra*, 138-39.

<sup>174</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.341-43; Lucan, *Phars.* 1.600; Prudentius, *Peristeph.* 10.154-60. Cf. Lucretius (2.601-28), whose account of a riotous procession of tympana- and flute-playing *galli* is often cited in the context of the *lavatio* (e.g., Turcan 1996: 38); however, we are given no indication that this is the rite which is being described.

prompted witnesses to appreciate both Augustus' commitment to the Magna Mater and, conversely, the expectation that reciprocal patronage would be accorded to the *princeps* by the goddess. Less overt but equally profound must have been the fact that the new *lavatio* enabled Augustus to reconfirm in perpetuity that the precinct he had created on the Palatine was indeed the chosen home of the Magna Mater. Remarkably, as we shall see, this could only have been done to such good effect by physically removing the goddess from the Palatine metroön.

In a catalogue of priests and priestesses in Rome, Lucan refers to those 'who recall Cybele from her bath in the little Almo.'<sup>175</sup> This has been taken to mean that after the sacred stone and cult implements were washed, the Magna Mater was invoked and asked if she consented to return to Rome.<sup>176</sup> No record exists of the form in which her predictably affirmative replies were conveyed, but the result was invariably the same: the ceremony was concluded and the procession bearing the goddess retraced its steps to the Palatine metroön. Quite clearly there is a parallel here with Ovid's account of the transferral of the Magna Mater to Rome in 204 BCE. When faced with the reluctance of Attalus of Pergamum to hand over the sacred stone to Rome's envoys, the poet tells us that the goddess herself had proclaimed that relocation was her wish and that Rome was a place thought worthy of all the gods.<sup>177</sup> Two centuries after this event, Augustus' new *lavatio* ensured that these divine sentiments were reaffirmed annually, and that no one would doubt the specific abode of the Magna Mater within her chosen city was on the Palatine, at the side of the *princeps* himself.

In order to capitalise on the reinstatement of the goddess *intra pomerium*, one would assume that Augustus need only have decreed that the sacred stone be bathed somewhere outside the city's walls. If, as evidence suggests, Ovid's version of the *lavatio* reflects an Augustan rather than a late-third century BCE reality, one can assume that the choice of the Almo as the location of the rite was dictated by the site's expedience for the *princeps*. We have seen already that this tributary of the Tiber was anything but convenient when it came to bathing the sacred image en route from Ostia

---

<sup>175</sup> *Phars.* 1.600: *et lotam parvo revocant Almone Cybeben.*

<sup>176</sup> Turcan 1996: 47.

<sup>177</sup> *Fasti* 4.265-70.

to Rome in 204; as the destination of a procession from the Palatine during the Principate, however, the Almo was ideal. Unfortunately, we cannot be sure of the exact route taken by participants in the Augustan *lavatio*. It may be that the new procession followed a course down the *Scalae Caci*, along the *Vallis Murcia*, onto the *Via Appia* and then through the *Porta Capena* to the sacred site on the Almo.<sup>178</sup> Alternatively, a detour through the *Forum Romanum* and around the *Caelian hill* would have increased the public profile of the rite. Whatever the case, the route to the Almo by way of the *Porta Capena* was far from arbitrary; it took worshippers past a number of monuments with significant connections to Augustus and to the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The *Altar of Fortuna Redux*, for example, which in 19 BCE had been erected by the senate in the sanctuary of *Honos and Virtus* near the *Porta Capena*, commemorated the *princeps*' successful return from the East with the *Parthian standards*.<sup>179</sup> To get there, processionists would have passed beneath the arches of the *Aqua Appia*, Rome's oldest aqueduct, which Augustus had recently repaired.<sup>180</sup> Although 11,190 *passus* long, it was only near the *Porta Capena* that this water channel ran above ground for 60 *passus*, making the *lavatio* procession the ideal event in which to highlight the *princeps*' overhaul of the city's aqueduct system.<sup>181</sup>

The commemoration of Augustan military triumphs and civic projects aside, it is noteworthy that the area around the *Porta Capena* was also well endowed with monuments connected to *Livia* and her family. Indeed, the *Aqua Appia* itself owed its initial construction in 312 BCE to the famed censor *Appius Claudius Caecus*,<sup>182</sup> the progenitor of the *Claudii Pulchri* and the *Claudii Nerones*, two prominent *stirpes* with long-standing connections to the cult of the *Magna Mater*, whose members now included the empress and her son *Tiberius*. The same *Appius Claudius* was also responsible for construction of the *Via Appia*, the great road on which participants in

---

<sup>178</sup> Graillot (1912: 139) suggests a similar route.

<sup>179</sup> *RG* 11; Suetonius, *Aug.* 29; Pliny, *HN* 36.50; *RG* 11; Cassius Dio 54.10; Prop., 4.3.71. On the altar see Richardson 1992: 157; Claridge 1998: 319; Haselberger et al. 2002: 138-39, s.v. 'Honos et Virtus, Aedes.'

<sup>180</sup> Frontinus, *Aq.* 2.125; cf. *RG* 20.2.

<sup>181</sup> For the importance of work carried out by Augustus on Rome's water supply see Brunt and Moore 1967: 61-62.

<sup>182</sup> Livy 9.29.6. See Wiseman 1979: 85-90.

the *lavatio* now walked,<sup>183</sup> while the temples of Honos and Virtus themselves owed much of their form along with their renowned artworks to the patronage of M. Claudius Marcellus, consul in 208 BCE and namesake of Augustus' favoured nephew.<sup>184</sup> Finally, processionists were reminded of the many accomplishments and the ultimate sacrifice of Nero Claudius Drusus as they passed the Arcus Drusi, the marble arch erected after the death of Livia's popular son in 9 BCE.<sup>185</sup>

It is entirely feasible, therefore, to regard the Augustan *lavatio* as an event consciously choreographed to highlight Julio-Claudian contributions to Rome's social, religious and military wellbeing. With these outcomes in mind, the date of the procession's inauguration becomes critical. If, as logic dictates, the reorganisation of the Magna Mater's Palatine sanctuary, and in particular the covering of the late Republican basin, were occasioned by the fire of 3 CE, then the new metroac rite must have been concurrent with the resolution of the question of succession. By the end of 3 CE, it was not only the metroön that had gone up in flames, but also any plans Augustus may have formulated to ensure Rome's continued governance by the Julian line. Lucius Caesar was dead, having succumbed to illness en route to Spain on 20 August, 2 CE,<sup>186</sup> while in Armenia, Gaius Caesar lay wasting away from the injuries that would soon claim his life on 21 February, 4 CE.<sup>187</sup> Faced with the defective character of the teenage Agrippa Postumus, the remaining Julian male, Augustus had little choice but to adopt officially Livia's son Tiberius on 26 June, 4 CE.

It is safe to conclude that the *princeps* arrived begrudgingly at this solution to the succession dilemma. Certainly, suspicions abounded that the choice of a Claudian heir had been a matter of necessity rather than preference.<sup>188</sup> While in private

---

<sup>183</sup> Livy 9.29.5-7. For the Via Appia see Richardson 1992: 414; Haselberger et al. 2002: 256-57.

<sup>184</sup> Livy 27.25.7-9; 29.11.12. On the deliberate change of the *praenomen* of Augustus' nephew from Gaius to Marcus see Wiseman 1979: 61.

<sup>185</sup> Suetonius, *Cl.* 1.3. The exact location of the Arcus Drusi on the Via Appia is debated; suggestions include the site of the later Porta Appia, and the intersection of the Via Latina and the Via Appia (Haselberger et al. 2002: 52).

<sup>186</sup> *ILS* 139.

<sup>187</sup> *ILS* 140.

Augustus may have railed against the confounding of his hopes for a ruling Julian dynasty, in public all efforts were made to forge and promote ties between the Julii and the Claudii. Primarily, this was accomplished through marriage; the example set by the *princeps* and Livia had already been followed by Augustus' niece, Claudia Marcella Minor, and a son of Appius Claudius Pulcher (*cos.* 38 BCE).<sup>189</sup> Claudia Pulchra, offspring of the latter union, was in turn married (perhaps in 3 CE) to P. Quinctilius Varus (*cos.* 13 BCE) an *amicus Principis*.<sup>190</sup> More prominently, Germanicus Caesar, nephew and adopted heir (as of 4 CE) of Tiberius, and son of the Drusus commemorated by the arch near the Porta Capena, was married to Agrippina Maior, Augustus' granddaughter, probably in 5 CE. Germanicus' brother, the future emperor Claudius, was likewise betrothed to Aemilia Lepida, the *princeps*' great-granddaughter.<sup>191</sup>

Matrimonial ties aside, it is significant that the two great houses of Augustan Rome also found common ground in their patronage of the cult of the Magna Mater. More shall be said below of the determination with which Augustus exploited both Julian connections to Aeneas, and correspondingly his own inherited status as a favourite of the goddess.<sup>192</sup> For now, it is sufficient to note that the Julii were not alone in their cultivation of Troy's divine protectress. Since the introduction of the goddess in 204 BCE, many of Rome's aristocratic *gentes*, and in particular the *familiae Troianae*, had nurtured their association with the cult. By the time of the Principate, however, only the Claudii could claim a vital and intimate connection to the Magna Mater to equal that of the *princeps*' own *gens*.

---

<sup>188</sup> Suetonius, *Tib.* 21.3, 23; cf. Velleius Paterculus 2.103.4. On the question of succession at this time see Syme 1939: 430-32; Jones 1970: 70-71.

<sup>189</sup> This was M. Valerius Messalla Barbatus Appianus, nephew of P. Clodius Pulcher. Ironically, the latter was notorious for his violation of the Magna Mater's precinct at Pessinus and his sacrilegious behaviour at the *Ludi Megalenses* (see Cicero, *Har. resp.* 28; 57). See Littlewood 1981: 385, n. 24.

<sup>190</sup> Syme 1939: 421, n. 1; Littlewood 1981: 385, n. 25.

<sup>191</sup> For the complex marital arrangements of the Julian and Claudian *gentes*, and their ramifications, see Syme 1939: 495; Littlewood 1981: 383; Burton 1996: 54; Fraschetti 2001a: 7. On the history of the Claudii in general see Wiseman 1979: 57-139.

<sup>192</sup> *Infra*, 75-79.

The means by which Livia in particular was able to link herself to the Magna Mater are at once both clear cut and complex.<sup>193</sup> Among her ancestors were the *Aeneid*'s own Atta Clausus, whose name was linked to the legendary Attis himself,<sup>194</sup> and whose alliance with the Aeneadae prefigured that of the Julii and the Claudii.<sup>195</sup> Also, there was C. Claudius Nero, one of the censors to whom the construction of the first Palatine Temple of the Magna Mater had been entrusted.<sup>196</sup> Two prominent members of the Claudii Pulchri, C. Claudius Pulcher and Ap. Claudius Pulcher, had famously sponsored the Megalensia of 99 and 91 BCE respectively.<sup>197</sup> More importantly, from their *familia* came the illustrious Claudia Quinta, the maligned matron whose devotion to the goddess had been rewarded with a statue in the metroön itself.<sup>198</sup> The fact that the legend of Claudia Quinta found its fullest expression in the *Fasti*,<sup>199</sup> where it immediately preceded Ovid's account of the *lavatio*, has long been regarded as proof that the poet was acutely influenced by Augustan propaganda.<sup>200</sup> Certainly, the concurrence of this embellished version of the deeds of Livia's ancestress with the *princeps*' restoration of the Palatine metroön, programme of dynastic marriages and promotion of Tiberius to heir apparent, tellingly reflects the preoccupations of the time.<sup>201</sup>

---

<sup>193</sup> For a summary of Claudian links to the goddess see Lambrechts 1952b: 258-59; Littlewood 1981: 384-85.

<sup>194</sup> *Aen.*, 7.706; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.305. See Graillet 1912: 115-16; Turcan 1996: 37.

<sup>195</sup> Littlewood 1981: 385.

<sup>196</sup> Livy 36.36.4. Livia's link to the Neronēs, a secondary branch of the Claudii, had been strengthened by her previous marriage to Ti. Claudius Nero.

<sup>197</sup> Cicero, *Ver.* 4.6; 4.133; *Har. resp.* 26.

<sup>198</sup> *Supra*, 11; 24-25.

<sup>199</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.305-28; cf. Livy's account of the Magna Mater's arrival (29.14.12), in which the matron is accorded no special status beyond having a name that was more famous than those of her companions.

<sup>200</sup> See e.g., Burton (1996: 54) who charges Ovid with writing propaganda, not history, on the basis of the prominence given to Claudia Quinta in the *Fasti*.

<sup>201</sup> One such preoccupation may have been the status of Augustus' daughter. For the suggestion that Ovid's Claudia Quinta may have been based on the exiled and disgraced Julia, and the implications of this interpretation for the dating of the text, see Fantham 1998: 155-56. On the dating of *Fasti* 4, *supra*, 9, n. 4.

A great many circumstances suggest, therefore, that the *princeps*' involvement in the cult of the Magna Mater was not limited to a perfunctory refurbishment of the Palatine metroön. Not only do the remains of the Augustan temple and its environs suggest that considerable thought and expense went into retaining the time-honoured appearance of the structure, but also that the cult's imperial benefactor substantially expanded and augmented the sacred precinct as a whole. Evidently, the reinvigoration of the cult did not stop with purely material concerns, but was sufficiently wide-ranging to impact upon imperial cult practice – a facet of the goddess' worship long thought to have been the preserve of Claudius and his successors. That Augustus should have broken with Republican tradition in such a visible fashion, i.e., with the new vital and high profile *lavatio*, says much for the utility of the Magna Mater as a tool of Augustan propaganda. Again, it is likely that enhanced public awareness of the cult, and in particular recognition of its intimate connection to the Julian line, strengthened the *princeps*' claim to rule by right and tradition. However, by 3 CE, circumstances dictated that the Julii were no longer the sole claimants to this ideal. Thus, as a long-standing common denominator between Rome's two most powerful and recently-allied families, patronage of the cult of the Magna Mater by the Julio-Claudians engendered something marital ties could not – a widespread belief that the city's new ruling dynasty was blessed, both by tradition and by the gods themselves. As one modern commentator recently observed, 'Livia's dream of welding the Julian and Claudian branches of the imperial family [was] symbolized by the renewed cult of the Magna Mater.'<sup>202</sup> One assumes, therefore, that the *princeps*' revitalisation of the Palatine metroön would have enjoyed Livia's full support.<sup>203</sup>

---

<sup>202</sup> Burton 1996: 54. Lambrechts (1952b: 258), however, surely goes too far in attributing the prominence of the Magna Mater in the Augustan period entirely to the empress' intervention in religious matters.

<sup>203</sup> On Livia's interest in Augustan religious reforms for propaganda purposes see Littlewood1981: 383.



## CHAPTER 2

## THE PEDIMENT OF THE PALATINE METROÖN

---

Nearly two centuries after the Palatine Temple of the Magna Mater was first brought to light, investigations continue to clarify the *princeps*' development of the structure. Likewise, ongoing excavations in the metroac sanctuary are just beginning to reveal new facets of Augustan cult practice. Such intensive study of the archaeological material, however, only highlights a marked and surprising lack of interest in the metroön's pediment. That architectural decoration was a primary vehicle for the communication of Augustan ideology has long been acknowledged. It follows that the temple's exterior sculpture should reveal at least something of the *princeps*' attitude to the goddess honoured within. Thus, we must accord it the same message-bearing potential as the iconographic programmes of other, more celebrated Augustan monuments, for example, those from the temples of Mars Ultor and Apollo Palatinus. While nothing but the most fragmentary pieces of marble are extant from the metroön's sculptural programme,<sup>1</sup> the Valle-Medici relief, recomposed today in Cozza's plaster cast (figs. 4-6), nevertheless preserves a clearly recognisable facsimile of the pediment as it must have appeared during the Julio-Claudian period. None of our sources indicates that subsequent emperors, up to and including Claudius, contributed in any way to the adornment of the metroön.<sup>2</sup> The pediment shown in the relief, therefore, can only have belonged to the Augustan temple.<sup>3</sup>

While scholars have been slow to recognise the import of the metroön's pediment, descriptions of the figures that adorned the Augustan building (as attested

---

<sup>1</sup> At the time of writing these remains were in storage in the Palatine Antiquarium and were inaccessible.

<sup>2</sup> Lugli (1959: 94) goes so far as to state that 'after Augustus the Temple underwent no further restoration.'

<sup>3</sup> See also Hommel 1954: 32.

by the Valle-Medici relief) are plentiful.<sup>4</sup> This is the logical place to begin our analysis. Like other works such as the Mars Ultor pediment and the Apollo temple's Campana plaques, one of the most striking features of the metroön's pediment is its archaising composition. Here, instead of a complex figural scene or an epic mythological narrative, we see a high-relief composition that is spare, hieratic and symmetrical. In the centre of the scene, and clearly its focal point, the Magna Mater's mural crown sits on a throne lacking a back and armrests (*sella*), and whose rectangular legs have carved-out incisions.<sup>5</sup> At the front of the crown is an arched gateway, seemingly without a door, that is flanked by projecting corner turrets. The crown rests on a cloth that is draped over the throne and hangs down only on the left side of the chair; because of this, the material is generally identified as a veil or mantle rather than as a covering for the seat itself. Beneath the throne is a box-like object that must be a footstool (*suppedaneum*).

Immediately to the left and right of the throne are draped figures. These recline with their backs to the goddess' crown and with their outside arms bent at the elbow and resting on tympana. Both figures are fragmentary, but with sufficient details preserved to indicate that they once faced the viewer. The figure on the left appears to be male and rests his right hand on his drawn up right knee; he wears a mantle wrapped around his lower body. His large, bald, head, as it appears on the Valle-Medici relief (fig. 9), can be attributed to the sixteenth century restoration of the work; accordingly, Cozza omitted it from his plaster cast. The figure on the right, whom the *communis opinio* also regards as male, grasps a long pine branch in his left hand and seems to wear a tunic under a mantle that drapes around his lower body and left hand. Both of the figures to either side of the throne are traditionally identified as *galli*, the eunuch priests of the Magna Mater.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> See e.g., Petersen 1902: 67-68; Tillyard 1917: 286; Hommel 1954: 31-32; Hanson 1959: 15 (following an unpublished paper by Lily Ross Taylor entitled 'The Chair in the Pediment of the Palatine Temple of the Magna Mater' delivered in Rome, May 1955); Vermaseren 1977: 42-43; Koepfel 1983: 103, cat. no. 13; Pensabene 1985b: 210, n. 13; Turcan 1996: 43; Roller 1999: 309-10.

<sup>5</sup> On the throne's resemblance to Greek *klinai* from the fifth century BCE see Petersen 1902: 67. For other Greek and Roman *comparanda* see Richter 1966: 25-28, figs. 104-116 (Greek); 98-99, figs. 482-83, 487-89 (Roman). Cf. Tillyard (1917: 285-86) who identifies this throne, and others associated with the Magna Mater, as being 'of the Milesian type.'

<sup>6</sup> See e.g., Petersen 1902: 68; Tillyard 1917: 286; Colini 1923: 334, n. 1; Bloch 1939: 103; Cagianò de Azevedo 1951: 40 (*archigalli*); Hommel 1954: 32; Ryberg 1955: 69; Pensabene 1985b: 210, n. 13; Turcan 1996: 43; Roller 2006 (cf. Roller 1999: 309-10). The identity and gender of these figures is discussed below, 71ff.

In each corner of the pediment, lions stand facing inwards; these appear to be either eating or drinking from large spherical vessels resembling *dinoi*.<sup>7</sup> Atop the band of palmettes crowning the uppermost raking cyma of the pediment, and at the right-hand corner of the temple, is the relief's remaining acroterion. This is a Corybant, who stands with his left leg bent and crossed behind his right leg, and who looks downwards and to the left, as if gazing at his goddess' crown. He carries a sword in his upraised right hand; this he beats against the round shield that he lifts in front of his chest and which is attached to his left arm.<sup>8</sup> As a result of this vigorous movement, the Corybant's cloak billows out behind him and the short tunic, which he wears over trousers, swirls around his thighs. One can assume, as did the sixteenth century restorer of the Valle-Medici relief, that a similar image originally adorned the opposite corner. The Phrygian cap that surmounts the pediment in the restored relief is another late addition to the scene.<sup>9</sup>

Clearly, close study is required of this unusual tableau, in which the subjects seem related to the cult of the Magna Mater, but the goddess herself does not appear. Within the small group of Augustan pediments whose sculpture is known to us, that of the metroön is virtually unique in terms of both iconography and composition. Nowhere else, for example, do we find either the symbols of the gods or their cult personnel emphasised in place of a deity. Pediments whose decoration consists entirely of symbols, attributes and objects relating to religious cults have been found outside Rome on the Via Appia, at Tivoli and in Otricoli.<sup>10</sup> Without exception, however, these belong to small-scale buildings where the narrow dimensions of the tympana did not permit the effective use of figural decoration. In comparison, the hexastyle metroön, with foundations measuring 33.18 x 17.10 m,<sup>11</sup> and a tympanum

---

<sup>7</sup> Petersen (1902: 68), Koeppl (1983: 102) and Pensabene (1985b: 210) have identified the felines as panthers. However, the considerably greater frequency with which the goddess is represented with lions makes it far more likely that the latter adorned her temple.

<sup>8</sup> The details of the weapon held in the right hand are vague. Consequently, Vermaseren (*CCCA* III: no. 2) and Pensabene (1985b: 210) identify the object as a lance.

<sup>9</sup> Petersen 1902: 67; cf. Turcan 1996: 43.

<sup>10</sup> For these pediments see Colini 1923: 332-33, n. 2, fig. 7; Pietrangeli 1978: 154, no. 34, fig. 167.

<sup>11</sup> Richardson 1992: 242.

seemingly with angles of 18° at the base and 144° at the apex,<sup>12</sup> would have easily been able to sustain a complex narrative if required.<sup>13</sup> Nowhere else in Augustan art does another arrangement of pedimental figures so markedly reflect the heraldic designs found in architectural sculpture over six hundred years earlier. Instead, traditional mythological narratives adorned the Temple of Apollo Sosianus and the Palatine Temple of Victoria.<sup>14</sup> On both, it seems, contemporary tastes, if not the *princeps* himself, dictated that the pediments be filled with the Amazonomachy's complex and active figural groupings.<sup>15</sup> Only on the Temple of Mars Ultor do we see a pediment whose composition is similar to that of the metroön (fig. 14). Here, according to another of the Valle-Medici reliefs, Mars was shown centrally, flanked by other associated and venerated figures: Venus and Romulus to the left, and Fortuna and Roma to the right, with the personifications of the Palatine and the Tiber reclining in their respective corners.<sup>16</sup> Both pediments find common ground in their static, symmetrical and centralised compositions, in which symbolic, rather than narrative content is paramount.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, we shall see that symbolism itself provides yet another link between the two works. However, before turning to new hypotheses regarding metroac sculpture and its relationship to the Mars Ultor pediment, it is

---

<sup>12</sup> Colini 1923: 324.

<sup>13</sup> As the tetrastyle temple on the Montemartini relief proves, even a structure of modest dimensions could provide sufficient scope for a multi-figured pedimental scene. For its part, the pediment of the temple of Mars Ultor was similar to that of the Palatine metroön, measuring 19° at the base and 142° at the apex (dimensions in Colini 1923: 324).

<sup>14</sup> The latter, of course, only if Rehak is correct in his identification of the Ionic temple on the Montemartini relief. *Supra*, 27, n. 75.

<sup>15</sup> There is, of course, much speculation as to who was responsible for the decoration of the temple of Apollo Sosianus – the eponymous Gaius Sosius or Octavian himself. The fact that the surviving internal frieze from the temple depicts a battle against barbarians from the north has been seen both as a reference to the latter's triple triumph in 29 BCE and, accordingly, as a sign that it was Octavian who prescribed the temple's iconographic scheme. On the authorship of the temple see Claridge 1998: 246-47. It is interesting to note that the sculptures that made up the Amazonomachy from the pediment of the Augustan temple of Apollo Sosianus are thought to be Greek originals from ca. 450-425 BCE (Bertoletti et al. 1999: 73-77, figs. II.52b, II.52h-i).

<sup>16</sup> On the pediment of the Mars Ultor temple see Galinsky 1996: 208-209. See also Grunow 2002: 71-72, n. 37 for a summary of the literature rebutting Torelli's suggestion (1982: 73-78) that this relief depicts a temple of Divus Augustus.

<sup>17</sup> Lattimore 1974: 56.

worth reflecting briefly on the work of Peter Hommel and Lily Ross Taylor, who have already considered the meaning of the metroön's pediment in some depth.

For Hommel, the key to understanding the pediment of the Magna Mater's temple lay in seeing its composition as a conscious imitation of ancient monuments from the goddess' Asiatic homeland.<sup>18</sup> He therefore attributed the work's archaising form, and in particular its heraldic lions, to the influence of Phrygian rock tombs such as that at Arslankaya (literally 'lion rock').<sup>19</sup> The pediment's reclining *galli* were similarly seen as reminiscent of figures like those adorning the gables of the mid-fourth century BCE sarcophagus of the Mourning Women from Sidon.<sup>20</sup> Such was the longevity and prevalence of these motifs, Hommel contended, that they remained in use well into the Imperial period; their reception in Rome, and employment on the Palatine metroön, facilitated through the influence of intermediary sources such as sarcophagi and pediments from Etruria and Pompeii.<sup>21</sup> The use of the goddess' crown and throne was likewise attributed to ancient precedents. To illustrate, Hommel cited the story that in 319 BCE, a golden throne bearing the wreath of Alexander the Great was set up in Eumenes' camp; in this way, war councils held nearby were believed to take place under the invisible eyes of the deceased Macedonian king.<sup>22</sup>

Significantly, Hommel's thesis leaves no room for Augustan input into either the iconography or the meaning of the metroön's pediment. Instead, the author credits Phrygian priests, present during the construction of the first Palatine metroön in 191 BCE, with the prescription of the temple's sculptural decoration. These *galli*, who had accompanied the goddess' meteorite from Pessinus, and who, Hommel supposed, had been given virtual control of the Republican cult, were thought to have drawn on monuments from their Phrygian homeland for inspiration. Over time the

---

<sup>18</sup> Hommel 1954: 30-34.

<sup>19</sup> Hommel 1954: 32, n. 304. On this monument, which dates to the early sixth century BCE, see *CCCA* I: no. 145; Roller 1999: 85-86, figs. 19-21.

<sup>20</sup> Hommel 1954: 33, n. 315. On this work see also Pasinli 2001: 80-84.

<sup>21</sup> Precedents cited by Hommel (1954: 33-34, fig. 5) include an Etruscan sarcophagus from Torre San Severo, on which two snake-like youths flank the mask of a bearded, goat-eared creature, and pediments from Vulci and Pompeii, where the reclining figures of Dionysus and Ariadne are shown flanking a large wine skin and a thyrsus respectively, and where the corners of each composition are filled with a panther and a bird. On the Pompeian pediment see also Maiuri 1970: 105-6, pl. LXII, fig. 107.

<sup>22</sup> Diodorus Siculus 18.60.4.

resulting pediment acquired the same venerability as the temple itself, and thus, like the original building plan, the gable's composition was maintained and replicated during subsequent reconstructions. Mindful of this, Hommel concluded that while one can see original features in the Temple of Mars Ultor's Augustan pediment, there was no place on the Palatine metroön for anything but adherence to Phrygian religious ideas and traditional forms of expression.<sup>23</sup>

A number of factors militate against Hommel's arguments. Not least of these is the improbability that Phrygian *galli*, newly arrived from the East and seemingly abhorrent to Roman sensibilities, would have been in a position to dictate the sculptural programme of the Magna Mater's pre-eminent Roman temple. Indeed, what evidence we have from the early cult in Rome attests, almost without exception, the systematic marginalisation of the goddess' foreign clergy.<sup>24</sup> Far from being autonomous, the *galli* were subject to the *pontifex maximus*, the *decemviri sacris faciundis*, and the Senate itself, whose decree had seen the priests confined to their Palatine sanctuary, from which Roman citizens were barred.<sup>25</sup> Once a year the *galli* were permitted to process through the city's streets, but here again their activities were off limits to Romans.<sup>26</sup> In fact, citizens were excluded from all ostensibly non-Roman facets of the cult, leaving the ranks of the *galli* to be augmented by those from the East.<sup>27</sup> Patricians, for their part, honoured the goddess in traditional Roman fashion, with the establishment of dining groups (*sodalitates*); it was the quintessentially Roman *Ludi Megalenses* (put on by curule aediles and praetors) that

---

<sup>23</sup> Hommel 1954: 34. 'Originelle Tendenzen der augusteischen Staatskunst waren am Giebel des von Augustus neuerrichteten Mars Ultortempels eindeutiger zu erkennen als bei der Betrachtung des Mater Magnatempels, dessen figürlicher Schmuck mit der orientalischen Wesen eigenen Beharrlichkeit religiöser Vorstellungen und Ausdrucksformen dem Neuen keinen Raum bot.'

<sup>24</sup> On this topic see Graillot 1912: 74-78; Vermaseren 1977: 96; Turcan 1996: 37-38; Beard et al. 1998a: 97.

<sup>25</sup> Turcan 1996: 37-38. However, it seems that the sanctuary was open to the public during the Megalensia (April 4-10), when people brought the goddess offerings of *moretum* (Ovid, *Fasti* 4.367-68). For this tradition see also Vermaseren 1977: 124-45; Scullard 1981: 97-100; Beard 1994: 171.

<sup>26</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.19. Beard et al. (1998a: 97, n. 90) point out that the date of this particular legislation is unknown, but that it is most likely to have been part of the early regulations governing the cult in the second century BCE.

<sup>27</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.19. It is thought that even slaves were most likely prohibited from becoming priests. On this see Graillot 1912: 76, Beard et al. 1998a: 97, n. 92; *infra*, 209, n. 51.

proved popular with the wider citizenry.<sup>28</sup> Clearly, Roman authorities took steps to ensure that Roman, not Asiatic, rites defined the metroac cult, and that the influence of the *galli* was carefully controlled. One must therefore assume equal reluctance on their part to afford the priests an opportunity to promote the foreign origins of the newly nationalised Magna Mater. Accordingly, we must not read too much into any resemblance the metroön's pediment may bear to earlier Phrygian monuments. Heraldic lions are common to both, but these also appear flanking countless Hellenised images of the goddess. Besides, recumbent and crouched felines had long been used to fill the awkward triangular spaces of Greco-Roman pediments.<sup>29</sup>

With doubt cast upon influences from either the *galli* or the monuments of their homeland, there is little to challenge the assumption that the metroön's pediment was Augustan in origin. One might argue that, as the *princeps* took care to retain the plan and appearance of the original structure, so he must have retained the form of its architectural sculpture. However, we have seen that when the opportunity arose, Augustus emphatically claimed the Palatine temple as his own.<sup>30</sup> In similar circumstances (for example, with the temples of Mars Ultor and Apollo Palatinus), he did not hesitate to use architectural sculpture as a vehicle for Augustan ideology; messages conveyed include the *princeps*' own divine origins and patronage, virtues and victories, and the consequent inauguration of a new era of peace and prosperity in Rome.<sup>31</sup> Preserving the essential architectural elements of the metroön surely satisfied the dictates of *mos maiorum*. It also cast the *princeps* in the role of restorer and champion of traditional religion. Having accomplished so much, Augustus must

---

<sup>28</sup> Cassius Dio 43.48.4. See also Wiseman 1974: 160, n. 8.

<sup>29</sup> Examples include the Temple of Artemis at Corfu (ca. 590-580 BCE); numerous Archaic limestone and marble pediments from the Athenian Acropolis (including those of the Athena Temple; see Boardman 1978: figs. 187, 190-92); and the terracotta felines from the Archaic Temple in the Forum Boarium (Magagnini 1989: 26, fig. 13; Bertolotti et al. 1999: 43, I.2; Albertoni et al. 2006: 133).

<sup>30</sup> Augustus, *RG* 19.2; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.347-48.

<sup>31</sup> See Kellum 1982: 40-78 and 1985: 169-76 for the sculptural programme of the temple of Apollo Palatinus, and 1982: 107-37 for the temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum of Augustus. It should also be noted that the expansive Apolline complex and Forum of Augustus were a far cry from the modestly scaled Palatine precinct of the Magna Mater. In the latter, there was no room for adjunct libraries or grandiose porticoes covered with didactic ornamentation. Thus, the pediment of the metroön alone must have served as the primary vehicle for the *princeps*' sculptural endorsement of the goddess and her cult, and conversely, for his celebration of the Magna Mater's reciprocal partiality.

have found that realising the propagandistic potential of a new, highly visible sculptural programme was too good an opportunity to resist.

Working at the same time as Hommel, Lily Ross Taylor took a different approach to the interpretation of the metroac pediment. Rather than seeking eastern parallels for the visual language of the pediment, Taylor explained its principal iconographic features – the throne and the crown – with reference to the Roman *sellisternium*. This little-known rite entailed the adornment of draped or cushioned chairs with symbols (*exuviae*) of the gods. These were then set up, as if the deities were actually present, at ceremonial banquets and in prime positions at relevant *ludi*.<sup>32</sup> According to Taylor, the *sella* on the metroön represented the throne that was carried into the goddess' scenic games.<sup>33</sup> As evidence of this practice, she cited Lucretius' description of a theatre:

namque ibi consessum caveai subter et omnem  
scaenai speciem patrum matrumque deorum<sup>34</sup>  
inficiunt coguntque suo fluitare colore

For there they [the awnings] dye the seated assemblage of the  
*cavea* beneath them and the whole outline of the stage and of  
fathers and mothers and gods, and force them to flicker with their colour.  
4.78-80.<sup>35</sup>

Here, Taylor believed, Lucretius refers to the placement of gods' symbol-decked chairs in the orchestra along with seats allocated to prominent senators and their wives.<sup>36</sup> One assumes that this practice was widespread, but the passage in question can be taken to refer specifically to the Megalensia only if a proposed emendation of

---

<sup>32</sup> Taylor 1955: 349-50. On the nature of, and evidence for the *sellisternium*, and the equivalent Greek *theoxenia*, see also Taylor 1935; Weinstock 1957: 147-48; Hanson 1959: 82-85; Adkins and Adkins 1996: 131, s.v. 'lectisternium.'

<sup>33</sup> That the throne and crown were present at the *ludi scaenici*, rather than at the *ludi circenses*, can be inferred from the San Lorenzo sarcophagus (*infra*, 138-39, fig. 31), on which a statue of the Magna Mater herself is shown in the latter's *pompa deorum*.

<sup>34</sup> A reading of the text based on mss. O and Q; cf. Rouse (Loeb trans. 1959: 252, n. 1), following Munro and Giussani: *patrum coetumque decorum*.

<sup>35</sup> Taylor 1952: 149.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. C. Bailey ed., *De Rerum Natura*, Oxford (1947) 3: 1189-90, who rejects Taylor's interpretation, but whose conclusion is in turn questioned by both Taylor (1952: 148, n. 6) and Hanson (1959: 83, n. 14).



the text in line 79 to read *patrum Matrisque deorum* is accepted.<sup>37</sup> The fact that the draping of chairs is twice recorded in the Magna Mater's Hellenistic cult, however, offered Taylor independent verification that this custom was found in the goddess' rites.<sup>38</sup>

Unremarked upon by Taylor, but cited by Peter Wiseman, is a passage in Varro's *Eumenides*, in which the author describes an evening trip to the Palatine. Induced to investigate the Temple of the Magna Mater after hearing cymbals, Varro recounts that:

Cum illoc venio, video Gallorum frequentiam in templo, qui dum e scaena coronam adlatam imponeret aedilis signo, synodiam gallantes vario recinebant studio.

When I got there, I saw a crowd of Galli in the temple, raving about and singing their hymn in zealous confusion, while the aedile was putting on the statue the crown he had brought from the theatre.

*Menippea* 150B.<sup>39</sup>

For Wiseman, there is no doubt that Varro's visit to the metroön took place between April 4 and 9, on one of the six 'theatral' days of the Megalensia, when the goddess was honoured by *ludi scaenici*. The actions of the magistrate in charge of proceedings suggest that the crown adorning the cult statue itself had been removed (hence, *exuvia*) and put on display in the theatre. It is now widely accepted that the cult's dramatic performances took place before the steps of the metroön itself.<sup>40</sup> Accordingly, one can easily imagine the juxtaposition of the real *sella* and *corona*

<sup>37</sup> Colin 1954: 348-49. Cf. Hanson 1959: 83, n. 15.

<sup>38</sup> Taylor 1955: 350. Taylor also records that 'temple inventories include chairs and thrones and couches, presumably for the entertainment of the gods.' It is unclear, however, whether the author meant this as a specific reference to the cult of the Magna Mater. Regrettably, Taylor gives no evidence for the draping of the Magna Mater's throne. I am indebted to Lynn Roller for drawing my attention to an inscription from the cult in the Piraeus (*IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1328 I*) which records that a priestess of Meter was required to 'spread out the two thrones as beautifully as possible' (lines 9-10: [σ]τ[ρω]ννύειν / θρόνους δύο [ὡς] καλλίστους...), that is, to spread cloths on the thrones. For discussion of this inscription, along with two others (*IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1315* and *1329*) that mention 'spreading,' see Roller 1999: 221-22.

<sup>39</sup> Translation in Wiseman 1974: 159.

<sup>40</sup> *Supra*, 10, n. 12. On this see Bieber 1971: 152; Scullard 1981: 98; Richardson 1992: 242, 380 s.v. 'Theatrum'; Claridge 1998: 127; Roller 1999: 274; Dumser 2002: 164; Nielsen 2002: 172-75; Pensabene and D'Alessio 2006: 38-39. Wiseman's proposal (1974: 168-69, following Hanson 1959: 14, n. 29), that two theatres existed, one in front of the metroön, the other 'theatre proper' at the bottom of the cliff below the metroön, has received little subsequent support.

with their sculptural facsimiles; the former placed either on the temple's stylobate, or on the periphery of the temporary stage, while the latter towered above the heads of spectators on the metroön's gable. By ensuring provisions were made for the goddess' presence, organisers adhered to the decree of their ancestors that 'the Games be held on the Palatine in front of the temple in the very sight (*in ipso conspectu*) of the Magna Mater herself.'<sup>41</sup>

Clearly, Taylor's interpretation of the central motif on our pediment remains tenable, half a century after it was first proposed.<sup>42</sup> We need not doubt that *sellisternia* were celebrated during the Augustan principate – fragments of the period's *Acta* from the secular games provide ample evidence of the practice.<sup>43</sup> Why Augustus chose to acknowledge the Magna Mater's *sellisternium* in such a grandiose fashion, however, has yet to be addressed. In general terms, one can appreciate the attractions of the rite for a man determined to appear the restorer of traditional religious practices and institutions. After all, unlike more ostentatious eastern facets of the cult, the *sellisternium* formed part of the goddess' Roman *ludi*, and was based on Roman customs.<sup>44</sup> It is also likely that the throne itself had special significance, both for the Roman cult of the Magna Mater, and for the *princeps*. Crucially, a *sella* of almost identical form, with the same rectangular legs and cut-out incisions, appears on a first century CE altar found at the foot of the Aventine which depicts the arrival

---

<sup>41</sup> Cicero, *Har. Resp.* 12.24. On this topic see Graillet 1912: 86; Hanson 1959: 13-16; Nielsen 2002: 172-75, 269-72. However, there remains some confusion as to the nature of the goddess' manifestation at the *ludi scaenici*. According to Wiseman's two-theatre theory (1974: 168-69; *supra* n. 40), it was the cult statue that '...was brought to the door [of the metroön] to witness what went on in her honour before the temple steps,' while (following Varro) the statue's crown was '...carried in procession to decorate her throne and represent her godhead in the lower theatre.' The former practice, at least, may be represented on a section of the famous Haterii Relief (CCCA III: no. 200; cf. Vermaseren 1977: 45, where, in the same year, the author seemingly contradicts himself by identifying the structure in question as the goddess' *tholos* on the Via Sacra). In keeping with the current *communis opinio* that there was only one theatrical area, one could speculate that, while the cult statue stood in the portico of the temple during the *Megalensia*, its mural crown may have been enthroned amongst distinguished spectators in the orchestra below. On these matters see also Colin 1954: 352-54.

<sup>42</sup> Others to accept the *sellisternium* theory include: Weinstock 1957: 147-48; Hanson 1959: 15; Wiseman 1974: 160, 168-69; Roller 1999: 309-10.

<sup>43</sup> *CIL* 6.32323 ll. 38, 70, 100, 108, 137; 32329 l. 4. See further Taylor (1935: 124, n. 10; 130), who distinguishes between the *sellisternia* attested for the secular games (deemed expiatory) and those belonging to the theatrical games.

<sup>44</sup> Valerius Maximus 2.1.2.

of the goddess in Italy (fig. 15).<sup>45</sup> In this case, the throne bearing the cult's sacred stone (visualised as an anthropomorphised statue of the goddess) is shown on board the Magna Mater's Phrygian ship. A similar, highly ornamental seat adorned with the cult's *cista mystica* can be seen in a later relief being borne in procession on the shoulders of four *galli* (fig. 16).<sup>46</sup> The consistent appearance of this throne-type in cult art has prompted the suggestion that these works (the metroön's pediment included) all represent one throne of particular sanctity – that which accompanied the goddess' meteorite from the East in 204 BCE.<sup>47</sup> This throne, it is argued, must have been housed in the Palatine metroön, where its venerability ensured not only its rescue from various temple fires, but also that it was accorded pride of place on the structure's pediment.

Expanding on this hypothesis, one can assume Augustus' cognisance both of the significance of the throne and, more importantly, of the link it provided between the imperial family and the very origins of the Magna Mater's Roman cult. It was Claudia Quinta, after all, whom legend held had been responsible for the safe arrival of the goddess and her sacred throne.<sup>48</sup> Thus the Aventine altar depicts Livia's illustrious ancestress holding the rope with which she freed the Magna Mater's vessel when it ran aground at Ostia.<sup>49</sup> Equally, the juxtaposition of the Magna Mater's *sella* and mural crown on the pediment could have recalled honours accorded the *princeps'* adoptive father, Julius Caesar. In 44 BCE, the Senate had voted that Caesar's 'golden chair and his crown set with precious gems be carried into the theatre in the same manner as those of the gods.'<sup>50</sup> Despite initial opposition from tribunes,<sup>51</sup> this

---

<sup>45</sup> Capitoline Museums (Montemartini Power Plant), inv. no. 321; CCCA III: no. 218 (and bibliog.). *Infra*, 82, n. 103.

<sup>46</sup> Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. no. GR.5.1938. See CCCA VII: no. 39 (and bibliog.); Tillyard 1917; Budde and Nicholls 1964: 77-78, no. 125, pl. 41.

<sup>47</sup> Tillyard 1917: 285-86.

<sup>48</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.291-328; cf. Livy 29.14.12-13. On Claudia Quinta and the Magna Mater's introduction to Rome see Bömer 1964: 146-51; Wiseman 1979: 94-99; Thomas 1984: 1507-8, n. 25; Bremmer 1987: 105-111; Gruen 1990: 26-27; Burton 1996: 54-55; Hänninen 1998: 113-15; Roller 1999: 265-66, 282; Erskine 2001: 207-8, 217-18.

<sup>49</sup> The altar was dedicated by one Claudia Syntyche, a fact that illustrates the continuing importance of Claudia Quinta's familial connections (*CIL* 6. 492; 30777 = *ILS* 4096).

<sup>50</sup> Cassius Dio 44.6.3 (trans. Taylor 1935: 127); see also Taylor 1952: 149, n. 15.

<sup>51</sup> Cicero, *Att.* 15.3.

practice became customary after Caesar's deification in 42. Evidence confirms that Augustus held this commemorative ritual in high esteem throughout his life. The throne and wreath, for example, appear on coins issued early in the triumvirate,<sup>52</sup> while Cassius Dio specifically links a madman's shock desecration of the revered objects in 13 CE to the *princeps*' death the following year.<sup>53</sup> Compositionally, the metroön's throne and crown are far removed from the complex mythological narratives and imposing figural scenes that adorned other Augustan temples. It is clear, however, that the central motif of our pediment lacked neither visual impact nor symbolic resonance. As a reflection of both the *sellisternium* and the traditional *ludi* held proximate to the metroön, the throne and crown were entirely appropriate choices for a *princeps* intent on fostering Roman aspects of the Magna Mater's cult. As allusions to the Claudii's historic connections to the goddess, and to the most celebrated of the Julii, the objects were equally suited to inclusion in the pictorial vocabulary used to promote Augustus' dynastic and political ideologies.

The throne and the crown, however, were not alone on the pediment of the metroön. Therefore, the remaining figures must be interpreted in the light of both the *sellisternium* and the requirements of Augustan propaganda. One of the few scholars to attempt this, at least with regard to the former, is Lynn Roller. For her, the answer to the meaning of the pediment was simple:

The Magna Mater was to be represented at the [*sellisternium*] banquet by her turreted crown, while her companion Attis [presumably represented twice] reclines beside her. Even her animal companions, her lions, join in the festivities by lapping up their dinner from bowls. All the elements of the traditional cult are there, the crown symbolizing the goddess as the protector of the city, the prominence of Attis and his accepted place as her companion, the tympanum, symbol of the goddess's rites, and the lions, the wild beasts who have been tamed and are, so to speak, eating out of her hand, at her table.<sup>54</sup>

In its favour, Roller's interpretation accounts for the somewhat unusual depiction of the Magna Mater's paladins not as fearsome guardians but as domesticated felines integrated into the civilised rites of the cult. Equally, one should

---

<sup>52</sup> Taylor 1935: 127. For examples of this coin-type see Sydenham 1952: 206, no. 1332; Crawford 1974: 513, type 497, nos. 2a-d, pl. LX, no. 20.

<sup>53</sup> Cassius Dio 56.29.1-2.

<sup>54</sup> Roller 1999: 309-10.

not disregard other levels of meaning inherent in the mural crown. As we shall see, the significance of this attribute as a symbol of the goddess' guardianship of Rome and patronage of Augustus was well established during the early principate.<sup>55</sup> Roller's explanation of the pediment's two reclining figures, however, is less convincing. The most significant of her claims, i.e., that here we see a manifestation of not just one but two Attides, is improbable, and will be dealt with shortly. The view that these figures are actively participating in the *sellisternium* banquet is also questionable. While it is true that both figures are shown reclining in the traditional fashion of symposiasts and banqueters in Greek, Roman and Etruscan art, here their poses can surely be attributed more to spatial constraints than to canonical banquet iconography. After all, the practice of filling awkward pedimental spaces with reclining or recumbent figures had been long-established by 3 CE. Here, moreover, we lack any suggestion that the draped figures to either side of the Magna Mater's throne are engaged in dining. Neither reclines on a *lectus* (the traditional dining couch), nor is accompanied by any of the accoutrements one would expect at a banquet; there are no tables, wine cups, bowls or food of any kind. Instead, both figures are distinguished simply by their tympana, the symbol *par excellence* of the cult's boisterous public rites,<sup>56</sup> and in the case of the figure on the right, a pine branch. If either can be read as a participant at the *sellisternium*, then this connotation must be, at the most, incidental. As will become apparent in the remainder of this discussion, the significance of these figures far surpasses that of mere diners, so much so that we must find a place for the metroön's pediment among more famed works calculatingly designed to foster and promote the Augustan regime.

First and foremost, though, it is necessary to determine exactly who flanked the Magna Mater's throne on the façade of her Palatine temple. Ironically, it is the object with the greatest potential to obfuscate our understanding of these figures that ultimately provides the key to their identity. The pine branch held by the reclining figure to the right of the throne is an attribute that looms large in the imperial cult of

---

<sup>55</sup> *Infra*, 182.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 4.200-15; Lucretius 2.621-22; Catullus 63.1-36. Noteworthy, but immaterial here, is the formula 'I have eaten from the tympanum, I have drunk from the cymbal,' which appears in the accounts of cult ceremonies by Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2.12) and Firmicus Maternus (*De err. prof. rel.* 18.1). Undoubtedly, this expression relates, not to dining habits at the *sellisternium*, but to the Attis mysteries celebrated long after the end of the Augustan principate. For a summary of scholarly discussion on the context of this formula see Vermaseren 1977: 116-19.

the Magna Mater. Arnobius explains its prominence in his account of the myth of the Magna Mater and Attis.<sup>57</sup> Here, in a state of madness induced by the androgynous monster Agdistis, Attis emasculates himself then bleeds to death beneath a pine tree; the Magna Mater (who elsewhere is conflated with Agdistis,<sup>58</sup> but in Arnobius appears as a separate being) then retires to her cave with the pine tree to mourn the death of her consort. It is no doubt as a result of this tradition that Attis was depicted empire-wide in innumerable statues, reliefs and lamps, either reclining or standing beneath a pine tree, or holding a pine branch.<sup>59</sup> As a corollary, the priests for whom Attis' castration acted as a mythic paradigm were shown in commemorative monuments holding pine branches or cones.<sup>60</sup> Likewise, on votive altars, the pine tree itself frequently appeared among other symbols of the cult of the Magna Mater.<sup>61</sup>

Taken at face value, little ambiguity should surround the inclusion of *galli* or (following Roller) Attides, and their pine branch on the pediment of the metroön.<sup>62</sup> Yet the date in which the pine became a symbol of the bloody sacrifice of Attis and those who emulated him should not be overlooked. It is significant that the literary and archaeological sources are virtually silent on the pine and its association with Attis and the *galli* during both the Republic and the Augustan principate. Livy does not mention the tree in his records of the goddess' arrival in Rome or the

---

<sup>57</sup> Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* 5.5-7. On Attis and the 'vegetal connection' see Lancellotti 2002: 84-91.

<sup>58</sup> See e.g., Pausanias 7.17.9-12.

<sup>59</sup> Such was the evident popularity of these scenes that those catalogued in *CCCA* are too numerous to list here. It is sufficient to mention several notable works from Rome and its environs, e.g.: *CCCA* III: nos. 201 (a contorniate of the *diva augusta Faustina* showing Attis standing in front of the goddess' *tholos* on the Via Sacra, holding a pine branch), 236, 357, 447 (altars and reliefs on which Attis is depicted standing beside a pine tree), 324 (a lamp showing the Magna Mater enthroned, offering a pine branch to Attis who stands before her), and 384 (a statue of Attis lying beneath a pine tree, a *falx* and the severed testicles between his legs).

<sup>60</sup> Examples from Ostia and Lanuvium respectively include: *CCCA* III: nos. 446 (a sarcophagus lid on which an *archigallus* reclines holding a pine branch), and 466 (a relief showing a *gallus* holding a basket containing fruit and a pine cone).

<sup>61</sup> Examples from Rome include: *CCCA* III: nos. 226, 233, 239, 241a-b, 242, 243, 244.

<sup>62</sup> The problematic nature of both classifications, however, can be inferred from Roller's own work, where the figures once labelled Attides (1999: 309-10) have recently been reidentified as *galli* (2006). I am extremely grateful to Professor Roller for providing me with a preliminary copy of her article 'The Priests of the Mother – Gender and Place' (at the time of writing, forthcoming in *Classical Archaeology in Boston: Archaeology, Art, Science and Humanities – Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, ed. C. Mattusch and A. A. Donahue).

Megalensia.<sup>63</sup> Nor does the pine feature among the emblems of the Magna Mater or the paraphernalia of her adherents, which Lucretius and Ovid are otherwise at pains to explain in their accounts of the cult.<sup>64</sup> That Ovid at least knew of some connection between Attis and the tree can be seen in *Metamorphoses* 10.103-5. Here, in the context of a catalogue of trees, the poet briefly mentions that Attis was transformed into a pine trunk after his emasculation. However, the fact that this is the only account of an actual physical metamorphosis by Attis, not to mention that elsewhere Ovid records that the Phrygian youth was simply killed by a pine,<sup>65</sup> would suggest that at the time, Attis' association with the tree was not yet well known or understood.<sup>66</sup> Such unfamiliarity would also explain why the pine is unrepresented in the extensive collection of Republican votives that Romanelli excavated in the metroön itself.<sup>67</sup> Much was to change in the cult of the Magna Mater as it evolved during the Claudian period.

After considerable debate as to the nature and rate of Attis' transformation during the Empire, scholars agree that little or no change was made to the youth's status prior to the reign of Claudius.<sup>68</sup> The sources are clear: during Augustus' principate, the Megalensia constituted the only official cult festival.<sup>69</sup> Thus, from April 4, the anniversary of the goddess' arrival at Ostia, to the *dies natalis* and the anniversary of the metroön's dedication on April 10, the feasts (*mutitationes*), processions and *ludi* staged in Rome had but one focus – the veneration of the Magna

---

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Livy, 29.11.14; 36.36.

<sup>64</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.179-390; Lucretius 2.598-645.

<sup>65</sup> Ovid, *Ib.* 507-8. See Lancellotti 2002: 2, n. 4.

<sup>66</sup> The lack of a canonical and widespread version of this part of the Attis story might also explain why Catullus (63.2-3), despite having the neophyte Attis castrate himself in the shady, forest-wreathed home of the goddess (*opaca silvis redimita loca deae*), neglects to specifically mention the pine tree.

<sup>67</sup> *Supra*, 13-14, n. 32. These figurines are itemised in *CCCA* III: nos. 13-199. Here, Vermaseren notes only the discovery of two cypress cones (nos. 74-75) whose presence can otherwise be explained (cf. Lancellotti 2002: 79). The fragmentary object that accompanies a terracotta cock and pomegranate in *CCCA* III: no. 126 is unconvincingly identified as a pine cone in the short description provided for this work. It is not surprising, therefore, that Vermaseren proposed a shell-fragment as an alternative classification. Cf. Roller (1999: 279), who refers to, but does not give the particulars of, votive pine cones at the metroön in the early second century BCE.

<sup>68</sup> For a summary of scholarship on Attis in Rome up to the present day see Lancellotti 2002: 75-84.

<sup>69</sup> Livy 29.14, 36.36; Varro, *Ling.* 6.15; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.179-372; *Fasti Praenestini* (April 4) (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 235).

Mater. This changed gradually, beginning with Claudius' introduction of March festivals in honour of Attis. We need not dwell here on the somewhat complex evolution of these rituals *in toto* – this matter has been dealt with extensively elsewhere.<sup>70</sup> What should claim our attention, however, is the specific reference made by Johannes Lydus to the festival of *arbor intrat*, which, the Byzantine scholar tells us, was created by Claudius.<sup>71</sup> As its name implies, the focus of this ritual, which took place on March 22, was the installation of a pine tree in the Palatine Temple of the Magna Mater. Having first been cut (*ektomè*) and adorned with purple ribbons and an effigy of Attis,<sup>72</sup> the pine was carried in procession (*pompè*) to the metroön by a special society of tree-bearers (*dendrophori*). Once laid out in state (*prothesis*), the tree representing Attis thus became the focus of cacophonous and impassioned mourning by his followers.<sup>73</sup>

At first glance, these facts appear to have significant consequences for the dating of the temple's pediment. If the pine only became sacred to the cult in conjunction with the March festivals, any scene incorporating the pine branch should be, at the earliest, Claudian in origin. One might think, therefore, that the temple's gable was left undecorated by Augustus, and only received figural adornment after 41 CE during an unrecorded act of benefaction by the emperor Claudius.<sup>74</sup> This at least seems more plausible than accepting that the pediment as we know it does not reflect the temple proper, but is a work of imagination by the creator of the Valle-Medici reliefs. The improbability of the latter hypothesis can be inferred from the accuracy with which the architectural features of the metroön and the Temple of Mars Ultor are

---

<sup>70</sup> See e.g., Grailot 1912: 108-49; Lambrechts 1952a: 141-70; Fishwick 1966: 193-202; Vermaseren 1977: 113-24; Lancellotti 2002: 80-84.

<sup>71</sup> *Mens.* 4.59. That the Claudius referred to in the text is the emperor of the first century CE, and not Claudius Gothicus (268-70 CE) is easily proved given the appearance of *dendrophori* in inscriptions soon after the reign of the former. See e.g., *CIL* 10.7 (from Regium Iulium, 79 CE) and *CIL* 6.641 (from Rome, 97 CE). On these and other epigraphical sources see Fishwick 1966: 201. *Arbor intrat* is also listed amongst the other March festivals of Attis in the calendar of Furius Dionysius Philocalus, dating to 354 CE (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 260 = Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* 13.2.42, pp. 237ff).

<sup>72</sup> According to legend (Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* 5.7) violets had sprung from blood that fell from Attis' wounds, hence the colour choice. On the effigy see Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 27. 1.

<sup>73</sup> The custom is graphically presented in Statius, *Theb.* 10.170-75. On *arbor intrat* see Grailot 1912: 121-25; Vermaseren 1977: 115; Turcan 1996: 44-45; Lancellotti 2002: 81-83.

<sup>74</sup> This hypothetical addition could thus be understood as heralding the introduction of a new rite, *arbor intrat*, to the festival of the Magna Mater.



reproduced in these works. Two important factors, however, prevent us from abandoning Augustus as the commissioner of the Magna Mater pediment. The first of these has been mentioned already: the extreme improbability that the *princeps* failed to capitalise on the propagandistic potential of the metroön's decoration. Secondly, there is a conspicuous lack of reference to any form of the pine in Roman cult iconography immediately following the Claudian reforms. Indeed, the first extant representations of either Attis or *galli* holding pine branches, or proximate to pine trees, have been dated to the second century CE.<sup>75</sup> One might speculate that such scenes rose to prominence only after Attis' Passion was accorded further recognition by Antoninus Pius, who supplemented the March festivals of the cult with the ritual of *canna intrat*.<sup>76</sup>

We have seen that as an element in an Attis myth which had yet to become well known or to assume canonical form, the pine was familiar to at least one Augustan poet. However, it took nearly half a century more, and the inauguration of March festivals honouring the Magna Mater's consort, for the tree to become the specific attribute of Attis and his imitators. Even then, the pine seems to have had a negligible impact on cult iconography. Clearly, we must look elsewhere for an explanation of the pine branch's unique appearance on the Augustan metroön. As we shall see, the answer to this enigma, and indeed to the meaning of the pediment in its entirety, lies firmly in the *princeps*' vision of the Magna Mater as both a national goddess of Rome and, more particularly, as the divine protectress of Augustus himself.

Not surprisingly, it is in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Rome's national epic, that we find the most detailed realisation of the Magna Mater as *alma Cybebe*.<sup>77</sup> Here, perhaps

---

<sup>75</sup> Of those works cited above (72, n. 59), only one, *CCCA* III: no. 384, is dated to the second century. The rest are either undated, or are from the third and fourth centuries CE. This chronological trend also seems to apply to Italy outside of Latium and to the rest of the Empire.

<sup>76</sup> The majority of representations of the pine branch and tree are found on altars dating to the fourth century CE (e.g., *CCCA* III: nos. 226, 233, 236-39, 241a-b, 242-44). At this time, the March festival cycle is thought to have achieved its final form after the addition of the *Hilaria*, or 'Day of Joy,' when the pine can reasonably be interpreted not only as a symbol of Attis' death, but also of his eventual resurrection. On the fourth century introduction of the *Hilaria*, see Vermaseren (1977: 119-23), who convincingly refutes Lambrechts' hypothesis that it was during the reign of Severus Alexander (222-235 CE) that this innovation took place (Lambrechts 1952a: 141-70). Cf. Rutter (1968: 240) for the introduction of the *Hilaria* at the end of the third century CE.

<sup>77</sup> *Aen.* 10. 220. On this Hellenised version of the goddess' Neo-Hittite name Kubaba, see Roller 1999: 44-47, 67, 124-25.

even at the behest of the *princeps*, the goddess appeared as the special deity of Troy, the supporter of Aeneas and, by extension, the patron of Rome and Augustus (the latter as head of the city's *familiae Troianae*, and the descendant and heir of Aeneas). The occasions on which the *Aeneid's* Magna Mater appears as the protector of the Trojans and the facilitator of their journey to Latium are manifold;<sup>78</sup> she is vital to the success of Aeneas' mission and the pine acts as the vehicle through which she directly renders aid to her Trojan devotees. The first indication we are given of the Magna Mater's role in events following the fall of Troy is indirect. The city is aflame, yet Anchises is determined to remain. Only the omen of a shooting star blazing a trail to the woods of Mt Ida convinces Aeneas' father to flee Troy and to entrust his fate to the gods of his ancestors.<sup>79</sup> Clearly, the Magna Mater figures prominently among these deities, as almost immediately she rescues Creusa from enslavement by the Greeks and through her ghostly medium issues Aeneas with the directions that will ultimately lead him to Italy and to the site of the new Troy.<sup>80</sup> Before the seagoing journey commences, however, Aeneas must seek refuge and make preparations. This happens on Mt Ida, Aeneas' own birthplace,<sup>81</sup> and more importantly, the home of the *Mater Idaea*, the Magna Mater.<sup>82</sup> Now the full import of earlier reference to the mountain's forests is revealed,<sup>83</sup> for Aeneas' fleet is constructed from the trees on Phrygian Ida.<sup>84</sup> In these ships the Trojans escape, and though the journey will be long and circuitous, they will eventually arrive in Latium.

---

<sup>78</sup> On the treatment of the Magna Mater in the *Aeneid*, *supra* 3, n. 9.

<sup>79</sup> *Aen.* 2.693-704.

<sup>80</sup> *Aen.* 2.786-89. On this, see Henry (1989: 48), who describes Creusa as a 'superhuman figure under the power of the Magna Mater.'

<sup>81</sup> Hesiod, *Theog.* 1008-10; Homer, *Il.* 2. 820-21.

<sup>82</sup> The full name of the goddess at Rome was the Mater Deum Magna Idaea. See e.g., *Aen.* 9.619-20; Livy 29.10.5, 14.5; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.182; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.19.3 (cited in Wiseman 1984: 120, n. 18). The hope and sanctuary offered by the mountain and the goddess is made clear in *Aen.* 2.801, when the new day and the escape from Troy are signalled by the morning star rising over the summit of Mt Ida. On Mt Ida in general see Schwertheim 2005: 709-10 (with bibliography).

<sup>83</sup> *Aen.* 2.696 (*silva Idaea*).

<sup>84</sup> *Aen.* 3.5-6: *classemque sub ipsa Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae*. I am grateful to Professor Roller for pointing out that here, Virgil uses the term 'Phrygian' to mean simply 'Asiatic,' and that neither Mt Ida, nor Troy, were part of the province or general area known as Phrygia. That such confusion over nomenclature was commonplace is made clear by Strabo (10.3.22=473C) who

Not just any timber was used in the building of Aeneas' fleet. It is not until book nine that we learn the wood composing the Trojan ships was pine from the sacred groves of the Magna Mater herself. Thus, when Turnus' firebrands threaten the Berecynthian mother's beloved trees,<sup>85</sup> the poet recounts a plea made by the goddess to Jupiter during the vessels' construction:

...da, nate, petenti,  
quod tua cara parens domito te poscit Olympo.  
pineae silva mihi multos dilecta per annos,  
lucus in arce fuit summa, quo sacra ferebant,  
nigranti picea trabibusque obscurus acernis.  
has ego Dardanio iuveni, cum classis egeret,  
laeta dedi; nunc sollicitam timor anxius angit.  
solve metus atque hoc precibus sine posse parentem,  
ne cursu quassatae ullo neu turbine venti  
vincantur: prosit nostris in montibus ortas.

...Grant me, my son, what I ask –  
What your dear mother asks who helped you to power  
in Olympus.  
I had a forest of pine trees, cherished for many a year,  
A plantation high up on the mountain dusky with glooming  
spruces  
And maple wood: men used to bring me offerings there.  
This I did gladly give to the Dardan prince, when he needed  
A fleet; but now a dreadful anxiety gnaws and troubles me.  
Banish my fears: let a mother's prayer be so far efficacious  
That neither hurricanes nor any other stress of voyaging  
Vanquish those ships; may they find it a blessing they came  
from my mountain.

*Aeneid* 9.83-92.<sup>86</sup>

Jupiter, however, is unwilling to render the ships immortal, an act that will give Aeneas immunity from the hazards of the upcoming voyage. He promises to transform only those vessels that survive the journey to Italy into Nereids. Once the Trojans make landfall in Latium and the survival of their remaining ships is jeopardised, this pledge is honoured, as each vessel made from the Magna Mater's Idaean pines plunges beneath the waves, only to re-emerge as a sea-goddess.<sup>87</sup>

---

records that 'all writers use the terms Phrygia and the Troad interchangeably since shortly after Troy was sacked, the Phrygians took control of the Trojan territory' (Burton 1996: 56; see also Roller 2005).

<sup>85</sup> *Aen.* 9.82: *genetrix Berecynthia magnum*. On the origins of this identification of the goddess see Graillot 1912: 13-14, n. 5.

<sup>86</sup> Translation by C. Day Lewis (Oxford 1986).

<sup>87</sup> *Aen.* 9.94-122.

Taking place in the midst of the reality of battle between the Trojans and the Rutuli, the metamorphosis of Aeneas' fleet seems a jarringly supernatural imposition in the narrative. It is also an episode that is unattested in the Aeneas legend before Virgil, and as such deserves further consideration.<sup>88</sup> Certainly, the transformation of ships into nymphs serves a greater purpose than simply to render Aeneas' enemies awestruck, although, with the exception of Turnus, it accomplishes this end.<sup>89</sup> In the wider context of the epic the metamorphosis has been interpreted as foreshadowing the Trojans' change from a defeated and dispossessed race into Romans; this transformation, of course, is the *Aeneid's* major theme.<sup>90</sup> It follows then that the pine from which the vessels are made can be seen as a metaphor not only for Aeneas and his followers, but also for their descendants, the citizens of Augustan Rome.

More immediately, the ongoing focus on the ships allows the Magna Mater to involve herself once more in the fate of her Trojan devotees. Shortly after the transformation of the fleet, Aeneas sails down the Tiber with Evander and Pallas to rejoin his army; en route the Nereids recognise him from afar as their king (10.224). What follows is an episode that parallels the Magna Mater's first direct intervention in aid of the Trojans. Where in book two, under the influence of the goddess, Creusa imparted information that was vital to the success of Aeneas' mission, now the nymph Cymodocea (to whom the goddess has presumably given the gift of speech) brings Aeneas news of his besieged army, tactical instructions and a prophecy of victory (10.225-45). Once the nymph has finished speaking, she propels Aeneas' ship forward 'faster than any javelin or wind-swift arrow could fly' (10.248), the sight of which gives impetus to the rest of the fleet and prompts a heartened Aeneas to beseech the goddess as *alma parens Idaea deum* to act as his guide in battle and to bless her Phrygian devotees (10.252-55).<sup>91</sup>

Two things become clear. Firstly, the pine trees from Mt Ida are essential elements in the undertaking and eventual success of both Aeneas' journey to Italy and his subsequent campaign against the Latins; they are a sign of the goddess' favour and

---

<sup>88</sup> Williams 1985: 94.

<sup>89</sup> *Aen.* 9.123-28.

<sup>90</sup> Anderson 1989: 77.

<sup>91</sup> *Infra*, 121-23.

of her willingness to provide a tangible means by which the Trojans can realise their destiny – the eventual foundation of Rome. Secondly, the pine is extremely important to the Magna Mater herself. The goddess is in possession of forests of sacred pine trees that she has long cherished and that serve as a place of worship for her devotees. Indeed, so deeply does she involve herself with the welfare of the pines that although many are felled and removed to Italy in the form of ships, she remains willing to call upon Jupiter to ensure their safety. With the *Aeneid* as our model, therefore, the inclusion of the pine branch on the pediment of the Augustan metroön is no surprise. In the epic, as on the temple, the pine was the emblem of the Magna Mater's affection for and patronage of both the Aeneadae and Rome itself. As a symbol of the goddess' role as the protector of cities its meaning was analogous to that of the mural crown which dominated the metroön's gable.<sup>92</sup> As an allusion to the wooded Mt Ida, the goddess' Asiatic home, the pine also served to remind viewers of the Trojan heritage shared by Aeneas, Rome and Augustus himself.

It is not only in Virgil that we find testament to the Magna Mater's association with the pine. When recounting the story of the goddess' arrival in Italy, Ovid records that the ship constructed to carry the Great Mother to Rome was built from the same pinewoods as those used by Aeneas.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, like the Trojan vessel when it sailed up the Tiber, this ship was the recipient of divine aid during its voyage on the river. Where in the *Aeneid* Cymodocea acted as the Magna Mater's intermediary when she augmented the speed of Aeneas' craft, in the *Fasti* it is the matron Claudia Quinta who frees the ship bearing the sacred stone when it runs aground at Ostia.<sup>94</sup> So pronounced are the parallels between the two episodes that one could speculate the well known legend of Claudia Quinta in fact inspired Virgil to include the previously unknown tale of the Nereid in his epic.<sup>95</sup> The fact that the *princeps* could claim familial ties to Claudia Quinta may also help to explain any echoes one might find of the Republican matron in the *Aeneid*.

---

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *Aen.* 10.252. For the crown as a symbol of this aspect of the Magna Mater see *infra*, 182.

<sup>93</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.273-74.

<sup>94</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.291-328; cf. Livy 29.14.12-13. On Claudia Quinta and the arrival of the goddess in Rome see *supra*, 69, n. 48.

<sup>95</sup> On the possible link between the two episodes see Henry 1989: 198, n. 11; Harrison 1991: 104. Conversely, for the Trojan allusions in Ovid see Burton 1996: 43.

Obviously, an appreciation of the metroac pine in Augustan literature opens the way for a reinterpretation of the pedimental figure holding the pine branch. As noted above, this figure and its counterpart on the opposite side of the throne are generally identified as *galli*, the Magna Mater's priests who number the tympanum (upon which both figures lean) among their closest attributes.<sup>96</sup> However, it was not until Claudius introduced the rite of *arbor intrat* into the festivals of the cult that the pine became associated with cult personnel and indeed, to any considerable degree, with Attis himself. This makes it unlikely that either a eunuch priest, or his mythic paradigm were represented in such a fashion on the Augustan temple.

It may well be that the key to interpreting the metroön's ambiguous pine-bearing figure lies in its classification as female rather than male. Gerhard Koeppel, a lone voice amongst analysts of the pediment, reached this conclusion when he identified both reclining figures as women.<sup>97</sup> Each, he maintained, is shown with breasts, but of the two, the abdomen and hairstyle (caught up in a knot at her neck) of the woman holding the pine branch seemed particularly feminine (figs. 5-6). Disappointingly, Koeppel failed to back up this bold claim with suggestions as to the identity of either figure. Close study of the Valle-Medici relief, however, reveals the merits of identifying at least the pine-bearing figure as female. Her gender is suggested not only by anatomy and coiffure, but also by the garment she wears – a sleeveless tunic that conforms to her breasts, is girt at the waist, and is half-covered by the mantle wrapped around her thighs. In comparison, her counterpart to the left of the throne has a bare, flatter torso making it likely this figure is male. We will return to his identification below.

Working under the assumption that the figure to the right of the throne is female, we must therefore look beyond the traditional confines of Phrygian myth and cult, and the traditional labels of Attis or *gallus* to determine her identity. As we have seen, Augustan literature provides a number of possibilities, all of whom were linked to the pine and could claim associations that made them ideal for incorporation into

---

<sup>96</sup> *Supra*, 60, n. 6. Lily Ross Taylor (quoted in Hanson 1959: 15) identified the figure holding the branch as an *archigallus*. However, if one accepts the pediment as Augustan and this office as Claudian (Carcopino 1923; cf. Momigliano 1932: 226-30) this suggestion becomes untenable. Even more problematic is Roller's identification of both figures as Attis (1999: 309-10), given the evident lack of precedents for the depiction of 'twin' Attises in the same scene (cf. Roller 2006).

<sup>97</sup> Koeppel 1983: 102, cat. no. 13; cf. Petersen (1902: 67), who noted that both figures seemed almost female in form, but attributed this femininity to their identification as emasculated *galli*.

the *princeps*' visual programme. Of the females mentioned above, it is Claudia Quinta who had the most immediate connection to the Palatine metroön, for it was her intervention in 204 BCE that had ensured the successful transferral of the Magna Mater from Asia Minor to Rome. Only after this could work begin on the temple that was to house the goddess' sacred meteorite.<sup>98</sup> Two centuries later, it is clear that the connection between the matron and the metroön remained strong. In his account of the Magna Mater's introduction to Rome, Ovid recorded that the legend of Claudia Quinta was attested by the stage (*Fasti* 4.326). This suggests that during the principate's Megalensia a dramatisation of Claudia's miraculous deed was presented in the theatral area in front of the metroön itself. In addition, we can be certain that from at least the late-second century BCE until the Augustan period (and no doubt beyond), a statue of Claudia Quinta stood in the vestibule of the temple. When the building caught fire in 111 BCE and again in 3 CE, this statue remained on its pedestal, untouched by flames.<sup>99</sup> Whether it alone survived the conflagration that prompted Augustus' restoration of the temple is debatable. Nevertheless, the promulgation of the statue's miraculous survival, and in particular its continued display during the Augustan period could only have served to cement the renown of Rome's *matronarum castissima*<sup>100</sup> in the minds of the Magna Mater's devotees.

The reasons why Claudia Quinta was an appropriate choice for the pediment of the metroön are more far-reaching, however, than the simple acknowledgement of her contribution to, and privileged status within the Roman cult. Also in Claudia's favour were her familial connections to Livia, which, as we have seen, made the matron an ideal symbol of the Julio-Claudian dynastic settlement.<sup>101</sup> It is surely no coincidence that when designers were working on the metroön's sculptural programme, Ovid was probably writing his account of the Magna Mater's advent and *lavatio*,<sup>102</sup> and Augustus was preparing to adopt the Claudian Tiberius as his heir. As

---

<sup>98</sup> Construction took thirteen years and the temple was finally dedicated on 10 April 191 BCE (Livy 36.36.3).

<sup>99</sup> Valerius Maximus 1.8.11; Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.64. *Supra*, 24-25.

<sup>100</sup> Cicero, *Har. resp.* 13.27.

<sup>101</sup> *Supra*, 57. On the role played by Claudia Quinta in the unification of the Julian and Claudian *gentes* see Littlewood 1981: 382-85.

<sup>102</sup> *Supra*, 9, n. 4.

a symbol of the piety and pedigree of one half of Rome's ruling dynasty, therefore, Claudia Quinta's image on the Augustan metroön could not have been more apposite. That the *princeps* would appropriate the Claudii's metroac associations is also entirely plausible. He need only have looked at the temple's own hallowed statue of Claudia Quinta for iconographic inspiration. Moreover, Ovid's latest additions to the *Fasti*, which underscored the matron's connection to the *Navisalvia* (the Magna Mater's ship of Idaean pine), would have reinforced the suitability of representing Claudia Quinta with the pine branch.<sup>103</sup>

The benefits to the Claudii (and by extension to Augustus) that might have resulted from Claudia's depiction on the metroön should not preclude us from considering other interpretations of the pediment's pine-bearing figure. Virgil's *Aeneid* contains two particularly worthy alternatives: Cymodocea and the personification of the wooded Mt Ida itself.<sup>104</sup> In the case of the former, the Nereid's dual role in the epic would have ensured that she was an appropriate and meaningful addition to the temple's sculptural programme. As an agent in the fulfilment of Aeneas' destiny, Cymodocea served as a reminder both of the Magna Mater's contribution to the founding of Rome and, more pointedly, of her patronage of Julii both past and present. As the chosen herald of Aeneas' upcoming military success against the Latins, the nymph may also have prompted recollections of the goddess' illustrious record as bringer of victory over Hannibal, the Cimbri and Teutons, and perhaps even the *princeps*' own adversaries, Antony and Cleopatra.<sup>105</sup> By representing Cymodocea with the pine from which she was miraculously transformed,

---

<sup>103</sup> The altar, already discussed (*supra*, 68-69, n. 45), and a first century CE plate (Verona, Museo Archeologico al Teatro Romano) found on the bank of the Tiber at the foot of the Aventine attest that the vessel bearing the meteorite was known as the ship of salvation. Both works are dedicated *Matri Deum et Navi Salviae* by another of the Claudii, one Claudia Syntyche. The altar depicts the anthropomorphised goddess seated on the ship, which is being freed by Claudia Quinta. For these works see *CCCA* III: nos. 218-19; *CIL* 7.492-93 (= *ILS* 4096-97); Armellini 1843: 9, pl. 72; Jones 1969: 181-82, no. 109b, pl. 43; Roller 1999: 313-14, fig.74. The provenance of the altar and plate led Vermaseren (1977: 57) to speculate that a small sanctuary of the Magna Mater may have existed at the foot of the Aventine. Other inscriptions dedicated to the goddess and her ship that have been found elsewhere (*CCCA* III: no. 303; Roller 1999: 314) suggest that the vessel itself became the focus of cult activity. If this was the case on the Aventine, then the site's proximity to the Palatine may have prompted an allusion to the ship on the metroön's pediment.

<sup>104</sup> Despite her early association with the goddess at Troy (*Aen.* 2.788), Creusa can be ruled out of contention due to her ghostly status and a lack of evidence connecting her specifically to the pine-woods on Mt Ida.

<sup>105</sup> The Magna Mater as bringer of victory is discussed more fully *infra*, 116ff.



moreover, the pediment's creator would have ensured that viewers never forgot the awesome power of the Magna Mater.<sup>106</sup>

One element strikes a dissonant chord, however, in the identification of this figure either as Claudia Quinta or Cymodocea. This is the presence of the tympanum on which the reclining female leans her right arm. As the symbol *par excellence* of the unrestrained revels that characterised the Magna Mater's worship, the tympanum in Rome was associated principally with the goddess' foreign clergy. Lucretius, for example, described the instrument as the 'taut timbrel' (*tympana tenta*) that thundered in the hands of worshipping *galli*.<sup>107</sup> For Catullus, the tympanum was the maleficent tool whose rhythms summoned men to the goddess' mysteries then provoked them to madness and self-mutilation.<sup>108</sup> The inclusion of the tympanum among the beneficent cult attributes explained in the *Fasti* no doubt went some way to rehabilitating the instrument in the minds of the goddess' Roman devotees.<sup>109</sup> Nevertheless, the clear division of the Magna Mater's Augustan rites into *ludi* and sacral banquets (from which all foreigners were excluded), and 'oriental' celebrations (in which the participation of Roman citizens was prohibited),<sup>110</sup> left little opportunity for the tympanum to gain association with any but the cult's eastern personnel. For this reason it is unlikely that Claudia Quinta, the epitome of Republican virtue and modesty (and who in later tradition is even represented as a Vestal)<sup>111</sup> would be characterised on the metroön's pediment as a priestess of the Magna Mater.<sup>112</sup> Similarly, although the origins of the pine from which Cymodocea was transformed

---

<sup>106</sup> That the Magna Mater rather than Jupiter was perceived as the agent of the miraculous transformation of the ships into Nereids can be seen in *Aen.* 10.83 (where the goddess appears to be conflated with Venus) and 10.234-35.

<sup>107</sup> Lucretius 2.618.

<sup>108</sup> Catullus 63.1-36.

<sup>109</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.200-215.

<sup>110</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.19.

<sup>111</sup> The first appearance of Claudia Quinta as a Vestal is found in a fragment of Seneca, cited by Saint Jerome, *Adv. Iovin.* 1.25 = Seneca, *fr.* 80 (ed. Haase, 1886, 3: 433). Cf. Silius Italicus (17.33-47) and Statius (*Silv.* 1.2.245) who call her virgin, but do not specify that she was a Vestal. On this topic see Graillet 1912: 63, nn. 2-3; Roller 1999: 267-68. *Infra*, 238, n. 87.

<sup>112</sup> On Claudia Quinta and the traditional virtues of Republican women see Fantham et al. 1994: 260ff; Hänninen 1998: 113-15.

are eastern, there is no suggestion in the *Aeneid* that the nymph was seen as having any connection to the rites of the metroac cult.

Were there no other contenders for the identity of the metroön's pine-bearing woman, it would be fair to conclude that this figure is destined to remain an enigma. Her obvious interpretation as a simple priestess of the Magna Mater cannot be sustained, as the pine branch she holds did not become an attribute of metroac personnel until the reign of Claudius. Conversely, the figure's association with the tympanum, an attribute of the goddess' Phrygian devotees, is at odds with females whose links to the pine in Augustan literature might otherwise have rendered them ideal candidates for inclusion in the *princeps'* visual propaganda. One possibility, however, remains as yet unexplored – the identification of the figure as the personification of Mt Ida. As we have seen, many parallels existed between the ship that brought Aeneas to Italy and the *Navisalvia* that transported the Magna Mater to Rome. Both begin their journey in Asia Minor, are under the protection of the goddess, and are the recipients of divine assistance during their passage up the Tiber. In each case it is left to reader of the *Aeneid* and the *Fasti* to recognise their implicit similarities. However, when it comes to the construction of the vessels, Virgil and Ovid explicitly agree that both ships were made from the pines on Mt Ida.<sup>113</sup>

It is well attested by literary and archaeological sources that the Magna Mater's Roman devotees recognised Mt Ida as their goddess' eastern home. When consulted over conditions in Rome during the Second Punic War, the Sibylline books had been specific in their instruction for Romans to 'fetch the Mother of the Gods; she is to be found on Mt Ida.'<sup>114</sup> The continued use of her epithet, *Idaea*, by Republican

---

<sup>113</sup> This connection is made unequivocally in *Fasti* 4.273-76. More generally, Thucydides (4.52) and Strabo (13.1.51) attest Mt Ida's significance for the ancient shipbuilding and timber trades.

<sup>114</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.263-64; the same tradition is recorded by Livy (29.10.4), although diplomatic and political realities in 204 BCE probably meant that the goddess' aniconic stone was procured elsewhere; cf. Berneder 2004: 38-81, who accepts Ovid's account and argues for Mount Ida, rather than Pessinus, as the provenance of the Roman cult based on the former's proximity to Pergamum. For the provenance of the sacred meteorite see Graillot 1912: 45-51; Gruen 1990: 15-19; Summers 1996: 339; Roller 1999: 264-65, 268-71 (Pergamon); Berneder 2004: 64-67 (Mt Ida; *contra* Erskine 2001: 214); cf. Thomas 1984: 1504-505; Burton 1996; Turcan 1996: 36-37; Butler 1998: 243; Nielsen 2002: 262; Rasmussen 2002: 159; Ando 2003b: 225; Borgeaud 2004: 72-89; Pensabene and D'Alessio 2006: 34-35 (Pessinus). On the introduction of the cult in general see Thomas 1984: 1502-508; Bremmer 1987; Gruen 1990; Beard 1994: 167-70; Burton 1996; Turcan 1996: 35-37; Erskine 2001: 206-18; Warrior 2002: 91-97; Takacs 2003: 1037-38; Berneder 2004; Borgeaud 2004: 57-71; Wiseman 2004: 174-77.

and Augustan poets, philosophers and historians,<sup>115</sup> and on dedicatory inscriptions to the *Mater Deum Magna Idaea*, further proves the longevity and strength of the geographic association.<sup>116</sup> On this basis alone, reference to the Phrygian peak in the metroön's pediment would be justified. The fact that Mt Ida was also where Aeneas received the Magna Mater's aid and prepared for the journey to Latium could only have enhanced the resonance of this image. Accordingly, we may interpret the temple's pine branch as an attribute designed to reveal the identity of its bearer as the sylvan Mt Ida.<sup>117</sup> This interpretation also allows us to reconcile the presence of both the tympanum and the pine branch for, unlike Claudia Quinta, Mt Ida's origins were surely perceived as oriental. Thus the personification's link to an attribute of the Phrygian cult was entirely appropriate. Furthermore, unlike Cymodocea, Ida was intimately connected with the Magna Mater's rites. As we have seen, the mountain itself served as a sacral area to which worshippers brought offerings for the goddess.<sup>118</sup>

There is precedent for the use of topographic personifications on an Augustan pediment. Although the *princeps'* Temple of Quirinus (dedicated in 16 BCE) has been lost,<sup>119</sup> we are fortunate to have its pedimental sculpture reproduced on a fragment from a Domitianic monument found near the Baths of Diocletian (fig. 17).<sup>120</sup> According to Wiseman, here is another scene that celebrates the foundation of Rome and the prospects of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. At a time when Augustus' hopes for the future of his family must have been bright, Romulus and Remus are

---

<sup>115</sup> E.g., Lucretius 2.611; Cicero, *Sen.* 45, *Leg.* 2.9.22, *Fin.* 5.22.64; Livy 29.10.5, 14.5; Virgil, *Aen.* 9.619-20, 10.252; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.181; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.19.3. On this topic see also Burton 1996: 55, n. 95.

<sup>116</sup> Examples using variants of this formula in *CCCA* III alone include nos.: 8, 212, 226, 228-31, 240, 241b, 243, 258, 260-61, 296, 298, 339, 352, 357, 360, 405-407, 417, 450-51, 456-57, 464-65, 467-68.

<sup>117</sup> Significantly, the visual association of the mountain and the pine was longstanding. On bronze coins of the fourth century BCE from Scamandria, the head of the eponymous nymph Ida is shown crowned by a pine wreath and juxtaposed with either a pine tree or a pine cone (see Wroth 1894: 79, pl. XIV, nos. 12-13; Head 1911: 548; Conticello 1961; Papageorgiadou 1990b: 643, nos. 1-2). A coin from nearby Scepsis dated to the reign of Caracalla (198-211 CE) shows the nymph seated on a branch at the Judgement of Paris (see Papageorgiadou 1990b: 643, no. 3).

<sup>118</sup> Virgil, *Aen.* 9.85-87.

<sup>119</sup> Vitruvius 3.2.7 describes the temple as dipteral with eight Doric columns at the front and back.

<sup>120</sup> For an analysis of the pediment in its entirety see Wiseman 1995: 146-50, fig. 16.

seen on the temple's pediment ruling together in peace.<sup>121</sup> The twins appear on either side of the Quirinal's *auguraculum*, Romulus to the left, accompanied by Pales (the eponym of the Palatine hill where Romulus took his first augury), and Remus on the right next to Murcia (a topographic reference to the so-called 'lesser Aventine,' the *mons Murcus*). A similar assemblage of deities, legendary figures and topographic personifications adorned the pediment of the Temple of Mars Ultor.<sup>122</sup> We will return to this work shortly. For now, it is sufficient to note that with the temples of Quirinus and Mars Ultor as prototypes, Augustus would surely have realised the benefits of including Mt Ida's personification on his metroac pediment. One might even speculate that he envisaged a link between all three works, for after all it was on the Asiatic mountain with Aeneas that Rome's story truly began. A new chapter was written when the Trojan Romulus first set foot on the Palatine; now it was Augustus, the descendant of both legendary figures who was to initiate a new Golden Age in the city's history.

It does not require an extensive search to find these ideas reflected in Augustan literature; as we have seen, Anchises eloquently expresses them in a long speech to his son in book six of the *Aeneid*.<sup>123</sup> Likewise, Virgil's epic may provide the model for the metroön's depiction of Mt Ida. In book ten, when Aeneas has joined his Etruscan allies and is on the brink of battle with the Latins, he sails at the head of the fleet in a ship whose figurehead takes the form of Mt Ida.<sup>124</sup> This image, the poet tells us, was most dear to the Trojan exiles (*profugis gratissima Teucris*), reminding them surely, of their far-off homeland. In fact, the connection between the mountain and the figurehead is so striking that one commentator has gone so far as to suggest that '...it is the mountain itself which is uprooted and carries the Trojan leader over the sea.'<sup>125</sup> Representations of Roman vessels, both naval and mercantile,

---

<sup>121</sup> As Wiseman (1995: 149) points out, at the time of the temple's dedication, Tiberius and Drusus were working together to hold the associated games, and prospects for the next generation seemed assured by Gaius and Lucius Caesar.

<sup>122</sup> *Supra*, 62, n. 16.

<sup>123</sup> *Aen.* 6.756ff; *supra*, 1-2.

<sup>124</sup> *Aen.* 10.156-58.

<sup>125</sup> Hardie 1987: 168. Cf. Lambrechts (1951: 52, n. 3): 'On peut tout aussi bien comprendre que le navire d'Enée transporte la déesse – Idaea – qu'une représentation symbolique du mont Ida.'

displaying *tutela* of this type clearly show anthropomorphic images of guardian deities placed prominently at the bow and the aft.<sup>126</sup> Combine this form of figurehead with Virgil's emphatic reiteration of Mt Ida's importance to both the Magna Mater and her Trojan devotees, and we have the formula, if not the catalyst, for an image of Ida personified on the metroön.

Aeneas does not sail against his enemies with only the apotropaic device of his goddess' sacred mountain for protection. Two lions rise from beneath the image of Mt Ida on the prow of his ship.<sup>127</sup> These, of course, are the Magna Mater's paladins who in legend and art are shown drawing the goddess' chariot, just as they must have seemed to draw Aeneas' ship across the waves. They are also the two lions that appear on the pediment of the Magna Mater's Palatine temple, one immediately to the right of Ida, the other in the opposite corner of the gable. Never quite satisfactorily explained by reference to the *sellisternium*, these animals can thus be seen as yet another reflection of Virgilian imagery, in this case recalling the juxtaposition of Mt Ida and the Magna Mater's lions on Aeneas' ship.

Significantly, identifying the *Aeneid* as a blueprint for our pediment, and acknowledging Mt Ida's eminence both in the epic and on the temple, helps to explain other elements of the metroön's architectural sculpture. Paramount among these are the tympana upon which the two reclining figures lean, and the Corybant acroterion. With these in mind, it is important to note that there are in fact two mountains named Ida which feature in the Augustan epic. The first and foremost is, of course, the Trojan home of the Magna Mater. From here Troy's exiles embark on their journey with the blessing and support of their goddess. However, the Aeneadae travel to another Mt Ida when Apollo, via the Delian oracle, instructs Aeneas and his followers to 'seek out, then, your first mother.'<sup>128</sup> This Anchises erroneously interprets, not as a reference to Italy, but rather to '...a sea-girt island called Crete, Jupiter's birthplace...[where] a Mt Ida stands.' It is from Crete, the old man recollects, that Teucer, a famous ancestor of the Trojans, migrated to the Troad and '...the Great

---

<sup>126</sup> For examples see Casson 1971: pls. 125, 146, who also notes the existence of an Attic ship from the fifth century BCE named *Idaia* (1971: 350, n. 39); this has led Harrison (1991: 104) to speculate that Aeneas' ship was named either *Ida* or *Idaea*.

<sup>127</sup> *Aen.* 10.156-57.

<sup>128</sup> *Aen.* 3.96.

Mother, the patron of Cybele, the brass of the Corybants, the grove of Ida...and the lions yoked to the goddess' chariot' are derived.<sup>129</sup> Naturally, as the Trojans are destined to settle in Latium, nothing comes of the subsequent and short-lived expedition to Crete.

The passage describing the detour to the second Mt Ida takes just under one hundred lines in book three of the *Aeneid*, but it resonates beyond its brevity.<sup>130</sup> Here Virgil again confirms the primacy of the Magna Mater as an ancestral goddess of the Trojans and thus of Rome. Moreover, with the same aetiological spirit displayed by Lucretius and Ovid, the poet grasps the opportunity to legitimate a number of 'foreign' and perhaps disturbing aspects of the goddess' cult in Rome. The lions that appear in Catullus as fearsome enforcers charged with ensuring an acolyte's obedience are shown by Virgil simply to be loyal companions that are yoked to the goddess' chariot.<sup>131</sup> Echoes of the latter benign characterisation (of course influenced by the apotropaic nature of the lions' relationship to Aeneas) can be seen in the domesticated paladins who seemingly participate in the *sellisternium* on the pediment of the metroön. Similarly, by designating the Cretan Mt Ida as the historic provenance of the Corybants and their tympana, Virgil attests the venerability of the legendary figures and their musical attributes. Just as importantly, he prompts the reader to recall the circumstances in which both Corybant and tympanum came to prominence in Roman tradition, i.e., as vital elements in the salvation of the infant Jupiter during his concealment on Mt Ida in Crete.

While in book three the connection between the goddess and the salvation of Jupiter is merely implied, in book nine the debt owed by the god to the Magna Mater and her followers is made explicit – while looking to ensure the preservation of her Idaean fleet, the goddess pointedly reminds her son of the role she played in his ascension to power in Olympus.<sup>132</sup> Clearly, this is a reference to events following Jupiter's birth, when Saturnus' plans to commit infanticide were thwarted by the Magna Mater's followers. In order to prevent the infant god from being detected by

---

<sup>129</sup> *Aen.* 3.104-13.

<sup>130</sup> *Aen.* 3.94-191.

<sup>131</sup> Catullus 63.76-89; cf. *Aen.* 3.113, 10.157.

<sup>132</sup> *Aen.* 9.83-84, *supra*, 77.

his father, the Corybants had drowned out his cries by beating their shields and armour.<sup>133</sup> In the *Aeneid*, the import of these actions is sufficient to provoke a reciprocal favour from Jupiter, who promises to transform the Magna Mater's ships into Nereids.<sup>134</sup> If the king of the gods could thus acknowledge the Corybants, Augustus could surely do no less. Accordingly, the Magna Mater's followers were chosen as acroteria for the goddess' Palatine temple; their heroic deeds immortalised in highly visible form as they surmounted the metroön's pediment, shown in the act of beating their upraised swords on their shields. The beating of the tympanum, Ovid tells us, evoked this activity during the cult's Augustan rites.<sup>135</sup> Thus the presence of the drum within the pediment itself can be interpreted not only as a reference to rituals conducted on the Trojan Mt Ida, but also to the momentous events that took place in a cave on the mountain of the same name in Crete.<sup>136</sup> To summarise, it is evident that many factors point to the identification of the female on the metroön's pediment as the personification of Mt Ida. As the bearer of the pine from which Aeneas' fleet was made, the figure recalls the Asiatic home of the Magna Mater. Moreover, the inclusion of the tympanum suggests that the reclining female's symbolism was twofold, her image evoking not one, but both of the Idaean mountains accorded metroac connections in the *Aeneid* and in wider Roman tradition.

Unfortunately, the task of identifying Mt Ida's counterpart on the left hand side of the pediment is not so straightforward. If this individual once held an attribute comparable to the pine branch it has long been lost. Instead, what remains is the image of a headless male, seemingly nude but for the mantle that is draped around his hips and legs.<sup>137</sup> Like the figure of Ida, he supports his weight by leaning his outside arm on a tympanum, while his right hand rests on his bent right knee. It is no doubt due to the tympanum's inclusion that traditionally this figure is thought to be a *gallus*,

---

<sup>133</sup> E.g., Lucretius 2.633-640. The myth is discussed in detail *infra*, 187-91, 235-36.

<sup>134</sup> *Aen.* 9.94-103; *supra*, 77-78.

<sup>135</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4. 207-13.

<sup>136</sup> If correct, Coarelli's interpretation (1982: 42) of the arched hut shown behind the Magna Mater on the Altar of Claudia Syntyche (*supra*, 68-69, fig. 15) as the 'grotta dell'Ida,' attests the importance of the Cretan cave in both Roman visual imagery and the goddess' Roman cult.

<sup>137</sup> The figure is much abraded and its appearance in a new cast on display in the Museo dell'Ara Pacis differs slightly from its equivalent in the Museo della Civiltà Romana. Photos of the original Valle-Medici relief, however, suggest that the figure is male and has a bare torso.

one of the Magna Mater's effeminate priests who would have utilised the drum during cacophonous street processions.<sup>138</sup> Indeed, so strong is the prevailing conviction that both of the metroön's reclining figures were *galli* that our pediment as a whole has been called an 'iconographic homage to Cybele's mutilated servants.'<sup>139</sup> Yet just as inconsistencies of appearance and attribute prompt us to reinterpret the pine-bearing figure, so too do the characteristics of the second so-called *gallus* demand attention, for there is little (save perhaps the tympanum) to support his conventional identification as a priest of the Magna Mater.

First and foremost, the reclining figure shares few traits with the typical guise of a *gallus* in Rome. Representations of *galli* in art are not abundant; however, the distinctive and remarkable appearance of the goddess' priests made an impression on many of the city's historians and poets. As we shall see, writers may differ in their degree of disapproval or approbation of the *galli*, but their descriptions of the flamboyant priests are consistent. We are given a clear picture of effeminate devotees, eunuchs with flowing perfumed hair, who customarily wore long colourful robes and extravagant jewellery.<sup>140</sup> Sculptural depictions of *galli* from votive offerings and funerary monuments confirm these literary accounts.<sup>141</sup> A mid-second century CE relief found near Lanuvium, for example, presents a *gallus* in a niche (fig. 18).<sup>142</sup> The priest is shown heavily draped wearing a gown with long sleeves (*tunica manicata*), a veil that is draped over his back and shoulders and, on each side on his face, a long knotted double fillet (*infula*) or chain that falls to his waist. In addition, he is adorned with an elaborate diadem, earrings, a *torque* and, on his breast, a *naiskos*-shaped plaque enclosing a bust of *Attis tristis*. He holds an *aspergillum* containing either myrtle or olive branches in his right hand, a basket of fruits in his left hand, and is surrounded by the attributes of his office: a tympanum, two flutes, a

---

<sup>138</sup> *Supra*, 83.

<sup>139</sup> Turcan 1996: 43.

<sup>140</sup> See e.g., Diodorus Siculus 36.13.1-3; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.19.4-5; Varro, *Men. Cèbe* frs. 19-22 (Nonius frs. 135-38); Ovid, *Fasti* 4.361-66; Juvenal 6.511-16; Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 7.26; *Anth pal.* 7.223.

<sup>141</sup> On the appearance of *galli* and *archigalli* see, in particular, Hales 2002: 90-95 and Roller 1997: 548-54; 2006.

<sup>142</sup> Rome, Capitoline Museum, inv. 1207. *CCCA* III: no. 466; Vermaseren 1977: 99-100; Roller 2006. *Infra*, 207-8.



*cista* and cymbals. Unfortunately, this *gallus* is shown only from the waist up. The full figure of a priest of the Magna Mater, however, is preserved on a second century CE *cippus* from Ostia (fig. 19).<sup>143</sup> Here the standing *gallus* wears a Phrygian cap (*tiara*), short tunic, a mantle fastened with a brooch, long trousers (*anaxyrides*) and sandals; he holds a scroll and is again surrounded by the instruments of his cult.

These and other depictions of *galli* from Rome and its environs (and a few from further afield) demonstrate that when it came to their wardrobe, not all priests of the Magna Mater wore identical clothes or possessed the same accoutrements.<sup>144</sup> However, all find common ground in the extent to which their bodies were concealed by drapery. Whether it was a short tunic and *anaxyrides* or a *tunica manicata* with a mantle or veil, the outfits worn by the *galli* were all-encompassing and, more significantly, clearly exotic. In comparison, the figure on the metroön's pediment, with its bare torso and mantle-draped lower body conforms to long-established Graeco-Roman artistic conventions.<sup>145</sup> As the head of the figure is lost we will probably never know if he wore a headdress of any kind or was shown *capite velato*; both seem unlikely given the figure's semi-nude appearance. Certainly, there is no sign of a veil, tresses of hair, or decorative fillets reaching to his shoulders or beyond. Nor is there any suggestion of an attribute other than the tympanum. Perhaps the drum was considered sufficient to identify the figure, and smaller cult objects such as cymbals or a *flagellum* would have detracted from the overall clarity of the scene. Whatever the case, had the pediment's designer intended to represent a *gallus*, he clearly had an extensive repertoire of distinctive and traditional garments at his disposal. Any number of alternatives to the simple mantle that we see would have

---

<sup>143</sup> Rome, Vatican Museums (Museo Paolino) inv. 10762. CCCA III: no. 422; Roller 2006.

<sup>144</sup> Other representations include: CCCA III: nos. 250, 307 (Rome); CCCA IV: no. 94 (Capua); CCCA VI: no. 530 (Olbia); CCCA VII: no. 39 (provenance unknown). Representations of *archigalli* wearing similar garments include: CCCA III: nos. 249, 446-48.

<sup>145</sup> Famous figures in comparable garb include the seated male deities from the east friezes of the Parthenon and the Hephaisteion in Athens (Parthenon = Richter 1950: figs. 488-89; B.F. Cook, *The Elgin Marbles*, London 1997: fig. 42; Hephaisteion = Boardman 1985: 152, figures 22, 24, fig. 114.4). The figure-type of the reclining banqueter is thought to be oriental in origin, ultimately deriving, perhaps, from the Assyrian relief of a clothed Assurbanipal dining in the gardens of Nineveh. However, the use of semi-draped figures in banqueting scenes was clearly popularised by the sympotic vases and *Totenmahl* reliefs produced in Athens during the late Archaic and Classical periods (on these see, e.g., Ridgway 1970: 46, figs. 62-65, 135; Boardman 1985: 185-86, figs. 44, 170; 2001: 217-20, fig. 234).

been more in keeping with iconographic tradition, and would have ensured that the figure was clearly identifiable as one of the goddess' Asiatic clergy.

The specifics of iconography aside, one must also consider what, if anything Augustus stood to gain by featuring the image of a *gallus* so prominently in his metroac pediment. The sheer volume and complexity of evidence concerning the status of *galli* in Rome prevent a detailed examination of this topic in the present study.<sup>146</sup> However, even the most cursory survey of literature from the first centuries BCE and CE attests the gulf that existed between Roman enthusiasm for the Magna Mater and repulsion or, at the very least, ambivalence towards her emasculated priests. Dionysius of Halicarnassus clearly articulated these paradoxical sentiments when he recorded that while the Idaean goddess was worshipped according to Roman customs (with praetors performing sacrifices and holding games in her honour), her priest and priestess were Phrygian. The latter participate in the un-Roman activity of begging for alms, and process through the streets dressed in colourful robes accompanied by clamorous music. As we have seen, a 'law and decree of the senate,' prohibited the involvement of native Romans in such indecorous rites.<sup>147</sup>

Not all writers exhibited Dionysius' detachment when describing the behaviour and status of the *galli* in Rome. Although Ovid's apprehension about the *galli* will be allayed at the behest of the Magna Mater, the poet initially feels terror at the behaviour of the priests, whom he describes, not simply as eunuchs, but as 'half-men' (*semimares*).<sup>148</sup> More critical, and frequently also scornful, are those who focused their attentions on the *galli's* private lives. The priests are scathingly called 'pretty things,' 'little doves' and 'half-women,'<sup>149</sup> and their characters, appearance, love of alcohol and deviant sexual proclivities are held up to ridicule.<sup>150</sup> To Catullus,

---

<sup>146</sup> For scholarship on the *galli* and eunuch priests in general see Graillot 1912: 287-319; G.M. Sanders, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 8 (Stuttgart, 1972), s.v. 'Gallus,' 984-1034; Vermaseren 1977: 96-101; Thomas 1984: 1525-28; Beard 1994; Turcan 1996: 37-43; Roller 1997, 1999: 301-4, 2006; Hales 2002; Lancellotti 2002: 96-105.

<sup>147</sup> *Ant. Rom.*, 2.19.4-5. *Supra*, 64, n. 26.

<sup>148</sup> *Fasti*, 4.183-190. For similar see Varro, *Men.* Cébe fr. 24 (Nonius fr. 140), cf. Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 7.26; Juvenal 6.513.

<sup>149</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 7.222, 233; Philodemus, *Epigram* 26, in Gow and Page 1968: 366-67 (examples cited in Roller 1997: 550-51; 1999: 301-2). On the latter see also Wiseman 1982: 475-6 and 1985: 204.

<sup>150</sup> See e.g., Juvenal 2.111-16, 8.176; Horace, *Sat.* 1.2.119-22; Martial 3.81 (vividly translated in Beard 1994: 175).

the *galli*'s actions are deluded, and their fate as alienated, counterfeit women (a *notha mulier*, 63.27) is something to be pitied and avoided at all costs.

Nowhere do we find the disparity between the tutelary, well-received character of the Magna Mater and the contemptible nature of her foreign priests more obviously highlighted than in Virgil's *Aeneid*.<sup>151</sup> Although the poet does not mention the *galli* by name, references to them, and to prevailing Roman attitudes, are unmistakable. In book four, Dido's Carthaginian suitor Iarbas refers to Aeneas as 'that Paris [the archetype of an effeminate coward] with his half-male band,'<sup>152</sup> and using imagery more commonly applied to the *galli*, describes the Trojan as sporting a 'Phrygian cap fastened beneath his chin and oil-steeped hair' (4.215-17). Later, the Rutulian warrior Numanus contrasts the hardy and vigorous Italians with the effeminate and idle Aeneadae, calling them Phrygian women who dress in bright yellow and purple robes, long-sleeved tunics (*tunicae manicas*) and caps attached with ribbons.<sup>153</sup> The connection between the foreigners and the Magna Mater's priests is further underlined as Numanus instructs the Trojans to 'go to the heights of Mt Dindymus...[from whence] the drums and Berecynthian flute of the Idaean Mother call you' (9.617-20). Finally, in book twelve, when Turnus prays to his spear on the eve of battle with Aeneas, he asks that he be able to '...lay low the body of this eunuch Phrygian, to rend and tear apart with my strong hand his breastplate, and to foul in the dust his hair crimped with hot iron and dripping with myrrh.'<sup>154</sup>

Clearly, Virgil's intention was not to portray Aeneas, the hero of the epic and the forefather of Rome, as either a eunuch or in any way effeminate.<sup>155</sup> Instead, scholars have interpreted these unflattering characterisations as a means by which the poet could emphasise the transition that will take place when the Trojans settle in Italy: 'just as the Magna Mater fulfilled her destiny by coming to Rome, so Aeneas will put away the trappings of his Phrygian (i.e., Trojan) background and become

---

<sup>151</sup> On this topic see Wiseman 1984: 119-20; Roller 1997: 552-54 and 1999: 302-3; Jenkyns 1998: 410-16.

<sup>152</sup> Roller 1997: 553.

<sup>153</sup> *Aen.* 9.598-620.

<sup>154</sup> *Aen.* 12.97-100 (trans. Jenkyns 1998: 411).

<sup>155</sup> On this see Jenkyns 1998: 412.

Latin. He will rid himself of the effeminacy of the Oriental in order to fulfil his destiny as the ancestor of Rome.’<sup>156</sup> In this way, Virgil assures his audience of the undisputed supremacy of Roman customs and tradition,<sup>157</sup> while simultaneously acknowledging the dichotomy that existed in contemporary attitudes towards the Magna Mater and her exotic clergy. More could be said on this topic, but it is sufficient here to surmise that in the *Aeneid*, far from being positive or laudable, the association of effeminate Phrygians with the now-Roman Magna Mater was something to be risen above and, if possible, cast aside.

As literary sources and the cult’s archaeological record attest, Augustan prejudices notwithstanding, the *galli* were destined to remain an integral and distinctive part of Roman Magna Mater worship throughout the history of the cult. This does not mean that Augustus felt compelled to refer to them in the pediment of the metroön,<sup>158</sup> for notoriety is hardly a guarantor of propagandistic worth.<sup>159</sup> On the contrary, few groups could have seemed more diametrically opposed to the *princeps*’ campaign for Roman *mores* and *virtus* than the Magna Mater’s flamboyant foreign eunuchs. Such was the disassociation between the *galli* and Rome’s establishment it has even been suggested that the priests were perceived as a threat to the very stability of the city. As claimants to direct inspiration from the goddess due to their ecstatic forms of worship (practices that were open to all, regardless of political or social status), the *galli* could be interpreted as ‘...challenging the position of the Roman elite as the sole guardians of access to the gods...’ and, more seriously, as ‘...effectively challenging the wider authority of that elite and the social and cultural

---

<sup>156</sup> Roller 1999: 303; see also Jenkyns 1998: 413.

<sup>157</sup> This sentiment is expressed most clearly during Juno’s speech in *Aen.* 12.823-28. An alternative but not unrelated use of a comparison between Phrygian and Roman practice can be found in Lucretius 6.614-17, where the poet explains the self-emasculation of the *galli* as ‘an inducement for normal people to be fruitful, multiply, and obey their parents; in other words, to follow traditional Roman values and not be like the Galli’ (Roller 1997: 550).

<sup>158</sup> One could, perhaps, see a parallel between the *galli* and the *salii*, the priests of Mars who danced and sang in the biannual processions that accompanied the god’s festivals in Rome. Despite the fame of their ritual performances and the strength of their association with the cults of both Mars and Quirinus, the *salii* are nowhere to be found on the Augustan pediments honouring either of these deities. On the *salii* see Adkins and Adkins 1996: 197-98.

<sup>159</sup> Interesting here is Quintilian’s comment (*Inst.* 5.12.21) that eunuch priests were unfit models for Greek sculptors and painters (cf. Pliny, *HN* 35.36.93; 35.70). On this see Smith 1996: 324-25; Hales 2002: 89-90, nn. 18-20.

norms they have long guaranteed.’<sup>160</sup> Augustus could not have been blind to the dangers inherent in encouraging and validating the status of the *galli* in Rome. For this reason the admission of at least one of his *liberti* into the ranks of the goddess’ eunuchs has been interpreted as a move to increase imperial control over the cult’s foreign elements.<sup>161</sup> Accordingly, it is difficult to see what Augustus had to gain by incorporating the image of a *gallus* into a pediment that could otherwise be read as the twofold celebration of the *sellisternium* (a specifically Roman feature of the Magna Mater’s cult) and the goddess’ Virgilian characterisation as a national deity of Rome.<sup>162</sup>

Last but not least, identifying the reclining figure in question as a *gallus* creates a marked imbalance in the metroön’s pediment. One characteristic shared by pediments on the Augustan temples of Mars Ultor and Quirinus was the arrangement of component figures to create both compositionally and symbolically balanced scenes. On the Temple of Mars, the central figure of the eponymous god is flanked by the standing goddesses Venus and Fortuna, then the seated Romulus and Roma, and finally, in the corners of the pediment, by the reclining personifications of the Palatine and Tiber.<sup>163</sup> On the Temple of Quirinus, two analogous scenes of augury flank the central entrance to the *auguraculum* on the Quirinal. To the right (according to Wiseman), Pales, Jupiter, Mars and Victory are shown accompanying Romulus. To the left, Remus is seen with Murcia, Herakles (uncertain), Bona Dea and Mercury.<sup>164</sup> Naturally, the need to depict each figure with specific attributes and garments meant that neither of these pediments was perfectly symmetrical. Both compositions, nevertheless, were carefully balanced: standing deity with standing deity, seated personification with seated personification etc, with all figures matching their equivalents in scale and attitude. As we have seen, balance was an equally

---

<sup>160</sup> Beard 1994: 178.

<sup>161</sup> *CIL* 6.496; cf. Schillinger 1979: 339, nn. 3-4; Roller 1999: 315.

<sup>162</sup> It is telling that neither *galli* nor *archigalli* appeared even in the official monuments of later emperors such as Claudius and Antoninus Pius, who otherwise fostered the status of the Magna Mater’s priesthood. Instead, as Hales (2002: 90) points out, the majority of their images were the result of commissions by the priests themselves.

<sup>163</sup> *Supra*, 62, n. 16.

<sup>164</sup> See Wiseman 1995: 146-50, fig. 16, where the identification of Herakles is queried.

defining characteristic of the metroön's pediment. The reclining figures to the left and right of the Magna Mater's throne are comparable in size and pose, yet to see one as the personification of Mt Ida, celebrated home of the goddess and refuge of the Aeneadae, and the other simply as a mortal *gallus*, infamous for his outlandish dress and repugnant behaviour, creates a disparity in status that is irreconcilable in light of the conventions of Augustan pedimental art.

One way to minimise, but certainly not eradicate, this inequality is to identify the reclining male not as a *gallus*, but rather, as Roller has suggested, as his mythical paradigm, Attis.<sup>165</sup> However, here again we are faced with a number of serious obstacles, not least of which are iconographic inconsistencies and the questionable status of Attis in Augustan Rome. Among the many ambiguous aspects of the cult of the Magna Mater, the position of Attis prior to Claudius' reforms remains particularly problematic. At the root of scholarly debate lies the contradictory character of our evidence. On one hand, a large number of votive terracottas widely believed to represent Attis were found in the metroön's Republican strata.<sup>166</sup> These are now considered by some to indicate the presence, and indeed even worship of Attis as early as 204 BCE.<sup>167</sup> On the other hand, none of the literary sources that detail the Magna Mater's arrival in Rome mention an accompanying consort.<sup>168</sup> Nor do we have confirmation that Attis played a role in cult ceremonies prior to the introduction of March festivals in his honour during the Claudian period.<sup>169</sup> Ovid mentions him in

---

<sup>165</sup> Roller 1999: 309; cf. 2006. Lancellotti (2002: 96-105), following Arnobius (*Adv. Nat.* 5.7) and Stephen of Byzantium (s.v. Γάλλος), sees the Phrygian named Gallus as the real prototype of the *galli*.

<sup>166</sup> The majority of these were excavated by Romanelli (1963: 261-90; 1964: 619-26 = *CCCA* III: nos. 12, 35, 37, 39, 41, 51-52, 56, 58-59, 62-63, 79, 127, 140-42, 151, 157, 180), while a smaller group was discovered during Boni's excavations near the temple in a gallery running from the Velabrum (*CCCA* III: no. 12.2-4). For the corrected dating of the level at which Romanelli found the metroön's terracottas see Coarelli 1977: 10-13.

<sup>167</sup> E.g., Vermaseren (1977: 43), who goes so far as to maintain that Attis was worshipped within the metroön during the Republican period. On the basis of the Palatine figurines, Turcan (1996: 40) likewise refers to Attis as 'the god [who] already had his place in popular piety in the second century BC.' For Roller (1999: 277), the terracottas '...demonstrate that Attis was an essential part of the Mother's cult from its inception in Rome...' Cf. the more circumspect Beard (1994: 169-70) who, while seeing the terracottas as evidence that Attis was introduced along with the Magna Mater, also makes the salient observation that '...the poor quality of the terracottas suggests not an official offering but a group of poor devotees of the cult' (Beard et al. 1998a: 98).

<sup>168</sup> Cf. Livy 29.14; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.247-347; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 17.8-58.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Lucretius 2.600-645; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.19.

*Fasti* 4.221-46, during his explanation of the *galli's* self-emasculation. References here to the youth as both a *Phryx puer* (223) and a guardian of the Magna Mater's temple (225), however, make it clear that Attis was presented not as the goddess' official consort, but merely as a figure from cult legend, included to elucidate an alien element of cult practice.<sup>170</sup> For this and a number of other reasons, many scholars have argued either that Attis was virtually unknown in Rome until the mid-first century CE,<sup>171</sup> or that the youth at least played no part in the goddess' public cult until this time.<sup>172</sup>

As one might imagine, the arguments concerning the evolution of Attis' status in Rome are extremely complex, and the job of attempting to reconcile contradictory evidence is beyond the scope of this study. It may be that answers to questions on the enigmatic terracottas lie in interpreting them not as divine images, but rather (following a recent suggestion) as *ex-votos* from mothers wishing to place their sons under the Magna Mater's protection.<sup>173</sup> Equally, the absence of Attis in pre-Claudian literature and epigraphy could be the result of deliberate attempts to exclude him from the goddess' official cult.<sup>174</sup> Should this prove true, it follows that one must be sceptical of any suggestion Augustus included Attis on the most official of all cult monuments, the Palatine metroön. Certainly, it is difficult to imagine the *princeps'* motive for distinguishing the cult's prototypical eunuch when Attis' imitators, the *galli*, were marginalised and derided by Augustus' contemporaries. The fact that our sources fail to give Attis any official role in the Augustan cult, and more particularly, that we find no allusion to him in the *Aeneid* further suggests that it is not the youth whom we see in the Valle-Medici relief.

---

<sup>170</sup> See further Showerman 1900: 55. Already mentioned (*supra*, 73), is that while Ovid referred to Attis in passing in *Met.*, 10.103-5 and *Ib.* 507-8, it is evident that the story surrounding the youth had yet to reach its canonical form. Likewise, the Attis immortalised in Catullus 63 is most commonly thought to be a generic acolyte, rather than the consort of the goddess (Showerman 1900: 55-56; Lambrechts 1952a: 149-50; Wiseman 1985: 206; Roller 1997: 551-52, 1999: 304-7).

<sup>171</sup> See e.g. Showerman 1901 (whose work predates the discovery of the Palatine figurines); Lambrechts 1952a: 149-50; Thomas 1984: 1506.

<sup>172</sup> Lambrechts 1952a: 149; Wiseman 1984: 118; Lancellotti 2002: 80; Nielsen 2002: 262.

<sup>173</sup> Lancellotti 2002: 77-79. *Contra* Roller 2003: 1-2. For a unique interpretation of these terracottas as showing Attis, not as the consort of the Magna Mater, but as the personification of a penis, see Butler 1998: 247.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. Lancellotti 2002: 80.

With literary evidence regarding Attis' position in Augustan Rome at best inconclusive, it remains to be seen whether the appearance of the pedimental figure is consistent with the iconography of the goddess' consort. Here again, our efforts are hampered by the marked lack of representations of the youth from the Republican and Augustan periods. Indeed, after the Palatine terracottas (generally thought to date from 191-111 BCE), no image of Attis exists until a fresco in a *hypogeum* near the Porta Maggiore, variously dated to either 20 CE or the Claudian period.<sup>175</sup> This artistic lacuna is significant, for one might have expected a monumental, officially endorsed representation of Attis, such as the pedimental sculpture would have been, to have inspired the creation of less ambitious public and private works. This was obviously not the case. As a result, with the exception of our Republican figurines, we are dependent on archaeological material from the post-Augustan cult for our knowledge of Attis' Roman imagery.

Not surprisingly, even the most cursory survey of representations of the goddess' consort reveals a striking concordance between the appearance of Attis and of the *galli*. Artists chose to portray the former in several guises, for example, as a beautiful *adulescens*, a shepherd and, most famously, as *Attis tristis* or *hilaris*.<sup>176</sup> While the attitude of these figures may differ, it is clear that they, like the *galli*, were customarily shown in oriental dress, which could take several forms. Statuettes from Rome and nearby Ostia show the youth variously dressed in a combination of *tunica manicata*, shoulder cape (*chlamys*) and *anaxyrides*; sandals may be worn, and the Phrygian cap is ubiquitous.<sup>177</sup> Our best and most detailed examples of Attis in this characteristic fashion come from the second and third centuries CE; the Republican statuettes from the metroön, however, confirm the time-honoured and prevalent use of this Eastern form of dress.<sup>178</sup>

Significantly, in no instance is Attis shown simply with a mantle draped around his lower body, as is the case with our pedimental figure. A marble statue of

---

<sup>175</sup> *CCCA* III: no. 344; Vermaseren 1966: 54-55, 1977: 55-57; Lancellotti 2002: 80.

<sup>176</sup> For various Attis types see Vermaseren 1966: 14-21; 1977: 93-95; 1986.

<sup>177</sup> See, for example: *CCCA* III: nos. 226, 304, 309, 336, 343, 344, 357, 378, 383, 425, 426, 453.

<sup>178</sup> On the significance of Attis' costume see Hales (2002: 95-98), who observes that rather than depict the youth's emasculated state, artists largely relied on Attis' distinctive dress and paraphernalia to identify him and to give expression to his status as 'the ultimate in the alien' (95).



Attis found in the *Campus Matris Magnae* at Ostia, no doubt from the sanctuary's Attideum, perhaps comes the closest (fig. 20).<sup>179</sup> Here the youth is shown reclining, with his left arm resting on a bearded mask, possibly that of the river-god Sangarius. He is almost completely nude, save for a shoulder cape and a mantle draped over his bent legs. Obviously the pose of this figure and the position of his mantle are reminiscent of the metroön's reclining male. A few crucial differences, however, outweigh any similarity. The Ostia statue is clearly feminised and, according to Vermaseren, shows Attis as a hermaphrodite.<sup>180</sup> For this reason, the figure's mantle is artfully draped low enough to expose female genitalia, a characteristic that it shares with at least one other statue, also from Ostia.<sup>181</sup> These and numerous other figurines revealing Attis' sex on account of low-riding *anaxyrides* or a billowing *tunica manicata*, belong to iconographic types that seem to have developed in the second century CE, perhaps under the influence of Attis' new association with the androgynous monster Agdistis,<sup>182</sup> or in order to emphasise the youth's emasculation. However, on the earlier metroac pediment there is no indication either that the figure was in any way feminine, or that its sexual organs were intended for display; the mantle he wears is draped low, but modesty is maintained. Clearly, we are not dealing with the precursor to a category of feminised or sexually explicit Attides. On the contrary, this type of semi-draped male has its origins firmly rooted in representations of the gods, heroes and symposiasts of Classical Greece.

Had the designer of the metroön's pediment intended to represent Attis, just as with the *gallus*, he could have utilised any number of oriental garments, all of which would have doubtless evoked thoughts of the Magna Mater's consort; this he did not do. Likewise, he had at his disposal attributes such as the reed pipe (*syrinx*), and the shepherd's crook (*pedum*), which, as the Palatine terracottas attest and the Porta

---

<sup>179</sup> Musei Vaticani, inv. no. 10785; *CCCA* III: no. 394; Vermaseren 1966: 35-36, pl. XXI.3, 1977: 94-95, pl. 44, 1986: 36, no. 312; Hales 2002: 96-97, fig. 3.

<sup>180</sup> Vermaseren 1966: 36.

<sup>181</sup> Ostia, Antiquarium inv. nos. 169; *CCCA* III: no. 374; Vermaseren 1986: 24, no. 12; Hales 2002: 97, n. 53 (where the reference to *LIMC* should read 3.1, p. 24, not 2.2). A second statue of Attis from Ostia (inv. 168; *CCCA* III: no. 373) appears very similar in form, but displays male genitalia.

<sup>182</sup> Pausanias (7.17.9-12) recounts the legend in which it was Agdistis, a creature born *ex utroque sexu*, who was responsible for inducing Attis to emasculate himself. Later, Arnobius gave a variant of this myth (*Adv. Nat.* 5.5-7).

Maggiore fresco confirms, were already synonymous with Attis.<sup>183</sup> Instead, the reclining figure on the pediment is shown only with the tympanum, a cult attribute, certainly, but one that is seldom seen in the hands of Attis himself. In none of the Palatine figurines, for example, does Attis hold the distinctive circular drum. Indeed, it would appear that of the many monuments representing Attis found in Rome and surrounding Latium, only two specifically link the youth with the tympanum. One of these, a taurobolic altar showing Attis leaning against a pine tree and holding a tympanum, dates to 295 CE and thus can scarcely be deemed to have relevance for a pediment created almost three hundred years earlier.<sup>184</sup> The second work, a marble statue of a dancing youth holding a tympanum and a *pedum* is undated,<sup>185</sup> but clearly represents *Attis hilaris*, a specific iconographic type variously interpreted as showing the youth in the throes of ecstasy before his emasculation, or as rejoicing after his resurrection.<sup>186</sup> In either case, the tympanum can be read as a symbol of the frenzy-invoking music that led to the transformation of Attis' psychological and physical state. The tympanum on the pediment, on the other hand, performs no such task. It belongs to a figure in an attitude of repose, not revel, and both the instrument and its owner are motionless and silent.

Clearly, the appearance and attribute of the remaining pedimental figure are inconsistent with virtually all extant representations of Attis from Rome and its environs. The image may share features with a small number of these works, but these rare commonalities fall far short of proving the reclining figure on the pediment is Attis. It could be argued that the placement of the legendary Attis in opposition to the personification of Mt Ida afforded the composition the same symbolic balance that characterised other Augustan pediments. Yet our literary and epigraphic sources provide no evidence that the Phrygian youth was of sufficient importance, either to

---

<sup>183</sup> *CCCA* III: nos. 12.2, 35, 37, 56, 58-59, 127, 141, 157. For these types see also Vermaseren 1986: 30-32, nos. 154-210.

<sup>184</sup> Rome, Villa Albani, inv. no. 215.208; *CCCA* III: no. 357; Vermaseren 1966: 27, pl. XVI.

<sup>185</sup> Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, inv. no. 1656; *CCCA* III: no. 253; Vermaseren 1966: 52, n. 5, pl. XXXV.1, 1986: 34, no. 248.

<sup>186</sup> We can be certain, at least, that the latter suggestion does not apply to the reclining figure on the metroön. It was to be many years before the soteriological influences of Neoplatonic philosophy and the doctrines of rival religions such as Christianity and Mithraism prompted focus to be placed on Attis' triumph over death. On the dancing Attis type see Vermaseren 1966: 39-59; 1977: 123; 1986: 33-35, nos. 240-78.

the Magna Mater, or to the Augustan cult in general, to warrant prominent acknowledgement on the goddess' pre-eminent Roman temple.

Rejecting the traditional options of either a *gallus* or Attis does not mean that we are without a fitting and credible interpretation of the figure in question. By turning once again to the *Aeneid* as our iconographic blueprint, we find the obvious candidate is another personification, that of the Palatine itself. The manifold ways in which Mt Ida was ideally suited to integration into the visual language of the metroön's pediment have already been discussed. As the location at which the Magna Mater rendered assistance to the Trojans, the mountain reminded viewers both of the goddess' illustrious role in the founding of Rome and, more particularly, of her patronage of Aeneas and his descendants, Augustus and the Julii. As the eastern home of the goddess and an important locus of worship, it constituted one of the cult's most significant topographical landmarks. Finally, a reference to Mt Ida in its Cretan incarnation reinforced the Magna Mater's status as a national goddess of Rome by recalling her legendary salvation of Jupiter, the supreme god of the city's pantheon.

Strikingly, for each of these facets of Mt Ida, parallel messages can be found in an image of the Palatine. Firstly, the hill is, of course, the home of the Magna Mater in Rome. It is the destination to which the black stone was brought from the east, and the site of the metroön, the goddess' original and most important Roman temple. These facts alone would have guaranteed the relevance of the Palatine's personification to any sculptural programme adorning the metroön. Entirely new levels of meaning are added, however, when one interprets the image in the light of Virgil's epic.

In book eight of the *Aeneid*, it is to the Palatine that Aeneas travels in search of allies for his forthcoming war with the Latins. There he meets Evander, the Arcadian king who lives on the future site of Rome; he is entertained and treated to a vision of the grandeur of the city to come, and in due course when he departs, his cause is bolstered by the resources of his host, the promise of an allied Etruscan army, and an Arcadian escort that includes Pallas, Evander's own son. Quite clearly, a link is forged between the Trojan Mt Ida and the quintessentially Roman Palatine. In both locations, Aeneas receives aid that is vital to the fulfilment of his destiny. On Mt Ida, it is the Magna Mater whose direct intervention provides refuge for the Trojans and the means by which they are able to embark on their journey. Ultimately, however,

Mt Ida will lie in their past; their future is on the Palatine, where Augustus will inherit and foster their legacy. Furthermore, it is the success of Aeneas' mission and the eventual founding of Rome that allow the goddess to realise her own destiny – to be brought across the sea to a new home on the Palatine, in the city founded by Aeneas' descendants.<sup>187</sup> That the journey of the Aeneadae echoed the transfer of the Magna Mater from Mt Ida to the Palatine must have been apparent, both to Virgil's audience and to those who viewed the metroön's pediment. Surely it was equally obvious that, where once Aeneas had benefited from the goddess' patronage on Mt Ida, now Augustus enjoyed her favour on the Palatine.

Clearly, the inclusion of the Palatine's personification on the metroön, and more specifically its juxtaposition with Mt Ida, are explicable in terms of topographical relevance and the propaganda value of both sites to the *princeps*. Their presence also affords the composition the same iconographic and symbolic symmetry characteristic of other Augustan pediments. Obviously, both locations were important centres of the Magna Mater's cult, one in the east, the other in the west; Mt Ida was the traditional home of the goddess, the Palatine her new abode. It may be that the pairing of the two personifications can even be read as a response to contemporary concerns about Roman identity. The Augustan principate had witnessed an unprecedented influx into Rome of new citizens from Italy and further afield; this sparked what was to become a long-lasting debate as to what constituted a Roman and the nature of Rome itself.<sup>188</sup> While many politicians and jurists focused their attentions on expanding Rome's civic definition, Augustus chose to emphasise the dual origins of the city. Most obviously, as we have seen, these concerns were manifested in Virgil's epic; their influence can also be observed in the fostering of ties between Lavinium, Bovillae and Rome, a move that brought the latter's Trojan and Latian heritage to the fore.<sup>189</sup> By acknowledging Rome's debt, both to Troy

---

<sup>187</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.247-72.

<sup>188</sup> Scheid 2003: 131.

<sup>189</sup> On the promotion of Lavinium by Augustus see Scheid 2003: 128-32, where it is noted that 'Lavinium played a role not only in the genealogy of the Romans, but also in their legitimacy: no magistrate with *imperium* could consider himself legitimately installed unless he had first celebrated the *feriae Latinae*, and then given sacrifice before Vesta and the Penates at Lavinium. These rituals expressed not only the links of the Roman people with the Latian environment, but also the people's double origin: Trojan in terms of its lineage, and Italic in terms of its territory. Or, in juridical terms, they expressed the doubleness of birth and local registration, of ancestry and foundation' (129). For Bovillae's connections to both the Aeneadae and the Julii see Weinstock 1971: 5-7.

(symbolised by Mt Ida) and to Latium (the Palatine) on the metroön, the *princeps* reaffirmed his reconciliation of the city's two ancestral legacies in a way that made them relevant, not only to the cult and to the Julian dynasty, but to all Romans.

To be sure of our Palatine hypothesis, however, one final test should be applied. Traditional interpretations of the pedimental figures as Attis or a *gallus* are found wanting once iconographic conventions are taken into account. Therefore, it is appropriate that the metroön's remaining figure be considered alongside Palatine comparanda. Here, regrettably, our investigation is checked by the rarity of the Palatine's appearance in ancient art; indeed, only five quasi-secure examples have been identified.<sup>190</sup> Four of these show the Palatine in the context of the *Lupa Romana*, where the personification is presumably intended to set the scene. Significantly, two works, an Etruscan mirror from the late-fourth century BCE<sup>191</sup> and the Ara Casali, an altar from the early-third century CE (fig. 21),<sup>192</sup> depict the Palatine as a reclining youth draped in a mantle. He is shown similarly garbed, but respectively either seated or standing, on a Trajanic or early Hadrianic altar from Ostia,<sup>193</sup> and on a marble fountain dated to the early third century CE.<sup>194</sup> In two instances (the mirror and the Ostian altar), the figure identified as the Palatine also wears a *petasos*, but this is clearly not an indispensable attribute, and is one that could even have been worn by our pedimental figure itself.<sup>195</sup>

The image of a reclining male, clad only in a mantle draped over his lower body, however, is far from unique to the image of the Palatine; these features were also characteristic of gods, heroes, banqueters, and indeed other topographic

---

<sup>190</sup> Small 1994: 150-51, nos. 1-5 (with bibliog.).

<sup>191</sup> Rome, Antiquarium Comunale; Small 1994: 150, no. 1.

<sup>192</sup> Musei Vaticani, inv. no. 1186; Le Gall 1953b: 26, pl. IX; Small 1994: 150, no. 3 (illustrated in *LIMC* 7.2: 417 as Ares/Mars no. 411); *contra* Moreno 1963: 849. On the debate surrounding the dating of this monument see Albertson 1990: 313.

<sup>193</sup> Rome, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 324; Le Gall 1953b: 25-26, pl. VIII; Small 1994: 150, no. 2; La Regina et al. 1998: 59-60.

<sup>194</sup> Stockholm, National Museum, inv. no. Sk 178; Small 1994: 151, no. 5 and fig.

<sup>195</sup> As noted above (*supra*, 60), the original head of the reclining figure on the Valle-Medici relief has been lost. However, a comparison with a similar image on the pediment of the temple of Mars Ultor, would suggest that the figure on the metroön was bare-headed.

personifications.<sup>196</sup> Thus, when considered in relation to scenes where the Palatine appears in the company of the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, the best that may be said of the metroön's figure, perhaps, is that its appearance does not preclude it from being the Palatine. This is not entirely satisfactory, but we are already a step closer to understanding the figure than when it was identified as either Attis or a *gallus*. Fortunately, it is not necessary to build a case for the Palatine solely on comparanda involving the *Lupa Romana*. The Augustan Temple of Mars Ultor itself is widely thought to have incorporated the Palatine in the left hand corner of its pediment. Crucially, this personification exhibits many similarities to our metroac figure.<sup>197</sup> A male with bare torso, the Mars Ultor Palatine reclines in the left hand corner of the temple's pediment (fig. 14). His body is wrapped from the waist down in a mantle; his right hand rests on his drawn-up right knee, and his outstretched left leg is bent slightly and is inclined outwards towards the viewer. He differs from his counterpart on the metroön only in the survival of his head (turned to the right, as if observing the figures in the centre of the composition), his more muscular (or perhaps just better-preserved) upper body, and the fact that his left arm, on which he props up his body, seems to be draped over a rock, rather than a tympanum.

Such iconographic correspondence is significant. Indeed, it may even be that the earlier Mars Ultor image acted as a model when the Palatine was placed on the Temple of the Magna Mater. The two monuments may have been separated by as little as five years; one can even speculate, therefore, that the two Palatini were designed and executed by the same craftsmen.<sup>198</sup> As we have seen, the two pediments

---

<sup>196</sup> The use of reclining, semi-draped males to represent geographic features in anthropomorphic form had a long and venerable tradition in Greco-Roman art (see Gradel 2002: 135). Thus, our pedimental figure can take its place in a category of monuments that includes the personifications of the Kladeos and Alpheios rivers from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the statue of the Tigris in the Musei Vaticani, and the personification of the Campus Martius on reliefs depicting the apotheoses of Sabina and of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder. On these works see Richter 1950: 67, figs. 115-16 (Kladeos and Alpheios; *contra* Gais 1978); Vermeule 1979: 113-14, figs. 118-19; Strong 1988: 177, 197-98, figs. 111, 127; Ramage and Ramage 1996: 198-99, 219, figs. 7.33, 8.17 (Campus Martius).

<sup>197</sup> For the identification of the Mars Ultor Palatine see e.g., Richardson 1992: 162; Favro 1996: 150, fig. 65; Galinsky 1996: 209, fig. 111.

<sup>198</sup> Although the *princeps* vowed the temple of Mars Ultor on the eve of the Battle of Philippi in 42 BCE, the dedication ceremony did not take place until 12 May, 2 BCE. Even then, Suetonius tells us (*Aug.* 29.1), the temple remained unfinished; he gives no further details, but one can imagine that it was work on the architectural sculpture, not the structure of the temple, that was incomplete at the time of inauguration. On the temple of Mars Ultor see Richardson 1992: 160-62; Claridge 1998: 158-60.

are notable for their commonalities. Both were characterised by archaising compositions, with component figures that were static and symmetrically disposed. Both depended on the symbolic, rather than the narrative content of their scenes to convey Augustan ideology, and in both the overriding themes were unmistakably the history of Rome and the glorification of the *princeps* and the Julii.

Clearly, future avenues of inquiry arise from these conclusions. Not least is the nature of previously unsuspected links between the temples of Mars Ultor and the Magna Mater, and in particular, their ramifications for our understanding of the Valle-Medici reliefs.<sup>199</sup> For now, however, it is sufficient to reflect that effort spent reassessing the content and meaning of the metroön's pediment is amply repaid by the results. No longer can we entertain suggestions, for example, that Augustus neither cared about, nor remained detached from choosing a subject to adorn the temple that was otherwise so closely associated with his own house and family. Nor can we sustain traditional preconceptions that figures shown in the company of the Magna Mater (represented on the pediment by her mural crown) must be either Attis or *galli*. To do this requires one to disregard iconographic tradition as well as to invite disquiet over the *princeps*' unlikely and anachronistic validation of two of the cult's most infamous eastern imports. By interpreting the metroön's reclining figures with recourse to Virgilian imagery, however, we begin to understand and appreciate the ways in which these multivalent images formed an intrinsic part of Augustan ideology's pictorial vocabulary. As symbols of the east and the west, and of Troy and Rome, few images could have encapsulated and validated the Magna Mater's dual heritage more effectively than the personifications of Mt Ida and the Palatine. The fact that the *princeps*, his family, and indeed Rome itself, laid claim to this same aetiology only increased the relevance and resonance of these figures. Because of her origins on Mt Ida, the Magna Mater had been accepted into the heart of Augustan religion; equally her temple on the Palatine was now celebrated as one of the monuments at the heart of Augustan Rome. Just how profoundly these circumstances found reflection in the visual language of the day will be addressed in Part Two of the present study.

---

<sup>199</sup> For recent work on the so-called metatopography of the two structures and its reflection in the Valle-Medici reliefs see Grunow 2002: 164-67.

PART II

PALATINE TOPOGRAPHY



## CHAPTER 3

## THE AUGUSTAN PRECINCT ON THE PALATINE

---

As patron of the restored Temple of the Magna Mater, Augustus ensured that his name was linked to both the goddess and her cult. Mention of the metroön by name in the *Res Gestae* proves that this association was welcomed in perpetuity. Long before 3 CE and the metroac building project, however, the young Octavian made his connection to the Magna Mater inevitable when he chose to reside mere metres away from the goddess' Republican temple. Whether or not he envisaged capitalising on this relationship when he purchased his house on the Palatine in 41/40 BCE, is impossible to say. More certain is that during the *princeps*' lifetime the Magna Mater's sanctuary became incorporated into a coherent precinct centred on the houses of Augustus and Livia.<sup>1</sup> We shall see in subsequent chapters that an appreciation of this intimate topographic relationship prompts a reassessment of a number of significant Augustan monuments. For now, it will be instructive to follow the example set by Peter Wiseman and consider the legendary and symbolic associations of the area that housed not only the Magna Mater but also the *princeps* himself.<sup>2</sup>

For Octavian, the decision to reside on the Palatine must have been an easy one to make. Firstly, as his (alleged) place of birth, the hill surely held significant familial and sentimental associations.<sup>3</sup> More importantly, for a young man with far-reaching political aspirations, the Palatine had been one of the most fashionable

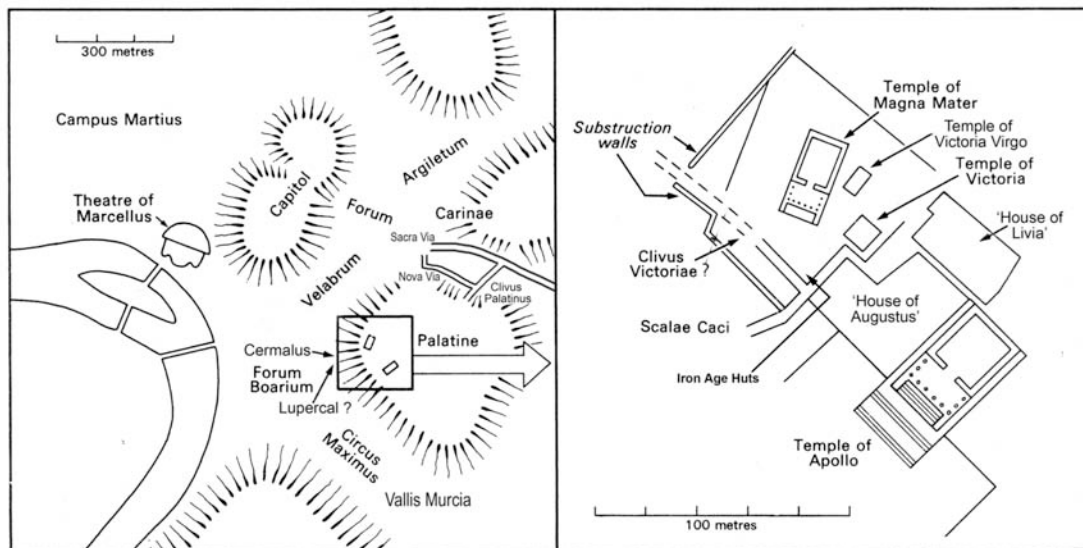
---

<sup>1</sup> On the Palatine residences see e.g., Richmond 1914: 197-200; Platner 1929: 156-58; McKay 1975: 69-72; Hannestad 1988: 40; Wiseman 1991: 105-7; Richardson 1992: 117-18, s.v. 'Domus: Augustus (3)'; 73-74, s.v. 'Casa di Livia' (where the attribution, however, is questioned); Iacopi 1995b: 130-32, s.v. 'Domus: Livia'; Favro 1996: 100; Coarelli 1997: 159-62; Claridge 1998: 128-30; Roller 1999: 311-13; Haselberger et al. 2002: 104-6, s.v. 'Domus: Augustus'; 110-11, s.v. 'Domus: Livia.'

<sup>2</sup> See in particular, Wiseman 1981; 1984: 126-28; 1994: 102-7.

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 5-6; Cassius Dio 48.43. Favro (1996: 203, n. 134) believes that Augustus may have consciously avoided identifying his exact place of birth in order to prevent the worship of both himself and the site in Rome.

districts in Rome since the mid-second century BCE. Consequently, by 41/40 BCE, previous residents on the hill had already numbered among the greatest political figures, orators and lawyers of the Late Republic.<sup>4</sup> Unlike many before him, however, Octavian chose not to live overlooking the Velabrum or in the vicinity of the *Nova Via* and *Clivus Palatinus*, but instead purchased the house of Q. Hortensius Hortalus on the southwest slope of the hill (ill. 8).<sup>5</sup>



Ill. 8. Plan of central Rome and the southwest corner of the Palatine in the time of Augustus (adapted from Wiseman 1984: 124).

That Caesar's heir eschewed the northern side of the Palatine in favour of the southwest corner of the hill requires further investigation. After all, the former site placed its inhabitants in close and convenient proximity to the Forum Romanum, the city's political hub. Yet Octavian gave up his *domus* near the Forum (the old house of C. Licinius Calvus) in order to move to the Palatine.<sup>6</sup> It may be that the purchase of

<sup>4</sup> These included Q. Lutatius Catulus, M. Livius Drusus, L. Licinius Crassus, M. Tullius Cicero and his enemy P. Clodius Pulcher, M. Aemilius Scaurus and Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer. See Pliny, *HN* 17.2 (Catulus); Velleius Paterculus 2.14.3 (Drusus); Pliny, *HN* 17.1.6-7 (Crassus); Cicero, *Har. resp.* 8.15 (Cicero); Cicero, *Dom.* 115-16 (Clodius); Pliny, *HN* 36.2.5.6 (Scaurus); Cicero, *Cacl.* 18 (Celer). Others with houses whose exact locations on the Palatine are unknown included L. Cornelius Chrysogonus (Cicero, *Q. Rosc.*, 46.133); L. Sergius Catilina (Suetonius, *Gram.* 17) and M. Antonius (Cassius Dio 53.27.5, Cicero, *Phil.* 3.12.30, 5.4.2). For residences on the Palatine see Lanciani *ibid.* 117-18; Platner 1911: 134-35; Lugli 1946: 406-9; Dudley 1967: 160-63.

<sup>5</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 72.1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

Hortensius' house was a symbolic act; after all, the orator's son (also Q. Hortensius Hortalus) died while fighting for Brutus and Cassius at Philippi.<sup>7</sup> Thus, as Diana Kleiner has noted, 'the house was more than just a residence. It made reference to the emperor's achievement at Philippi and to his double victory over Hortalus, once by vanquishing him on the battlefield and again by acquiring his house.'<sup>8</sup> Residence atop the Cermalus, however, provided much more than the fleeting satisfaction of besting an opponent. It offered Octavian the opportunity for close personal association with the very origins of Rome. It is no coincidence that the Temple of the Magna Mater stood at the heart of this historically and symbolically significant area.

The metroön occupied the very summit of the Palatine. But a prominent location on one of Rome's most spectacular hilltops was only one of the features contributing to the temple's landmark status. More important, perhaps, to the city's populace was that the temple stood within an area renowned for its legendary associations. Both our literary and archaeological evidence points to the southwest Palatine as the site of Rome's first settlement.<sup>9</sup> In the *Aeneid*, for example, it is where the Arcadian exile Evander is said to have built a township named Pallanteum after his ancestor Pallas.<sup>10</sup> In Livy's history, on the other hand, it is where the twins Romulus and Remus were raised, and where Rome was founded once the former had committed fratricide.<sup>11</sup>

The extent to which inhabitants of Augustan Rome found it necessary to read Virgil and Livy in order to appreciate their city's early history is a matter of conjecture. Physical evidence of the beginnings of Palatine settlement remained very much a visible and experiential part of the cityscape throughout antiquity.<sup>12</sup> During

---

<sup>7</sup> Velleius Paterculus 2.71.2.

<sup>8</sup> Kleiner and Matheson 1996: 34.

<sup>9</sup> For the ancient sources on the Palatine see Huelsen 1928: 92-96; Dudley 1967: 146-76.

<sup>10</sup> *Aen.* 8.51-54. Cf. *Aen.* 8.100-105, where Evander's son is also called Pallas. Fowler's placement of the Virgilian settlement of Evander, and even the House of Augustus on the northern edge of the Palatine, has found little favour with scholars (1918: 72, 74-76). Livy (1.5) records a variant tradition that the hill was named for an Arcadian city.

<sup>11</sup> Livy 1.4-7. That the Palatine was included within the original Romulean *pomerium* is made clear by Tacitus in *Ann.* 12.24.

<sup>12</sup> On Palatine sites connected to Romulus see Huelsen 1928: 59-61; Wiseman 1981: 42-46, 1991: 58; Stambaugh 1988: 9-12; Richardson 1992: 74 (*casa Romuli*), 151 (*ficus Ruminalis*), 238-39 (Lupercal),

the early principate, visitors to the site were able to view not only the actual hut of Romulus himself – a modest structure of wattle and daub that was reverently restored by the *princeps* at least twice,<sup>13</sup> but also the fig tree under which a she-wolf allegedly suckled the twins (the *ficus Ruminalis*),<sup>14</sup> the nearby cave in which the wolf lived (the Lupercal, also restored by Augustus),<sup>15</sup> and the remains of walls believed to have been a part of the hill's Romulean fortifications (*Roma quadrata*).<sup>16</sup> Here also, and of even greater antiquity, were the *Scalae Caci*, the stairs up the slopes of the Cermalus, which Virgil may well have envisaged Aeneas and Evander using during their tour of the Palatine.<sup>17</sup>

Even today, archaeological evidence at least partially confirms ancient perceptions of the area's topography.<sup>18</sup> The remains of a narrow ramped staircase

---

333 (*Roma quadrata*); C. Edwards 1996: 31-43; Galinsky 1996: 213-15; Grandazzi 1997: 144ff.; Claridge 1998: 119, 125-26.

<sup>13</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.11; Plutarch, *Rom.* 20.4; Cassius Dio 29.8; 48.43.4 (for the burning of the hut in 38 and 12 BCE). The hut was preserved at least until the fourth century CE, and is listed in the regionary catalogues in Regio X. There was also a *casa Romuli* on the Capitoline.

<sup>14</sup> Varro, *Ling.* 5.54; Pliny *HN* 15.77; Plutarch, *Rom.* 4.1; Servius, *Aen.* 8.90; Festus 332-33L. According to Livy (1.4.5) the tree was visible in his day; however, Ovid (*Fast.* 2.411) implies that perhaps only a stump remained (*remanent vestigia*).

<sup>15</sup> Augustus, *RG* 19; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.8; Ovid, *Fast.* 2.381-424; Livy 1.5.1-2. The Lupercal is listed by the regionary catalogues in Regio X, which accords with the majority of sources who locate the cave with reference to the Palatine. However, Richardson (1992: 333), following Servius (*Aen.* 8.90), places it *in circo*; cf. Wiseman (1981: 42-42), who reads this as a reference to the Lupercal being 'on the way' to the Circus Maximus. Nevertheless, a theatre was apparently built between the Lupercal and the Palatine (Velleius Paterculus 1.15.3), suggesting that the cave was somewhat removed from the hill; as yet, no trace of the theatre has been found. See Hanson 1959: 24-25 for the possible topographic relationship of the Lupercal to the theatre in which the *Ludi Megalenses* may have been performed (cf. *supra*, 67-68, nn. 40-41).

<sup>16</sup> Festus 310-2L; *POxy.* 17 2088.14-17, suppl. by A. Piganiol, *Scritti in onore di B. Nogara* (Rome, 1937) 374 (cited with text in Wiseman 1994: 158, n. 44). There appears to be some confusion over whether the name *Roma quadrata* was applied to a small storage place (*mundus*) or shrine standing before the Temple of Apollo (see Richardson 1992: 333, following Festus); the altar that surmounted it (see Lanciani 1897: 60); the first village on the Palatine (Galinsky 1996: 215, also apparently following Festus); or the quadrate walls that surrounded this settlement. On the differing designations of *Roma quadrata* see Grandazzi 1997: 207-8.

<sup>17</sup> *Aen.*, 8.184ff. See also Tomei 1998: 27.

<sup>18</sup> Discussion of archaeological remains on the hill can be found in Frank 1924: 91-109; Carettoni 1960: 197-203; Stambaugh 1988: 11-12; Richardson 1992: 279-82; Claridge 1998: 123-45; Haselberger et al. 2002: 184-87, s.v. 'Palatium.' Not surprisingly, no trace of the *ficus Ruminalis* has been uncovered, and Frank (1924: 92) has found little support for his identification of the Lupercal with an archaic corbelled cistern found amongst the Palatine's early remains; cf. Richardson 1992: 281. At the time of writing, however, the discovery of an underground chamber beneath the House of Augustus itself has prompted speculation that this cavity is in fact the Lupercal (article available as of February 2, 2007 at <[www.zeenews.com/znnew/articles.asp?aid=350821&sid=FTP:>](http://www.zeenews.com/znnew/articles.asp?aid=350821&sid=FTP:>)>).

ascending from the Vallis Murcia to the ground between the metroön and the House of Augustus, for example, have been found cut into the tufa slopes of the hill; these must surely be the *Scalae Caci*.<sup>19</sup> Close by, excavators have uncovered the foundations of Iron Age huts, the date and layout of which tally with Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *casa Romuli*.<sup>20</sup> Substantial stretches of walls in *opus quadratum* blocks of Fidenae and Grotta Oscura tufa known in antiquity as the 'walls of Romulus,' are similarly extant.<sup>21</sup> Clearly, archaeological sources indicate that by purchasing Hortensius' house, Octavian inserted himself into the midst of an area renowned then, as now, for the most evocative and tangible reminders of Rome's foundation. That he was recognised (at least later) as having benefited from this association is apparent in Cassius Dio's observation that the house '...gained some measure of renown from the Palatine hill as a whole, because Romulus had once resided there.'<sup>22</sup>

Not even the comparatively late sanctuary of the Magna Mater was immune to the legendary associations of the site. Whether or not the goddess was regarded as an integral part of Roman history upon the cult's introduction in 204 BCE is debatable. The idea that Rome traced its origins back to Troy, observable in Greek thought since the fifth century BCE, was certainly familiar to Romans two centuries later.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, as Eric Gruen has noted 'after the Hannibalic war, allusion to the Trojan origins and to the consanguinity of Rome and Ilium became almost a commonplace in diplomatic

---

<sup>19</sup> For the identification of the stairs see Lanciani 1897: 129-30; Lugli 1946: 405-6; Romanelli 1963: 202-10.

<sup>20</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.11. These dwellings are dated to the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, and thus correspond to Romulus' supposed founding of Rome in 753 BCE. However, recent excavations indicate this area was covered over by the Late Republic and therefore cannot have contained the famed hut of Romulus (Pensabene 1990-91: 157). See also Richardson 1992: 74, 281, s.v. 'Casa Romuli'; *LTUR* I: 241-42; Haselberger 2002: 83, s.v. 'Casa Romuli (Palatium).'

<sup>21</sup> These blocks are now thought to have formed part of the terracing of the hill, not its fortifications; they also appear to be roughly contemporary with the Servian Walls of the fourth century BCE, not with the Iron Age huts. On the walls see Frank 1924: 91-96; Wiseman 1994: 102-104; Richardson 1992: 280.

<sup>22</sup> Cassius Dio 53.16.5 (trans. Scott-Kilvert 1987): ...καί τινα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου προενοίκησιν φήμην ἢ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὄρους ἔλαβε.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g., the testimony of Naevius in Servius, *Aen.* 1.273; Pausanias 1.12.1; Zonaras 8.9.12. On the evolution of the tradition of Rome's Trojan ancestry see Horsfall 1987; Gruen 1990: 11-15; Burton 1996: 42-43; Erskine 2001.

dealings.’<sup>24</sup> Shared Trojan ancestry has been convincingly cited as prompting the introduction of Venus Erycina from Sicily in 217 BCE.<sup>25</sup> However, the suggestion that the Magna Mater’s association with Aeneas resulted in her advent in Rome is more contentious.<sup>26</sup> The intricacies of this debate need not detain us here. More significant is that by the Augustan principate, when Roman historians and antiquarians readily saw the remains of *Roma quadrata*, the hut of Romulus, and even Evander’s Temple of Victoria embodied in monuments surrounding Augustus’ house,<sup>27</sup> the process of assimilating the Magna Mater into Rome’s foundation mythology had already begun. A good example of this phenomenon is the association of a chamber in the Magna Mater’s Palatine sanctuary with the hut of Faustulus, the herdsman who found and raised Romulus and Remus. The Augustan mythographer Conon refers to Faustulus’ dwelling as a *καλύβη*,<sup>28</sup> a term also found in Philodemus’ account of a clubhouse used by the *galli*.<sup>29</sup> On the basis of a reference made by Josephus to a *καλύβη* situated on the Palatine *πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείου*, Wiseman has concluded that the three structures were one and the same.<sup>30</sup>

Equally indicative, Wiseman maintains, of the goddess’ incorporation into the indigenous traditions of the site is the concurrent renaming of Romulus’ mother as Rhea Silvia.<sup>31</sup> Previously, the daughter of Numitor had been called Ilia.<sup>32</sup> In the work of the first century BCE rhetorician Castor of Rhodes, however, the ancestress

---

<sup>24</sup> Gruen 1990: 14.

<sup>25</sup> E.g., Gruen 1990: 14; Burton 1996: 43, n. 34; Erskine 2001: 198-205 (with bibliography 199, n. 4); Scheid 2003: 119, n. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Those who consider the Magna Mater’s Trojan connections to be a creation of Augustan propaganda include Bömer 1964: 144-45; Thomas 1984: 1504, n. 6; Burton 1996: 42-63. Cf. Cruttwell 1946: 6-7, 26; Gruen: 1990: 15-33; Roller 1999: 270-71, n. 43; Scheid 2003: 119.

<sup>27</sup> For the Arcadian temple of Victoria see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.32.5.

<sup>28</sup> Conon, *FGrH* 26F 1.48.8.

<sup>29</sup> Philodemus, *Epigram* 26.3 in Gow and Page 1968: 396-98.

<sup>30</sup> Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 19.1.11 (75); 19.1.13 (90). See Wiseman 1982: 475-76; 1984: 127, n. 51; 1985: 201, n. 81.

<sup>31</sup> Wiseman 1984: 127, n. 51; 1985: 201, n. 81; 1995: 56, n. 96. See also Graillet 1912: 37; Roller 1999: 279, n. 74.

<sup>32</sup> Ennius, *Ann.* 55. For the continued use of this name see e.g., Virgil, *Aen.* 1.274; Horace, *Carm.* 4.8.22; Tibullus 2.5.52; Statius, *Silv.* 1.2.243; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 12.543.

of the Roman race became Rhea Silvia,<sup>33</sup> an appellation that reflects the contemporary conflation of the Magna Mater with the Greek Rhea, wife of Kronos.<sup>34</sup> It has also been suggested that a connection between the Alban priestess and the Roman goddess is discernible in the former's nomen Silvia, which may echo the famed *silvae* of Mt Ida, the Magna Mater's Troadic home.<sup>35</sup> We have already seen that the Trojan pinewoods played a crucial role in the redefinition of the Magna Mater as the tutelary deity *par excellence* of Aeneas, Rome, and Augustus himself.<sup>36</sup> In Virgil's *Aeneid*, they provide both a safe haven for the fleeing Trojans and the constructional materials of the Aeneadae's ships.<sup>37</sup> In essence, therefore, the Idaean pines were the means by which the Magna Mater was able to save the Trojan race and thus to ensure the future of Rome.<sup>38</sup> For these reasons alone the Magna Mater's place within both the complex on the Palatine and the Augustan pantheon as a whole was assured. That the pines also served to connect the goddess to Rome's founder through a conflation with Rhea Silvia could only have enhanced this status. Clearly, in 41/40 BCE when Octavian was consolidating his position as Caesar's heir, there was much to be gained by association with the Palatine home of the Julii's divine protectress. In turn, the metroön had more than earned its place among the venerable monuments commemorating Rome's foundation. The fact that this integration began in the decades prior to Octavian's rise to power suggests that the rehabilitation of the Magna Mater in Augustan literature need not have stemmed, as Wiseman has implied, from a need to justify the *princeps*' unavoidable topographic connection to a foreign deity.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Castor of Rhodes, *FGrH* 250F5; Varro, *Ling.* 5.144; Livy 1.3.11.

<sup>34</sup> E.g., Lucretius 2.633-38; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.195-210. The identification of the Magna Mater and Rhea is discussed at greater length below, 186-88.

<sup>35</sup> Virgil, *Aen.* 2.696 (*silva Idaea*). See Cruttwell 1946: 27-29.

<sup>36</sup> *Supra*, 76-79.

<sup>37</sup> *Aen.* 3.5-6.

<sup>38</sup> The Idaean groves also provided wood for the ship that brought the Magna Mater to Rome in its time of need (Ovid, *Fasti* 4.273-77); *supra*, 79.

<sup>39</sup> Wiseman 1984: 127: 'Augustus could not ignore her: somehow, despite the alien mummery of her cult, she had to be assimilated into the complex of associations he had built up around his Palatine house.' Recent scholarship, however, has done much to challenge long-held views that integral facets of the Roman cult such as the castration and appearance of the *galli* could rightfully be described as 'alien mummery.' *Supra*, 33, n. 91.

Rather, like the decision to live within the very precinct that housed the goddess' temple itself, it should be seen as yet another of the ways in which Augustus promoted his status as the heir of Aeneas and Romulus, and as the new founder of Rome.

Nor should it escape our attention that the Magna Mater was entirely suited to inclusion among the more recent additions to the Palatine, and that the resultant associations proved equally advantageous to the *princeps*. From the moment of the Magna Mater's arrival in Rome, for example, she had been closely associated with Rome's foremost goddess of victory; for thirteen years during the metroön's construction, the Magna Mater's sacred stone was housed in the neighbouring Temple of Victoria.<sup>40</sup> The simple proximity of the two structures is occasionally cited as having determined the meteorite's temporary abode,<sup>41</sup> but it is possible that more than convenience prompted the very public linkage of the two cults in this way. The obvious common denominator is the role both goddesses played as the bringer of victory, a sphere of influence that we shall see proved extremely useful once incorporated into the mechanisms of Augustan propaganda.

Despite her association during the early principate with Evander and the very origins of Rome,<sup>42</sup> Victoria, like the Magna Mater, was not one of the city's traditional deities. Rather, interest in the goddess can be traced to a growing awareness of the Greek Nike in the context of Alexander the Great's conquests and the Samnite Wars of the late-fourth century BCE.<sup>43</sup> As Rome's dominion expanded, so too did its devotion to Victoria. The third century saw the construction of the goddess' temple on the Palatine, Victoria's first in Rome, dedicated by L. Postumius Megellus prior to his campaign against the Samnites in 294 BCE;<sup>44</sup> simultaneously,

---

<sup>40</sup> Livy 29.14. It is only relatively recently that the remains of a large tufa podium to the east of the metroön at the top of the *Scalae Caci* have been conclusively identified as the temple of Victoria. On this topic see Wiseman 1981; Pensabene 1988; Richardson 1992: 420, s.v. 'Victoria, Aedes;' Ziolkowski 1992: 172-74; Haselberger et al. 2002: 266, s.v. 'Victoria, Aedes (Palatium).'

<sup>41</sup> Castagnoli 1964: 185; Ziolkowski 1992: 173.

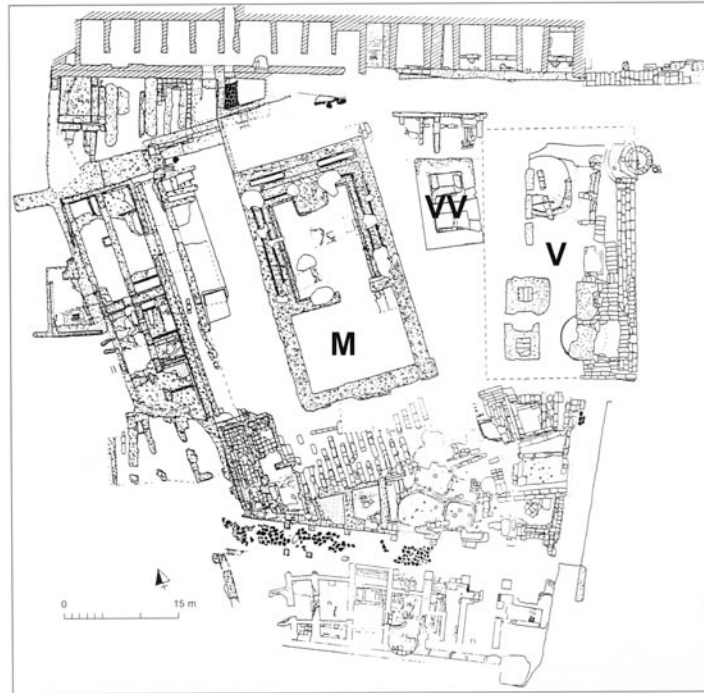
<sup>42</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.32.5.

<sup>43</sup> For the early cult of Victoria in Rome see Weinstock 1971: 91-93; Beard et al. 1998a: 69.

<sup>44</sup> Livy 10.31.3, 33.9. Cf. Ziolkowski 1992: 172-76.



Victoria began to appear on the city's coinage.<sup>45</sup> A century later the Palatine was once again confirmed as the goddess' home when, in 193 BCE, a second smaller shrine to Victoria Virgo was constructed between the Temple of Victoria and the soon-to-be-completed metroön (ill. 9).<sup>46</sup> Then followed the age of the pre-eminent generals, Scipio, Marius, Sulla and Pompey, all of whom fostered links to Victoria, ensuring that the goddess became the great symbol of Roman invincibility.<sup>47</sup>



Ill. 9. Plan of the Palatine sanctuaries of the Magna Mater and Victoria. M: Metroön; VV: *Aedicula* of Victoria Virgo; V: Temple of Victoria (adapted from Cecamore 2002: fig. 39).

<sup>45</sup> See e.g., Mattingly 1945: 70-71; Weinstock 1971: pls. 9-10.

<sup>46</sup> Livy 35.9.6. For many years this structure was known as the 'Auguratorium' (see e.g., Platner and Ashby 1929: 61; Nash 1961: 163, fig. 176), before Wiseman (1981: 46) identified it as the Temple of Iuppiter Victor (cf. Ziolkowski 1992: 177-78, n. 22). Most scholars now agree the *aedicula* is that of Victoria Virgo (see e.g., Pensabene 1988: 57; Richardson 1992: 420, s.v. 'Victoria, Aedes; Galinsky 1996: 214; Claridge 1998: 128; Haselberger et al. 2002: 266, s.v. 'Victoria Virgo, Aedicula'). However, alternative identifications as the Temple of Juno Sospita (Tomei 1998: 29; cf. Ziolkowski 1992: 77-78) and even an Attideum (Nielsen 2002: 271) have also been suggested.

<sup>47</sup> Weinstock 1971: 92-93. For the celebration of Scipio's victories and his epithet *invictus* see Ennius, *var.* 3 V; Cicero, *Har. resp.* 6.9; Livy 38.51.5; Gellius 4.18.3; Appian, *Syr.* 40.208. Marius was famed for setting up statues of Victoria and for placing his own statue between two Victoriae on the Capitol (Suetonius, *Jul.* 11; Plutarch, *Caes.* 6.1; Obsequens 70), while Sulla founded the *Ludi Victoriae* (Velleius Paterculus 2.27.6; Cicero, *Ver.* 1.31). Pompey's involvement with Victoria is debated; however, Weinstock maintains that the goddess must have played a role in the general's third triumph and that she was worshipped along with Felicitas in the theatre of Pompey.

Finally, in the years before the principate, Julius Caesar, Octavian's adoptive father, entrenched the association of the goddess of victory with Rome's rulers by according her a pivotal role in Roman war imagery. In the wake of Caesar's military successes Victoria appeared in manifold forms, either alone or in the company of Dea Roma, Venus (Caesar's ancestress), and even the *imperator* himself on coins and in relief and free-standing sculpture.<sup>48</sup> Such was the strength of Caesar's connection to the goddess that a new deity was born: Victoria Caesaris – a personal goddess and the ultimate testament to the success of her eponymous devotee.

The Magna Mater could claim equally strong connections to the martial fortunes of Rome.<sup>49</sup> Scholars today debate the true reasons for the goddess' introduction to the city in 204 BCE, with religious, political and strategic concerns all having adherents.<sup>50</sup> For ancient authors, however, the circumstances were explicit: the invading forces of Hannibal threatened Rome, and while the portents were ominous, a Roman victory was assured if the Magna Mater was brought to the city. Cicero, Livy and Appian all present the goddess as the remedy for the bleak and unsettling conditions that prevailed during the Second Punic War.<sup>51</sup> Livy, in particular, makes it clear that the Magna Mater's contribution was to exceed the provision of succour; her presence was destined to be the catalyst for the end to the Carthaginian threat.<sup>52</sup> Careful examination of the literary sources reveals that the

---

<sup>48</sup> Weinstock 1971: 93-103.

<sup>49</sup> On this see La Piana 1927: 296; Wardman 1982: 40, 113.

<sup>50</sup> The hypothesis put forward by Graillet (1912: 30-32) and Cumont (1956: 46-47), that the Magna Mater's advent came at a time of crisis, is currently enjoying a revival. See e.g., Burton's (1996) challenge to Gruen's assertion that by 204 BCE the tide had turned in Rome's favour and that the reasons for the goddess' introduction are to be found in the realms of domestic politics and foreign policy (Gruen: 1990). Those who, like Gruen, disassociate the Magna Mater from events surrounding the Punic Wars include Lambrechts 1951: 46-47; Thomas 1984: 1503-8; Orlin 1997: 99; Roller 1999: 264-68.

<sup>51</sup> Cicero, *Har. resp.* 13.27; Livy 29.10.4-6; Silius Italicus 17.1-4; Appian, *Hann.* 7.9.56; Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* 7.49; Julian, 5.159C, 161; Ammianus Marcellinus 22.9.5; Anon. *De viris illus.* 46. These sources are discussed in Roller 1999: 264-67.

<sup>52</sup> Livy 29.10.5-6: *quandoque hostis alienigena terrae Italiae bellum intulisset, eum pelli Italia vincique posse, si mater Idaea a Pessinunte Romam advecta foret.* The perception of the goddess as the bringer of victory over Hannibal, so well known in the Augustan period, became even more entrenched over time. The emperor Julian called the Magna Mater Rome's ally against Carthage (Julian, 5.159C), while Arnobius testified that followers of the cult credited the goddess with the victory that restored safety, joy and glory to Rome (*Adv. Nat.* 7.49).

triumph over Hannibal, while undoubtedly the most celebrated of the Magna Mater's intercessions on behalf of Republican Rome, was not the goddess' only involvement in the military wellbeing of the city. In particular, we hear of the Magna Mater's priests disclosing prophecies of victory to Roman generals on the eve of later battles. One such pronouncement was made in 189 BCE when Cn. Manlius Vulso met with two *galli* from Pessinus during the former's campaign against the Gauls.<sup>53</sup> In Livy's account of this event it is clear that the Magna Mater was accorded the most pivotal of roles in the conflict, granting as she did 'the way of war and victory and dominion' to the Romans.<sup>54</sup> Likewise in 102 BCE, at a crucial time in hostilities with the Cimbri and the Teutoni, the *gallus* Battaces arrived in Rome bringing the Magna Mater's assurances of victory.<sup>55</sup> The senate, confident of success, correspondingly voted that a temple be built for the goddess,<sup>56</sup> and in 101 when Rome's enemies were defeated, the triumph was met with widespread relief and rejoicing.<sup>57</sup> Acknowledgement at the highest levels of the Magna Mater's role in proceedings can be inferred from Marius' subsequent journey to Asia Minor in 98 or early 97 BCE. This trip was undertaken so that the general might fulfil his vow (presumably made following Battaces' prophecy) to make sacrifices to the Mother of the Gods.<sup>58</sup> Marius was evidently not alone in this activity, for Cicero tells us that in times of war, Roman generals often made vows to the Magna Mater which they later discharged in Pessinus by laying offerings to the goddess on the main altar of her sanctuary.<sup>59</sup>

Clearly then, long before Octavian came to live alongside the Palatine temples of the Magna Mater and Victoria, a profound link had been forged between the two

---

<sup>53</sup> Polybius 21.37.5-7.

<sup>54</sup> Livy 38.18.9-10. Bömer's (1964: 135) view that the brevity of Livy's account suggests a certain curtness in Manlius' acceptance of the prophecy is refuted in Thomas 1984: 1509.

<sup>55</sup> For discussion of the ensuing events see Broughton 1953-54: 210-211; Morgan 1973: 241-45; Thomas 1984: 1510-12; Butler 1998: 246-47.

<sup>56</sup> Plutarch, *Mar.* 17.5-6; cf. Diodorus Siculus 36.13 (Photius *Bibliotheca* 390b-391a). For the proposed temple, *supra*, 11, n. 16.

<sup>57</sup> Plutarch, *Mar.* 27.5.

<sup>58</sup> Plutarch, *Mar.* 31.

<sup>59</sup> Cicero, *Har. resp.* 28; Valerius Maximus 1.1.1. However, with the exception of Marius, no further details of these dedicants are recorded; cf. Thomas 1984: 1509.

goddesses. That Octavian made use of the potent imagery associated with his neighbouring cults should hardly surprise us – from Scipio Africanus to Julius Caesar, Roman history was replete with examples of men who sought to profit from connections to the divine bringers of victory.<sup>60</sup> However, circumstances in the years surrounding Octavian's purchase of the house of Hortensius indicate that the young politician had more motivation than most to pursue such links. It was no secret that Octavian's role in the Battle of Philippi in 42 BCE had been ignominious. Three days spent hiding in a marsh and suffering from dropsy while Brutus captured his camp meant that Caesar's heir had received none of the public adulation accorded Antony as the triumphant *imperator*.<sup>61</sup> One wonders whether Octavian's subsequent relocation to the Palatine's precinct of Victoria was intended to alleviate poor opinions of his military prowess; the move might just as easily have been greeted with derision. However coincidental, the fact remains that once in the company of the Palatine goddesses of victory, Octavian was more successful in the field. He would never be another Julius Caesar, but shrewd promotion of the consequences of his victories (i.e., the conquest of the world and the restoration of peace) rather than of the details surrounding their individual achievement created an effective, if exaggerated, picture of Octavian as a worthy *triumphator*. Early in 40 BCE the young Caesar first outmanoeuvred then forced the surrender of Antony's brother, Lucius Antonius at Perusia. More significantly, two years after a humiliating naval defeat off Tarentum, Octavian brought the persistent threat posed by Sextus Pompeius to an end at the battle of Naulochus in 36.<sup>62</sup> The successful campaigns in Illyricum

---

<sup>60</sup> Scipio Africanus, in particular, had reason to be thankful to both deities. After all, it was the Magna Mater's introduction to Rome that prefigured the decisive defeat of Hannibal at Zama in 202 BCE. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the goddess' sacred stone was installed in the temple of Victoria just prior to the general's departure for the Carthaginian homeland. For possible partisan interpretations of the Sibylline oracle, including that in support of Scipio's proposed campaign in Africa, see Gruen 1990: 23-27 (cf. Burton 1996: 58-59). Bosworth (1999: 17) discusses the possible emulation of Africanus by Augustus.

<sup>61</sup> Pliny, *HN* 7.148; Suetonius, *Aug.* 12. On the *princeps*' efforts to combat poor public opinion of his military prowess see Yavetz 1984: 2-3.

<sup>62</sup> It was common knowledge that this success owed more to Agrippa's tactics than to Octavian's personal contribution. Suetonius (*Aug.* 16) makes it clear that Octavian's misfortunes (defeat in the straits of Messina and an inglorious escape to the mainland) gave Antony sufficient grounds for ridicule. However, this apparently did not stop Octavian from minting two series of *denarii*, one juxtaposing his own portrait with the image of Victoria on a globe, the other the head of Victoria with himself in the guise of Neptune, Pompeius' erstwhile protector. For these coin types see Zanker 1988: 54-55, figs. 41-42 (cf. Gurval 1995: 5); Beard et al. 1998b: 225, fig. iv (*infra*, 119, n. 68).

and Dalmatia (35 and 34) further enhanced Octavian's prestige as a general.<sup>63</sup> However, all previous triumphs paled in comparison to the military accomplishments that soon followed. At Actium in 31, Octavian decisively defeated the forces of Antony and Cleopatra; the following year he invaded Egypt and entered Alexandria as a conqueror. These were the victories that Caesar's heir claimed as his greatest success,<sup>64</sup> and any who witnessed the grandiose triple triumph (for Illyricum, Actium and Egypt) in 29 BCE and the extraordinary honours Rome subsequently conferred upon him could hardly have argued differently.<sup>65</sup>

One can only guess at the extent to which Octavian personally attributed the dramatic reversal in his military fortunes to the aid of his tutelary Palatine goddesses. In public, however, there was to be no question that his actions had received divine sanction and support. As Wiseman has noted, 'the festival of Victoria on the Palatine was the day [Octavian] chose to celebrate the conquest of Egypt, *quod eo die imp. Caesar Augustus rem publicam tristissimo periculo liberavit*; it was the first day of the month now renamed *Augustus*.'<sup>66</sup> We can also be sure of the significant role assigned to Victoria in the iconographic programme that celebrated and promoted Octavian's martial accomplishments. First came the coin issues, seemingly minted in the years after both Naulochus and Actium,<sup>67</sup> which juxtaposed the image of Octavian with that of Victoria.<sup>68</sup> Reverse types showing Victoria standing on a globe holding a crown and either a palm branch or *vexillum* particularly attest the goddess' symbolic

---

<sup>63</sup> Syme 1939: 240. Appian (*Ill.* 16-28) and Cassius Dio (49.34-38) provide the most detailed accounts of these campaigns, while Suetonius (*Aug.* 20) and Pliny (*HN* 7.45.148) document the injuries Octavian sustained in battle.

<sup>64</sup> Augustus, *RG* 27.

<sup>65</sup> Virgil, *Aen.* 8.714-28; Cassius Dio 51.19.7, 51.20.1. On the triple triumph and its place in the public ideology of the Principate see Gurval 1995: 7-8, 19-36.

<sup>66</sup> Wiseman 1984: 126.

<sup>67</sup> The precise dating of this numismatic evidence is complex and controversial. For a summary and analysis of scholarship on Octavian's victory coinage see Gurval 1995: 47-65.

<sup>68</sup> Where Octavian's portrait was shown on the obverse, the goddess variously appeared in reverse types standing on a ship's prow (*RIC*<sup>2</sup> 263, 264), on a globe (*RIC*<sup>2</sup> 255, 268), on a *cista mystica* (*RIC*<sup>2</sup> 276), and driving a biga (*RIC*<sup>2</sup> 261); on one series of denarii where Victoria's head was shown on the obverse, the reverse type consisted of Octavian standing with one foot on a globe, holding a sceptre and *aplustre* (*RIC*<sup>2</sup> 256); Zanker (1988: 55, fig. 42) identifies the latter figure as a triumphal statue of Octavian, Gurval (1995: 61, pl. 1.5) simply as a naked male, and Galinsky (1996: 314-15, fig. 147) and Beard et al. (1998b: 225 fig. iv) as Octavian in the guise of Neptune. All the above types are given in Gurval 1995: pls. 1-5.

role in the representation of Rome's conquests and world dominion.<sup>69</sup> Further promoting this allusion, and simultaneously reinforcing its dedicant's ties to Julius Caesar, was the statue of Victoria set up by Octavian in the Curia Julia (29 BCE).<sup>70</sup> This work, a Hellenistic original from Tarentum, was now augmented with Egyptian *spolia* and placed atop a column in the Curia's most prominent position: directly behind the seats of the consuls.<sup>71</sup> Henceforth, Octavian's personal goddess would be present at every assembly of the Senate, no longer solely the guardian of the Julii, but also of Rome itself.<sup>72</sup>

Much the same could be said of the Magna Mater, whom we find officially presented not just as the patron of the *princeps* and his family, but also of the city founded by Aeneas' descendants. Because the Magna Mater lacked Victoria's long and potent iconographic connection to war, her image was less suited than that of her counterpart for use on public victory monuments and coins. As we shall see in chapters 4 and 5, this did not prevent her close association with victors in the Circus Maximus, or her portrayal as the bringer of victory on the Gemma Augustea. Most Romans, however, would have been familiar with the Magna Mater as the bringer of victory primarily from her characterisation in Augustan literature. Virgil's *Aeneid*, which famously celebrated the events and positive repercussions of Actium, was once again to the fore in this respect.<sup>73</sup> When the poet has the Magna Mater give aid and assurances of victory to the Aeneadae, he echoes Republican traditions. Where the

---

<sup>69</sup> Gurval 1995: 61.

<sup>70</sup> Cassius Dio 51.22. See Herodian 7.11.3 and *Fasti Maffeani* 28 Aug. (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 225 = *ILS* 8744), for the dedication of an altar of Victoria, also in the Curia. One of Caesar's last acts had been to undertake the rebuilding of the Senate-house in 44 BCE. Octavian completed the task and the rededication was celebrated in 29. Another event designed to reinforce both Octavian's connection to Caesar, and the Julii's special relationship with Victoria, was the continued observance of the festival of Victoria Caesaris (Pliny *HN* 2.93; *Obsequens* 68), in which Caesar's statue was carried along with that of Victoria during the *pompa circensis* (Cicero, *Att.* 13.44.1; cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3.2.45). Weinstock 1971: 111. *Infra*, 147, n. 68.

<sup>71</sup> Cassius Dio 51.22.1. Such is the extent to which the Curia was imbued with the image of the goddess that it has been called 'a virtual temple of Victoria' (Galinsky 1996: 82).

<sup>72</sup> Weinstock (1971: 111-12) discusses the transformation of the Victoria Caesaris into the Victoria Augusti and Victoria Augusta, and points out that the replacement of the genitive with the adjectival Augusta was entirely consistent with the *princeps*' tendency to generalise personal deities. However, this in no way minimised his own extraordinary connection to the goddess, as the principate's victories were Augustus' victories, fought at his command and under his auspices (see e.g., Augustus, *RG* 4.2; Suetonius, *Aug.* 21.1).

<sup>73</sup> See Harris 1989: 227, 261 for discussion of the *Aeneid*'s dissemination throughout Roman society.

Sibylline oracle and *galli* act as the goddess' intermediaries during the Second Punic War and before subsequent historical conflicts, in the *Aeneid*, supernatural agents assume this task. When Creusa's ghost appears to Aeneas in book two, she is clearly in communion with the Magna Mater.<sup>74</sup> She is described as being larger than life (suggesting some kind of partial apotheosis) and is thus able to impart information vital to the survival of the Trojans and to the success of their mission.<sup>75</sup> Creusa foresees that after years spent travelling in exile, Aeneas will reach Hesperia, the western land where the Tiber flows and where a royal bride and a kingdom await.<sup>76</sup> Clearly, this prophecy is consistent with long-established formulae for the Magna Mater's intervention through an intermediary in Roman affairs during times of crisis. Specific reference to the eventual war with the Latins is omitted, but the tenor of Creusa's pronouncement is explicit: trials and tribulations were inevitable, but Trojan success and the foundation of Rome were preordained.

Any lingering ambiguity about the Magna Mater's commitment to the military ascendancy of the Aeneadae is laid to rest in events surrounding Cymodocea.<sup>77</sup> As noted above, when Aeneas stands on the brink of war with the Rutuli it is the goddess' newly transformed Nereid who imparts tactical information and a familiar prophecy of victory:

vigilasne, deum gens,  
 Aenea? vigila et velis immitte rudentis.  
 nos sumus, Idaeae sacro de vertice pinus,  
 nunc pelagi nymphae, classis tua. perfidus ut nos  
 praecipitis ferro Rutulus flammaque premebat,  
 rupimus invitae tua vincula teque per aequor  
 quaerimus. hanc genetrix faciem miserata refecit  
 et dedit esse deas aevumque agitare sub undis.  
 at puer Ascanius muro fossisque tenetur  
 tela inter media atque horrentis Marte Latinos.  
 iam loca iussa tenent forti permixtus Etrusco  
 Arcas eques; medias illis opponere turmas,  
 ne castris iungant, certa est sententia Turno.  
 surge age et Aurora socios veniente vocari  
 primus in arma iube, et clipeum cape quem dedit ipse  
 invictum ignipotens atque oras ambiit auro.  
 crastina lux, mea si non inrita dicta putaris,  
 ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos.

---

<sup>74</sup> *Aen.* 2.772-94. *Supra*, 76, n. 80.

<sup>75</sup> See Day Lewis 1998: 408.

<sup>76</sup> *Aen.* 2.777-84.

<sup>77</sup> *Supra*, 78.

Are you on the alert, Aeneas,  
 O heaven-descended? Awake! Pay out the sheets! Run free!  
 It is we, your fleet, your barques built from the pinewood of holy  
 Mount Ida, but now we are sea-nymphs. When treacherously the Italian  
 Attacked us with fire and steel, we had to hurry and break  
 Your moorings, though we hated to do it. All over the sea  
 We've been looking for you. The Mother took pity and changed us into  
 What you now see, to be goddesses, living our lives in the deep.  
 But your son, Ascanius, beleaguered within the walls and entrenchments,  
 Is heavily under fire from the furiously fighting Italians.  
 By now the Arcadian cavalry, with a stiffening of Etruscans,  
 Are at the rendezvous. Turnus is firmly resolved to prevent them  
 Linking with the besieged, to intercept and attack them  
 With his own squadrons. Up, then, and when the dawn comes, order  
 Your comrades at once to be roused to arms, and take the invincible  
 Gold-rimmed shield which the Lord of Fire himself has given you!  
 Tomorrow's light – these are no empty words I am speaking,  
 Do not suppose it – shall see the Italians slaughtered in great heaps.<sup>78</sup>

Aeneas' response is entirely in keeping with precedents set by the Republican Roman generals who made vows to the Magna Mater. The Trojan leader invokes the goddess before proceeding into battle, praying:

alma parens Idaea deum, cui Dindyma cordi  
 turrigeraeque urbes biiugique ad frena leones,  
 tu mihi nunc pugnae princeps, tu rite propinques  
 augurium Phrygibusque adsis pede, diva, secundo.

O gracious lady of Ida, mother of the gods, who rejoice in  
 Dindymus, turreted cities, lions harnessed in couples,  
 Be now my guide in the battle! Be near and divinely prosper  
 This omen! Be with your Phrygian sons, O goddess, and bless them!<sup>79</sup>

Naturally, the Magna Mater will answer this appeal; as Wiseman has noted, 'the bringer of victory brings it also for Aeneas.'<sup>80</sup>

Clearly, Virgil's intent here is twofold. Firstly, the poet presents the Magna Mater as the patron *par excellence* of the Trojan refugees. This status almost certainly came in response to the *princeps*' own claims to descent from Aeneas, shown here as the most celebrated of the goddess' devotees. Secondly, and closely linked, is Virgil's desire to reinforce the continuity between Rome's illustrious origins

<sup>78</sup> *Aen.* 10.228-45 (trans. Day Lewis 1998: 292).

<sup>79</sup> *Aen.* 10.252-55 (trans. Day Lewis 1998: 293).

<sup>80</sup> Wiseman 1984: 127.



and events in the city's more recent past. To do this he utilises the prophecy and vow motifs to ensure the Magna Mater is recognised as the goddess who, having aided the Aeneadae, would go on to safeguard the city of their descendants against threats such as those posed by the Carthaginians, Gauls and the Cimbri and Teutoni. By subtly highlighting subsequent conflicts, Virgil additionally prompts readers to recognise that Augustus himself now ranked among those able to claim victory over a foreign enemy whilst under the Magna Mater's protection. And what an enemy this was – popular sentiment held that not since Hannibal had Rome faced an external threat equal to that posed by Cleopatra. In the wake of Actium and the conquest of Egypt, therefore, Octavian's triumph was compared to that of Scipio Africanus.<sup>81</sup> Today the African homeland of the conquered is sometimes seen as the common denominator in these victories,<sup>82</sup> but equally, contemporaries must have recognised their shared debt to a tutelary Magna Mater.

Returning to the Palatine, we need look no further than the hill's Temple of Apollo for confirmation that Octavian came to envisage his residence, at least in part, as the focal point of a precinct dedicated to Rome's divine bringers of victory. Even before Apollo was credited with ensuring Octavian's success at Actium, the process by which the god best known for his healing and artistic endeavours became linked with military activity had begun. The *Ludi Apollinares*, Livy tells us, were instituted during the Hannibalic Wars to ensure not the city's health, but its victory.<sup>83</sup> Thus, like the Magna Mater, Apollo was credited with assisting in the defeat of one of Rome's greatest enemies. Roman tradition also had triumphators adorned with wreaths from Apollo's sacred tree (i.e. laurel) beginning their triumphal processions at the god's temple in the Circus Flaminius. Never slow to exploit popular beliefs and practices, Octavian accorded Apollo a role in his earliest campaigns. Valerius Maximus records that the god's very name served as the password for Caesar's avengers at Philippi in 42.<sup>84</sup> Six years later at Naulochus, Octavian's victory was

---

<sup>81</sup> Horace, *Epod.* 9.21-26.

<sup>82</sup> E.g., Gurval 1995: 154.

<sup>83</sup> Livy 25.12.15. See Weinstock 1971: 12; Galinsky 1996: 216.

<sup>84</sup> Valerius Maximus 1.5.7. Appian's story (*BC* 4.134.564) that Brutus forecast his own downfall with the quote 'but destructive fate by the hand of Leto's son has killed me' (*Iliad* 16.849) is almost certainly anecdotal. Nevertheless, it serves to illustrate mounting convictions that Apollo clearly favoured Caesar's heir.

attributed to the assistance of Apollo and to his sister Diana, who had a sanctuary nearby.<sup>85</sup>

Significantly, it was during the battle against Sextus Pompey that Octavian vowed his new temple to Apollo.<sup>86</sup> Given that construction on land adjoining Octavian's own house spanned the years both before and after events in 31,<sup>87</sup> the Apollo temple (dedicated on 9 October 28)<sup>88</sup> became in effect an *ex voto* not only of Naulochus, but also of Actium.<sup>89</sup> As such, modern commentators have readily identified allusions to both conflicts in the structure's architectural decoration. Ivory door panels depicting the sack of Delphi by the Gauls, and the slaughter of the Niobids,<sup>90</sup> for example, cast Apollo (and consequently Octavian) in the role of victorious defender and righteous avenger; statues of the fifty Danaids that stood in the intercolumniations of the portico did likewise.<sup>91</sup> The temple's terracotta Campana plaques displaying the struggle of Hercules and Apollo over the Delphic tripod also seem to be thinly-veiled allegories of Actium, with Apollo, like Octavian, appearing

<sup>85</sup> Zanker 1988: 50.

<sup>86</sup> Velleius Paterculus 2.81.3; Cassius Dio 49.15.5. For sources relating to the temple see Dudley 1967: 154-57.

<sup>87</sup> According to tradition, the land occupied by the temple had been intended for Octavian's own residence. A lightning strike in 36 BCE, and the subsequent declaration by *haruspices* that Apollo had chosen the site for his own, however, prompted Octavian first to declare the land as public property, then as sacred to the god (Suetonius, *Aug.* 29.3; Cassius Dio 49.15.5). The remains of the structure (a podium in *opus caementicium* and *opus quadratum* of tufa and travertine, approached by a broad stairway to the south) were long associated with the temple of Jupiter Propugnator (e.g., Lanciani 1893-1901: pl. 29, '*Aedes Iovis Propugnator in Palatio*'), but were re-identified following the investigations of Lugli and Carettoni in the 1950s and 60s. On the temple see Platner and Ashby 1929: 16-19; Richardson 1992: 14; Gros 1993: 54-57; Claridge 1998: 131, 134; Haselberger et al. 2002: 46-47, s.v. 'Apollo, Templum (Palatium),' with bibliographies.

<sup>88</sup> Augustus, *RG* 19; Cassius Dio 53.1.3; *Fasti Arval., Amit., Ant. Min. CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 214, 245, 249 (= Degraffi, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2, 37, 195, 209).

<sup>89</sup> Gros 1993: 54; Haselberger et al. 2002: 46, s.v. 'Apollo, Templum (Palatium).' The association of the temple with Actium has not gone unchallenged; see in particular, Gurval 1995: 111-136, who questions the emphasis traditionally placed on the battle as an important part of imperial ideology. *Communis opinio*, however, regards the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine as one of the most visible and prominent monuments to celebrate the Actian victory (see e.g., Richmond 1914: 205; Kellum 1982: 43f, 1985: 170-76; Wiseman 1984: 125; Zanker 1988: 50; Beard et al. 1998a: 199).

<sup>90</sup> Propertius 2.31.12-14.

<sup>91</sup> Kellum 1982: 59-67, 1985: 172-75; Zanker 1988: 85; Galinsky 1996: 219-22; Beard et al. 1998a: 199. On the female herms now thought to represent three of the Danaids see Tomei 1997: 56-57, nos. 31-33.

as the guardian of morality, peace and order (fig. 22).<sup>92</sup> Finally, plates showing Perseus with the head of Medusa (fig. 23) appear none-too-subtle references to the victory over Cleopatra, Horace's *fatale monstrum*,<sup>93</sup> whose image had been paraded during the triumphal procession of 29.

As the architectural expression *par excellence* of Octavian's dramatic reversal in military fortunes, the Temple of Apollo was integrated seamlessly into the existing precinct of Victoria and the Magna Mater. However, while prominent reminders of the defeat of Cleopatra (a reviled foreigner) were acceptable in perpetuity, not all aspects of a monument born of civil wars were appropriate throughout the Augustan principate. It was far better surely, once the deed was done, for viewers to be reminded of the benefits of the ensuing *Pax Augusta*, than to dwell on the death of Antony, a Roman *dux*, companion of Caesar and erstwhile member of the *princeps'* own family.<sup>94</sup> Here again Apollo proved the ideal instrument, his dominion over the arts of peace clearly showcased in the two statues of the god displayed on the Palatine. Both the colossal statue that stood in front of the temple, and the cult statue inside portrayed Apollo not as the avenging archer, but as the serene kitharist.<sup>95</sup> As Propertius put it, 'victorious Apollo now asks for the lyre and lays down his arms for peaceful choruses.'<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, it is likely that exterior sculpture showed the god in the act of pouring a libation. No doubt this added yet another dimension to the temple's meaning – Apollo Actius was also Horace's *augur Apollo*,<sup>97</sup> the giver of

---

<sup>92</sup> Kellum 1982: 47-58, 1985: 170-72; Galinsky 1996: 222-24; Tomei 1998: 76. Other decorative elements shown by Kellum to allude to the Actian conflict are plaques variously showing two maidens decorating an Apolline *betylos* (*infra*, 172-73, fig. 25), and Isis between sphinxes (a pseudo-*tropaeum* with the reviled Egyptian goddess standing in place of the equally despised foreign queen who identified with her). On the temple's architectonic terracottas in the Museo Palatino see Tomei 1997: 49-53, 58-59, 61, nos. 29a-f, 34a-b, 36a-b.

<sup>93</sup> *Carm.* 1.37.21.

<sup>94</sup> On the challenges Actium presented for the pictorial vocabulary of Augustan Rome see Zanker 1988: 82ff.

<sup>95</sup> See Zanker 1988: 85, fig. 68 and Galinsky 1996: 221, fig. 124, for the denarius of Antistius Vetus (16 BCE) thought to depict the Palatine Apollo Actius. The temple's cult statue group of Apollo, Leto and Diana as presented on the Sorrento Base is discussed below, 224-25.

<sup>96</sup> Propertius 4.6.69-70: *citharam iam poscit Apollo / victor et ad placidos exiit arma choros* (trans. Galinsky 1996: 218).

<sup>97</sup> *Carm.* 1.2.

absolution capable of expiating sins accumulated by a nation at war with itself.<sup>98</sup> Once purified, Rome could enjoy the benefits of the *aureum saeculum*, the Golden Age embodied by the temple's crowning akroterion: a quadriga of Sol, the sun-god identified here with *phoebus Apollo*.<sup>99</sup>

Therefore, like the Magna Mater (whose links to Aeneas and Romulus reinforced Augustus' status as the new founder of Rome), and Victoria (whose Caesarean connection underscored the legitimacy of the *princeps*' rule), Apollo's multiple associations made him an ideal addition to the Palatine precinct. Taken together, the temples of the divine triad stood as monuments to Octavian's military success and as symbols of Rome's victories in the turbulent years surrounding the dissolution of the second triumvirate. Subsequently, when the *princeps*' power was assured and popular sentiment longed for peace, it became prudent to focus on the future. Once again, the Magna Mater, Victoria and Apollo proved well suited to the task. As Karl Galinsky has noted, 'it was time to leave Actium and the preceding propaganda wars behind; the Apolline complex of the Palatine was a memorial as well as a new beginning.'<sup>100</sup>

It was at the heart of this precinct, which encompassed both Rome's past and its infinite promise for the future, that Octavian chose to live and to complete with the Temple of Apollo. Surrounded by tutelary deities, it is clear that the imperial residences were an integral part of the larger complex, linked to their neighbouring temples both physically and symbolically. The entire area was unified architecturally. This can be inferred from the paved street that ran between the Augustan houses at the same level as the precinct of the Magna Mater and Victoria.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, excavations have revealed that underground corridors connected the House of Livia to nearby structures; one passage even apparently ran into the podium of the Temple of Apollo, perhaps giving access to the treasury and to the repository of the famed

---

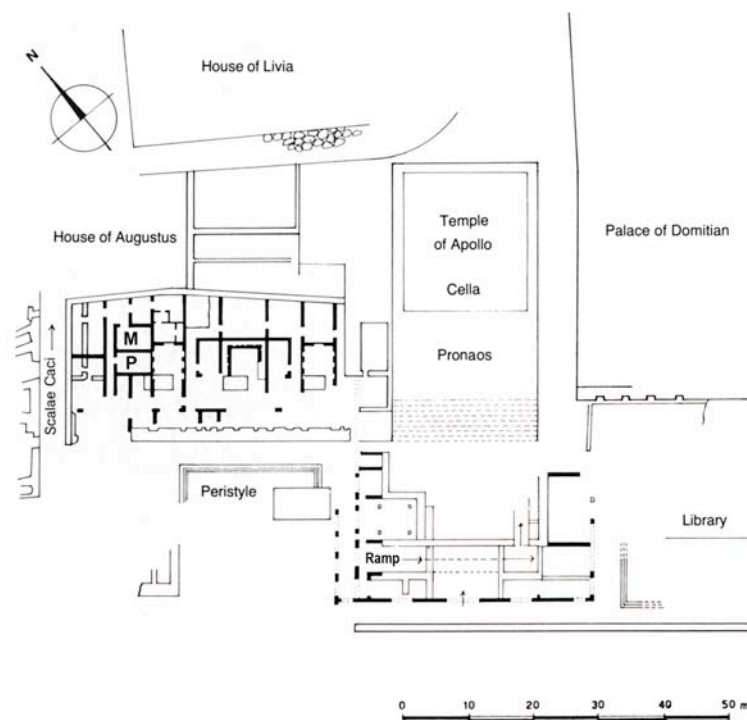
<sup>98</sup> On this see Kellum 1985: 176; 1994: 213, who points out that Augustus states that pardon was part of the *Pax Augusta* (Augustus, *RG* 1.3). Clearly, a parallel is intended here with the *clementia* offered by the *princeps* to his defeated enemies. Cf. Velleius Paterculus 2.86.2; Propertius 2.16.43-44; Horace, *Carm.* 1.2.29f.

<sup>99</sup> Galinsky 1996: 218-19. The significance of the conflation of Sol and Apollo in regard to this monument is discussed below in chapter 4.

<sup>100</sup> Galinsky 1996: 224.

<sup>101</sup> Pensabene 1981: 112; Wiseman 1984, 229, n. 52.

Sibylline Books.<sup>102</sup> The House of Augustus exhibited an even greater degree of amalgamation; a recent plan reveals that the residence was designed to encompass at least two sides of the Temple of Apollo (a third being bordered by the House of Livia), and was linked to the latter by way of a private ramp, thus ensuring ‘that the residence of the *princeps* and his protective god were visually perceived as one and the same’ (ill. 10).<sup>103</sup> The overall effect has been likened to the cities of Hellenistic kings, the Attalids and the Ptolemies having created similar palace-sanctuary schemes in Pergamon and Alexandria.<sup>104</sup>



Ill. 10. Plan of the Palatine showing the House of Augustus and Temple of Apollo. M: ‘The Room of the Masks;’ P: ‘The Room of the Pine Garlands’ (adapted from Zanker 1988: fig. 40).

Just as Augustus’ *domus* became an intrinsic part of the physical environment of the southwest Palatine, it is equally clear that the residence was symbolically

<sup>102</sup> Richmond 1914: 212. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 6.67-71; Suetonius, *Aug.* 31.1. A second corridor branched off to the north; unfortunately, its course was obscured by a later cryptoporticus. See Wiseman 1991: 105-107, fig. 2, for the suggestion this passage led to the temple of Vesta.

<sup>103</sup> Haselberger et al. 2002: 104, s.v. ‘Domus: Augustus;’ citing Gros 1993: 57. Cf. Beard et al. 1998a: 198, n. 111.

<sup>104</sup> Zanker 1988: 51; Gros 1993: 57; Galinsky 1996: 219-20; Haselberger et al. 2002: 46-47, s.v. ‘Apollo, Templum.’

integrated into its surroundings. Suetonius' assertion that the house was remarkable neither for size nor elegance gives some indication of the extent to which the prestige of the structure relied on reflected glory from its illustrious neighbours.<sup>105</sup> The very modesty of the *domus* may have even reinforced its owner's connection to the nearby Temple of the Magna Mater. As evidence of the *princeps*' lack of pretension, Suetonius describes the imperial residence as having squat columns of peperino (*lapis Albanus*), the very material that made up the superstructure of the Augustan metroön;<sup>106</sup> the remainder of the building consisted of tufa blocks in *opus quadratum*. When set against the new and lavishly decorated Temple of Apollo, it is possible that both the *princeps*' *domus* and the metroön he rebuilt appeared to be united in their adherence to the traditions and trappings of Republican Rome.

This is not to say Augustus' house lacked elaboration befitting its owner's status. Fragments of architectural elements in variously coloured marbles, exquisite Second Style wall paintings and stuccoed ceilings all suggest that, as with the metroön, an austere façade belied a rich interior.<sup>107</sup> Even here, Augustus took care to connect the *domus* thematically and symbolically to its environs. A *betylos*, the aniconic image of Apollo, decorates both the Room of the Masks in Augustus' house (ill. 10: M; fig. 24) and the Campana plaques from the god's Palatine temple (fig. 25).<sup>108</sup> Similarly, paintings in the *princeps*' eponymous Room of the Pine Garlands, a small *cubiculum* close to the *Scalae Caci* (ill. 10: P; fig. 26), can be taken as reference to the Magna Mater. In the past, these frescoes have been interpreted as allusions to Attis, the goddess' Phrygian consort.<sup>109</sup> These claims cannot be sustained, however, in light of arguments already made concerning Attis' marginalised position in contemporary Rome, his lack of association with the pine at this time, and the unlikelihood Augustus felt some affinity for the effeminate eunuch.<sup>110</sup> It is more

---

<sup>105</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 72-73.

<sup>106</sup> *Supra*, chapter 1.

<sup>107</sup> For the artistic finds made in the House of Augustus see Tomei 1998: 34-36; Haselberger et al. 2002: 105-106.

<sup>108</sup> On the *betylos* and its connection to Apollo Agyieus/Actius see Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1984; Kellum 1994: 212-13. *Infra*, 172-73.

<sup>109</sup> Simon 1986: 185, pl. 241.

<sup>110</sup> *Supra*, 96-101.

likely that here we have a tantalising glimpse of the *princeps*' personal devotion to the Magna Mater – the festoons of pine branches referring both to the Idaean *silvae* that carried Aeneas and the goddess to Italy, and to the pediment of the Augustan metroön itself.

To appreciate how effectively appearance was used to integrate Augustus' house into the heart of the Palatine precinct, one needs only to recall Ovid's *Tristia* 3.1.33-34. Here, one of the exiled poet's books is sent on an imaginary tour of Rome. Arriving at the imperial *domus*, the book 'beheld doorposts marked out from others by gleaming arms and a dwelling worthy of a god' (*video flugentibus armis / conspicuous postes tectaue digna deo*). Exactly how this picture can be reconciled with Suetonius' account of a fundamentally unexceptional dwelling quickly becomes clear. Ovid refers to the structure's entrance, which was adorned with triumphal insignia voted by the Senate in 27 BCE: the *corona civica* placed above the *princeps*' door and the laurel trees that flanked it (fig. 27).<sup>111</sup> As Zanker remarked, here were 'modest and simple honours in the old Roman tradition...suited [to] the new image of the honorand, who was now quite restrained.'<sup>112</sup> The simplicity and venerability of the oak wreath and laurel trees made them entirely appropriate to a traditional Republican *domus*. The awards' many associations also ensured that Augustus' house held its own amongst, and may even have been seen as synonymous with the message-laden temples with which it shared the southwest Palatine.

Above all, the *corona civica* and laurels placed the *princeps* firmly within the sphere of the Magna Mater, Victoria and Apollo as a bringer of victory and saviour of Rome. Cassius Dio made this clear when he recorded that the honours were given 'to symbolise that [Augustus] was always victor over his enemies and the saviour of citizens.'<sup>113</sup> The *corona civica* had traditionally been a reward for the rescue of a fellow soldier during battle.<sup>114</sup> However, once in Augustus' possession, the martial

---

<sup>111</sup> Augustus, *RG* 34.2. As yet no archaeological trace has been found of the striking entrance.

<sup>112</sup> Zanker 1988: 92.

<sup>113</sup> Cassius Dio 53.16.

<sup>114</sup> Appian, *BC* 2.106.441; Cassius Dio 44.4.5; Gellius 5.6.11; Servius, *Aen.* 6.772; Comm. Lucan. 1.357f; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 92.

implications of the civic crown became far more wide-ranging.<sup>115</sup> Contemporary coins bearing the oak wreath and either the laurel branches (fig. 28) or the *clipeus virtutis* (fig. 29) along with the legend *ob cives servatos* ('for the citizens saved') clearly attest the breadth of Rome's perceived debt to the restorer of the Republic. That the crown came to be viewed as one of the most potent symbols of the *princeps'* dominion can be inferred from issues showing Augustus' portrait adorned with the *corona civica* in the manner of Hellenistic kings sporting royal diadems (fig. 30).

For their part, the laurel trees were equally synonymous with the conferral of victory. Laurel crowns were the privilege of the *triumphator*; no general had taken greater advantage of this honour than Julius Caesar.<sup>116</sup> Laurel wreaths and branches had also long been used as prizes at athletic and music competitions, most notably during Apollo's Pythian Games. Such was the strength of the laurel's association with all manner of victories that it had become an attribute of Victoria herself. This connection no doubt enhanced the already considerable ties between Augustus' house and the goddess' adjacent temple.<sup>117</sup> As the sacred tree of Apollo, the laurel's topographic significance was even more pronounced, expanding to encompass the grandiose Apolline complex contiguous to the Julio-Claudian residences. The *princeps'* laurels could thus be read as a symbol of both their recipient's Actium triumph and his close physical and spiritual association with the god deemed responsible for the victory. Equally, as an emblem of Apollo's purificatory and healing qualities, the trees represented the new age of peace and clemency Augustus inaugurated under the auspices of his divine neighbour.<sup>118</sup>

The *princeps'* efforts to integrate his *domus* into its sacral environs were clearly successful. Ovid described the dwelling as 'a single house [that] holds three

---

<sup>115</sup> On the meaning of the *corona civica* see Weinstock 1971: 163-67; Zanker 1988: 93-94; Galinsky 1996: 218.

<sup>116</sup> Cassius Dio 43.43.1; Suetonius, *Jul.* 45.2. See Ogle 1910: 292, n. 1; Weinstock 1971: 107. That Augustus acknowledged and fostered the laurel as the personal symbol of Caesar can be inferred from the planting of *Laurus nobilis* around the periphery of Augustus' Temple of Divus Iulius (Kellum 1994: 213, n. 20).

<sup>117</sup> For coins depicting Victoria with the laurel crown see *RIC* I<sup>2</sup> 75, nos. 426, 426A; Galinsky 1996: 117, fig. 55.

<sup>118</sup> See Ogle 1910, for a detailed discussion of the purificatory and apotropaic powers ascribed to the laurel in antiquity.



eternal gods' – Phoebus (Apollo), Vesta, and Augustus himself.<sup>119</sup> The poet's reference is to the immediate confines of the imperial *domus*, which as we have seen, could legitimately claim to include the Temple of Apollo on the basis of physical links, and because the temple occupied land that had once been earmarked for Augustus' residential needs. Vesta's inclusion need also come as no surprise; soon after becoming *pontifex maximus* in 12 BCE, the *princeps* had set up a shrine to the goddess in his Palatine home.<sup>120</sup> Analysis of the Sorrento Base in chapter 7 will expand on Vesta's relationship to Augustus and, in particular, on her role in the imperial household.<sup>121</sup> For now it is sufficient to appreciate that, as a deity who owed her presence in Rome first to Aeneas (who brought Vesta's fire from Troy to Italy),<sup>122</sup> and then to Romulus (who transferred her cult from Alba Longa to Rome),<sup>123</sup> Vesta's place amid the Palatine's most venerable sites was entirely appropriate.

Ovid's classification of Augustus as an 'eternal god' in the company of Apollo and Vesta is testament both to the power of the *princeps*' association with the deities of the Palatine, and to the consequent blurring of boundaries between sacred and secular space in the Augustan complex. The poet may not have deemed the Magna Mater and Victoria to be gods in residence with Augustus – the actual physical separation of their temples from the imperial house would account for this omission – yet clearly, like Apollo, the two goddesses played pivotal roles in the sophisticated web of allusions governing the area.

It has been argued that the Augustan precinct's protracted evolution ensured it could not display the same 'conceptual unity, completeness of thought, and fullness of details' that characterised other of the *princeps*' more static projects, most notably the Forum Augustum.<sup>124</sup> However, we have seen that while changing circumstances infused pre-existing monuments with vitality and meaning apposite to the Augustan

---

<sup>119</sup> *Fasti* 4.953-54.

<sup>120</sup> *Fasti* 4.949-54.

<sup>121</sup> *Infra*, 220-21, 229-30.

<sup>122</sup> Virgil, *Aen.* 2.296, 567; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.527-8, 3.29, 6.227; *Met.* 15.730-31; Propertius 4.4.69; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 2.65.2.

<sup>123</sup> Plutarch, *Rom.* 22; cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 2.64.5-69.

<sup>124</sup> Galinsky 1996: 213.

principate, at its core the significance of the southwest Palatine remained inviolate. In the Augustan period, as in the Republic, the complex was ‘an amalgam of history and legend, where the gods of victory presided over the relics of the founder.’<sup>125</sup> Inexplicably, the metroön has often been omitted from recent analyses of this area, and instead scholars have focused on the temples of Victoria and Apollo and their relationship to the House of Augustus.<sup>126</sup> Clearly though, the Magna Mater was an integral part of this cohesive precinct, boasting connections to Aeneas and Romulus, to Rome’s military ascendancy, and to the prestige of the Julian and Claudian *gentes*. Thanks to her reinvention in Augustan literature, the goddess, perhaps more than any other Palatine deity, was perceived as spanning the divide between Rome’s past and its potential. As such, her suitability as Augustus’ neighbour is beyond doubt. Always in a prominent position topographically, the metroön’s profile must have been amplified by the *princeps*’ decision to reside nearby. Slowly and surely, as Augustus’ *domus* became the focus of Rome’s political life, and its wider environs assumed a religious significance rivalling that of the Capitoline,<sup>127</sup> the city’s residents came to appreciate the unique ties that bound the structures of the Palatine precinct together. Proof of this awareness has traditionally been sought in Augustan literature. As the following chapters will show the geographic links between the metroön and its neighbours became a visual *topos* that was reflected in some of Augustan Rome’s most celebrated monuments. Only by recognising this fact, and by reassessing these works can we truly appreciate the extent to which a nationalised Magna Mater became a vehicle for the dissemination of Augustan ideology.

---

<sup>125</sup> Wiseman 1994: 104.

<sup>126</sup> Prominent examples of this phenomenon include: Zanker 1988: 50-53, cf. 109; Galinsky 1996: 213-224, cf. 160-61.

<sup>127</sup> According to Cassius Dio (53.16.5), the house served as the *princeps*’ military headquarters; by the end of his principate Augustus regularly met with the Senate in the libraries of the Apolline complex, where he also revised jury panels (Suetonius, *Aug.* 29). On becoming *pontifex maximus* in 12 BCE, Augustus forewent the traditional *domus publica* on the Sacra Via, and, as we have seen, transferred the altar and shrine of Vesta to his Palatine residence, which he now declared to be public property (Ovid, *Fasti* 4.949-54; Cassius Dio 54.27.3). Finally, in a clear indication that the Palatine was Rome’s new religious centre, the Sibylline Books were removed from the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline and placed under the base of the statue of Apollo in the god’s Palatine temple (Suetonius, *Aug.* 31.1; *infra*, 231.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS

---

By choosing to live adjacent to the Palatine metroön, Augustus made certain that Romans were afforded a conspicuous and enduring reminder of his close association with the Magna Mater and with Rome's foundation. Throughout the Augustan principate, and especially after the temple's restoration in 3 CE, viewers of this landmark precinct must surely have recognised the physical and symbolic links between the *princeps'* *domus* and the centre of Rome's metroac cult.<sup>1</sup> Such was the strength of this connection that Augustus was able to utilise its message elsewhere. In this chapter we shall explore evidence suggesting that monuments in the Circus Maximus were skilfully manipulated to echo messages intrinsic to the nearby Palatine precinct. To do this it is necessary first to determine both the Magna Mater's place in Rome's premier arena, and the extent to which the goddess owed her pre-eminence therein to Augustus. Then we will consider the *princeps'* use of pre-existing and new circus monuments to reiterate not only his own connection to the Magna Mater, Victoria and Apollo, but also Rome's debt to its bringers of victory: the Palatine deities and Augustus himself.

#### 1. THE MAGNA MATER AND THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS

As the repository of the Magna Mater's sacred meteorite and the headquarters of the infamous *galli*, the Palatine metroön was presumably of year-round interest to Rome's residents. However, for an annual period of six days beginning on April 4, the temple was the cynosure of activity in the city. This was due to the celebration of

---

<sup>1</sup> On the ability of Romans to 'read' their urban environment see, in particular, Wiseman 1984: 123-28, 1994: 104-9; Favro 1993, 1996: 4-11.

the Megalensia, which commenced on the anniversary of the Magna Mater's arrival.<sup>2</sup> In the Augustan period, the festival was marked by a vibrant and cacophonous procession that saw the goddess' sacred image carried through the streets of Rome on the shoulders of her attendants (fig. 31);<sup>3</sup> then came the popular *ludi scaenici*.<sup>4</sup> As the Magna Mater's *pompa* began and ended at the metroön, and because her plays were staged in the temple's own theatral area, there can be no doubt that from April 4 to April 9 the focus of religious and social life in Rome was the southwest corner of the Palatine.

The *Fasti Praenestini* and the *Fasti Maffeiani* are among a number of sources that confirm the Megalensia ended on April 10 (the anniversary of the metroön's dedication) with the performance of *ludi circenses*.<sup>5</sup> Despite being the commemorative focus of the day's activities, the temple was unable to provide the physical venue for events – the slopes of the Cermalus and the environs of the metroön were clearly unsuited to circus games. However, at the foot of the Palatine, directly beneath the Temple of the Magna Mater lay the Circus Maximus, Rome's oldest and largest chariot racing track (ill. 11). Regrettably, neither the calendars nor our literary sources refer to the location of the goddess' *ludi circenses* by name; all we are told is that the final day of the Megalensia was marked by *ludi in Circo*, and that horse races formed a part of the festivities.<sup>6</sup> Even without corroborative testimony, the absence of another credible venue has led scholars to conclude that the events of April 10, and indeed all major late Republican *ludi circenses*, took place in the Circus

---

<sup>2</sup> According to Livy (14.14), this was 12 April (*pridie idus Apriles*). However, as Ovid (*Fasti* 4.181) and the *Fasti Praenestini* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 235 = Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* 13.2, pp. 126-33), *Maffeiani* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 224 = *ILS* no. 8744) and *Filocali* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 260 = Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* 13.2.42, pp. 237ff) all agree on assigning the beginning of the festival to 4 April, Frazer (1929: 200) has suggested that Livy's text be emended to *pridie nonas Apriles*. For a survey of calendars for the month of April see Beard et al. 1998b: 61-69; Vermaseren 1977: 124-25 and Scullard 1981: 97-101 (for details of the Megalensia); *RE* 1909: 2018-19 (for a list of calendars and their *CIL* concordance).

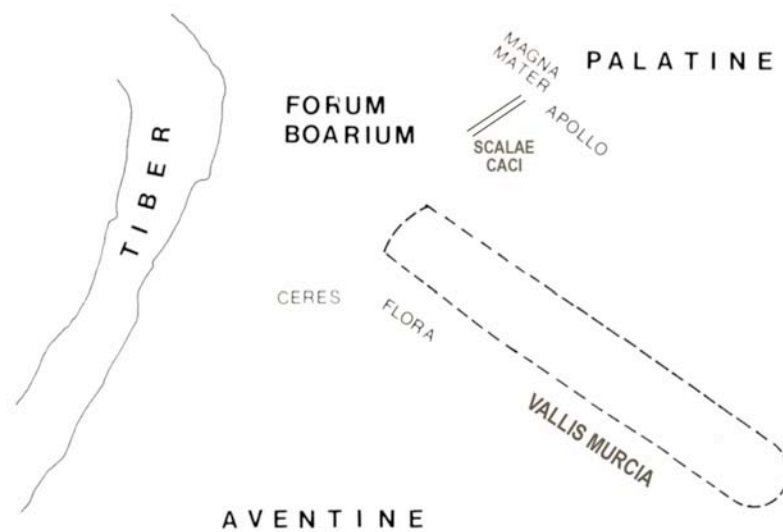
<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.185-86. Cf. Miller (1991: 82-90) who believes this extravagant *pompa* was not part of the Megalensia's official public ceremonies.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, 10, n. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra*, 134, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 4.391; Juvenal 11.197. Dumézil (1970: 574) notes that the only games for which the Circus Maximus is attested as a venue are the *Ludi Apollinares*.

Maximus.<sup>7</sup> While many religious festivals were marked by games in this arena, few must have seemed more appropriate for their context than those of the Magna Mater.



Ill. 11. Plan showing the location of cults in the Vallis Murcia (adapted from Humphrey 1986: fig. 34).

Intrinsic to the Megalensia's suitability for games was the Magna Mater's close association with the Circus Maximus. Paramount here was the proximity of the metroön to Augustan Rome's principal arena. During the empire, just as today, one of the striking features of the *area sacra* on the southwest Palatine was its commanding view of the Circus in the Vallis Murcia. The metroön's position at the summit of the Cermalus and its elevation on both a terrace and a high podium would have ensured the temple was one of the dominant features of the Palatine skyline – when seen from the arena below (fig. 32).<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the *Scalae Caci*, which ran from the southern corner of the Magna Mater's *temenos* down to the Forum Boarium

<sup>7</sup> On the Megalensia see Graillet, 1912: 141; Frazer 1929: 262; Wiseman 1974: 160, 163; Vermaseren 1977: 52; Humphrey 1986: 63; Beard et al. 1998a: 262-63, n. 53; Fantham, 1998: 164-67. For other *ludi circenses* see Scullard 1981: 99, 101; Claridge 1998: 264. The Circus Flaminius was unlikely to have been an alternative to the Circus Maximus; it was little but an open space surrounded by buildings, which provided no seating for spectators and seems to have been used for horse- rather than chariot-races. The only games known to have been held there were the *Ludi Taurii* (see Varro, *Ling.* 5.154). For the Circus Flaminius see Richardson 1992: 83; Claridge 1998: 221; Haselberger et al. 2002: 86-87. The Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus (dedicated 29 BCE), while able to host battles and hunts, would have been entirely unsuitable for chariot racing.

<sup>8</sup> This would have been particularly true prior to the construction of the Domus Flavia. The *plastico* currently in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, however, demonstrates that the metroön would have remained a significant landmark, even after many of its sightlines were blocked by Domitian's palace.

and the western end of the Circus Maximus (a distance of approximately 200 metres), connected the two sites.<sup>9</sup>

The Magna Mater was not the only deity to enjoy a close topographical link to the Circus Maximus and the celebration of *ludi* therein. Nearby on the Palatine, the Temple of Apollo also overlooked the arena and every July joined the Circus in hosting the *Ludi Apollinares*. Across the valley on the Aventine, the temples of Ceres and Flora were linked to the Circus by virtue of their proximity to the arena's starting gates and by the *Ludi Ceriales* and the *Ludi Florales*.<sup>10</sup> However, of these deities, only the Magna Mater was honoured with a second temple in the Circus itself, a distinction apparently restricted to the most ancient gods with a connection to the Vallis Murcia. To date no traces of this shrine have been found,<sup>11</sup> but its existence is confirmed by both the *Notitia Regionum* and the *Curiosum Urbis*, which refer to an *aedem Matris Deum* in Regio XI, i.e., in the Circus Maximus.<sup>12</sup>

To understand fully why the Magna Mater was accorded special significance in the Circus, one must ultimately consider perceptions of her as a goddess of the Dead. Recent scholarship has convincingly challenged long-held assumptions as to the Magna Mater's descent from (and even the existence of) a universal, prehistoric mother goddess who was perceived as both the source and sustainer of all life and the destination to which living things returned in death.<sup>13</sup> A considerable corpus of works dating from the Early Iron Age, however, clearly attest the enduring association of the Great Mother with death and the afterlife. Phrygian rock tombs connected to the cult of Matar (the goddess from whom the Magna Mater ultimately derived), for example,

---

<sup>9</sup> Such was the contiguity of the temple and the arena that Vermaseren (1977: 52) has even suggested the Circus itself was virtually incorporated into the goddess' Palatine precinct.

<sup>10</sup> For other Aventine temples in close proximity to the Circus see Humphrey 1986: 63.

<sup>11</sup> Richardson (1992: 243) has suggested that a large cube-like structure sometimes shown in depictions of the Circus Maximus' central barrier may be the *aedes Matris Deum*. However, other than the occasional location of this object proximate to a statue of the Magna Mater on her lion, there appears to be no connection between it and the metroac cult. For the interpretation of the shrine mentioned in the Regionary Catalogues as a reference to the statue of the Magna Mater itself, see Nash 1961/62: vol. 2: 32 and Coarelli 1982: 41

<sup>12</sup> A description of Rome, dated to the beginning of the fifteenth century, known as the *Anonymus Magliabecchianus* also mentions the temple, but its text replicates that of the Regionary Catalogues (Remy 1907: 246).

<sup>13</sup> See Roller 1999: 9-39. Cf. e.g., Graillet 1912: 2ff; Vermaseren 1977: 9ff; Burkert 1985: 177; Tripolitis 2002: 30.

suggest that the goddess was perceived as a guardian of the dead.<sup>14</sup> The same can be said of figures of Kybele (the Greek name for the Phrygian Mother) found in Archaic burial grounds in Ionia and later in a Bithynian sarcophagus.<sup>15</sup> The goddess in her varied manifestations may even have been perceived as the agent through which devotees could pass from the land of the living to the next world. This is why, in reliefs found near Phrygian tumuli, the doorway in which Matar stands has been interpreted as the boundary between the land of the living and that of the dead.<sup>16</sup> A funerary relief from Lebadeia where a veiled initiate is brought to the goddess by chthonic deities such as Persephone and Hekate likewise emphasises the Great Mother's significance as a divine intermediary between the two worlds.<sup>17</sup>

Clearly, by the time of her arrival in Rome, the Magna Mater's status as a goddess of the Dead evolved for at least half a millennium. In Phrygia and Greece the Mother had appeared in a personalised funereal context as the protector of tombs and their inhabitants. In Rome this facet of the goddess seemingly received its most grandiose and public acknowledgement, not in a necropolis, but rather in the Circus Maximus, whose *ludi* were ultimately derived from Greek and Etruscan funeral games.<sup>18</sup> In these early rites it was believed that the souls of the dead were propitiated and nourished by a transferral of a participant's lifeforce, either through heroic deeds or by the shedding of blood on the earth.<sup>19</sup> As the embodiment of the ground that received both the deceased and his funerary tribute, the Magna Mater has thus been interpreted as the protector of those who participated in the Circus' often life-

---

<sup>14</sup> See e.g., the monumental tomb at Arslantaş, whose sculpted façade reproduces the architectural forms of cult reliefs (see Roller 1999: 102-4, fig. 34). Such is the strength of Matar's association with funerary monuments it has been said that 'every Phrygian tomb is a sanctuary and its epitaph a dedication' (Cumont 1959: 36). On the difficulties inherent in determining whether Phrygian rock monuments were intended for divine or human usage see Roller 1999: 250-51.

<sup>15</sup> See Johansen 1951: 76-77, figs. 34a-b; 78, n. 4. For the statue of Kybele found in a sarcophagus see CCCA I: no. 244. The case for the existence of a group of monuments representing the goddess mourning her deceased worshippers is made in my Master's thesis, *Cybele Tristis: An Analysis of the Statuette of the Magna Mater in the James Logie Memorial Collection* (University of Canterbury, 1994).

<sup>16</sup> Roller 1999: 113. For the reliefs from the Bahçelievler (CCCA I: no. 38) and Etlik districts of Ankara see Roller *ibid.* 72-74, figs. 8-9.

<sup>17</sup> Roller 1999: 226-27, fig. 61.

<sup>18</sup> See e.g., Nicolaus of Damascus, *Athletics* 4.153.

<sup>19</sup> Tertullian, *De Spect.* 12.1-4.

threatening activities.<sup>20</sup> The situation of the Palatine metroön overlooking the arena, and the inclusion of circus performances in the *Ludi Megalenses* would certainly have increased the aptness of this association.<sup>21</sup>

As a goddess with prominent ties to the Circus Maximus, the Magna Mater's presence and influence were invoked every time there was activity in the arena. This surely happened with considerable regularity as, by the time of Augustus, seventeen of the seventy-seven annual days of *ludi* were devoted to chariot-racing, with ten or twelve races held each day.<sup>22</sup> Naturally, the connection between the goddess and the arena would have been most pronounced during the *Ludi Megalenses*. Then, according to Ovid, spectators were treated not only to events where 'horses, fleet as the wind...contend[ed] for the first palm,' but also to a circus 'thronged with a procession and an array of the gods.'<sup>23</sup> Elsewhere the poet elaborates on the latter event in his description of an unidentified festival's *pompa deorum* in which statues of the gods were paraded around the Circus Maximus before the commencement of racing.<sup>24</sup> A sarcophagus from the mid-fourth century CE, now in the basilica of San Lorenzo, confirms that this was the practice to which Ovid referred in his account of the Megalensia (fig. 31).<sup>25</sup> Here, a statue of the Magna Mater enthroned and preceded by two rearing lions is shown carried on a *ferculum* at the front of a procession. Behind the goddess, and transported in a similar fashion, is a statue of a winged Victoria followed by two togate men, and four elephants pulling a wagon on which a third statue presumably once stood. Trumpeters accompany the procession and in all probability served to usher its divine participants first into the Circus, then into the

---

<sup>20</sup> For the Magna Mater as a goddess of the Dead in the Circus Maximus see Vermaseren 1977: 51-53.

<sup>21</sup> Humphrey (1986: 275, n. 254, following Guarducci, *BullComm* 72, 1946-48: 13 and Ioppolo, *La residenza imperiale di Massenzio*: 136) also notes 'that Caelestis/Cybele's connection with the circus was as the protector of travels of going and coming in opposite directions (*itus* and *reditus*).'

<sup>22</sup> See Beard et al. 1998a: 262-63 for the types and duration of *ludi*. By the mid-fourth century the overall number of days of *ludi* had increased to 177, of which 66 were race days.

<sup>23</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.391-92.

<sup>24</sup> Ovid, *Am.* 3.2.43ff.

<sup>25</sup> *CCCA* III: no. 341.



*pulvinar* (an elevated viewing box) where the statues could ‘watch’ events in the arena.<sup>26</sup>

To summarise, it is clear that two locations formed the centre of activities in Rome’s Augustan Megalensia. The first of these, the Palatine metroön, as the repository of the sacred stone and the site of the *ludi scaenici*, provided the focus of the first six days of festivities. On the seventh and final day of proceedings, the Circus Maximus hosted both the goddess, who symbolically arrived at the head of a *pompa deorum*, and her *ludi circenses*. We have already seen the lengths to which Augustus went in order to associate himself with the Temple of the Magna Mater. His rebuilding of the metroön, and its amalgamation into what was essentially the personal (as opposed to private) domain of the *princeps* is testament to the goddess’ inclusion among Augustus’ tutelary deities. Given the strength of the Magna Mater’s connection to the Circus Maximus, it stands to reason that Augustus would also seek to include the arena in his programme of personal association with the goddess. The ways in which this was accomplished will now be considered.

## II. AUGUSTUS AND THE EURIPUS STATUE OF THE MAGNA MATER

No public venue in Augustan Rome could rival the Circus Maximus for scale, popularity or accessibility. The Megalensia’s *ludi scaenici* were justifiably famous, but the spatial constraints of the metroön and its forecourt dictated that only a modest audience viewed these productions. At the same time, religious convention decreed that the theatrical games were open only to Roman citizens, thus excluding foreigners and slaves.<sup>27</sup> In comparison, the Circus Maximus at the end of the first century BCE could accommodate a staggering 150,000 people<sup>28</sup> – three times more than the

---

<sup>26</sup> For the interpretation of this scene as that at the inauguration of the *ludi circenses* see Vermaseren 1977: 109, n. 588, 124; Miller 1991: 84, n.13; Beard et al. 1998a: 383, fig. 8.3. The appearance of this particular *pompa deorum* on a sarcophagus further confirms the enduring association, not just of circus games in general but of the Magna Mater and her *ludi circenses* in particular, with death and the honouring of the deceased. For the *pulvinar* as the destination of the procession of gods see Humphrey 1986: 82.

<sup>27</sup> Vermaseren 1977: 125; Roller 1999: 296. See Cicero, *Har. resp.* 12.22-24 and Valerius Maximus 2.4.3, for the separation of senators from the people and the exclusion of slaves from performances.

<sup>28</sup> This figure is given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 3.68) and is generally accepted by scholars as a suitable estimate for the Augustan period (e.g., Platner and Ashby 1929: 119; Humphrey

capacity of the future Flavian amphitheatre.<sup>29</sup> Those who witnessed the Magna Mater's *ludi circenses* came from all strata of Roman society; aristocrat and plebeian, male and female, citizen and slave – all were undoubtedly among those whom the historian Josephus called 'fanatically devoted' to events in the arena.<sup>30</sup> It was surely due to the mass appeal of chariot races, and to the guaranteed turnout of spectators, that emperors used the arena as a venue for the announcement of new laws and taxes. Conversely, the Circus also provided the *populus* with the opportunity to make its opinions known and to seek redress from rulers. In 40 BCE, for example, onlookers at the games expressed their opposition to Octavian's war with Sextus Pompey (the self-styled 'son of Neptune') by cheering when a statue of the sea-god entered the Circus as part of a *pompa deorum*.<sup>31</sup> Octavian's attempt to minimise further dissent by removing the statue from the arena's next procession reveals his cognisance of the power of divine images in the Circus Maximus.<sup>32</sup> While an association with Neptune may have held little appeal for the *princeps*, re-enforcement of his personal connection to the Magna Mater must have seemed a much more attractive proposition.

It is no doubt due to Augustus' obvious regard for the Magna Mater that a number of scholars have credited him with the erection of a statue of the goddess on the central barrier (*euripus*) of the Circus Maximus.<sup>33</sup> It is fitting that we examine the evidence both for and against this hypothesis. In his late second century CE description of the arena's monuments, Tertullian provides the earliest reference to a permanent image of the goddess in this context; the Magna Mater, he records, 'presides over the euripus' (*praesidet euripo*).<sup>34</sup> The exact meaning of this statement

---

1986: 76; Beard et al. 1998a: 263; Haselberger et al. 87). Pliny (*HN* 36.102) gives the capacity in his time as 250,000; however, this figure has been questioned. Estimates of the final capacity vary from 140,000 to 385,000 (see Platner, *ibid.*, and Richardson 1992: 87).

<sup>29</sup> For estimates of 45,000-50,000 as the capacity of the Colosseum see Platner 1929: 10; Richardson 1992:10; Beard et al. 1998a: 263; Claridge 1998: 278.

<sup>30</sup> Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 19.24.

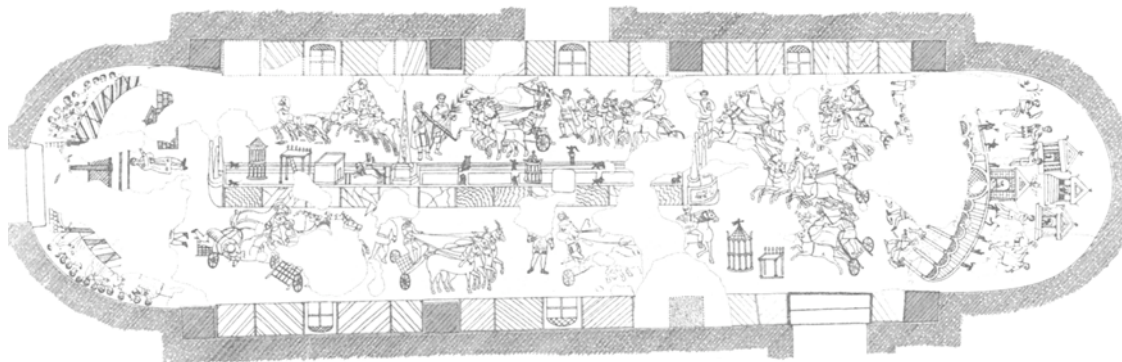
<sup>31</sup> Cassius Dio 48.31.5.

<sup>32</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 16.2.

<sup>33</sup> See e.g., Remy: 1907: 257; Coarelli 1982: 42; Roller 1999: 315. Following Humphrey (1986: 175-6), the term *euripus* (as opposed to *spina*) will be used to refer to the central barrier of the Circus.

<sup>34</sup> *De Spect.* 8.5.

is revealed in a multitude of works depicting the Circus Maximus. The most detailed of these is the famous circus mosaic from Piazza Armerina in Sicily, dating to the reign of Maxentius (ill. 12).<sup>35</sup> Here we see the gamut of activities in a *quadrigae* race, from the start of the contest, with chariots charging forth from the starting gates (*carcares*) and racing around both sides of the arena, to accidents, the ovation of the crowd and the eventual sounding of the victory trumpet and presentation of a palm branch to the winning charioteer. In the centre of this activity and dividing the arena into two tracks is the *euripus*, in the form of a barrier with continuous long walls enclosing six basins of water. A number of monuments including lap-counting devices, small buildings, an obelisk and statues of Victoria and various animals rise up from within, between, or on the side walls of these basins. The most distinctive of these is a statue of the Magna Mater seated side-saddle on the back of a leaping lion (fig. 33). The goddess is seen from behind and is depicted wearing a mural crown, *chiton* and a himation whose corner she holds in her upraised right hand.



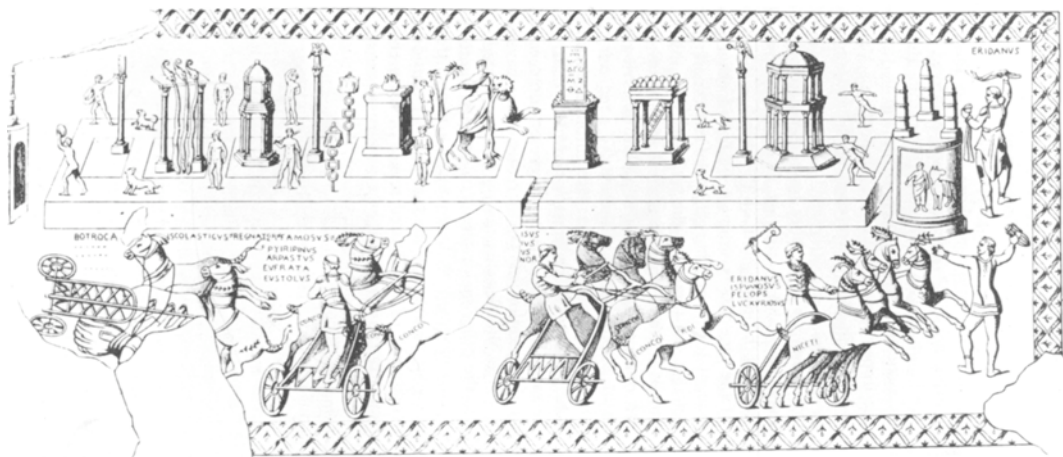
Ill. 12. Drawing of the Piazza Armerina mosaic (after Humphrey 1986: fig. 112).

That the Piazza Armerina mosaic shows the Circus Maximus is beyond doubt. The scene is so detailed that one can identify structures such as the Arch of Titus at one end of the arena, and the temples of Jupiter, Dea Roma and Hercules at the other. It is also clear that the Circus is viewed from the Palatine, looking southwest across the arena.<sup>36</sup> Other representations of the Circus Maximus, such as the grave

<sup>35</sup> Polzer 1973: 147-49; Humphrey 1986: 231-32. For details of the mosaic and a bibliography see Humphrey *ibid.* 223-33, n. 101. On the chronology of the Villa see Settis 1975: 873-77.

<sup>36</sup> For the identification of the arena as the Circus Maximus see Polzer 1973: 147; Humphrey 1986: 230.

monument known as the Foligno relief (fig. 34) and the Barcelona circus mosaic (ill. 13),<sup>37</sup> confirm the existence of the Magna Mater and lion sculptural group on the arena's *euripus*.<sup>38</sup> Regrettably, no trace of this statue has been recovered, nor is its fate known.<sup>39</sup> It has been suggested that a marble statue of the goddess riding a lion found at Nettuno and now in the Villa Doria Pamphili, once stood in the Circus Maximus (fig. 35).<sup>40</sup> However, the relatively small scale of the work (1.8 x 1.45m), its execution in marble rather than bronze, and its findspot indicate that, while most probably modelled on the Circus Maximus group, the piece was created with an alternative context in mind.



Ill. 13. Drawing of the Barcelona mosaic (after Humphrey 1986: fig. 119).

Although we can confidently reconstruct the general appearance of the Magna Mater and her lion in the Circus Maximus, the date of the work remains unknown. The first evidence we have of the sculptural group comes from a Trajanic coin type,

<sup>37</sup> Humphrey 1986: 235-39, 246-48.

<sup>38</sup> For a useful summary of works depicting the group see Humphrey 1986: 273-75.

<sup>39</sup> Remy (1907: 259-60) takes the *Curiosum* of 357 CE as a *terminus post quem* for the disappearance of the statue and suggests that the statue, which is thought to have been bronze, may have been melted down for arms and coinage during the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410 CE. However, as the *Curiosum* refers not to a statue, but rather to an 'aedem Matris deum,' it seems unlikely that this source can be of use in this context. All that may be said is that the image of the Magna Mater seated on a lion still appeared in circus mosaics in the fourth and possibly early fifth centuries CE, although these representations may owe their inspiration not to the original statue, but to copies circulated in mosaicists' pattern books. For a summary of circus mosaics see Humphrey 1986: 208-46.

<sup>40</sup> Bieber 1969: 35.

probably minted to commemorate the emperor's reconstruction of the Circus in 103 CE.<sup>41</sup> On the reverse of a relatively small number of *sestertii* is an innovative bird's-eye view of the arena that clearly shows the *euripus* complete with its statue of the goddess and her lion (fig. 36). Thus we have a *terminus ante quem* for the addition of the statue to the barrier. Because Trajan's work in the Circus was extensive,<sup>42</sup> and because we lack evidence of the statue prior to his reign, scholars consider Trajan a likely candidate for the commissioner of the work.<sup>43</sup> This has not prevented other emperors from being considered, in particular Claudius,<sup>44</sup> who was an ardent champion of the Magna Mater, who rebuilt the Circus' *carceres* (starting gates) and *metae* (turning posts), and who may also have undertaken more extensive work on the *euripus*.<sup>45</sup> Not surprisingly, if patronage of both the cult of the Magna Mater and the Circus Maximus was characteristic of the statue's donor, then Augustus ranks among those who had motive and opportunity to adorn the *euripus* with a statue of the goddess. Clearly, the *princeps* had much to gain from association with the protective Mother of both Troy and Rome in a context as prominent and well-frequented as the Circus Maximus. Moreover, Augustus' work in the arena provided him with ample occasion to commission and erect the statue. Whether or not he did so requires further investigation.

If one accepts the testimony of Cassiodorus, then Augustus can be credited with the Circus in its entirety.<sup>46</sup> However, the author's relatively late date, and

---

<sup>41</sup> Palma (1974/5: 145, n. 40) notes the sole mention of a 'Neronian' coin showing the Circus Maximus, and the statue of the goddess on her lion within, in O. Panvinius *De Ludis Circensibus* (1651: 32), but dismisses the coin as probably a forgery. Examples of the Trajanic type are currently in the Musée de Paris, Berlin and the British Museum. The reverse legend *Cos. V* places these coins between 104 and 111 CE. For their dating to 103 CE see Humphrey (1986: 103-105, fig. 42, n. 249), who denies that they were produced to mark any one particular set of circus games. Cf. Remy (1907: 246-47), who assigned the coins to 107 or 108 CE, i.e., after the games commemorating the emperor's Dacian victory. On the dating of the coins see also Palma 1974/75: 145, n. 41.

<sup>42</sup> On the Trajanic reconstruction of the Circus see Cassius Dio 58.7.

<sup>43</sup> See e.g., Remy 1907: 265; Vermaseren 1977: 53; *CCCA* III: no. 206 (where Domitian is also proposed); Humphrey 1986: 275. It is not known whether Trajan was a proponent of the cult of the Magna Mater. However, as Vermaseren (*ibid.*) has pointed out, his policy of championing traditional religions may have encouraged him to emulate Augustus and Claudius, and to honour the goddess.

<sup>44</sup> Palma 1974/75: 145, n. 39; Humphrey 1986: 274.

<sup>45</sup> Suetonius, *Cl.* 21.3; Chronog. a. 354 (*Chronica Minora*, ed. Mommsen, p. 145). For Claudian work in the Circus see Humphrey (1986: 101, 134, 257).

<sup>46</sup> Cassiodorus, *Var.* 3.51.4.

evidence to the contrary, means that a more modest contribution by the *princeps* is likely. In his seminal study on the evolution of the Circus Maximus, John Humphrey regards Augustus not as the architect of the arena in its canonical form (a role instead assigned to Trajan),<sup>47</sup> but rather as the heir to a more circumscribed programme of work begun by Julius Caesar.<sup>48</sup> Judging the testimony of Pliny and Suetonius to be more reliable than that of Cassiodorus,<sup>49</sup> Humphrey maintains that it was the *princeps*' adoptive father who was responsible for major work on the arena. Caesar's contribution appears to have included the lengthening of the building, the construction of continuous seating (mostly in wood) around three sides of the track, and the placement of massive *euripi* (canals) around the outer limits of the arena.<sup>50</sup> It is possible that Augustus was left to complete these projects after 44 BCE, yet when it came to commemorating his work in the *Res Gestae*, the *princeps* mentioned only that he constructed a *pulvinar*.<sup>51</sup> However, the fact that a fire appears to have destroyed much of the arena in 31 BCE suggests that Augustus found it necessary to undertake an extensive programme of restoration.<sup>52</sup> In these circumstances, it is plausible that the *princeps* included a statue of the Magna Mater among the deities already present on the arena's barrier.

Regardless of the extent of Augustus' work on the Circus Maximus *in toto*, it is clear that alterations were made to the arena's *euripus* during the *princeps*' reign. The exact nature of the Augustan barrier and its ability to support sizable monuments (in particular a bronze statue of the Magna Mater on a lion) has been questioned.<sup>53</sup> Relevant here is Suetonius' testimony that in games held by Julius Caesar either in 46 or 45 BCE, the *metae* were removed so that a battle could be staged in the Circus,

---

<sup>47</sup> Humphrey 1986: 102-106.

<sup>48</sup> See Humphrey 1986: 73-83, for the Circus Maximus of Julius Caesar and Augustus.

<sup>49</sup> Pliny *HN* 36.102; Suetonius, *Jul.* 39.2.

<sup>50</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 3.68.1-4.

<sup>51</sup> Augustus, *RG* 19. On the *pulvinar* see Humphrey 1986: 78-83.

<sup>52</sup> Cassius Dio 50.10.3.

<sup>53</sup> See Remy 1907: 256-57.

with opposing forces initially occupying one half of the arena each.<sup>54</sup> Clearly, this suggests that there was no permanent barrier in place at the time. A series of Campana plaques dating to the first half of the first century CE support this conclusion.<sup>55</sup> The reliefs depict a variety of circus events in which participants are shown not against the backdrop of a continuous barrier, but rather moving between monuments such as the *metae*, lap-counting devices and statues on columns (figs. 38-39). One may therefore assume that if chariot races required a continuous barrier, a temporary wooden structure was erected. Indeed, the creation of this type of partition may well have constituted part of either Caesar's or Augustus' work in the arena.<sup>56</sup>

Paradoxically, the possibility of a temporary barrier led Remy to conclude that the *princeps* was not responsible for the addition of a bronze statue of the Magna Mater to the arena. Such a monument, Remy argued, would have required a solid masonry support, and thus could not have stood on the *euripus* as it existed in the Augustan period.<sup>57</sup> A number of factors may be cited in opposition to this assumption. Not least of these is the addition of several significant monuments to the Circus Maximus during the latter decades of the first century BCE. We know, for example, that in 33 BCE, Agrippa added egg and dolphin lap-counting devices to the arena.<sup>58</sup> These, Humphrey supposed, were placed one at each end of the barrier with the dolphins, at least, surrounded by their own wall or basin.<sup>59</sup> This means that the devices could have stood independent of any temporary barrier structure, as illustrated in a Campana plaque currently in Geneva (fig. 38).<sup>60</sup> Nor did the nature of the barrier deter Augustus himself from adding one, if not two, monuments to the central arena. Most famously, in 10 BCE, the *princeps* erected an obelisk that dominated the barrier

<sup>54</sup> Suetonius, *Jul.* 39. For the dating of the games see Remy (1907: 257).

<sup>55</sup> For an analysis of these reliefs see Humphrey (1986: 180-86, figs. 80-87).

<sup>56</sup> Humphrey 1986: 293.

<sup>57</sup> Remy 1907: 256.

<sup>58</sup> Cassius Dio 49.43.2. The choice of dolphins by Agrippa further illustrates the propagandist mileage obtainable through carefully designed arena monuments. Taken at face value, dolphins were suited to incorporation in the Circus because of their exceptional speed (see Pliny *HN* 9.20ff). However, as attributes of Neptune, they might also have prompted viewers to recall Agrippa's recent naval victories over Sextus Pompey. For a discussion of the eggs and dolphins see Humphrey (1986: 260-65).

<sup>59</sup> Humphrey 1986: 293.

<sup>60</sup> Geneva Musée d'Art et d'Histoire. See Humphrey 1986: 185, fig. 86.

for the remainder of the Circus Maximus' history.<sup>61</sup> This obelisk, which was dedicated to the Sun god Sol,<sup>62</sup> survives today and stands virtually complete in Rome's Piazza del Popolo (fig. 40). Its dimensions and weight were significant: its shaft measured 24.53m high, its base an additional 3.34m; both were made of the same Aswan granite, with the shaft alone weighing approximately 400 tons.<sup>63</sup> Clearly, neither size nor weight was an impediment to the establishment of this monument within the barrier. Like Agrippa's dolphins, the obelisk appears to have stood on its own base, and therefore was not dependent on the barrier for support. Once a permanent *euripus* was constructed, it would have been a simple matter for designers to incorporate the obelisk between the barrier's characteristic basins of water. This arrangement of fixtures is clearly illustrated on the circus mosaic from Piazza Armerina (ill. 12).

In addition to the obelisk, it is probable that Augustus added a statue of Victoria to the central barrier of the Circus Maximus. This is unlikely to have been the first *euripus* monument connected to victory – statues of females standing atop columns with one arm outstretched, and sometimes holding a wreath appear on representations of the arena from the third quarter of the first century BCE.<sup>64</sup> However, it is not until the mid-first century CE that such figures can be conclusively identified as Victoria herself. From this date comes a marble base discovered at Castel S. Elia (40km north of Rome), which preserves a portion of a circus scene where *quadrigae* race around barrier monuments (fig. 41).<sup>65</sup> These consist of a tower and the eggs flanking the statue of a winged Victoria placed atop a spiral column. The goddess is shown with her right hand extended holding a wreath and a palm branch in her left hand. It has been suggested that the prototype for this relief was inspired by Claudius' work in the Circus Maximus.<sup>66</sup> However, Humphrey contends

---

<sup>61</sup> *Infra*, 166-73, for discussion of this monument.

<sup>62</sup> *CIL* 6.701.

<sup>63</sup> Humphrey 1986: 271.

<sup>64</sup> The earliest such work, a silver cup from Pompeii, is discussed below, 151-52. On *euripus* statues on columns see Humphrey 1986: 267-69; Vollkommer 1997: 224, nos. 51-54.

<sup>65</sup> On the Castel S. Elia relief see Humphrey 1986: 193-94, fig. 95.

<sup>66</sup> Anti 1952 (cited in Humphrey 1986: 193-94, n. 42).



that the prototype is Augustan, and that the absence of the obelisk in the scene indicates that the *princeps* erected the statue of Victoria prior to 10 BCE.<sup>67</sup> The relief's fragmentary condition makes it impossible to settle definitively the question of whose Circus is depicted. That the statue of Victoria at least was Augustan is more than credible. We recall, for example, that soon after Actium, Octavian promoted both his relationship with the late Julius Caesar and his own status as *restitutor* by utilising Victoria's image; this strategy was effected through the placement of statues of the goddess both within and on the apex of the Curia Julia.<sup>68</sup> That the Circus Maximus was equally, if not more suited than the Senate-house to endowment with a comparable image is unquestionable. Victoria, by her very nature, was ideal for inclusion in Rome's most competitive sporting arena. Moreover, her association with the Julii in the Circus was already well established due to the festival of *Victoria Caesaris*, in which statues of the dictator and his tutelary goddess were carried together in the *pompa circenses*.<sup>69</sup> The *princeps*' addition of a further statue of Victoria to the *euripus* would not only have honoured the deity responsible for the outcome of the arena's activities, but also emphatically reiterated to the masses its donor's Julian heritage and his accomplishments as the bringer of victory to Rome.

Based on this evidence, we must conclude that Augustus possessed the incentive, inclination and opportunity to endow the Circus Maximus with a statue of the goddess riding her lion. Despite the understated summation of the *princeps*' contribution to the arena in the *Res Gestae*, it is clear that considerable changes were made during the Augustan principate. This seems particularly true of the *euripus*, which was augmented not only by Augustus and Agrippa, but also perhaps by Agrippa's sister Polla, who is known to have adorned the racecourse in 7 BCE.<sup>70</sup> Nor

---

<sup>67</sup> Humphrey 1986: 194, 293.

<sup>68</sup> *Supra*, 119, n. 70. Humphrey (1986: 293) has suggested that the statue in the Circus was a copy of the type placed by Augustus in the Senate-house. However, Zanker (1988: 80) maintains that the Curia's goddess was given captured Egyptian weapons to hold. Even before Actium, winged Victory appeared on denarii of Octavian holding a wreath in her outstretched right hand (see Zanker 1988: 81, fig. 62b).

<sup>69</sup> See Cicero, *Att.* 13.44.1 (cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3.2.45) for the inaugural festival in 45 BCE. Despite Caesar's death less than one year later, this practice was repeated in 44 (Pliny *HN* 2.93; *Obsequens* 68) and would seem to have become a regular event. Weinstock (1971: 111, n. 3) cites the games of 15 CE and those held later during the reign of Trajan as examples (*ILS* 9349; *CIL* 6.37834 line 36). For the festival see Weinstock 1971: 111-12.

<sup>70</sup> Cassius Dio 55.8.4.

did the *princeps* lack iconographic prototypes for the Circus' statue of the goddess. A thorough investigation into the Magna Mater and lion group is beyond the scope of this study.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, consideration of three representations of the Magna Mater, one from Priene and two from Pergamum, will illuminate the evolution of this image.

Although fragmentary, a marble relief from Priene's Temple of Athena Polias bears a striking resemblance to the statue of the Magna Mater from the Circus Maximus (fig. 42).<sup>72</sup> What remains of the work is sufficient to indicate that the Magna Mater/Cybele is depicted riding side-saddle on a lion that leaps to the right. The goddess wears a long *chiton* and a mantle that falls from the back of her neck onto her shoulders, then is draped over her lap and hangs down her left side; her right hand (now lost), was perhaps originally raised to her veil. Only two things distinguish the Priene goddess from her Roman counterpart. First, she carries a tympanum, not a sceptre. More significantly, she is not alone, but rather forms one part of a Gigantomachy. In this expanded narrative the reason for the lion's motion is evident – the goddess and her paladin speed to confront their opponent, a giant shown emerging from the earth.<sup>73</sup> For over a century debate surrounded the function and date of the architectural sculptures extant from the Temple of Athena. Fragments of the Gigantomachy have variously been assigned to the temple's exterior frieze,<sup>74</sup> the decorative base or balustrade of the cult statue, and the base of the altar that stood in the *temenos*.<sup>75</sup> Likewise, the dates suggested for the reliefs have ranged from the time of the temple's dedication by Alexander the Great to the mid-second century BCE. Joseph Carter finally resolved the matter in his comprehensive study of the temple's architectural decoration, which determined that the sculptures did not form a continuous frieze, but rather came from coffer panels in the ceiling of the peristyle. A

---

<sup>71</sup> On this question see Carter 1983: 123.

<sup>72</sup> British Museum, London, inv. no. 1170; CCCA I: no. 699. Arguments both for and against the influence of the Priene relief on the arena group are presented by Remy (1907: 255-56).

<sup>73</sup> On the iconography of the Magna Mater group and its association with the giant (tentatively identified as Kaineus) see Carter 1983: 86-87, 119-23, nos. 13-14, pl. 11.

<sup>74</sup> Remy 1907: 255.

<sup>75</sup> For a summary of various hypotheses see Carter 1983: 38-40.

stylistic analysis revealed that the works dated to the third quarter of the fourth century BCE.<sup>76</sup>

The question thus remains; did Augustus know of the Cybele group from Priene? It is unlikely we will ever know for sure. However, what can be stated with confidence is that the *princeps*, like several of his successors in the first century CE, showed considerable favour toward the city. Priene was not a religious, military, commercial or cultural centre like other recipients of imperial largesse (e.g. Ephesus, Corinth or Athens), yet it could claim some connection to the *princeps* and his family. Members of the Prienian aristocracy can be counted among Caesar's partisans;<sup>77</sup> furthermore, it is thought that the family of Augustus' librarian may have owned land in the vicinity.<sup>78</sup> More significant, perhaps, was the fact that Vitruvius praised the Temple of Athena in *de Architectura*, a treatise dedicated to Emperor Caesar in 29 BCE.<sup>79</sup> The architect's designation of the structure as the quintessential Ionic temple may have piqued the *princeps*' interest; alternatively, Augustus may have sought to emulate Alexander, the temple's initial patron. Whatever the reason, the *princeps* rededicated the building, which subsequently became known as the Temple of Athena Polias and Augustus.<sup>80</sup>

Works other than the coffer relief from Priene may have prompted Augustus to add a statue of the Magna Mater riding a lion to the central barrier of Rome's Circus. Representations of the goddess in this manner had also been popular in Pergamum since the second century BCE. These images mostly took the form of

---

<sup>76</sup> Carter 1983: 38-40, diagram H.

<sup>77</sup> This allegiance must have been particularly strong in the family of Crates, the governor of Asia, whom Caesar's father had assisted against the publicans (*IvPr* no. 111). On this matter see Bowersock 1965: 8.

<sup>78</sup> Strabo (13.618) speaks of a M. Pompeius, who was procurator of Asia under Augustus. Grant (1946: 388-89, pl 9.34) associates him with the librarian Pompeius Macer whose portrait is thought to appear on an *aes* minted in Priene. See Suetonius, *Jul.* 56 for Macer as librarian. For these and Augustus' other links to Priene, see Carter 1983: 254-56.

<sup>79</sup> Vitruvius 1.1-3.

<sup>80</sup> The dedicatory inscription preserved on the building's architrave reads: 'The Demos dedicate [the temple] to Athena Polias and divine Emperor Caesar Augustus the son of god [Divus Julius].' (*IvPr* no. 157; Carter 1983: 255). A further inscription attests the presence of a priest of Rome and Augustus at Priene (Carter 1983: 253, table J, no. 21 = *IvPr* no. 222), while a number of other dedications by the demos to members of the Julio-Claudian *gens* and their supporters further illustrate the strength of connections between the city and the imperial family (see Carter 1983: 253, table J, nos. 16-20 = *IvPr* nos. 223, 225-26, 247).

terracotta figurines;<sup>81</sup> however, two exceptional reliefs may provide the link between Hellenistic iconography and monuments in Augustan Rome. Of these, a marble slab found in modern Bergama dating to the first century BCE has already been recognised by scholars as a forerunner of the Ara Pacis Augustae (fig. 43).<sup>82</sup> Here the Magna Mater appears on her lion wearing a *polos* and holding a sceptre in her right hand and a tympanum in her left; above her sprouts an acanthus calyx and a profusion of naturalistic plants and fruits that are startlingly reminiscent of the floral friezes of the Altar of Peace. We can only speculate that Augustan sculptors knew of this work.

Little speculation is needed, however, when assessing the renown of a truly monumental Pergamene work which also contained an image of the goddess and lion sculptural group. Shown once again in combat with giants, the Magna Mater appears alongside the Olympians and their allies in the famous Gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar of Zeus (fig. 44).<sup>83</sup> As we have come to expect, the goddess is shown wearing a *chiton* and mantle and sitting side-saddle on a lion that leaps to the right. The impetus of the animal's movement makes the Magna Mater's veil billow out over her head; the goddess probably held a bow in her left hand, and her right hand reaches for an arrow in a quiver that she carries on her back.<sup>84</sup> Notwithstanding the substitution of these warlike attributes in favour (most likely) of a sceptre and a simple hand-to-veil gesture in the Circus statue, the similarities of the Hellenistic and Augustan works are pronounced.<sup>85</sup> The well-documented and enthusiastic reception of Pergamene art in Rome,<sup>86</sup> and long-established Julian connections to Pergamum

---

<sup>81</sup> For examples of figurines and plaques see *CCCA* I: nos. 53 (a Pergamene terracotta found at Gordium), 365, 405, 406; Roller 1999: 315, n. 106.

<sup>82</sup> Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 356; *CCCA* I: no. 365. See Castriota 1995: 13-17, figs. 48a-b for a discussion of this work in relation to the Ara Pacis, and n. 13 for a bibliography.

<sup>83</sup> *CCCA* I: no. 348. On the Great Altar image as the prototype of the *euripus* statue see Remy 1907: 253-56, 265.

<sup>84</sup> Carter (1983: 123) suggests that the goddess may also be holding her veil, as in the Priene relief and the Doria Pamphili statue.

<sup>85</sup> The rampant lion motif is only truly explicable in the context of a battle like that between the Gods and the Giants, a fact that reinforces the connection between the two works. For a comparison of the Priene and Pergamum depictions of the Magna Mater and her lion see Carter 1983: 122-23.

<sup>86</sup> On this topic see, for example, Vermeule 1977: 12ff; Pollitt 1986: 111-26; Ramage and Ramage 1996: 118-20.

itself,<sup>87</sup> mean it is certainly feasible that the *princeps* was familiar with the appearance of his tutelary goddess on the Altar of Zeus. That the *euripus* statue of the Magna Mater and her lion was apparently not an exact copy of either its Prienian or Pergamene antecedents need not lessen their significance as probable influences on the later work.<sup>88</sup> After all, Roman sculptors were notorious for altering their versions of Greek originals to suit the needs of both client and context.<sup>89</sup> What is important is that Augustan artists had access to prominent, monumental representations of the Magna Mater atop a lion, should they have needed inspiration for the Circus Maximus commission.

As we have seen, circumstantial evidence from Rome during the Augustan principate suggests that conditions favoured the creation of the *euripus* Magna Mater and lion sculptural group. However, two further works complicate the attribution of the statue to Augustus: a silver cup from Pompeii and a glass beaker found in Colchester. These may be small-scale vessels of relatively minor media, but in the history of the barrier statue their importance equals that of the famous sculptures and mosaics discussed above. Accordingly, we must consider these pieces. The pair of silver cups found in the so-called House of Menander at Pompeii has attracted scholarly attention because they are thought to display the earliest surviving representations of barrier monuments from the Circus Maximus (figs. 45-46).<sup>90</sup> Although the cups measure only 8cm in height and 9.5cm in diameter, both works exquisitely depict two cupids and two winged victories racing in *bigae*. The races themselves are obviously fantastical, but they are set within a realistic racecourse, with monuments known to have stood on the *euripus* of the Circus Maximus appearing in low relief behind the chariots and their drivers. These include carefully

---

<sup>87</sup> See Rostovtzeff 1941: 821-22 and Bowersock 1965: 9, 114-15, for Caesar's close relationship to Mithridates and M. Tullius Cratippus of Pergamum. The request by Pergamene locals to dedicate a sacred precinct to Octavian in 29 BCE appears in Cassius Dio 51.20.7.

<sup>88</sup> A fourth century BCE painting by Nikomachos, which included a representation of the mother of the Gods '*in leone sedentem*' (Pliny *HN* 35.109), can be added to the list of potential models for the *euripus* group. This work has already been identified as a likely inspiration for the Priene coffer (see von Salis, in Carter 1983: 123).

<sup>89</sup> On this subject see e.g., Vermeule 1977: 6-17, 27-35; Ridgway 1984: 5-6, 9-11.

<sup>90</sup> Maiuri 1933: 343-47, nos. 11-12, fig. 134, pls. 41-44; Humphrey 179-80, fig. 79. See also Herrmann 1978: 56.

observed lap-counting devices,<sup>91</sup> statues on columns, and the *metae* – all of which became standard in later representations of the Circus Maximus. In the midst of these familiar monuments one feature stands out as atypical on the better preserved of the two cups: a statue of a lion leaping to the right, atop a tall podium (fig. 46).<sup>92</sup>

Clearly, the representation of a lion independent of the Magna Mater requires explanation. The obvious assumption is that the animal bore no connection to the goddess. Instead of acting as the companion of a deity, it might simply represent the wild animals known to have taken part in *venationes*.<sup>93</sup> However, in not one of the major depictions of the Circus does a solitary lion elevated on a pedestal appear as one of the principal monuments. Statues of lions in the Barcelona and Piazza Armerina mosaics, for example, either stand or are seated directly on the side walls of the *euripus*. Other animals such as panthers, bulls and stags appear in a similar fashion,<sup>94</sup> suggesting that it was these types of images that recalled animal hunts and displays.

To understand the significance of the lion statue in question, the dating of the silver cup becomes crucial. Naturally, the provenance of the work dictates a *terminus ante quem* of 79 CE. The absence of both Agrippa's dolphins (erected in 33 BCE) and the obelisk set up by Augustus (10 BCE) might suggest a considerably earlier date, although the seemingly random inclusion of monuments may render their omission purely coincidental. That said, an analysis of the style and technique of the cups led Amedeo Maiuri to assign both works to the Augustan period or slightly earlier.<sup>95</sup> The choice of fantasy chariot races as the subject of both friezes suggests the influence of Hellenistic precedents, meaning that a pre-Augustan date is most likely.<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Maiuri (1933: 344), who mistakenly identifies these as one of the entrances into the Circus.

<sup>92</sup> According to Maiuri (1933: 345), this animal is a panther; Humphrey (1986: 274), on the other hand, labels it 'a feline, probably a lion.' As subsequent arguments will show, there is little doubt that it is a lion.

<sup>93</sup> On these types of statues see Humphrey 1986: 280-81.

<sup>94</sup> See e.g., the Gafsa mosaic (Humphrey 1986: 244-47, fig. 72).

<sup>95</sup> Maiuri 1933: 347.

<sup>96</sup> Humphrey 1986: 180.

The statue of a leaping lion atop a podium appears again on a cylindrical greenish-glass beaker found in the West Cemetery of Roman Colchester (ill. 14, fig. 47).<sup>97</sup> This vessel is one of an extensive series of mould-blown ‘sports cups’ that depict a range of circus-related activities such as chariot races, gladiatorial fights and animal hunts.<sup>98</sup> In general, these cups are dated to either the second or third quarter of the first century CE. The stratification of the cremation-burial in which the Colchester cup was found, however, enables this piece to be securely assigned to the years before 65 CE.<sup>99</sup>



Ill. 14. Drawing of the Colchester cup (after Harden et al. 1968: 53, no. 61).

In spite of its modest dimensions (7.8cm high with a similar diameter), the Colchester cup presents a wealth of information about the circus in the mid-first century CE. The body of the vessel is divided into three friezes, the uppermost of which contains the names of four charioteers;<sup>100</sup> in the lower band *quadrigae* race around two triple *metae*, the tops of which overlap into the middle frieze, where the remainder of the barrier monuments are represented. Because the monuments no longer serve as a backdrop to the race itself (as on the Pompeian cups), the designer was able to include a greater number of works. In addition to the turning posts, the Colchester cup's barrier is adorned with columned statues, altars, pedimented

<sup>97</sup> British Museum, Dept. Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities 70.2-24.3.

<sup>98</sup> Over one hundred fragments of such cups are known. For discussion of the type see Harden 1946: 93-95, 1958: 2-5, 1971: 337-39, 1982: 30-43; Toynbee 1964: 378-79; Humphrey 1986: 188-93.

<sup>99</sup> On the provenance, dating and iconography of the work see Harden 1946: 95, Hull 1958: 253-54, no. 109, Harden et al. 1968: 53, no. 61; Humphrey 1986: 189-91, figs. 92 a-b.

<sup>100</sup> The inscription is interpreted as: *Hierax va(le)*, *Olympae va(le)*, *Antiloce va(le)*. *Cresces av(e)* (CIL 7.1273). The fact that Cresces is hailed with the salutation *ave*, while the others are wished farewell, has led to the conclusion that Cresces is the victorious driver (Harden et al. 1968: 53).

buildings, an *aedicula*/pavilion, the egg and dolphin lap-counting devices, and just before the final *metae*, an obelisk that stands next to the statue of a lion leaping to the right atop a pedestal. The same combinations of the obelisk and the lion statue, and the lion statue and the *metae*, are also found on fragments of green glass cups from Fishbourne Palace and Cologne.<sup>101</sup> In contrast, the Magna Mater riding a lion is nowhere to be seen.

The preponderance of sports cups have been found, not in Italy, but in Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, France and England.<sup>102</sup> This has led to the suggestion that Gaul was the likely place of their manufacture.<sup>103</sup> If this is true, then inevitable questions arise as to the extent of the designer's specific knowledge of the Roman *euripus*. However, as Humphrey has noted, the distribution of finds may simply be the result of intensive excavation of military sites in the northwest provinces of the Empire.<sup>104</sup> Alternatively, the cups may have been produced in Italy and subsequently dispersed throughout the Empire by the legions that favoured them. The case for the Italian, or more specifically Roman, manufacture of detailed works like the Colchester cup (or at least the Roman origin of their prototype) is supported by the high degree of correlation between the barrier monuments they depict and those known through later sources to have existed in the Circus Maximus. Moreover, it is unlikely that any provincial circus at this time provided a model for the Colchester cup's grandiose *euripus*.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> The fragment from the rim of a glass beaker found in 1964 at Fishbourne Palace was buried in a layer that is dated before 75 CE. It appears to be of the same design (but from a different mould) as the Colchester cup, hence the text above the tip of the obelisk on the left, and the hind-quarters of the lion on the right, which appears to read (*Cre*)scēs (see Wilson 1965: 224, no. 14, n. 21; Harden 1971: 337-39, no. 36). Unfortunately, by 1971 the fragment had been mislaid in transit (see Harden *ibid.* 339, n.1); David Rudkin, the current curator of Fishbourne Palace, has confirmed that it remains unrecovered (e-mail correspondence, 22 April, 2002). For a similar fragment currently in Cologne see Fremersdorf 1961: 52-53, N6175, pl. 103, top left.

<sup>102</sup> Over twenty fragments have been found at Vindonissa in Switzerland alone (Humphrey 1986: 191-92).

<sup>103</sup> See e.g., Harden 1946: 95, 1958: 5; Toynbee 1964: 378.

<sup>104</sup> Humphrey 1986: 192.

<sup>105</sup> Humphrey 1986: 191-92. For others in favour of Italy as the centre of manufacture see L. Berger, *Römische Gläser aus Vindonissa*, (Basel 1960): 56-67; A. Gasparetto, 'Un frammento di coppetta romana circenses del Museo di Murano,' in *Bollettino dei Musei Civici Veneziani* 18 (1973): 3-4, 23-38; = *Annales du 6<sup>e</sup> Congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre*: 115-29 (cited in Humphrey 1986: 654, nn. 30-31).



Taken together, it seems that the silver cup from Pompeii and the glass beaker from Colchester provide representations of Rome's *euripus* prior to, and following the reign of Augustus. On neither work do we see the Magna Mater atop her lion; instead it is the statue of the riderless lion springing forward that adorns the barrier. Significantly, when the lion appears on the post-Augustan sports cup, it is shown immediately to the right of the *princeps*' obelisk. This, of course, is the exact position occupied by the Magna Mater and lion group in later representations of the Circus Maximus. In none of the works currently known do both statues appear together, but the concordance of their iconography and the correlation of their location on the *euripus* indicate that somehow the two monuments were nevertheless connected. It must be, as Humphrey has proposed, that the statue of the Magna Mater's unaccompanied lion was the predecessor of the later and better-known goddess and lion sculptural group.<sup>106</sup> Regrettably, this conclusion leaves us no closer to determining the identity of the benefactor responsible for replacing one work with the other. Clearly though, the lion statue was in place in the late Republic and remained visible to the designer of the sports cup prototype, sometime in the mid-first century CE.<sup>107</sup> This means that, despite a wealth of circumstantial evidence to the contrary, it is unlikely that a statue of the Magna Mater riding her lion was among Augustus' personal additions to the barrier of the Circus Maximus. As we will see, this did not prevent the *princeps* from exploiting the symbolic connections between his obelisk, statue of Victory and the pre-existing statue of the Magna Mater's lion.

---

<sup>106</sup> Humphrey 1986: 274, 293.

<sup>107</sup> This hypothesis helps to explain the evident popularity of representations of the leaping lion on gems from the same period. Examples from the first centuries BCE and CE include: a carnelian in the Berlin Antiquarium (Furtwängler 1896: 143, no. 3217, pl. 27); The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 82.AN.162.53 (Spier 1992: 116, no. 296) and an apparently unaccessioned amethystine quartz in the British Museum (Henig 1974, part 2: 85, no. 639 and bibliography). Conversely, examples of gems representing the Magna Mater riding the lion are often dated to a later period (Furtwängler, *ibid.* 300, no. 8193, pl. 59; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 334, no. 1018). There are sufficient exceptions to these rules, however, to call into question the extent to which *euripus* statues acted as models for images on gems. Lions are found on gems dating from at least the sixth century BCE (Boardman 1968: 121-41, 1970: 217-18; Henig 1994: 39, no. 63) and their appearance can be explained by either their presumed apotropaic powers or the popularity of lion hunts (Henig 1974, part 1: 152). Equally, gems that depict the Magna Mater riding on her lion from the third to the first centuries BCE may well have been inspired by works such as those at Priene and Pergamum (Furtwängler, *ibid.* 85, no. 1438, pl. 16; 112, no. 2382, pl.22; 129, no. 2839, pl. 24). At least two gems dated to the second century CE continue to show the *euripus* adorned with the statue of the lion without the goddess. This can be explained either by the designers' preference for the less complicated image, or by their reference to outdated barrier prototypes (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 283, no. 792; Zwierlein-Diehl 1979: 93, no. 985).

### III. PALATINE TOPOGRAPHY AND THE *EURIPUS*

The *euripus*, like the Circus Maximus itself, evolved over the course of many centuries.<sup>108</sup> Even the most cursory survey of the evidence reveals the gradual transformation of the stadium's barrier from a collection of columned statues of indigenous deities (probably dating to the second century BCE), to a permanent walled partition adorned with a multitude of monuments by the beginning of the second century CE. While it appears that new monuments were added each time alterations were made to the barrier's structure, pre-existing features were often retained, either for practical reasons (e.g., *metae*; lap-counting devices), or because of their association with the site's traditional cults (e.g., the altar of Consus; statues of old agrarian goddesses).<sup>109</sup> Prominent individuals such as Agrippa were also able to make changes, either by setting up or even removing works from the barrier. In light of such variability, some scholars have rejected the idea that a coherent iconographic programme governed the *euripus* monuments.<sup>110</sup> However, close study of the Augustan additions to the barrier, and in particular their relationship to the statue of the Magna Mater's lion, reveals that in the Circus Maximus, as on the Palatine, the *princeps* skilfully incorporated the symbolism of new and existing monuments into the visual language of Augustan Rome.

To reconstruct the complex symbolism inherent in the Augustan section of the *euripus* it is first essential to establish, as far as is possible, the exact juxtaposition of relevant monuments. We have already seen that when the *princeps*' obelisk appeared for the first time on the Colchester and Fishbourne Palace sports cups, it was shown standing directly to the left of the leaping lion. The accuracy of this arrangement is confirmed by the barrier iconography of gems in Vienna, The Hague and the British Museum (fig. 48).<sup>111</sup> Other representations of the pre-Trajanic *euripus* are few, but

<sup>108</sup> For a summary of the development of the *euripus* see Humphrey 1986: 292-94.

<sup>109</sup> On the possible incorporation of the subterranean altar of Consus into the platform of a turning post, and the presence of statues of deities such as Seia, Messia and Tutilina on the barrier, see Humphrey 1986: 258-59, 267.

<sup>110</sup> Humphrey 1986: 281.

<sup>111</sup> For the Vienna gem (inv. XI B 363) see Zwierlein-Diehl 1979: 93, no. 985. When impressed, the red cornelian ringstone in The Hague, however, shows the lion leaping to the left, not to the right, as on the Colchester cup. This discrepancy can be attributed either to the unfamiliarity of the designer with

works showing later phases of the barrier confirm that Augustus' obelisk shared the same topographic relationship with the lion statue's replacement – the Magna Mater and lion sculptural group. Indeed, such is the strength of the obelisk's association with the goddess and her lion that the pairing of these monuments is one of the few truly consistent features of *euripus* iconography. Many types of barrier monuments frequently recur in representations of the Circus Maximus, and often it is difficult to detect any consistency in their order of display. Augustus' obelisk, on the other hand, appears beside the statue of the goddess in mosaics from Piazza Armerina, Barcelona, and Gerona (ills. 12-13, 15),<sup>112</sup> a sarcophagus panel in the Vatican (fig. 49),<sup>113</sup> the Foligno and Maffei reliefs (fig. 34; ill. 16),<sup>114</sup> *sestertii* and *aurei* minted by Trajan and Caracalla (figs. 36-37),<sup>115</sup> and a multitude of representations in the minor arts.<sup>116</sup> Naturally, questions have arisen as to whether these works can uniformly be accepted as portraying the Circus Maximus. The fact that no two depictions of the Magna Mater are identical has been cited in support of arguments to the contrary.<sup>117</sup> In the Vatican sarcophagus and the Foligno relief, for example, the goddess raises her right hand to her veil; only in the former, however, does she hold a sceptre in her left hand. The Maffei relief depicts the goddess reaching out with both hands to guide her

---

the statue in its original context, or to confusion arising from the need for a mirror-image on the intaglio. For both the gem and its impression see Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: figs. 792a-b.

<sup>112</sup> For the Barcelona mosaic see *CCCA* V: no. 207; Remy 1907: 251; Lawrence 1965: 123-24, fig. 4; Vermaseren 1977: 52-3; Humphrey 1986: 235-39, fig. 119. For the Gerona mosaic: *CCCA* V: no. 209; Lawrence *ibid.* 124, fig. 5, Humphrey *ibid.* 239-41, fig. 120. For the Piazza Armerina mosaic: *CCCA* IV: no. 166a; Lawrence *ibid.* 124-26, fig. 6; Settis: 1975: 956-59, figs. 54-55; Vermaseren 1977: 53, pl. 37; Humphrey *ibid.* 223-33, figs. 112, 115.

<sup>113</sup> Vatican Sala Rotonda 546a. One-third of the relief is in Berlin (Königliche Museen, inv. no. 968). See Remy 1907: 249-50; Lawrence 1965: 130-31, fig. 13; Vermaseren 1977: 52; *CCCA* III: no. 252; Humphrey 1986: 202, fig. 102.

<sup>114</sup> The Maffei relief survives only in a drawing and a print. For both works see Remy 1907: 249-50; Vermaseren 1977: 52; Lawrence 1965: 119-22, fig. 1; Humphrey 1986: 246-48, figs. 121-22.

<sup>115</sup> See Remy 1907: 246-48; Humphrey 1986: 102-6, fig. 42 (Trajan); 117-18, fig. 52 (Caracalla).

<sup>116</sup> For gems see Furtwängler 1896: nos. 8486, 8687; Humphrey 1986: 204-7, fig. 105b. See also *CCCA* VI: no. 80, Humphrey *ibid.* 250-52, fig. 126 (a medallion from Teurnia); Remy 1907: 251-52, Humphrey *ibid.* 248, fig. 62 (a lamp in the British Museum); Humphrey *ibid.* 129-31, 254, fig. 57 (a contorniate in the British Museum); *CCCA* V: no. 74, fig. 8, Humphrey *ibid.* 249, fig. 123 (a terracotta plaque from Sousse, Bardo Archaeological Museum, inv. no. I 113).

<sup>117</sup> See e.g., Remy 1907: 252-53.

mount. In the Barcelona mosaic only her right hand is outstretched,<sup>118</sup> and her lion appears to have been transformed into a fountain.<sup>119</sup>



Ill. 15. Drawing of the Gerona mosaic (after Humphrey 1986: fig. 120).



Ill. 16. Drawing of the Maffei relief (after Humphrey 1986: fig. 122).

The position of the Magna Mater and lion statue itself was also apt to change. Most commonly, as has been noted, Augustus' obelisk appears to the left of the sculptural group and the lion is shown leaping to the right. Occasionally though, either the position or the orientation of the monuments is reversed and the obelisk is placed to the right of the goddess (e.g., in Trajanic and Caracallan coin types, and in

<sup>118</sup> Remy (1907: 252) noted the presence of an indistinct attribute in the goddess' right hand and proposed, without explanation, that it was a lightning bolt.

<sup>119</sup> On the conversion of the statue into a fountain by the fourth century CE, see Humphrey 1986: 294.

the Piazza Armerina and Barcelona mosaics), or the lion appears to the right of the obelisk but is shown moving to the left (as in the Gerona mosaic). However, discrepancies such as these need not be of undue concern. They are often easily explained; for example, the atypical placement of the statue on coins and at Piazza Armerina is due to the direction from which the monument is viewed, that is, as if from the Palatine looking southwest. Frequently, inconsistencies in iconography can be attributed to the artists themselves, many of whom were working far from Rome, and whose knowledge of the barrier was derived not from firsthand observation, but from the study of pattern books of circus iconography. It is thought that these books presented motifs that could be chosen and grouped, not according to reality, but rather to suit the scale of the representation or the taste of the designer.<sup>120</sup> Regardless of whether the creators of the mosaics, coins and reliefs cited above ever viewed the Circus Maximus in Rome, the architectural and iconographic details they employed clearly indicate that it was their ultimate model.<sup>121</sup> Here, Augustus' obelisk stood in close proximity to a monument of the cult of the Magna Mater from the date that the former was installed in 10 BCE until at least the fourth century CE.<sup>122</sup>

While representations of the *euripus* attest the immediacy and longevity of the association between the obelisk and the Magna Mater, they are less forthcoming on

---

<sup>120</sup> For the use of pattern books by artists see Humphrey 1986: 202, 210-11, 214-15. This may explain why the obelisk sometimes appears on gems, lamps and in a small number of reliefs and mosaics, but the statue of the Magna Mater does not. E.g., gems in the Antiken Staatliche Museen, Berlin and the Ashmolean Museum (*ibid.* 204-5, figs. 104, 105c, 106); a lamp in the British Museum, inv. no. Q920 (*ibid.* 187, fig. 89, see also fig. 88); the ex-Lateran relief (*ibid.* 177, 195, fig. 78); mosaics from Gafsa, Lyons and Volubilis (*ibid.* 150-51, fig. 72; 216-18, fig. 36; 218-20, fig. 108).

<sup>121</sup> On this topic see Humphrey 1986: 176ff. Notably, two mosaics from Carthage and Silin respectively (CCCA V: no. 101; Humphrey *ibid.* 209-16, figs. 63, 107) show the Magna Mater and lion statue, but omit the obelisk. This anomaly may be the result of iconographic influences from local North African arenas where there were no obelisks, but where copies of the Roman statue of the Magna Mater proved popular because of the goddess' conflation with the local deity Caelestis.

<sup>122</sup> The latest work to depict the obelisk and goddess and lion statue together seems to be the Gerona mosaic, which has many features in common with circus representations on diptychs, contorniates and glass vessels from the late fourth and the first half of the fifth centuries CE (Humphrey 1986: 241). As these similarities, combined with the mosaic's geographical distance from Rome suggest the artist's use of a pattern book, it is safer to accept the Piazza Armerina mosaic as a more reliable *terminus post quem* for the displacement of the two monuments. The date on which the obelisk fell from the *euripus* is unknown, and estimates vary. Roulet (1972: 69-70) believes that the obelisk was still standing in the early Middle Ages, but she offers no evidence to support this claim; cf. Humphrey (1986: 272), who suggests that the obelisk fell after the fifth or sixth century but before the ninth century. Orazio Marucchi's hypothesis (*Gli obelischi egiziani di Roma*, Rome 1898: 89f; cited in Polzer 1965: 165, n. 1) that the obelisk of Augustus was removed during the fourth century to make room for the obelisk of Constantius (revived in Nash 1957: 235ff; 1961/62, vol 2: 137) has found little recent support (see Polzer 1965: 165ff; Iversen 1968: 66; Roulet 1972: 70; Humphrey *ibid.* 270-71).

Augustus' statue of Victoria.<sup>123</sup> Although it was common for sculptures of standing females to appear atop columns in depictions of the Circus, more often than not these figures lack sufficient attributes to allow their identification as the goddess herself. Moreover, the verticality and comparative simplicity of these statues encouraged artists to treat them as 'filling ornaments,' ideal for inclusion in small-scale scenes where space was at a premium or where elevated monuments were required to tower over chariots in the foreground. As such, it seems that only a limited degree of consistency governed their placement in representations of the barrier. The first time a columned statue of a woman appears in a representation of the Circus Maximus is on the silver cup from the House of Menander (fig. 46). Here the standing female appears immediately to the right of the statue of the Magna Mater's lion. She wears a long dress and holds her right hand outstretched, but her lack of either wings or a wreath makes her identification as Victoria far from certain. The late-Hellenistic or early-Augustan date of the cup, however, means that this monument could be a simplified rendering of the *princeps*' sculpture, so long as we assume that Augustus added his statue of Victoria to the *euripus* soon after he set up its Curia prototype in 29 BCE.

Later representations of the Circus Maximus confirm that a statue of Victoria was displayed on the *euripus* in close proximity to the obelisk and the lion. For example, on the Vatican sarcophagus discussed above (Sala Rotonda 546a), only an altar separates a winged Victoria atop a Corinthian column from the obelisk and the statue of the Magna Mater riding her lion (fig. 49).<sup>124</sup> With the exception of the obelisk and the Magna Mater's inversion, this arrangement of monuments is repeated in the Barcelona mosaic, where a second statue of Victoria follows the egg lap-counting device on the right of Augustus' dedication to the Sun (ill. 13). A medallion from Teurnia, dated to the second half of the fourth century CE, similarly attests the presence of two columned statues flanking the obelisk (fig. 50).<sup>125</sup> Here the *quadrigae* race has been confined to the lower half of the field, leaving an abbreviated version of the *euripus* clearly visible above. The Augustan obelisk dominates the

---

<sup>123</sup> *Supra*, 146-47.

<sup>124</sup> *Supra*, 157-58.

<sup>125</sup> Humphrey 1986: 250-51, fig. 126.

centre of the barrier and is again flanked by statues atop columns. Victoria holding a crown and perhaps also a palm is clearly recognisable on the left; the statue to the right is less distinct, but can be identified as a woman with her right arm extended and holding an attribute. The Magna Mater and lion sculptural group occupies the remaining space on the right-hand side of the barrier. The race depicted may have been held in Rome; equally the medallion may show an event at local games in Teurnia. Either way, the combination of Victoria, the obelisk and the Magna Mater indicates that, at least in the case of the *euripus*, the Circus Maximus provided the iconographic inspiration for the work.<sup>126</sup>

Decorative panels on three children's sarcophagi dating from the mid-second century CE confirm the proximity of Augustus' obelisk to a statue of Victoria (figs. 51-52). In the foreground of each relief cupids are shown racing in *bigae*; between them in the background are monuments from the barrier of the Circus Maximus.<sup>127</sup> For reasons of compositional clarity, the works omit the Magna Mater and lion sculptural group.<sup>128</sup> However, in each relief the obelisk and Victoria appear adjacent or at least proximate to one another. In two sarcophagi currently in Naples and the Vatican (Sala della Biga 613), a statue of winged Victoria atop a column stands immediately to the left of the obelisk (fig. 51). In a third sarcophagus, also in the Vatican (Sala della Biga 617), the goddess appears to the right of the obelisk and is separated from it only by a small pedimented building (fig. 52).<sup>129</sup> A further funerary relief (ex-Lateran), thought to come from Ostia in the Trajanic period, also depicts the

---

<sup>126</sup> Humphrey 1986: 251.

<sup>127</sup> Humphrey (1986: 196) maintains that children's sarcophagi of this type were made in Italy, probably by a small number of ateliers in the vicinity of Rome. This provenance would make the Circus Maximus the obvious prototype for the works.

<sup>128</sup> Despite assigning these sarcophagi to the Hadrianic period or later, Humphrey (1986: 196-97, 274-75) suggests that the absence of the Magna Mater and lion statue was due to the latter's Trajanic date. The reliefs' display of slender architectural barrier monuments, however, indicates that the statue was excluded to preserve the clarity of the scenes. Where lofty columns and buildings appear distinct from the figures in front of them, the stockier, more complex statue of the goddess riding her lion would have been virtually indistinguishable from the charioteers and horses in the foreground. The confusion that results when such concerns were overlooked is evident in the Vatican Sarcophagus (Sala Rotonda 546a) and the Foligno relief.

<sup>129</sup> For the sarcophagi in the Sala della Biga (nos. 613, 617) see Lawrence 1965: 127-29, figs. 7, 9; Humphrey 1986: 196ff., figs. 97, 99. For the sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, see Lawrence *ibid.* 127-28, fig. 8.

obelisk in close proximity to columned statues (fig. 53).<sup>130</sup> Here once again, the *euripus* monuments rise above a chariot in the foreground; the obelisk dominates the composition and is followed from left to right by a columned female statue with her right arm extended, the dolphin lap-counting device and a winged Victoria atop a column.

Clearly, a considerable number of works attest the grouping of a statue of Victoria with Augustus' obelisk in the Circus Maximus; a portion of these also include the statue of the Magna Mater and her lion in this assemblage. That Victoria and the obelisk were considered a pair is hardly surprising – after all, the *princeps* is likely to have set up both monuments on the *euripus*. In addition to sharing a donor, the two works were united symbolically. As a copy (or at least a derivative) of the statue of Victoria erected by Augustus in the Curia Julia, the barrier's goddess may have been designed to evoke memories of the triple triumph (for Illyricum, Actium and Egypt) that inspired the dedication of its prototype. For its part, the obelisk constituted an Egyptian trophy *par excellence*. From the fourth century BCE, many such monuments were transported to Alexandria to signify the legitimacy and ascendancy of Ptolemaic rule. The importation and re-erection of an Egyptian obelisk in Rome, therefore, would have been a potent symbol of Augustus' victories in the East (particularly his personal annexation of Egypt); it would also have reiterated the political and military superiority of his city.<sup>131</sup>

The early statue of the Magna Mater's lion and the later goddess and lion sculptural group were also imbued with connotations of victory. It is reasonable to assume that both types of monuments were familiar to many viewers from famous Gigantomachy scenes of the sort displayed in Priene and Pergamum.<sup>132</sup> Here, the charging lion was the fearsome paladin who carried the Magna Mater to victory alongside the invincible Olympian deities. In this context even the orientation of the lions in both barrier monuments is significant, as the conventions of Greek art dictated that in scenes of conflict, those destined to triumph most commonly advanced from

---

<sup>130</sup> Humphrey 1986: 177, 195, fig. 78.

<sup>131</sup> For the obelisk as a statement of power in Rome, see Roullet 1972: 43-44 and Rehak 2000: 1-3. The *princeps*' monument was also clearly connected to victories of a less grandiose type, hence Nero's placement of the wreaths he had won in chariot races, in 68 CE, at the foot of the obelisk (Cassius Dio 63.21.1).

<sup>132</sup> *Supra*, 148-51.



left to right. Of course, it was not just in the legendary battle of the Gods and the Giants that the Magna Mater was associated with victory – spectators at the Augustan arena may well have recalled the role the goddess had played in the defeat of Hannibal, the Gauls, the Cimbri and the Teutoni.<sup>133</sup> Despite being more chronologically remote, the Magna Mater's contribution to the Aeneadae's military success was also surely in the forefront of contemporary consciousness thanks to Virgil's *Aeneid*.<sup>134</sup>

The location of the Magna Mater's monuments on the *euripus* provides final confirmation that the goddess was honoured as the bringer of victory in the Circus Maximus. Already noted is that the position of the earlier lion statue corresponded to that of the later image of the goddess riding the lion.<sup>135</sup> This means that, like its replacement, it overlooked the finishing line for chariot races.<sup>136</sup> A number of images prompt this conclusion. Particularly useful is a mosaic from Silin in Libya, dated to the late-second or early-third century CE, in which a *quadrigae* race is presented in synoptic fashion (fig. 54).<sup>137</sup> Here, amid chariots simultaneously emerging from the starting gates and racing around the arena, the triumphant charioteer is shown returning to the *carcares* after receiving his victory palm branch. The white finishing line that he has just crossed spans the track near the centre of the barrier; significantly, it is in exact alignment with the statue of the Magna Mater riding her lion. Whether or not this mosaic represents the Circus Maximus is open to debate. Some have suggested that its inspiration was the nearby circus at Lepcis Magna. However, there appears to be little correspondence between the mosaic's architectural details and the considerable archaeological remains of the Lepcis arena.<sup>138</sup> Therefore, it seems probable that, like many other images of circuses produced outside of Rome, the Silin

---

<sup>133</sup> *Supra*, 116-17, 123.

<sup>134</sup> *Supra*, 75ff.

<sup>135</sup> *Supra*, 155.

<sup>136</sup> On the location of the finish in the Circus Maximus see Humphrey 1986: 84-91.

<sup>137</sup> For the Silin mosaic see Humphrey 1986: 211-16.

<sup>138</sup> On the identification of the Circus Maximus in the Silin mosaic see Humphrey 1986: 214-16. Romanelli theorised that a sculpted lion's head found in the Lepcis circus belonged to a statue of the goddess on her lion (CCCA V: no. 51). However, as the head was resting on one of the lion's front paws, the animal was clearly recumbent; thus Humphrey's suggestion (*ibid.* 40) that the lion adorned one of the side walls of the *euripus* is more plausible.

mosaic owed its form to the iconography of pattern books derived from the Circus Maximus.

Works based more directly on the Roman Circus tend to suggest, rather than explicitly depict, the position of the finish. Even so, this implied location is consistently found in the vicinity of the Magna Mater's statue. In the Foligno relief, for example, racing quadrigae obscure the finish line itself, but its site is made evident by the prize-giver (a togate man holding a palm and what may be the victor's purse), who is shown directly in front of the sculptural group (fig. 34).<sup>139</sup> The Piazza Armerina mosaic provides an expanded version of this scene, where just over halfway down the right-hand side of the barrier a trumpeter and the *editor* (who again holds a palm branch and purse) stand near the goddess and the obelisk to greet a victorious charioteer (ill. 12). Interestingly, although the Teurnia medallion's 12cm diameter prevents the inclusion of extra figures like race officials, the Magna Mater's association with the conferral of victory remains unchanged, as here the goddess herself holds the palm branch (fig. 50).

Clearly, while a coherent iconographic programme may not have governed the Augustan *euripus* in its entirety, more than coincidence dictated the grouping of monuments proximate to the finishing line in the Circus Maximus. If, as seems likely, the columned statue on the Colchester Cup (fig. 47) is not Victoria but rather a personification like Pollentia or an indigenous goddess such as Seia or Tutilina,<sup>140</sup> then we may assume that the statue of the Magna Mater's lion predated the *princeps*' additions to the *euripus*. This means that when Augustus set up his barrier monuments he did so in the knowledge of their inevitable association with the Magna Mater. The result was both predictable and to the *princeps*' advantage – an assemblage of works dedicated to the attainment and recognition of victory. At the most basic level the reference was obviously to success in the arena's activities, hence the monuments' placement close to the finishing line. Interpreted more broadly, the lion, the obelisk and Victoria also stood as reminders of Rome's military might and of some of the deities to whom the city owed its current position of power. Above all,

---

<sup>139</sup> For the interpretation of this figure as the prize-giver see Humphrey 1986: 87, 248; cf. Lawrence (1965: 121), who simply labels him an official, and suggests the object in his left hand is a *mappa*.

<sup>140</sup> Tertullian, *De Spect.* 8. The presence of these and other figures on the barrier is discussed in Humphrey 1986: 268-69.

however, the allusion was to Augustan triumphs, and especially to the epic victories over Egypt and Cleopatra that ushered in the new Golden Age.

Naturally, the Circus Maximus, with its vast crowds and frequent usage was the ideal venue for the perpetual commemoration of these accomplishments. It was not the only venue, however, nor the most illustrious. This privilege went to the southwest corner of the Palatine where, as we have seen, the Augustan precinct overlooked the Circus Maximus. In both sites, the *princeps* integrated the Magna Mater into his programme of victory iconography. Indeed, the connections between the two are such that the goddess' lion can be seen as analogous to the Temple of the Magna Mater itself; the former standing proximate to the barrier's statue of Victoria, just as the metroön was adjacent to the Temple of Victoria on the Palatine. Of course, the Temple of Apollo and the *princeps*' own residence were intrinsic to the conceptual significance of the Palatine precinct. It follows that if the Augustan section of the *euripus* consciously recalled this area, then parallels to these structures might also be found on the barrier. Apollo was certainly suited to inclusion in the Circus Maximus. Like the Magna Mater, the god had both a temple overlooking the arena, and a festival (the *Ludi Apollinares*) in which circus events were prominent. He was also among the deities whose effigies were carried in the *pompa deorum*.<sup>141</sup> It is surprising, therefore, that of the works depicting the Circus discussed above, only the Vatican sarcophagus and the Barcelona mosaic give any indication of Apollo's presence on the barrier. In both, the contrapposto statue of a nude male with his right arm raised and bent at the elbow has been identified as Apollo.<sup>142</sup> On the sarcophagus the statue is shown next to the left-hand *meta* in the doorway of a building with an elaborate foliate tympanum (fig. 49). In the mosaic, the statue stands on one of the side walls of the *euripus*, immediately to the left of a columned Victoria and three basins away from the statue of the Magna Mater and her lion (ill. 13). As neither the date, nor indeed the subject of this statue is certain, on this basis alone the god's place on the barrier remains doubtful. However, Apollo's focal role in Augustan propaganda and the appropriateness of his inclusion in the arena highlight the logic in a re-examination of the *princeps*' barrier monuments with Apolline symbolism in mind.

---

<sup>141</sup> Ovid, *Am.* 3.2.51.

<sup>142</sup> See Lawrence 1965: 131; Humphrey 1986: 237, 279.

Paramount here is an appreciation of the Augustan obelisk's myriad of meanings. Already noted is that the provenance and location of the monument on the *euripus* ensured its link to Victoria and the Magna Mater, and to the successes they bestowed in military endeavour and in the Circus itself. However, two identical inscriptions on the obelisk's base make it clear that it was to the sun god Sol, not the goddesses of victory that the obelisk was dedicated:

IMP. CAESAR. DIVI. F.  
AVGVSTVS.  
PONTIFEX. MAXIMVS.  
IMP. XII. COS. XI. TRIB.POT. XIV.  
AEGVPTO. IN. POTESTATEM.  
POPVLI. ROMANI. REDACTA.  
SOLI. DONVM. DEDIT

When Emperor for the twelfth, consul for the eleventh, and tribune of the people for the fourteenth time, Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of the deified one, the pontifex maximus, dedicated this obelisk to the sun, when Egypt had been brought under the sway of the Roman people.<sup>143</sup>

Further confirmation of the monument's divine recipient is provided by Tertullian who, in his account of the Circus Maximus, recorded that 'the huge obelisk is set up for the sun.'<sup>144</sup> This is hardly surprising; after all, the obelisk ultimately came from Heliopolis, the ancient centre of the Egyptian sun-cult, where it had been erected by pharaohs seeking to establish themselves as the progeny of the sun-god, Amun-Ra.<sup>145</sup> Moreover, the very substance and shape of the obelisk gave it solar significance. Pliny, for example, noted that red granite was used for obelisks because it was the

---

<sup>143</sup> *CIL* 6.701. The inscription is identical to that of the obelisk that acted as a gnomon in the Horologium of the Campus Martius (*CIL* 6.702).

<sup>144</sup> Tertullian, *De Spect.* 8.

<sup>145</sup> For the connection between obelisks and the Egyptian solar cult see Iversen 1968: 11-18; Humphrey 1986: 269-70; Rehak 2000: 2.

colour of the sun.<sup>146</sup> Later, Ammianus Marcellinus observed that obelisks gradually grew more slender ‘to imitate a sunbeam.’<sup>147</sup>

No doubt much of the obelisk’s original cultic significance was lost once the monument to the Sun God was removed from its Egyptian context and relocated to the Roman Circus.<sup>148</sup> Even so, both it, and the god it honoured, were ideally suited to incorporation into the Circus Maximus. According to tradition, the very first *ludi circenses* were held by the eponymous Circe in honour of her father Sol,<sup>149</sup> which might explain why the cult of the Sun appears to have been well established in the Vallis Murcia from an early date,<sup>150</sup> and why Tertullian maintained that the Circus Maximus was primarily dedicated to the Sun God.<sup>151</sup> While we cannot be certain of the cult’s exact manifestation in the early arena, we can be sure that by the Augustan period the Circus possessed its own temple of Sol – the only *aedes publica in Circo*,<sup>152</sup> which Isidorus of Seville believed was the obelisk of Augustus itself.<sup>153</sup> Obviously he was mistaken, as Tertullian clearly distinguishes between the temple and the barrier monument.<sup>154</sup> That such confusion existed, however, is testament to the strength of the obelisk’s association with the Sun. Elsewhere, Isidorus elaborated upon the nature of this connection, noting not only that the obelisk stood in the middle

---

<sup>146</sup> Pliny *HN* 36.14.64.

<sup>147</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus 17.4.7. The *pyramidion* that formed the pointed top of the obelisk was also a shape that was sacred to the sun in pharaonic times (Humphrey 1986: 270).

<sup>148</sup> See Iversen 1968: 16, nn. 3-4, for Egyptian belief in obelisks as phallic symbols designed to recall the Sun God’s act of creation through masturbation, and as possessing regenerative powers capable of restoring the physical and mental capabilities of a failing pharaoh.

<sup>149</sup> Tertullian, *De Spect.* 8; Johannes Lydus, *Mens.* 1.12; cf. Cassiodorus, *Var.* 3.51.10

<sup>150</sup> John Malalas (7.4) linked the cult of the Sun in the Circus to the alleged creation of circus factions by Romulus. A number of Etruscan mirrors dating to the fourth and third centuries BCE also seem to link the Sun and the Circus (Humphrey 1986: 91, n. 171).

<sup>151</sup> Tertullian, *De Spect.* 8.

<sup>152</sup> Ziolkowski 1992: 151. The distyle Republican temple is thought to appear on a *denarius* of Mark Antony dating to 42 BCE (see Crawford 1974: no. 496/1; Humphrey 1986: 91-92, n. 176). The first to refer to the temple in writing is Tacitus, who calls the structure a *vetus aedes* (*Ann.* 15.74.1). Later entries in the *Fasti Filocali* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 270, August 28), the *Fasti Praenestini* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 239a) and the Regionary Catalogues (*Notitia Reg.* XI) attest the temple’s longevity (for discussion of these references see Ziolkowski 1992: 150).

<sup>153</sup> Isidorus, *Orig.* 18.31.1-2. Cf. Ziolkowski 1992: 150-51, n. 12.

<sup>154</sup> *De Spect.* 8.

of the Circus because the Sun ‘runs through the middle of the world,’ but also that it represented the peak and summit of the sky, since it was at midday that the Sun moved across the arena;<sup>155</sup> thus, just as planets revolved around the Sun in the heavens, so too did chariots race around the symbol of the Sun (the obelisk) in the Circus Maximus.<sup>156</sup>

The deliberate retention, and indeed reiteration, of the Augustan obelisk’s solar affinities surely benefited the *princeps* in a number of ways. In choosing to honour Sol with an ancient and imposing monument of sun-worship, Augustus effectively publicised his devotion to what is likely to have been a well-established and venerable cult.<sup>157</sup> Furthermore, the fact that Helios/Sol was depicted as the quintessential victorious charioteer may have reinforced perceptions of the obelisk as a monument to Augustan victories in Egypt.<sup>158</sup> Most significantly, as a dedication to the Sun, the obelisk kept alive links between solar cult and solar monarchy. Of course, we find no sign of a tendency toward monotheism in the *princeps*’ religious policies. Nevertheless, Egyptian precedents, not to mention Alexander the Great’s well-known association with Helios, surely meant that, as Liebeschuetz has noted, ‘it was natural that an educated young man setting out to become a ruler of the world should seek to win the favour of the sun or of the deity of which it was an image.’<sup>159</sup>

It is by recognising that the Sun God was encapsulated in a myriad of manifestations that we begin to approach a true understanding of the symbolism of Augustus’ obelisk. Although the *princeps* paid homage to the Roman god Sol (possibly *Sol Indiges*), it was not for another two centuries, during the reigns of Elagabalus and Aurelian that a purely solar deity (*Sol Invictus*) was linked to imperial

---

<sup>155</sup> For the possibility that the obelisk acted as some type of gnomon see Laistner 1921: 265-66; Humphrey 1986: 270, n. 225.

<sup>156</sup> Tertullian, *De Spect.* 7.

<sup>157</sup> On the subject of Sol in the Circus Maximus see Schofield 1969; Wardman 1982: 120; Humphrey 1986: 91-95; Ziolkowski 1992: 150-52.

<sup>158</sup> See e.g., *denarii* minted by A. Manlius, 118-107 BCE, depicting Sol in a *quadriga* (*RRC* I, 318, no. 309, pl. 41, no. 14). Later examples are cited in Letta 1988: 601-3, nos. 122-59.

<sup>159</sup> Liebeschuetz 1979: 85. For Alexander the Great as Helios, a portrait-type that may have evolved from the conflation of Lysippos’ statues of Alexander and of Helios driving his sun chariot, see Yalouris et al. 1980: 102, no. 8 (with bibliog.); Pollitt 1986: 29.

power.<sup>160</sup> Where pharaohs and subsequent emperors turned to the Sun God to legitimise and uphold the ideological basis of their rule, Augustus instead fostered a close connection to Apollo. This relationship took many forms, from stories circulating that the *princeps* was the son of the god,<sup>161</sup> to the construction of the new Temple of Apollo next to Augustus' own Palatine residence. Just as allusions to the god permeated many facets of Augustan policy and imagery, so too are they to be found in the Circus Maximus, where the *princeps*' obelisk stood as a monument to the syncretism of Sol and Apollo.

On the question of the extent and significance of Apollo's identification with an Augustan solar deity, scholarly opinion is divided. A comprehensive analysis of the evidence for and against the amalgamation of the two gods is beyond the scope of the present work.<sup>162</sup> However, a brief review of the major areas of interest will serve to illustrate that while Sol and Apollo were far from inseparable during the Augustan principate, they were sufficiently connected for viewers of the obelisk to understand that the monument honoured both deities.

When writing about the nature of the gods, Cicero drew attention to the identification of Apollo with Sol, which he attributes to the Greeks.<sup>163</sup> Perhaps he was aware that in the *Bassarai* of Aeschylus, Orpheus gave the name Apollo to Helios, whom he worshipped as the supreme deity; the same identification is found in Euripides' *Phaethon* (*fr.* 781.11. Nauck<sup>2</sup>).<sup>164</sup> Certainly, Cicero would have known of the Orphics' connection of the two gods, and although the orator made no personal use of this syncretism, his reference to the topic attests its relevance in the Late

---

<sup>160</sup> Cassius Dio 80.11-12, 21.2; Herodian 5.5.6-6.10; S.H.A., *Elagabalus* 8; Zosimus 1.61.2; S.H.A., *Aurelian* 25.5-6. See also Wardman 1982: 120-21; Adkins and Adkins 1996: 209-10; Beard et al. 1998a: 254-56; Turcan 1996: 176-83 and 2000: 128-31. On Nero's earlier association with Apollo-Helios see Champlin 2003: 112-44.

<sup>161</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 94.4; Cassius Dio 45.1.2; Pliny, *HN* 16.240.

<sup>162</sup> On this topic see Gag e 1931: 290-308 and 1955: 540-42; Altheim 1938: 394-407; Fontenrose 1939: 439-53; Bailey 1960: 163-72; Schofield 1969: 647-49; Galinsky 1967: 619-33 and 1996: 100-164; Letta 1988: 594.

<sup>163</sup> *Nat. D.* 2.27.68; 3.20.51.

<sup>164</sup> Altheim 1938: 397. See also Aeschylus, *Supp.* 212-14. For the equation of Apollo with Helios from the fifth century BCE on see Ley (2002: 855), who notes that '[Apollo's] connections with heavenly light displays are attested to by a few epicleses such as *Aigletes* 'Radiant One' in Anaphe (*Ap. Rhod.* 4,1713-7; *Apollod.* I, 139) or *Eoiosmios* 'He who belongs to the dawn' in Bithynia (*Ap. Rhod.* 2.688-89)...'

Republic. Nowhere is the relationship of Sol and Apollo more prominent in an Augustan context than in Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*. In this hymn, commissioned by the *princeps* himself for performance at the 17 BCE *Ludi Saeculares*, Apollo and Diana are invoked before all others, even the old Capitoline deities. From the very beginning the pair's celestial nature is explicit – Apollo is addressed as *Phoebus*, or 'shining', and he and his sister are proclaimed to be 'glories of the sky' (*lucidum caeli decus*).<sup>165</sup> Soon after, in the hymn's third stanza, the chorus invokes bountiful Sol, who in his shining chariot ushers in and brings to a close each day *alius...et idem*. Denis Feeney takes this as a reference 'not only to the physical illusion that the sun is "another" sun at each new day, but also to the "otherness and sameness" of Apollo's syncretism with Sol/Helios.'<sup>166</sup> Not all commentators agree with this interpretation.<sup>167</sup> However, even those who argue against the hymn's outright identification of Apollo and Sol do not necessarily deny that Horace established a connection between the two deities.<sup>168</sup> Consideration of the *carmen* in its topographical context reinforces this link. We know, for example, that the first of the hymn's two performances took place on the Palatine outside the Temple of Apollo.<sup>169</sup> This means that the chorus of twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls would have chanted the hymn whilst looking up at the representation of the Sun's chariot which, Propertius tells us, stood on the apex of the temple.<sup>170</sup> Participants and listeners may have been quick to perceive a connection between this acroterion and the 'shining chariot' of Sol that was honoured in the third stanza of the *Carmen Saeculare*.<sup>171</sup>

---

<sup>165</sup> See Zanker 1988: 169-72 for a translation of the hymn.

<sup>166</sup> Feeney 1998: 32-33.

<sup>167</sup> Fontenrose (1939: 442-49, bibliog. in n.17) in particular maintained that while Diana is identified with the moon in the hymn, no attempt was made to liken Apollo to the Sun, who is addressed in his own right. Cf. Galinsky, who once echoed this conclusion (1967: 623), but has latterly stated that in the hymn, 'Sol was closely associated and even identified with Apollo' (1996: 103).

<sup>168</sup> See e.g., Gagé 1931: 305; Altheim 1938: 400-401.

<sup>169</sup> The primacy of Apollo in the Augustan period is illustrated by the fact that it was only after the hymn had been acclaimed on the Palatine that the chorus repeated it before the temples of the Capitoline triad.

<sup>170</sup> Propertius 2.31.11: *in quo Solis erat supra fastigia currus...* (Fontenrose 1939: 450, following Hertzberg).

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Galinsky (1967: 622, n.3) who, following Fontenrose (1939: 451), surely goes too far when he dismisses the acroterion as an 'accidental detail' with no connection to the temple's deity. The citation by both scholars of the supposed unrelatedness of the central figure of Apollo in the west pediment of



A cursory study of Apollo's treatment by other Augustan poets reveals that Horace was not alone in linking the god with the sun. Most often Apollo's solar aspect was conveyed by the appellation *Phoebus*, an epithet also common to Sol that was completely interchangeable with the names of both deities.<sup>172</sup> In Virgil, Apollo is called Apollo thirty-eight times and Phoebus forty-three times; the sun is called Sol thirteen times and Phoebus three times.<sup>173</sup> Clearly, the two gods remain distinct, but they share a correspondent nature. In keeping with this perception, Apollo and Diana were invoked at the beginning of the *Georgics* as 'the extremely bright lights of the universe' (1.5-6), while in the fourth *Eclogue* Apollo was identified with Sol in order to convey better his role in the dawn of the Golden Age.<sup>174</sup>

In art as well as in literature, we find evidence for both the merging and the deliberate association of the two gods. The iconographic conflation of the Greek Apollo with Helios has been traced to the late fourth century BCE, and is manifest in a number of Hellenistic works depicting a radiate deity who sometimes carries a quiver or a *kithara*.<sup>175</sup> In Roman art, at least until the late antique period, Apollo and Sol more often retain their independent identities, as on the *cuirass* of the Prima Porta Augustus, where Sol appears in his chariot at the top of the breastplate while Apollo is shown riding a griffin below (fig. 56). Here the two deities are shown as different figures, yet they are associated by their physical proximity.<sup>176</sup> In numerous other

---

the Temple of Zeus at Olympia does little to further their argument. Instead, the nearby Augustan metroön (where acroteria took the form of the Magna Mater's Corybants) provides a more relevant comparison.

<sup>172</sup> According to Galinsky (1967: 633), Apollo and Sol also shared the epithet *δαφνηφόρος*, the title by which the latter was known in his cult at Lavinium/Laurentum. Accordingly, Laurentian Sol became conflated with Apollo, who had long been associated with the laurel.

<sup>173</sup> Passages in the *Aeneid* frequently cited in discussions of the identification of Apollo with Sol include: 3.637, 4.6, 11.913. See also Tibullus 3 [Lygdamis], 4.21-22, 4.71-72, 6.8; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.345-46, 3.353. Others to treat the gods in a similar fashion include Propertius, who refers to Apollo nine times by name and fifteen times as Phoebus, and to the Sun-God five times as Phoebus and twice as Sol; cf. Ovid, who refers to Sol thirty-fives times as Phoebus (Fontenrose 1939: 441, 450-52). Despite this, both Fontenrose and Galinsky (1967: 619-21) argue against the assumption that the two deities were the same. Cf. Bailey 1960: 163-72. For later references to the association of Apollo and the Sun, see Pliny, *HN* 37.181; Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.* 367d-e; Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* 3.30.33, 5.42, 6.12; Heliodoros *Aethiopica passim*; Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.17-18.

<sup>174</sup> *Ecl.* 4.6; Servius in *Ecl.* 9.46. Cf. Liebeschuetz 1979: 84-85.

<sup>175</sup> For works conflating Apollo with Helios see Lambrinudakis 1984: 244-45, nos. 473-84.

<sup>176</sup> On this subject see the contrasting opinions of Altheim (1938: 398-99) and Galinsky (1967: 620-22; 1996: 155-64).

works, however, the distinction is less clear-cut, which has led to the identification of enthroned or *quadriga*-driving deities either as Sol-Apollo or as the *numen mixtum* called Phoebus.<sup>177</sup>

Returning to the Circus Maximus, it is clear that during the early principate, religious tradition, literature, art, and in particular Augustus' own propaganda, had conditioned spectators to interpret a dedication to Sol not just as an offering to the traditional solar god, but also to Apollo, the deity with whom the *princeps* cultivated a special relationship.<sup>178</sup> That the monument in question was an obelisk could only have enhanced this connection, as Apollo in the epicleris Agyieus (protector of roads and cities) had been worshipped in the form of a conical pillar with a pointed end for centuries prior to the Augustan period. Indeed, cone-shaped Agyieus pillars were among the earliest images of Apollo and had long been honoured for their apotropaic powers.<sup>179</sup> Clearly, Augustus was aware of this tradition, as the Apolline *betylos* is the subject of a painting in the *princeps*' own Room of the Masks. (fig. 24).<sup>180</sup> This work suggests that the aniconic stone had a personal importance for Augustus. Significantly, its closest parallels are to be found on the coins of Apollonia, where the young Octavian first had his destiny as a world leader revealed to him by the astrologer Theogenes.<sup>181</sup> Perhaps in part because of this special connection, the *betylos* was also chosen to adorn the *princeps*' Temple of Apollo. A Campana plaque from the structure's trabeation depicts a tall fusiform stone with a pointed top elevated on a high pedestal; Apollo's *kithara*, bow and quiver are attached to the base and two attendants are shown decorating the shaft with fillets (fig. 25).<sup>182</sup> The stone's resemblance to an obelisk is pronounced and cannot be coincidental. Barbara Kellum has suggested that here we see further evidence of Augustus' co-option of the

<sup>177</sup> Simon 1984a: 420-22, nos. 417-421.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Wardman (1982: 120), who contends that it was only 'with some light borrowed from the Apollo of Augustus' that the enfeebled cult of the Sun shone a little more brightly during the Augustan Principate.

<sup>179</sup> Di Filippo Balestrazzi (1984) provides a catalogue of Greek and Roman images of Apollo Agyieus.

<sup>180</sup> *Supra*, 128. Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1984: 329, no. 13; Kellum 1994: 212, fig. 2.

<sup>181</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 94.12. On this see Kellum 1985: 172; 1994: 212-13, fig. 3; see also Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1984: 328, nos. 2-3 for Apollonian coins.

<sup>182</sup> See Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1984: 329, no. 19; Tomei 1997: 50, no. 29c.

Egyptian obelisk.<sup>183</sup> Now the powerful symbol of Ptolemaic rule was inextricably linked not just to Apollo Agyieus, but also to Apollo Actius whom Augustus credited with ensuring victory over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium.

In the Circus Maximus, as on the Palatine, the obelisk clearly stood as testament to the *princeps*' devotion to Apollo, and to the god's resultant contribution to the scale and success of Augustus' military campaigns. Obviously, the Egyptian triumphs stood at the forefront of this symbolism, but other allusions are possible. Augustus attributed not only his success at Actium, but also his final victory over Sextus Pompey to Apollo. Accordingly, it is tempting to speculate that, just as the dolphins Agrippa added to the *euripus* can be taken as an allusion to Pompey's defeat at sea, so too might the obelisk have served both as a reminder of Apollo's contribution at Naulochus and as a replacement for Pompey's statue of Neptune which Octavian had removed from the *pompa deorum* of the *ludi circenses*.<sup>184</sup>

Accepting that Augustus' obelisk stood in the Circus as a dedication to both Sol and Apollo explains why, despite having such a long association with the arena, the former went unrepresented in the *pompa deorum*. Clearly, the solar deity had been present in the guise of Apollo, whose image in the circus procession is well attested.<sup>185</sup> The dual nature of the obelisk also accounts for Apollo's otherwise inexplicable omission from the Augustan *euripus*. Given the lengths to which the *princeps* went to publicise his connection to the god, it seems unlikely the promotional opportunities afforded by the Circus would have been overlooked. We need not go so far as to assume that the obelisk required an Apolline association to justify its presence.<sup>186</sup> However, as both a monument honouring the Augustan principate's pre-eminent bringer of victory, and a metaphorical link to the Palatine where Augustus lived amongst his tutelary deities, the obelisk's significance was all the more pronounced.

---

<sup>183</sup> Kellum 1985: 172.

<sup>184</sup> *Supra*, 140.

<sup>185</sup> Humphrey 1986: 91.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. Schofield 1969: 648: '[Augustus surely] looked upon *Apollo* as representing the spiritual force of *Sol*, for had he thought differently, it is difficult to understand his placing an obelisk in the centre of the circus when a huge statue of *Apollo* would then have been more appropriate.'

Another, less famed barrier monument may provide one final tie between the Palatine precinct and the Circus Maximus. This is the tree, or trees, that appear beside the statue of the Magna Mater and her lion in a number of works depicting the arena. On the Barcelona mosaic, two palms that curve in opposing directions appear on the side-wall of the *euripus* directly to the left of the goddess (ill. 13). A single palm projecting from behind the Magna Mater and arcing toward Augustus' obelisk is shown on a sarcophagus in Florence.<sup>187</sup> On the Foligno relief and the Vatican sarcophagus, on the other hand, laurels, not palms occupy this location (figs. 34, 48). The laurel can also be seen on a fragmentary glass perfume flask found in Pesaro, where the tree may have stood next to the statue of the Magna Mater and her lion (now missing).<sup>188</sup> For either a palm or a laurel to have stood next to the Magna Mater on the *euripus* is entirely fitting. After all, the proximity of the finishing line and the presence of the statue of Victoria meant that the palm no doubt served as a reminder of the branch awarded to the victorious charioteer; the laurel would have alluded to his crown. As the palm was sacred to the sun, and the laurel was an attribute of Apollo, the location of either next to the *princeps*' obelisk was equally appropriate.<sup>189</sup> It is only when considered in the context of Palatine topography, however, that the extent of the trees' potential meaning can be appreciated.<sup>190</sup>

The palm tree, for example, can be taken as a reference to both the Palatine metroön and the House of Augustus.<sup>191</sup> In his discussion of the expiation of portents in 38 BCE, Cassius Dio recorded that the people of Rome only ceased to fear the Magna Mater's anger when four palm trees miraculously sprang up around the goddess' temple.<sup>192</sup> An equally prodigious event saw a palm push through the paving

---

<sup>187</sup> See Humphrey (1986: 275, n. 257), who also records that a palm appears among the *euripus* monuments depicted on a sarcophagus cover in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

<sup>188</sup> Humphrey 1986: 252-54, fig. 128.

<sup>189</sup> On a coin type commemorating the *ludi circenses* held by Philip I in 248 CE, an enormous palm tree actually stands in place of the obelisk (Humphrey 1986: 127-28, fig. 56).

<sup>190</sup> A tree on the *euripus* may also have been an allusion to Jupiter Arborator, the enigmatic deity whose presence in the Circus near the Magna Mater was attested in the *Notitia* (Regio XI: *aedem Matris Deum et Iovis arboratoris*). For Jupiter Arborator see Platner 1929: 292; Humphrey 1986: 275; Richardson 1992: 218.

<sup>191</sup> Ovid may have had the Palatine's palms in mind when he recounted Rhea Silvia's dream of two palm trees (allegories of Romulus and Remus) in *Fasti* 3.31.

<sup>192</sup> Cassius Dio 48.43.6. Graillot 1912: 100; 120, n. 4.

stones in front of Augustus' house. According to Suetonius, the *princeps* interpreted this as a sign of victories to come, and had the tree replanted beside the household gods in his atrium, where he lavished it with care.<sup>193</sup> As palm trees were almost certainly a rarity in the city, the distinctive fronds that surrounded the metroön and emerged from within the imperial *domus* must have been a distinguishing feature of each structure. The same might be said of the laurel trees that flanked the doorway of Augustus' house. Given the narrow streets that characterised the Palatine, these famous trees must once again have marked the residence from its surroundings.<sup>194</sup> Indeed, such was the strength of the association between the laurels and the *princeps*' doorway that both appear on *aurei* minted by Caninius Gallus in 12 BCE (fig. 27); the trees also stand alone as evocations of the Palatine abode on coins of 19/18 BCE from Spain and Gaul.<sup>195</sup>

To conclude, it is clear that residents of Augustan Rome visited the Circus Maximus first and foremost for the spectacles it provided. Between chariot races, animal hunts and elaborate processions, however, onlookers admired the splendid monuments that adorned the structure's central barrier. Appreciation for the complex allusions that governed the *euripus* no doubt varied between individuals. Nevertheless, the proximity and visibility of the Palatine precinct, and the Circus' long-standing connections to the *princeps*' tutelary deities made the *euripus* the ideal place for Augustus to reaffirm his ties to the Magna Mater, Victoria and Apollo. In the Circus, as on the Palatine, this was accomplished by integrating existing and new monuments into a coherent iconographic programme relevant to Augustan propaganda. In the process, the statue of the Magna Mater's lion became an allegory for the Palatine metroön, thus ensuring that two of the cult's most important sites were united, and that the goddess' place at the forefront of contemporary religious consciousness was reinforced.

---

<sup>193</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 92.1-2. On this event see Favro 1996: 204, n. 137; Kellum 1994: 211 (who mistakenly maintains that the tree was relocated to the inner courtyard of the Temple of Apollo).

<sup>194</sup> See Favro 1996: 224-25 on the use of laurels to link other Augustan projects to the imperial residence.

<sup>195</sup> *Supra*, 130. See also Zanker 1988: 92, figs. 75 a-c.

## CHAPTER 5

## THE GEMMA AUGUSTEA

---

The Circus Maximus provided a grand and effective venue for the revelation of Augustus' close relationship to the deities of the Palatine. By using *euripus* monuments as personal links to the Magna Mater, Victory and Apollo, the *princeps* ensured that the many thousands of spectators who annually attended the *ludi circenses* were constantly reminded that tutelary deities surrounded their emperor both literally and metaphorically. One contemporary cameo, the Gemma Augustea (fig. 57),<sup>1</sup> provides evidence that the topographic relationship of the Palatine's human and divine inhabitants was intended not only for appreciation by the masses, but also for private contemplation among the elite. Unlike the Circus' obelisk and statues of Victory and the lion, the Gemma Augustea was surely viewed only by a select, highly educated audience comprised of those close to Augustus and to the centre of power. As befit an object designed for trusted members of the imperial circle, the messages conveyed by the cameo are at once direct and extraordinarily complex.

At first glance the subjects of the two registers that make up the Gemma Augustea appear familiar, although the subjugation of barbarian hordes and the triumphant return of a Roman general are more common to monumental historical reliefs than to the iconographic repertoire of engraved gems. Where the emperor is concerned, however, the cameo presents a less conventional picture. In public, images of the *princeps* largely conformed to official doctrine in which Augustus was the *restitutor rei publicae*. On the Gemma Augustea, all concessions to Republican ideals have been abandoned and the emperor, who appears right of centre in the upper register, is shown not as *primus inter pares*, but in the guise of, or perhaps even as,

---

<sup>1</sup> Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. IX A 79.

Jupiter himself.<sup>2</sup> Here, the sculptural vocabulary of Hellenistic rulers and cult statues such as Pheidias' Olympian Zeus and the Sullan statue of Jupiter Capitolinus is employed to present Augustus as the companion of the gods.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the *princeps* appears in heroic seminudity, enthroned and with a mantle draped around his lower body. His raised left hand holds a sceptre; his right hand, which grasps a *lituus*, rests on his right thigh. He sits beside Roma and is surrounded by deities and symbols, which at the very least attest to his autocratic ambitions and confirm his pretensions to divinity.<sup>4</sup> In such a context any allusion to Palatine topography might indicate that Augustus wished to be perceived not as a mortal living amid temples, but as a deity who had taken his rightful place among the gods.<sup>5</sup>

Before exploring this possibility, a brief review of the Gemma Augustea's figures is necessary. Much has been written about the scene in the lower register, where at the left Roman legionaries are engaged in erecting a trophy decorated with enemy weapons, while at the right, auxiliary troops (Thracians perhaps) manhandle two of their prisoners. Both the scene's ethnographic detail and its relatively unambiguous nature have fostered a remarkable degree of scholarly consensus as to subject matter.<sup>6</sup> For the purpose of the present study, it is sufficient to accept that here we see the aftermath of the suppression of the Illyrian revolt by Tiberius and Germanicus in 12 CE. The triumphant generals and heirs of the empire are portrayed at the left of the upper register; Germanicus stands next to Roma perhaps, as Zanker contends, in readiness for the next campaign, while Tiberius descends from a chariot before Augustus himself.<sup>7</sup> One can only speculate as to the identity of the missing

---

<sup>2</sup> See Pollini 1978: 189-190 and 1993: 262-267 for a discussion of Augustus *like* rather than *as* Jupiter.

<sup>3</sup> For a comparison of the cameo's Augustus and the Capitoline statue see Pollini 1993: 260-61.

<sup>4</sup> The fact that the eagle appears beneath Augustus' throne need not be taken as an indication that the *princeps* should be regarded simply as being in the presence of Jupiter, rather than as the deity himself, as Erika Simon (1986: 159) has argued. The unlikelihood that the king of the gods would be relegated to a subsidiary figure dwarfed even by small children aside, literary and archaeological evidence makes it clear that it was far more common for the eagle to appear as the attribute or the emissary of Jupiter, rather than as the very incarnation of the god (see, e.g., the many examples cited in *LIMC* 8.1: 310-74, s.v. 'Zeus'; 421-78, s.v. 'Zeus/Iuppiter').

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 4.949-952.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., Richter 1971: 104, no. 501; Hannestad 1988: 78-82; Zanker 1988: 230-34, fig. 182; Pollini 1978: 203-9, 1993: 270.

<sup>7</sup> Suetonius, *Tib.* 20. On the figure of Germanicus see Zanker 1988: 230. Cf. Bianchi Bandinelli (1970: 196), who interprets the figure enthroned next to Roma as Tiberius, but gives no suggestions as

figure that once stood beside Tiberius at the far left of the cameo.<sup>8</sup> However, there is little doubt that the winged female who acts as the triumphator's charioteer is Victoria herself. The goddess holds two reins in each hand and also grasps a whip, the end of which sails out over Germanicus' head. The apparent restlessness of her pose has been interpreted as the goddess' eagerness to set off for further conflict and (inevitable) victory.<sup>9</sup> Doubtless on one level, Victoria's presence symbolises both the past and the future military successes of Augustus' heirs. Following our topographic analogy, her inclusion also provides a reference to the first of the physical landmarks: the Palatine Temple of Victoria.

But what of other topographical features? Certainly the most obvious allusion is to Rome itself. The personified city appears in the familiar form of Dea Roma, a goddess wearing a triple-crested crown, holding a spear in her right hand and resting her left hand on the hilt of a sword that hangs at her side. On the Gemma Augustea Roma's compositional and symbolic importance is attested by both her place on the central vertical axis, and the fact that she alone appears on the same scale as Augustus himself. Her personal connection to the *princeps* is further emphasized by their shared throne, the pile of captured armour on which both figures rest their feet, and Roma's very pose – turned towards Augustus, her gaze fixed on his face, 'as if engaged in a confidential conversation with the Emperor.'<sup>10</sup>

Less focal than Roma, but just as critical to an interpretation of the cameo, is the female standing behind Augustus who reaches out with her right hand to crown the emperor with a wreath of oak leaves. Due to her mural crown, this figure is frequently identified as Oikoumene, the personification of the Inhabited World.<sup>11</sup> However, a more likely interpretation is that of the Magna Mater, who also claimed

---

to the identities of the younger men. For a compelling reinterpretation of the upper scene as representing Tiberius' *adventus* and *salutatio* of 9 CE, see Pollini 1978: 196-203 and 1993: 269-70.

<sup>8</sup> For a reconstruction of the missing figure as Venus assisting Tiberius down from his chariot, see Simon 1986: 161; cf. Pollini (1978: 211-212, 1993: 11, nn. 45-46), who believes the hand which we see is that of Tiberius holding a *rotulus*, and who identifies the missing figure as a togate Drusus Minor.

<sup>9</sup> Pollini 1978: 202.

<sup>10</sup> Hannestad 1988: 78. For the possibility that the depiction of Augustus and Roma on a common throne may reflect a statue group like that which stood in their temple at Ancyra, *ibid.* 80.

<sup>11</sup> For example, Eichler 1927: 52; Bianchi Bandinelli 1970: 196; Richter 1971: 104; Weinstock 1971: 50; Dwyer 1973: 65; Simon 1986: 159; Ramage 1987: 66; Hannestad 1988: 78; Strong 1988: 109; Zanker 1988: 231; Canciani 1994: 17. Further references are cited in Lambrechts 1952b: 260.



the mural crown as an enduring attribute, and whose connection to Augustus is thoroughly documented in archaeological, literary and artistic sources.<sup>12</sup>

Before presenting arguments in support of the Magna Mater, it is prudent to investigate claims favouring Oikoumene's presence on the Gemma Augustea. The most significant but often overlooked precedent for the latter's representation bestowing a crown (an act traditionally performed by Victoria) is the relief depicting the apotheosis of Homer by Archelaos of Priene.<sup>13</sup> This work, which is variously dated between 225-125 BCE, shows the enthroned poet being crowned by the woman standing behind him holding a wreath (fig. 58).<sup>14</sup> Here there is no ambiguity in the identity of the woman – an inscription below the figure clearly identifies her as OIKOYMENE.<sup>15</sup> Unlike her counterpart on the cameo, this personification wears a *kalathos*, not a mural crown.

Crucially, Archelaos' relief appears to contain the only securely identified representation of Oikoumene in anthropomorphic form prior to the reign of Vespasian.<sup>16</sup> The employment of a globe to convey the idea of mastery of the world was far more common in Rome than the use of a personification. We are told, for example, that during Pompey's third triumphal procession in 61 BCE, the triumphator's chariot was accompanied not only by representations of conquered countries, but also by a trophy symbolising the whole world.<sup>17</sup> Nothing more is known about the nature of this monument. However, the absence of contemporary

---

<sup>12</sup> For the identification of this figure as the Magna Mater/Cybele see: Graillot 1912: 111; Kaiser 1968: 28-32; Vermaseren 1977: 75, 86; Wiseman 1984: 127; Turcan 1996: 43. Others, most notably Lambrechts (1952b: 259-60, n. 5) interpret the figure as Livia-Cybele.

<sup>13</sup> British Museum, inv. 2192. Pollini (1978: 185) is one of the few to note the iconographic parallel.

<sup>14</sup> Pollitt 1986: 16, fig. 4 (225-200 BCE); Burn 1991: 137-38, fig. 118 (ca. 150 BCE); Havelock 1981: 201, no. 170 (125 BCE).

<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to note that the provenance of this relief is Bovillae, a town near Rome with significant and long-standing ties to the Julii. See Cruttwell 1946: 1-4; Weinstock 1971: 6-7 for connections between the two.

<sup>16</sup> For a *denarius* dated to 71 CE that depicts the turreted bust of a woman labelled *Orb[is] terr[arum] Aug[ustea]* (Oikoumene's Latin equivalent) see Weinstock 1971: 50, pl. 5.5. Weinstock (*ibid.* 42, n.3) would no doubt add the lost Athenian painting of Demetrius Poliorcetes, dated to 290 BCE and described in *FGrHist.* 76 F 14; Eustathius, *Il.* 5.499 to Canciani's 'Identificazioni Certe' (Canciani 1994: 16).

<sup>17</sup> Cassius Dio 37.21.2; Pliny, *HN* 7.98; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 45.2; Appian, *Mith.* 116.568. The use of Oikoumene was presumably in response to the fact that '[i]t was said, and repeated many times later, that with his three triumphs [Pompey] celebrated the conquest of three continents, so that Rome owed her mastery of the world to him' (Weinstock 1971: 38, n. 12).

depictions of Oikoumene and the appearance of a globe in coin types from the 70s BCE (including an issue by Pompey's son-in-law, Faustus Sulla), led Stefan Weinstock to conclude that the work did not represent the personification, and is likely to have consisted of a globe surmounted by a trophy.<sup>18</sup> For the same reasons, Weinstock reconstructed the Capitoline statue of Julius Caesar, which according to Cassius Dio represented the dictator with the Oikoumene,<sup>19</sup> as actually comprising Caesar in a chariot with a globe at his feet.<sup>20</sup> That Augustus promoted his own status as *dominus terrarum* using the globe, rather than the personification, is even more telling. On denarii both before and after 31 BCE, Octavian appears with his foot on a globe (fig. 59), and holding the globe itself (fig. 60), while coins minted by M. Maecilius Tullus in 7 BCE have the globe acting as a support for the *princeps'* bust (fig. 61).<sup>21</sup> Augustus' placement of a statue of Victoria on a globe not only inside, but also on the apex of the Curia Iulia, and his choice of Capricorn holding the globe as a reverse type for contemporary coin issues can be taken as further evidence of the *princeps'* partiality for the symbol.<sup>22</sup>

To interpret the turreted figure on the Gemma Augustea as Oikoumene, therefore, we must accept that here the artist has broken not only with Republican tradition, but more specifically with conventional Augustan iconography in order to depict the personification of the World for the first time in Roman art.<sup>23</sup> If indeed Dioscourides was the gem-cutter responsible for the cameo, as some have suggested, it is possible that Greek influence accounted for this innovation.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, the fact remains that even after the first irrefutable depiction of the personified

---

<sup>18</sup> Weinstock 1971: 38-39.

<sup>19</sup> Cassius Dio 43.21.2.

<sup>20</sup> Weinstock 1971: 41-42, 51. The passage in Cassius Dio 43.14.6, while suggesting an alternative reconstruction nevertheless confirms that Oikoumene took the form of a globe in the monument. When turning to the Gemma Augustea, Weinstock somewhat reluctantly labels her Oikoumene, noting that 'the identification of the figure is not certain' (*ibid.* 50).

<sup>21</sup> Weinstock 1971: 51, n. 8, pl. 5.9; Giard 1976: 66 nos. 12-18, pl. I; Zanker 1988: 40-41, 55, figs. 31a, 42 (foot on globe); Giard 1976: no. 5, pl. I (holding globe); Weinstock 1971: pl. 5.10 (bust on globe).

<sup>22</sup> For denarii reflecting the Curia statues see Weinstock 1971: pl. 5.7-8; Giard 1976: nos. 35-42, 52-56, pl. II; Zanker 1988: 54-55, 81, figs. 43c, 62a-b. See Weinstock 1971: pl. 5.11, Giard 1976: nos. 1354-57, pl. LV and Simon 1986: 159, fig. 209 for the Capricorn coin type.

<sup>23</sup> Although designating the figure Oikoumene, even Zanker (1988: 232) admits that if this were the case, the representation would be a new type.

<sup>24</sup> Pollini 1978: 218, n. 164, 1993: n. 90.

Oikoumene during Vespasian's reign, the globe remained the standard symbol of the *orbis terrarum*. A fine example of this tradition is the so-called Ara Capitolina, which dates to the second century CE, and is decorated with reliefs depicting the legend of Jupiter (figs. 62-65). One side of the altar shows the seated god with the globe of the world under his throne (fig. 65).<sup>25</sup> This is particularly apposite, as the composition of the relief panel is similar to that of the Gemma Augustea's upper register. In both works rulers are enthroned facing left, and are surrounded by numerous subsidiary figures. The globe on the altar, therefore, offers a glimpse of what may have been, had the creator of the cameo adhered to tradition, or indeed if he had wished to portray Oikoumene at all.

Among the most compelling reasons to accept that Oikoumene crowns Augustus on the Gemma Augustea are the figures which accompany her. Generally, scholars agree that the mature bearded man and the seated woman holding a cornucopia who appear at the far right of the scene are Okeanos,<sup>26</sup> and an earth goddess who is probably Tellus or Tellus Italia.<sup>27</sup> Taken together, the trio is interpreted as symbolising the seas, the land, and the cities of the civilised world – the area over which Augustus had *imperium* and to which he had brought peace through victory.<sup>28</sup> In a scene where the emperor is presented as the new Cosmokrator, the ruler of the Roman world, such a reading seems largely credible.

Accepting that here it is Oikoumene's presence that denotes the cities of the Empire nevertheless requires us to interpret this figure as the first of its kind. On the other hand, the figure's identification as the Magna Mater is entirely consistent with not only the context of the cameo but also Rome's iconographic and literary

<sup>25</sup> Capitoline Museum, inv. 1944. For the altar see Armellini 1843: 4, pls. 31-34; Jones 1969: 276-77, salone 3a, 4, pl. 66.

<sup>26</sup> For alternative suggestions, including Jupiter, Saturn, Aeneas, Caelus, Agrippa and Chronos, see Eichler and Kris 1927: 55. Kaiser (1968: 31-32) dismissed L. Curtius' intriguing suggestion that the bearded figure is in fact Quirinus, on the grounds that the god had no connection to Cybele, whom he identifies as the figure holding the oak wreath. However, by accepting that these figures all refer to elements of topography in and around the Palatine, then the connection between the deities becomes obvious: the bearded figure, as Quirinus, symbolises the Hut of Romulus, which stood on the slope of the hill, a mere 20m to the south of the metroön.

<sup>27</sup> Those favouring Tellus include: Eichler and Kris 1927: 58; Polacco 1955: 99; Richter 1971: 104; Simon 1986: 160. Pollini (1978: 183-83; 193: 272-273) argues convincingly for Tellus Italia, while Zanker (1988: 231) suggests Italia alone.

<sup>28</sup> E.g., Hannestad 1988: 78; Pollini 1993: 261-62; cf. *RG* 13: ...*cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parata victoriis pax...*

traditions. Since the third or second century BCE, the mural crown had been one of the goddess' most enduring attributes.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, works found in Rome representing the Magna Mater wearing the crown are too numerous to detail here. The very pediment of the Palatine metroön is sufficient to illustrate the strength of the crown's association with the Magna Mater. Here, as we have seen, the goddess' presence in the centre of the composition was evoked not by any anthropomorphic form, but solely by the placement of a mural crown on a throne (fig. 6).<sup>30</sup>

Equally apparent is that the crown's significance to the goddess, and the connection of both attribute and deity to the cities of the Empire, did not escape the poets and historians of Augustan Rome.<sup>31</sup> Varro, for example, despite his scornful attitude to some aspects of the cult, is careful to account allegorically for its religious imagery. Of the Magna Mater's headdress he says '...the towers crowning the goddess refer us to the inhabited towns which she sustains and protects...'<sup>32</sup> Similarly Lucretius recounts:

...muralique caput summum cinxere corona,  
eximiis munita locis quia sustinet urbes;  
quo nunc insigni per magnas praedita terras  
horrifice fertur divinae matris imago.

...And they have surrounded the top of her head  
with a mural crown, because embattled in excellent  
positions she sustains cities; which emblem now  
adorns the divine mother's image as she is carried  
over the great earth in awful state.<sup>33</sup>

Identifying the turreted figure on the Gemma Augustea as the Magna Mater, rather than Oikoumene, requires us to abandon none of the cameo's symbolism regarding Augustus as the ruler of an empire. As the *dea turrigera* who protected cities, and in particular Rome and its inhabitants, the Magna Mater was as apt as her

---

<sup>29</sup> Roller identifies two Hellenistic statuettes from Pergamon as perhaps the earliest depictions of the goddess wearing a mural crown (1999: 145, n. 6; 209, fig. 56 = CCCA I: 384).

<sup>30</sup> *Supra*, 60ff.

<sup>31</sup> Virgil's simile, in which the Magna Mater's mural crown is compared to the walls of Rome itself (*Aen.* 6.782-85) is noted above, 1-2.

<sup>32</sup> Turcan 1996: 40, n. 44; Varro in his *Menippea* (*Eumenides* 16-27).

<sup>33</sup> Lucretius, *De Rer. Nat.* 2.606-9 (trans. Rouse, 1937). See also Ovid, *Fasti* 4.219-21; Saint Augustine, *De Civ.* 24.

rival to have invoked the concept of civilisation for the Gemma Augustea's viewers. Indeed, to picture the goddess herself as an allegory of the *orbis terrarum* is entirely in keeping with literary sources. Lucretius, for example, goes on to concede that '...if anyone decides to call the sea Neptune, and corn Ceres,...let us grant him to dub the round world the Mother of the Gods,'<sup>34</sup> while for Varro, 'the goddess' timbrel which she carries means that she is the circle of the earth.'<sup>35</sup>

The very idea of civilisation's victory over barbarism, according to John Pollini, is the key to understanding not only the cameo's 'narrative' but also the presence of Oikoumene. Pollini points out that: '[as] Jupiter with the assistance of the gods once saved the universe from the giants who threatened universal order, so Augustus with the assistance of Tiberius and other family members now delivers the civilized world from the threat of barbarians...'<sup>36</sup> Playing an important role in the proceedings, he maintains, is Oikoumene who 'as the personification of the forces of civilization...stands in contrast to the forces of barbarism represented by the figures of the barbarians in the lower register.'<sup>37</sup> Helping Oikoumene in her struggle is Okeanos, the bearded man to her fore, who is identified because of '...his resemblance to a figure associated with the inscribed name ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ (Okeanos) in the gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon...'<sup>38</sup>

A reading of the Gemma Augustea identifying references to the Gigantomachy is not without merit. After all, the use of images suggesting the successful championship of order over chaos was common to many rulers in antiquity. This would also explain the sharp contrast between the balanced composition and emotional restraint of the cameo's upper register and the far less orderly, emotive scene in the predella. In citing the Attalid altar as a precedent for the Gemma Augustea, however, Pollini inadvertently provides further proof that the Magna Mater, not Oikoumene, appears on the cameo. Firstly, as we have seen, it is the goddess, not the personification, who fights alongside the Olympian deities on the Great Altar and in representations of the Gigantomachy dating to at least the third

---

<sup>34</sup> Lucretius, *De Rerum Nat.* 2.651-656 (trans. Rouse, 1937).

<sup>35</sup> Saint Augustine, *De Civ.* 24 (trans. Green, 1963).

<sup>36</sup> Pollini 1993: 265.

<sup>37</sup> Pollini 1978: 185.

<sup>38</sup> Pollini 1993: 266.

quarter of the fourth century BCE.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, if, as Pollini maintains, Okeanos appears on the cameo as ‘the father of all things’ (Virgil’s *pater rerum*),<sup>40</sup> then it must be the Magna Mater, the goddess deemed the ‘Mother of the Gods, and of wild beasts, the Maker of Mankind,’<sup>41</sup> who stood as his most fitting companion.

Identifying the figure crowning Augustus as the Magna Mater allows for symbolic references not only to the cities, lands and seas of the Empire but also, in time-honoured fashion, to the victories and benefits of Rome’s *bellum iustum* against the barbarians. Unlike Oikoumene, the Magna Mater could also claim a personal relationship with Augustus and Roma, other figures with whom she appears. After all, the goddess was one of Augustus’ most intimate tutelary deities. As the health and well-being of the *princeps* became increasingly synonymous with the prosperity of the state, the Magna Mater’s favour was no doubt interpreted as encompassing not only the city’s first citizen, but by extension, all of its residents. The expectation of widespread beneficence would have been more pronounced given the goddess’ long-standing patronage of Rome which, as discussed above, began with the city’s very foundation, and continued throughout the Republic during times of war.<sup>42</sup> Accordingly, on the Gemma Augustea, just as in the *Aeneid*, it is Rome and her divine protectress who accompany Augustus in the Golden Age.<sup>43</sup>

The Magna Mater’s service to the state and her ability to ensure military success provide further clues to the appearance of the figure on the cameo. Those who prefer to identify the turreted female as Oikoumene typically avoid the thorny question of why the personification would assume the duty of crowning the emperor.<sup>44</sup> In contrast, it is easy to appreciate why the Magna Mater’s steadfast

---

<sup>39</sup> *Supra*, 148-51. The goddess in a *biga* pulled by two lions on the Siphnian Treasury was long identified with Cybele. Based on analysis of a related inscription, however, she has now been convincingly reidentified as Themis. See Brinkmann 1985: 123, n. 65 and 1994: 158-59.

<sup>40</sup> Virgil, *Georgics* 4.382. See Pollini 1993: 266.

<sup>41</sup> Lucretius, *De Rerum Nat.* 2.598-99 (trans. Mantinband, 1965): *quare magna deum mater materque ferarum / et nostri genetrix haec dicta est corporis una.*

<sup>42</sup> *Supra*, 116-17, 122-23.

<sup>43</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.681ff.

<sup>44</sup> Pollini proves the exception, and maintains that the presence of the personified inhabited world extends the symbolism of the *corona civica* to indicate that Augustus is not only *pater patriae*, but also *pater orbis terrarum* (1978: 192). However, as we have seen, the Magna Mater was also considered to be a symbol of the *orbis terrarum* (*supra*, 182-83).

patronage and long-standing connection with victory made her an ideal choice for the role. When referring to the honours accorded him by the Senate and the people of Rome in 27 BCE, Augustus himself made it clear that the award of the *corona civica* was inextricably linked to his many labours on behalf of Rome and her dominions.<sup>45</sup> It follows that the awarder of the *princeps*' wreath would also have some connection to both the heroes of the State and the salvation of its citizens.<sup>46</sup> Once again, it is the Magna Mater, rather than Oikoumene (the latter unmentioned in the *Res Gestae*), who was eminently qualified for the task.

Through the very act of crowning Augustus, the figure on the cameo is implicitly associated with Victoria, the goddess traditionally charged with rewarding human endeavour. As we have seen, the Roman cults of the Magna Mater and Victoria had been linked since at least 204 BCE, when the former's meteorite had found a temporary home in the Palatine's Temple of Victoria.<sup>47</sup> Subsequently, the proximity of the temple and the metroön, and both structures' incorporation into the Augustan complex on the Palatine would have ensured that the goddesses enjoyed a close relationship in the minds of contemporary Romans. The suitability of the Magna Mater to stand in place of Victoria had already been demonstrated in the Circus Maximus, where the statue of the goddess' lion marked the finishing line for chariot races.<sup>48</sup> On the Gemma Augustea, therefore, the goddess again acts in her capacity as the bringer of victory, this time acknowledging the triumphs and dominion of the emperor with the reward of the *corona civica*.

It was not just as the legitimator or a symbol of Augustus' rule that the Magna Mater was included on the cameo. More profoundly, she is the very saviour of the emperor, and indeed of Jupiter in whose guise Augustus appears. The proof of this claim, and correspondingly that it is indeed the Magna Mater and not Oikoumene on the cameo, is to be found in the goddess' connection to the Capricorn which floats above Roma and Augustus. Much has been written about the *princeps*' own

---

<sup>45</sup> *RG* 34.

<sup>46</sup> Pliny's statement (*HN* 16.3.8) that Augustus received the wreath *a genere humano* must surely refer, not to a particular personification, but rather to a belief that approval of the *princeps* was universal; cf. Pollini (1993: 262), who accordingly interprets Oikoumene as 'the united peoples of the civilized world.'

<sup>47</sup> *Supra*, 114.

<sup>48</sup> *Supra*, 163-64.

association with this zodiacal sign. Debates as to whether Capricorn is to be taken as a symbol of Augustus' birth, or of the date of his conception are well documented.<sup>49</sup> However, few scholars have looked beyond Capricorn as mere zodiacal trivia to the layers of symbolism inherent in this sign.<sup>50</sup> It is impossible to appreciate the true meaning of the Gemma Augustea without doing so.

Most significant for the Magna Mater is a tradition preserved in numerous sources regarding the genesis of the constellation of Capricorn. This tradition records that Capricorn owed its form to the goat that suckled the infant Jupiter during his seclusion in a cave on the Cretan Mt Ida.<sup>51</sup> Thus in the *Fasti*, Ovid writes that Jupiter:

ille ubi res caeli tenuit solioque paterno  
sedit, et invicto nil Iove maius erat,  
sidera nutricem, nutricis fertile cornu  
fecit...

...when he had gained the kingdom of heaven and sat on his father's throne,  
and there was nothing greater than unconquered Jove, made his nurse and her  
horn of plenty into stars...<sup>52</sup>

Here, the goat is the property of the nymph Amalthea, a detail also contained in Hyginus' version of the story.<sup>53</sup> An alternative tradition recorded by Callimachus and Apollodorus, and also repeated by Hyginus, has the goat itself named Amalthea.<sup>54</sup> It is evident, therefore, that while some details may vary between authors, the essential components of the myth are unchanged: to ensure that her son was safe from the ravaging hunger of his father, Rhea hid Jupiter on Mt Ida, where nourishment is

---

<sup>49</sup> Those favouring Capricorn as the Emperor's natal sign include Weinstock 1971: 51, 119; Hannestad 1988: 78; Schütz 1991: 55f. Others have argued, more persuasively, for the conception sign based on Manilius, *Astronomica* 2.507-509, e.g., Cramer 1954: 97; Dwyer 1973: 59-67; Bowersock 1990: 385-387; Galinsky 1996: 146.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Dwyer 1973: 60-65.

<sup>51</sup> E.g., Aratus, *Phaenomena* 162-165.

<sup>52</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 5.125-128 (trans. Frazer, 1959).

<sup>53</sup> Hyginus, *De Astronomia* 2.13.4; *Fabulae* 139.9-15.

<sup>54</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn* 1 (*in Iovem*) 47-48; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.6; Hyginus, *De Astronomia* 2.12.3.



provided for the child by a goat; later, in his gratitude, Jupiter set the goat amongst the stars as the constellation of Capricorn.<sup>55</sup>

It was not only to a goat that Jupiter owed his survival. The same authors asserted unanimously that it was the Curetes or Corybants, followers of the Magna Mater, who prevented Saturnus from detecting the infant.<sup>56</sup> Thus in his discourse on the goddess as the Mother of all things, Lucretius described the Magna Mater's armed guards as Phrygian Curetes, whose behaviour:

Dictaeos referunt Curetas, qui Iovis illum  
vagitum in Creta quondam occultasse feruntur,  
cum pueri circum puerum pernice chorea  
[armat et in numerum pernice chorea]  
armati in numerum pulsarent aeribus aera,  
ne Saturnus eum malis mandaret adeptus  
aeternumque daret matri sub pectore volnus.  
propterea magnam armati matrem comitantur...

...recalls the Dictaeon Curetes<sup>57</sup> who are said once upon a time to have concealed that infant wailing of Jupiter in Crete; when, boys round a boy in rapid dance, clad in armour, they clashed bronze upon bronze to a measure, that Saturn might not catch him and cast him into his jaws and plant an everlasting wound in the mother's heart. For this reason they escort the great Mother armed...<sup>58</sup>

In the *Fasti*, when asked to account for the clamour of the Megalensia's procession, the Muse Erato explains that its origins were to be found following Rhea's concealment of Jupiter, when:

ardua iam dudum resonat tinnitibus Ide,  
tutus ut infanti vagiat ore puer.

---

<sup>55</sup> Hyginus (*De Astronomia* 2.28.1) provides an extended version of this story in which Pan is also a constellation.

<sup>56</sup> In an extract from a history of Cyzicus by Agathocles of Babylon, Athenaeus (9.18) does, however, record a variant tradition in which Zeus was saved, not by Amalthea and the Curetes, but by a pig who suckled the infant, and whose grunting made the infant's whining inaudible to passers-by (see Frazer 1929: 213).

<sup>57</sup> Diodorus Siculus (5.70) records the legend that Zeus was born at Dicte in Crete, and that he later founded a city there.

<sup>58</sup> Lucretius, *De Rerum Nat.* 2.633-640 (trans. Rouse, 1975). Others who attribute a central role in the salvation of Zeus/Jupiter to the Curetes include: Callimachus, *Hymn* 1.51-53; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.1.7; Strabo, *Geography* 10.3.11 (where the Curetes are the Σάτυροι of Dionysus); Diodorus Siculus 5.65; Virgil, *Georgics* 4.149-152; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 139 (where they are the sons of Amalthea). See also Servius, *Aen.* 3.104; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Thebais* 4.784; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G.H. Bode, vol. 1 pp. 34, 79 (First Vatican Mythographer, 104; Second Vatican Mythographer, 16). Cf. Nonnos (*Dionysiaca* 13.135), who identifies the Corybants as guardians of Dionysus.

pars clipeos sudibus, galeas pars tundit inanes:  
 hoc Curetes habent, hoc Corybantes opus.  
 res latuit, priscique manent imitamina facti:  
 aera deae comites raucaque terga movent.  
 cymbala pro galeis, pro scutis tympana pulsant:

Now rang steep Ida loud and long with the clangorous music, that the boy might pule in safety with his infant mouth. Some beat their shields, others their empty helmets with staves; that was the task of the Curetes and that, too, of the Corybantes. The secret was kept, and the ancient deed is still acted in mimicry; the attendants of the goddess thump the brass and the rumbling leather; cymbals they strike instead of helmets, and drums instead of shields...<sup>59</sup>

It is especially noteworthy that Ovid recounts the birth of Jupiter in the context of his discussion of the Magna Mater's cult. Here, while the god's mother is identified as Rhea, it is obvious that in the poet's mind Rhea and the Magna Mater are one and the same.<sup>60</sup> As we have seen, Virgil confirmed this conflation and acknowledged the import of the Magna Mater's aid to Jupiter in the plainest of terms when, in the *Aeneid*, the god discharges his debt to the Magna Mater by saving her Idaean pines.<sup>61</sup>

Our literary sources are not alone in attesting the intimacy of the Magna Mater's relationship with Amalthea and Jupiter. For example, an Augustan Campana relief depicts Jupiter cradled in the arms of Amalthea the nymph, and flanked by the goddess' Corybants, who beat their swords against their shields in ritualised combat (fig. 66).<sup>62</sup> Similarly, on a glass intaglio in Berlin, dated to the first century CE, Amalthea the goat is shown nursing the infant while a Corybant kneels at her side.<sup>63</sup> It is the second century CE Ara Capitolina, however, that provides the most compelling evidence of the shared role assumed by the Magna Mater and the goat in Jupiter's salvation. As noted above, the altar's sculpted panels portray an abridged version of the life of the god.<sup>64</sup> The reliefs consist of Jupiter's birth; the offer of a

---

<sup>59</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.207-213 (trans. Frazer, 1959).

<sup>60</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 4.201-202. Greek sources uniformly name Rhea the mother of Zeus (e.g. Euripides, *Bacchae* 120-129; Diodorus Siculus, 5.60.2-3; Callimachus, *Hymn* 1.10; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.1.5.; Strabo, *Geography* 10.3.11, p. 468, 10.3.19, p. 472). However, there is some inconsistency among Latin sources regarding the identity of Jupiter's mother; see e.g., Hyginus, who twice refers to Ops in this role (*De Astronomia* 2.13.4; *Fabulae* 139.1).

<sup>61</sup> *Aen.* 9.94-122. *Supra*, 77-78.

<sup>62</sup> Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 1699, T138. Henig 1981: 582-583, no. 2; cf. Simon (1986: 128, fig. 170), who believes it is Rhea-Cybele herself who holds the child.

<sup>63</sup> Berlin, Antiquarium, F. 4112. Henig 1981: 583, no. 8.

<sup>64</sup> *Supra*, 181. Jones 1969: 276-277, salone 3a, 1-4, pl. 66; Henig 1981: 583, no. 6.

swaddled rock to Saturnus; the salvation of the child on Crete; and a celebration of the ultimate ascendancy of Jupiter and the Olympian gods (figs. 62-65). In the salvation scene a goddess is shown gazing benignly at Amalthea the goat, who stands on a rock in the centre of the composition and offers her udder to the infant Jupiter (fig. 64). The goddess is seated on a rocky throne at the left of the scene and, as on the Gemma Augustea, wears a chiton and a mural crown; her left hand is raised and grasps the folds of the mantle at her shoulder. In the foreground flanking Jupiter and his nurse are two Corybants, shown energetically clashing their swords against their shields.

As with the remaining sides of the altar, the subject of this relief appears relatively straightforward.<sup>65</sup> Clearly, the rocky setting is the cave on Mt Ida, and inside it are Corybants and a goat whose actions conform to long-standing iconographic traditions. The only ambiguity surrounds the identity of the *dea turrigera* who, it seems, appears here for the first time in this context. It has been suggested that the position of the goddess' hand close to her neck indicates that she is Nemesis, also known as Adrasteia.<sup>66</sup> Presumably, in this interpretation, Nemesis becomes the nymph who appears in accounts by Callimachus and Apollodorus as the owner of the goat Amalthea.<sup>67</sup> However, the relative obscurity of this conflation, not to mention the mural crown's lack of association with Nemesis, makes this identification improbable.<sup>68</sup> Equally unlikely is Henry Stuart Jones' suggestion that the figure is the personification of Crete, a hypothesis for which he provides no evidence, and which appears to receive no corroboration from literary sources.<sup>69</sup> In light of these unsatisfactory alternatives, it is prudent, and certainly more plausible to

---

<sup>65</sup> The first panel is a possible exception, as much of this scene has been lost. All that remains is the figure of a woman enveloped in a himation, shown reclining against rocks with her left hand raised in a gesture of supplication. She is traditionally identified as Rhea in labour, beseeching Heaven and Earth to keep her secret (Hesiod, *Theog.* 469), although Jones (1969: 276) notes that if she was originally a subsidiary figure, then she may be Gê.

<sup>66</sup> Jones 1969: 277 (Wieseler and Overbeck). For the conflation of Nemesis and Adrasteia see Euripides, *Rhes.* 343.

<sup>67</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn* 1.46-48; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.1.6.

<sup>68</sup> Nemesis usually appears with her hair bound simply around a fillet, e.g., Karanastassi 1992: no. 132. When she is depicted wearing a headress it is either a *stephane* (*ibid.* no. 173a) or a *kalathos* (*ibid.* no. 181).

<sup>69</sup> Jones 1969: 276; cf. Henig (1981: 583, no. 6), who repeats this identification but questions its veracity.

identify the turreted figure on the altar as the Magna Mater.<sup>70</sup> After all, here was a goddess whose connections to the salvation of Jupiter are well attested, who had long claimed the mural crown as an attribute, and whose followers, the Corybants, were also present in the relief. In earlier depictions of this scene the Magna Mater's beneficence had been merely implied. On the Ara Capitolina the goddess' contribution to Jupiter's rescue, and thus to his rise to the head of Rome's pantheon was finally made manifest.

Returning to the Gemma Augustea, it is clear that not only was the Magna Mater connected to the goat Amalthea (and by extension to her celestial equivalent Capricorn), but also that the nature of this relationship made both ideal companions for Augustus. Consequently, on the cameo they appear in the role of protectors and saviours of both Jupiter and Augustus – the god's earthly incarnation.<sup>71</sup> If one accepts Ovid's conflation of the Magna Mater and Rhea, then yet another vital dimension is added to the scene - that of the Magna Mater as the *Mater Deum*, the very mother of Jupiter and perhaps even of the *princeps* himself.

The symbolism inherent in the Capricorn clearly attests the Magna Mater's suitability for inclusion in the Gemma Augustea. Beyond reinforcing the goddess' connection to Augustus, the sign also served to unite the Magna Mater with her companions on the cameo. According to Homer, Nereus/Okeanos was the father of Amalthea the nymph;<sup>72</sup> Hyginus, on the other hand, identifies him as the father of Ida, the eponymous nymph of the Cretan mountain.<sup>73</sup> The Tellurian figure, for her part, carries a cornucopia – the horn of plenty that allegedly came into existence when the goat that nursed the infant god broke a horn on a tree; the horn was subsequently picked up by the nymph Amalthea, wrapped in fresh herbs and carried, full of fruit, to the lips of Jupiter.<sup>74</sup> The Magna Mater, Okeanos and Tellus therefore appear together

---

<sup>70</sup> Simon (1990: 199, fig. 256) has already identified the veiled woman who hands over the swaddled rock on side two of the altar as Rhea-Cybele.

<sup>71</sup> The belief that Corybants played a crucial role in the salvation of Jupiter would explain their prominence in Augustan art, e.g., on the pediment of the Palatine metroön, where they appeared as akroteria (*supra*, 26), and on the Sorrento base (*infra*, 235-37).

<sup>72</sup> Homer, *Il.* 18.48; *Schol. Hom. Il.* 21.194 Erbse.

<sup>73</sup> Hyginus, *Fabulae* 182 (see Papageorgiadou 1990a: 642).

<sup>74</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 5.121-124. Cf. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.7.5 and Philemon (*Pterygium frg.* 1.1-2 in Mein. *FCG* 4.20 = *FAC* 3A 32-33, no. 65) who record that the horn was that of a bull. Henig (1981: 582) believes 'the confusion may have arisen because it was hard for anyone outside Crete to envisage the wide sweep of the horns of the Agrimi or Cretan Wild goat.' For the significance of the empty

at Augustus' side, not only because they symbolise the extent and bounty of the emperor's earthly dominion, but also because of their association with the guardianship of his divine counterpart, Jupiter.

Having presented the case for the Magna Mater's inclusion on the Gemma Augustea, it remains to demonstrate references to Apollo, the last of our Palatine deities. Given the apparent centrality of Amalthea to both the meaning and the design of the cameo, and the multivalence of her story, it is hardly unexpected that Apollo is another who can claim connection to the events that took place in the cave on Mt Ida. When discussing the origins and nature of the Curetes and Corybants, Strabo quotes Pherecydes, saying that 'nine Cyrbantes [*sic*] were sprung from Apollo and Rhetia...'<sup>75</sup> A variant tradition records that Apollo fathered the Corybants with the Muse Thalia.<sup>76</sup> Needless to say, some factors prevent us from assuming the cameo's Capricorn would have automatically prompted thoughts of Apollo's connection to the Corybants. Not least of these are the obvious chronological inconsistencies involved in accepting that Apollo was the father of the infant Jupiter's protectors, and the relative obscurity of the sources that nevertheless attest this as fact. Fortunately, it is not necessary to rely on oblique references to Apollo's relationship with Amalthea to prove that the god played an important role in the Gemma Augustea, despite the lack of his physical presence.

The sign of Capricorn may not have evoked thoughts of Apollo as the father of the Corybants, but it constitutes a vital ingredient in the search for references to the god's Palatine temple. As with the obelisk on the *euripus* of the Circus Maximus, the most apparent and significant connection between the zodiacal sign and the god is their shared solar symbolism. It has already been argued that the long-time association of Phoebus Apollo with the sun-god Sol-Helios meant that references to the latter would feasibly have evoked thoughts of Apollo in the minds of those in Augustan Rome.<sup>77</sup> The evidence for this conclusion need not be repeated. What do

---

cornucopia and the identity of the children who accompany Tellus on the Gemma Augustea see Pollini 1978: 183-185; 1993: 272-73 and Simon 1986: 160.

<sup>75</sup> Strabo 10.3.21 (trans. Jones, 1944); cf. 10.3.19; Diodorus Siculus 3.55.9. For Pherecydes see *FGrH* 3F42.

<sup>76</sup> On the parentage of the Corybants see Lewis 1959: nos. 31, 163; Clinton 2003: 64.

<sup>77</sup> *Supra*, 169-73.

require explanation are the numerous solar associations of the Capricorn on the Gemma Augustea.

First and foremost is the appearance of the sign. Placed against what Pollini refers to as a ‘solar disc’<sup>78</sup> that is itself inscribed with a star (‘a symbol of the king of the stars, Sol-Helios’<sup>79</sup>), the constellation’s fish-tailed goat floats in the sky between the heads of Roma and Augustus, as if it were indeed the sun.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, although Augustus is generally no longer thought to have been born when the sun was in the constellation of Capricorn,<sup>81</sup> the alleged portents of Octavian’s destiny and his own solar associations make it, as Eugene Dwyer has pointed out, ‘... quite within the realm of possibility that a clever astrologer might have suggested to a youthful Octavian that his destiny was pre-figured in the sign of Capricorn...’<sup>82</sup> After all, the emperor had been conceived when the sun was in Capricorn, and it was at approximately this time, during the Winter Solstice, that the hours of daylight reached their minimum before slowly increasing once more. Thus the Winter Solstice was considered to be ‘the birthday of the “new” sun, and the Capricorn its natal sign.’<sup>83</sup>

The fact that Augustus recognised and promoted the solar associations of his favoured zodiacal sign can be seen in the issue of denarii depicting both Sol and Capricorn together in anthropomorphic form (fig. 67).<sup>84</sup> For the most ambitious and monumental acknowledgement of the connection between the two, however, one must look to the complex symbolism of the Augustan structures in the Campus Martius. It has long been acknowledged that the birthday of the *princeps* was a significant determinant in the layout of the *solarium* and the nearby Ara Pacis. What is perhaps less well known is that the conjunction of the equinoctial line and the curved line of

---

<sup>78</sup> Pollini 1993: 280.

<sup>79</sup> Pollini 1978: 194.

<sup>80</sup> Simon (1986: 158) and Zanker (1988: 231) have already noted this possibility. For earlier iconographic links between Capricorn and Sol on *denarii* of 19-18 BCE see Pollini 1993: 280, n. 100.

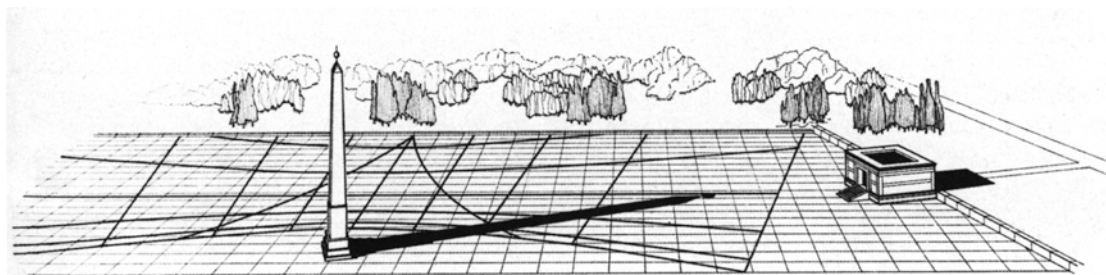
<sup>81</sup> For Capricorn as the conception, rather than natal sign, of the emperor, *supra*, 186, n. 49. Cf. Pollini (1993: 281), who maintains that Suetonius (*Aug.* 94.12) was probably correct in his identification of Capricorn as the natal sign of the *princeps*.

<sup>82</sup> Dwyer 1973: 60. On the solar associations of the emperor see e.g., Suetonius, *Aug.* 94.12.

<sup>83</sup> Dwyer 1973: 60. See Julian, *Or.* 4.156A; Macrobius, *Somn. Scip.* 2.7.11.

<sup>84</sup> See Giard 1976: nos. 1357b-1360, pl. LV (who suggests Aurora rather than Sol) and Pollini 1993: 280, n. 100.

the constellation of Capricorn (which passed directly through the mid-point of the altar) fixed the orientation of the Ara Pacis within the *solarium* (ill. 17).<sup>85</sup> As Glen Bowersock has noted, this ensured that while the shadow of the sun would fall on the centre of the altar on Augustus' birthday, 'the sun would signal its winter rising annually on the day of Augustus' conception by casting the shadow of the obelisk's point along the line of Capricorn...'<sup>86</sup> Thus in the Campus Martius, as in the Gemma Augustea, Capricorn's solar associations not only received recognition, they became essential elements in a precise and complex ideology. Because the Capricorn could also be read as a reference to both the Temple of Apollo and the *princeps*' home amongst the Palatine gods, the utility of the cameo's zodiacal sign was considerable.<sup>87</sup> No doubt it was at least in part due to this topographic connection that the 17 BCE *Ludi Saeculares* (in which Apollo and his Palatine temple played a prominent role) were commemorated with a coin issue depicting the Capricorn.<sup>88</sup>



Ill. 17. Reconstruction of the *Solarium Augusti*, ca. 10 BCE (after Simon 1986: fig. 24).

A shared affiliation with the sun was not all that linked the Capricorn and Apollo. Already noted in our discussions of the Palatine complex and *euripus* monuments is Apollo's association with victory and the inauguration of the *aurea aetas* in Augustan propaganda.<sup>89</sup> Images of Apollo Actius on *denarii* minted in 16

<sup>85</sup> Bowersock 1990: 386-387. Cf. Buchner 1982: 27.

<sup>86</sup> Bowersock 1990: 387.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Dwyer (1973: 60, n. 10) who recognises that Capricorn, as the birth sign of the sun, '...would accord well with the young Octavian-Augustus' well-known association with Apollo.' Ernest Will's search for references to the planetary gods in the cameo has raised the intriguing possibility that the presence of Sol-Apollo in the upper register is both confirmed and balanced by the figure in the predella directly below the Capricorn, which he interprets as Diana-Luna (Simon 1986: 159).

<sup>88</sup> *BMCRE* I, nos. 38-39, pls. 1.20, 2.1. See also Pollini 1978: 194.

<sup>89</sup> *Supra*, 125-26, 173.

BCE,<sup>90</sup> and renderings of swans (the god's sacred bird) on the Ara Pacis, for example, were surely designed to act as visual reminders of respectively Augustus' triumph over Mark Antony and the fact that, like Apollo, the *princeps* was the prophesied ruler of a Golden Age.<sup>91</sup> Augustus used the Capricorn in a similar fashion to symbolise victories over enemies – first Caesar's assassins, then later Antony and Cleopatra, and the Parthians.<sup>92</sup> It was these successes, Pollini notes '...which gave Augustus mastery over the world, [and which] were thought to have helped bring about the return of the prophesied Golden Age under the god Apollo.'<sup>93</sup> Thus, the zodiacal sign is also to be found in conjunction with the globe, rudder and cornucopia – all symbols of the *pax*, *felicitas*, and *novus ordo saecularum* that resulted from Apollo's patronage of Augustus and Rome.<sup>94</sup>

We have seen that a goat played an indispensable role in the aetiology of the constellation of Capricorn. Archaeological, numismatic and literary evidence also suggests that the same animal was accorded significance in the cult of Apollo. It is difficult to determine the exact origins of the association of Apollo and the goat. One clue is perhaps to be found in the tale that goats were the first to discover the oracular powers of Delphi;<sup>95</sup> it may be because of this that the goat's head appears in combination with two dolphins on Delphic coins.<sup>96</sup> Certainly, the connections between Apollo Pythios and goats appear to have been strong. A number of authors attest that the goat was the god's favoured sacrificial victim both at Delphi and at Eleusis, where Delphic traditions seem to have been preserved.<sup>97</sup> Goats were also

<sup>90</sup> E.g., *denarius* of C. Antistius Vetus (Galinsky 1996: 221, fig. 124).

<sup>91</sup> Virgil, *Ecl.* 4.4-10; cf. *Aen.* 6.791-94.

<sup>92</sup> On the use of the sign see Pollini 1978: 193, nn. 84-85 (with bibliog.).

<sup>93</sup> Pollini 1993: 280.

<sup>94</sup> Pollini 1978: 193-94.

<sup>95</sup> Farnell 1907: 255.

<sup>96</sup> See Farnell 1907: 312, who also associated Apollo with a series of Cretan coins that show wild goats' heads occasionally encircled by a laurel crown (*ibid.* 310-311). For a Cretan stater (330-280/70 BCE) depicting Apollo holding a wild goat in his raised right arm, see Lambrinudakis 1984: 226, no. 334.

<sup>97</sup> Euripides, *Ion.* 227, 418; Plutarch, *De def. or.* 46, p.435c; Diodorus Siculus, 16.26. According to Pausanias (10.11.4), when threatened by plague, the men of Kleonai sought advice from the Delphic oracle and subsequently sacrificed a he-goat to the rising sun and dedicated a bronze goat to Apollo. These references are cited in full by Farnell (1907: 387-88, n. 129; 398, n. 157; 408, n. 211).



offered to Apollo Ἀποτρόπαιος, ‘the Averter of ill’ in the Marathon tetrapolis,<sup>98</sup> while in the Laconian feast of Apollo, the Κοπίδες, no other sacrificial victim was allowed.<sup>99</sup> This aspect of Greek practice was carried over into Roman ritual, as can be seen in the sacrifice of two white she-goats to Apollo during the inaugural *Ludi Apollinares*,<sup>100</sup> and the offering of another she-goat *humano ritu* on the Capitoline to Vediovis, a god sometimes identified with Apollo.<sup>101</sup> More telling even than the obvious prevalence of the goat as a sacrificial animal is the fact that on Naxos Apollo was worshipped as Τράγιος, the goat-god.<sup>102</sup> The origins of this close relationship between deity and animal can feasibly be found in Apollo’s capacity as the pastoral god with the cult title, Νόμιος.<sup>103</sup> In this epiclesis, Apollo was considered to be the guardian of crops and vegetation, a fact that accords well with perceptions of him as a solar deity.

It bears repeating that two vital aspects of the Gemma Augustea’s Capricorn are its connections to the sun and the goat. Clearly, Apollo shared these associations, but more than simple commonalities suggest that the god’s presence was implicit in the zodiacal sign. One work in particular can be identified as the likely inspiration for this facet of the cameo. In Callimachus’ *Hymn to Apollo*, where the poet writes in praise of the god as he is worshipped in Cyrene, the compatibility of Apollo’s solar and pastoral aspects is manifest.<sup>104</sup> Here, the god is both Phoebus and Nomius, the divine goatherd who protects and ensures the fecundity of his charges.<sup>105</sup> He is

<sup>98</sup> Farnell 1907: 255, n. 274d; Prott and Ziehen 1988: 63-67, no. 16.

<sup>99</sup> Pausanias, 3.16.2 (Farnell 1907: 420, n. 248).

<sup>100</sup> Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.17.29.

<sup>101</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* 5.12. Gellius (*ibid.*) also records that a representation of a goat stood near the cult statue of Vediovis in the temple.

<sup>102</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Τραγία...ἔστι πόλις ἐν Νάξῳ ἐν ἧ Τράγιος Ἀπόλλω τιμᾶται.

<sup>103</sup> For Apollo Νόμιος see Farnell 1907: 123.

<sup>104</sup> It has long been accepted that Callimachus was a model for Augustan poets (see Thomas 1993 for a discussion of the poet’s influence in Rome). Given Callimachus’ status in Rome, and Augustus’ promotion of the cult of Apollo, it is logical to assume that the *princeps* would have been familiar with the hymn.

<sup>105</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.47-54. Aristotle noted the importance of sun and good grazing for the productivity of goats and sheep (*HA*, 6.9); these are precisely the conditions that Callimachus specifies. In his commentary on lines 50-51, Williams (1978: 52-53) concludes that Apollo will make the she-goats protectresses of flocks: ‘in this way Apollo confers on the goats under his care some of his own attributes: he himself is a twin, and the goats bear twins; he is ἐπιμήλιος, they become ἐπιμηλάδες.’

referred to equally as Φοῖβος (17 times) and Ἀπόλλων (16 times), and the poet uses φαίνεται (9) to mean that the god ‘shines’ or ‘gives light,’<sup>106</sup> and χρύσεια (32) to describe his golden appearance. In addition to alluding throughout the *Hymn to Apollo’s* identification with the sun, Callimachus credits Phoebus Apollo with the construction of the Delian Altar of Horns. This fabulous structure (which was sometimes counted among the seven wonders of the world<sup>107</sup>) was built, the poet tells us, when Phoebus at age four wove together the horns of Cynthian goats presented to him by Artemis.<sup>108</sup> For Callimachus, the creation of the horned altar marked the beginning of Apollo’s role as the builder and founder of cities; in this the god was a pioneer and mortals subsequently emulated his example.<sup>109</sup> It is obviously a fundamental aspect of Apollo’s character in the *Hymn* that he rejoices in these foundations. He also guides men in their endeavours, either by way of advice (65) or even with his presence (66-67), and Callimachus repeatedly stresses the blessings that accrue for both individuals and cities as a result of the god’s benevolence.<sup>110</sup>

Not surprisingly, because the *Hymn* purports to describe Cyrene’s Carneia, it is Callimachus’ own city and its ruling dynasty, the Battiadae, that are portrayed as enjoying a particularly privileged relationship with the deity. This status depended upon a certain reciprocity. Hence,

οὐδὲ πόλει τὸς ἔνειμεν ὀφέλιμα, τόσσα Κυρήνη...  
 μνωόμενος προτέρης ἀρπακτύος, οὐδὲ μὲν αὐτοῖ  
 Βαττιάδαι Φοῖβοιο πλέον θεὸν ἄλλον ἔτεισαν.

---

Williams also believes that the allusion to Apollo watching over herds like a mortal herdsman may suggest the notion of the god as the sun, just as in Homer, where the sun (Helios) is a herdsman (*ibid.* 53, commentary on line 52).

<sup>106</sup> Cf. A.W. Mair (trans. 1921), who translated this as ‘appear.’ Williams (1978: 23-24) notes, however, that when used in Homer, Aratus, and elsewhere in Callimachus (e.g., *fr.* 177.6-7; *fr.* 260.65), this verb invariably means ‘to shine,’ and its subject is normally the sun.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *De Sollertia Animalium* 35.9 = *Mor.* 983e; Ovid, *Ep.* 21.99-100; Martial, *Spect.* 1.4; *Excerpta Vaticana* 2. This story may explain why deposits of goats’ horns have been found in sanctuaries of Apollo and Artemis in Dreros (cf. Burkert 1985: 92; *BCH* 60 (1936): 224f., 241-244).

<sup>108</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.60-64.

<sup>109</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.55-56. For Apollo’s connections to cities see Farnell 1907: 98-252.

<sup>110</sup> E.g., Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.10-11; 40-41; 94-95.

...[Not] to any city hath [Apollo] given so many blessings as he hath given to Cyrene, remembering his rape of old. Nor, again, is there any other god whom the sons of Battus have honoured above Phoebus.<sup>111</sup>

The benefits of loyalty and the performance of due observance to the god are clear. Apollo is credited with choosing Cyrene's site, of personally guiding Battus and his people to Libya, and of promising them the protection of a walled city.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, the god is shown to have the power to ensure not only that the walls of the city continue to stand on their ancient foundations, but also that those who live within them enjoy long and prosperous lives.<sup>113</sup>

With this in mind, we return our attention to Augustan Rome, and note marked parallels between the sentiments of Callimachus' narrator and ideologies circulated by the *princeps*.<sup>114</sup> Paramount here is the assumption that the rulers of both Cyrene and Rome are the recipients of Apollo's particular patronage. Where Callimachus credited the god with the successful foundation and the future good fortune of Cyrene, Augustus likewise credited Apollo with the Actian triumph and the inauguration of Rome's new Golden Age. Cyrene's ancient foundations and walls, which Apollo had promised to protect,<sup>115</sup> may also have had echoes in the remains of Roma Quadrata, the Romulean base of the Augustan complex on the Palatine.<sup>116</sup>

Also notable in the *Hymn to Apollo* is the emphasis placed by Callimachus on Battus, the founding father of Cyrene, and on the continued rule of the city by his descendants.<sup>117</sup> The perpetuation of a reigning dynasty is, of course, a central theme in Augustan art, and the Gemma Augustea is no exception. One of the primary reasons for depicting the *princeps* in the company of a triumphant Tiberius and a

---

<sup>111</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.94-96 (trans. Mair, 1921).

<sup>112</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.65-68.

<sup>113</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.14-15. Williams (1978: 27) interprets line 14: *πολιὴν τε κερεῖσθαι*, as a reference to the offering to the gods of cuttings of hair at decisive moments of life. This was done to express the desire for a young man to reach maturity and live a long, successful life.

<sup>114</sup> See Calame 1993: 44-45 on whether or not the narrator's references to Cyrene as 'my city' (65), the Battiadae as 'our kings' (68), and the worship of Apollo Carneius in the manner of 'my fathers' (71), can be taken as a personal claim by Callimachus to a direct relationship with both the royal house of Cyrene and Apollo.

<sup>115</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.15; 67-68.

<sup>116</sup> See Wiseman 1984: 126.

<sup>117</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.65; 68; 76 (where Aristoteles = Battus); 95-96.

young Germanicus was no doubt to convey the impression that the stability of the Empire was assured, given the inevitable succession of eminently qualified heirs.<sup>118</sup> That Callimachus was likely aware of similar concerns within his own political milieu in Alexandria can be inferred from his reference to Apollo as deriving his power from his position at the right hand of Zeus.<sup>119</sup> As Frederick Williams has pointed out, the right hand of the *paterfamilias* was the place of honour normally occupied by the favoured son.<sup>120</sup> Some scholars have seen this as an indication that the *Hymn* must have been written when two Ptolemies, a father and a son, were co-regents in Egypt. Accordingly, Callimachus is regarded as having presented his kings in the *Hymn* as the earthly counterparts of Zeus and Apollo.<sup>121</sup> Since Augustus appears on the Gemma Augustea in the guise of Jupiter, it is tempting to view Tiberius in the role of Apollo. The latter does wear a laurel wreath, one of the god's traditional attributes, but this fact is inconclusive at best, given that triumphators were traditionally represented either crowned, or in the process of becoming so.<sup>122</sup>

Ultimately it may be left to the figure of Augustus himself to provide the final allusion to Apollo in the Gemma Augustea. When it comes to the *princeps*' overall appearance on the cameo there can be little doubt that the characteristics of Jupiter dominate the image. Nevertheless, Augustus is represented holding not the thunderbolt of the king of the Olympians, but rather the *lituus* of the augur-god. Whether or not the Gemma Augustea's designer intended either the emperor or his heir to be understood as Apollo is questionable. However, it is evident that the god's influence pervades the cameo in the form of the Capricorn, whose solar aspect and links to the goat and to the dawning of a Golden Age made the zodiacal sign an ideal stand-in for the god. Furthermore, by accepting Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* as the

---

<sup>118</sup> If proven, Lambrechts' identification of the figure crowning Augustus as Livia-Cybele would reinforce both the cameo's dynastic symbolism and Julio-Claudian connections to the Magna Mater (1952b: 259-60, n. 5). However, as Lambrechts admits 'on ne peut certes pas être tout à fait affirmatif en ce qui concerne la ressemblance iconographique.' He has subsequently claimed that Livia must have been conflated with the goddess, or her absence on the Gemma Augustea is inexplicable. Cf. Bartman (1999: 86), who maintains that the empress would have been an inappropriate addition to a scene with military connotations.

<sup>119</sup> Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.29.

<sup>120</sup> Williams 1978: 37-38 (commentary on line 29).

<sup>121</sup> Whether the Ptolemies in question were Soter and Philadelphus or Philadelphus and Euergetes is still a matter of debate. See Williams 1978: 36 (commentary on line 26) for discussion of this point.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Pollini (1978: 197-98; 1993: 269-70) who argues against the identification of Tiberius as *triumphator*.

inspiration behind much of the cameo's symbolism, familiar allusions to the god as patron and protector both of Rome and of the Julio-Claudians are discernible.

Recognition of these implicit references to Apollo completes the identification of each of the three Palatine deities on the Gemma Augustea. But the cameo refers to more than the temples of the hill's divine inhabitants. Connections between the iconography of the gem and the topography of the hill are made even more explicit by an allusion to the house of the *princeps* himself. On the Gemma Augustea, Augustus is shown in the process of being crowned with the *corona civica*. As discussed above, a resolution of the Senate saw this wreath placed over the door of the *princeps*' Palatine house in 27 BCE; it appears thus on the *aureus* of Caninius Gallus (fig. 27).<sup>123</sup> The *corona civica* was also shown divorced from its architectural setting on a number of other coins and gems,<sup>124</sup> and there is little doubt that its image alone would have been sufficient to bring to mind not only the *princeps*' role as saviour and protector of Rome, but also the prominent context in which the wreath itself was displayed. Accordingly, on the Gemma Augustea, Augustus and his crown provide the focal point of the composition, just as the emperor's house with its wreath-bearing architrave constituted the heart of the Augustan precinct on the Palatine. Clearly, whether they are manifest in anthropomorphic or purely symbolic form, in the cameo, as in the architectural complex, Victory, the Magna Mater and Apollo surround, support and cast glory upon the *princeps* and his *domus*.

---

<sup>123</sup> Augustus, *RG* 34. *Supra*, 130.

<sup>124</sup> E.g., Zanker 1988: 93, fig. 76a (*aureus* from Spain, 19/18 BCE); fig. 76b (*aureus* from Ephesus, 27 BCE); 94, fig. 77 (cameo dated after 27 BCE).

## CHAPTER 6

## THE VICUS SANDALIARIUS ALTAR

---

The efficacy of the *princeps*' visual language can be measured on one level by the degree to which its audience assimilated its messages and forms.<sup>1</sup> If imitation is an indication of success, then an altar from Rome's Vicus Sandaliarius confirms that the topographical messages implicit in the Circus Maximus and the Gemma Augustea reached and were appropriated by the *plebs urbana* (figs. 68-71).<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions on the monument set up not far from the Forum of Augustus reveal that the altar was dedicated in 2 BCE by four freedmen acting in their role as chief magistrates (*vicomagistri*) of the Vicus Sandaliarius.<sup>3</sup> Its recipients were the *Lares Augusti*, making the altar one of a sizeable group of like monuments connected to the new cult of the emperor's guardian spirits.<sup>4</sup> These altars are notable as evidence of both the social advancement of Augustan *liberti* and the *princeps*' policies of religious inclusivism. They also provide some idea of the extent to which Rome's populace understood and replicated elements of 'official' Augustan art. Before discussing the sculptural reliefs that adorn the Vicus Sandaliarius altar, therefore, it is appropriate to review briefly the circumstances that gave rise to their production.

Prior to 7 BCE the *collegia* for the cult of the *Lares* at Rome's crossroads (*compita*) were renowned as foci for political unrest.<sup>5</sup> As a means of averting

---

<sup>1</sup> For the impact of Augustan political imagery on the private sphere see Zanker 1988: 265ff.

<sup>2</sup> Uffizi Museum, Florence, inv. no. 972.

<sup>3</sup> *CIL* 6.448.

<sup>4</sup> See Hermann (1961: 21-28) and Hano (1986: 2337-53) for catalogues of altars connected to the *Lares*. Galinsky (1996: 302) places the number of altars to the *Lares Augusti* at fourteen, approximately 5 percent of the original total. Bartman (1999: 84-85), however, maintains that this work would have been one of hundreds of *Lares* altars set up at crossroads in Rome.

<sup>5</sup> Measures taken to control the cult and its volatile associations included the outlawing of the *collegia* in 64 BCE (by the senate) and 22 BCE (by Augustus); on these events see Galinsky (1996: 300).

potential opposition and of exerting influence over the urban plebs, freedmen and slaves, Augustus divided Rome into 265 administrative *vici*, or wards, and simultaneously reorganised their cults. Four *magistri* from the ranks of the freedmen were appointed in each *vicus*; the chief officials were assisted by *ministri* drawn from the slave population. The *Lares Compitales* that had been honoured at the crossroads of each district then became the *Lares Augusti* (Augustus' guardian deities), and to them was added the *Genius Augusti*, the spirit of the *princeps* himself.<sup>6</sup>

An integral part of these new cults was the construction of a shrine at the crossroad of each ward. These were usually modest monuments consisting of a low platform on which stood a single diastyle chamber designed to house images of the *Lares Augusti* and the *Genius Augusti*.<sup>7</sup> An altar was placed in front of each shrine for use during the annual *Compitalia*, or festival of the *Lares*. Those that survive today exhibit a pronounced homogeneity of style and iconography. This was no doubt due to their more or less uniform requirements, and to the sudden and considerable demand for the altars after 7 BCE, which largely precluded the creation of high quality, original monuments. Not surprisingly, almost all the altars featured depictions of the *Lares* themselves and a sacrifice scene.<sup>8</sup> More often than not, one *Lar* appears on each of the lateral sides; the spirits' form was evidently inspired by popular bronze statuettes that show the youthful figures either dancing whilst holding a *patera*, rhyton, or laurel branch (the *Lar compitalis*), or standing in a calm and dignified manner holding a rhyton or *cornucopia* (the *Lar familiaris*). The sacrifice scene, which is usually on the front of the altar, scarcely shows more variation. Sacrificants typically include differing numbers of *vicomagistri* and less frequently the *Lares* themselves; sometimes the *Genius* of Augustus is also present. The backs of the altars more often than not show the *corona civica*, sometimes with ritual objects such as the *lituus*, *patera*, or *urceus*.

Among altars to the *Lares Augusti*, the one from the Vicus Sandaliarius stands out as a monument in which several atypical features reshape and expand canonical iconography. At first glance, the use of traditional subjects gives the altar a familiar appearance. On the posterior face the ubiquitous *corona civica* is shown flanked by

---

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 5.143-46. On the restructuring of the civic cults of the *Lares* see Galinsky 1996: 300-312 and Beard et al. 1998: 184-86.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g., the shrine at *Compitum Acili* in Richardson 1992: 98 and Beard et al. 1998: 185, fig. 4.2.

<sup>8</sup> For the significance of these themes see Hano 1986: 2355-2361 (*Lares* and the *Genius*) and 2361-2365 (sacrifices).

laurel trees, with a *patera* at the far left and an *urceus* on the right (fig. 69). Both *Lares* appear holding rhytons; one also holds a *patera*, the other a *situla*. However, in a departure from the norm, these figures are no longer separated. Instead, they appear as virtual mirror images of one another, on just one of the altar's lateral faces (fig. 70). This leaves the opposite side of the monument free for the uncharacteristic addition of a winged Victoria, shown adding a shield to a *tropaeum* (fig. 71). While this new scene is certainly noteworthy, it is the front of the altar that not only renders the monument unique among *Lares* altars, but also makes it relevant to this investigation of topographical symbolism. Here, where one might expect to find a traditional sacrifice involving *vicomagistri* and perhaps even the *Genius Augusti*, we are instead presented with a scene from outside the parameters of the *Lares* and *Genius* cults. Only when this relief is understood does the overall meaning of the altar become apparent.

The scene in question consists of two men and a woman seemingly involved in a religious ritual (fig. 68). At the far left a youthful male stands facing right. He is togate, *capite velato* and holds what has been identified as a barely visible bookroll in his left hand.<sup>9</sup> In the middle of the composition a second, older male stands facing the viewer. Like the youth at his side, he wears his toga drawn up over the left shoulder and the back of his head. In his raised right hand he holds a *lituus*, while his extended left hand grasps a scroll; a chicken is represented pecking at the ground by his right foot. A mature woman stands facing this central figure at the right of the relief. She is draped and veiled, and wears a diadem, a spiral bracelet in the form of a snake on her right arm, and a torque with snakes' head terminals around her neck; she holds a *patera* in her extended right hand and an *acerra* in her left hand.

As one might expect, the fact that all three figures lack accompanying inscriptions and individualising attributes has led scholars to debate both the nature of the scene and the identity of its participants. Their task has been made more difficult by the abrasion and subsequent restoration of the faces and hair of all three figures.<sup>10</sup> Traditionally, the central male has been the least contentious member of the group and has been identified as the *Genius Augusti*,<sup>11</sup> and as either Gaius or Lucius Caesar,

---

<sup>9</sup> Pollini 1987: 33.

<sup>10</sup> All three figures have their noses restored.

<sup>11</sup> Gross 1962: 80.



Augustus' adopted sons (fig. 72).<sup>12</sup> However, as Pollini has noted, the manner of the figure's representation is not consonant with the iconographic conventions of the *Genius*, which consistently appears during the Augustan period with a *cornucopia*, *paterna* and other sacrificial implements.<sup>13</sup> Neither can the undeniably mature figure be either of the *principes iuventutis* who were aged only eighteen and fifteen respectively when the altar was dedicated in 2 BCE.<sup>14</sup> Instead, on the basis of facial physiognomy, the present *communis opinio* favours the identification of this figure as Augustus himself.<sup>15</sup>

It may not be Gaius or Lucius in the middle of the scene, but both of Augustus' designated heirs have also been associated with the togate youth who accompanies the *princeps* on the altar.<sup>16</sup> At the very least, the figure's familial connection to Augustus can be inferred from the youth's distinctive hair, which falls halfway down his forehead and is characterised by locks that form a distinctive open pincer (fig. 73). Both features clearly recall the famous Prima Porta and Actium types of Augustus portraits.<sup>17</sup> The faint 'Venus rings' around the figure's neck may also be a link to the Julii, whose divine genetrix was often represented with such lines about her neck.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> For the identification of the figure as Gaius see Ryberg 1955: 60. Simon (1986: 72, 103), on the other hand, interprets him as the younger Lucius.

<sup>13</sup> Pollini 1978: 364, n. 178, 1987: 30, n. 66.

<sup>14</sup> The fact that Ryberg (1955: 60) mistakenly dates the altar to 2 CE still does not reconcile Lucius' youth (he would have been nineteen at the time) with the apparent maturity of the central figure.

<sup>15</sup> Those who identify the figure as Augustus include: Polacco 1955: 90; Mansuelli 1958: 204; Hermann 1961: 86; Pollini 1978: 305 and 1987: 30-31; Hano 1986: 2339; Zanker 1988: 121, 125 caption fig. 101; Rose 1990: 463, 1997: 105 and 2005: 47; Boschung 1993: 125; Galinsky 1996: 305-6; Bartman 1999: 85. Pollini (1987: 30, n. 66) cites a veiled portrait of Augustus in Cologne (Römisch-Germanisches Museum inv. 74.388) as the closest iconographic parallel to the figure on the Vicus Sandaliarius altar.

<sup>16</sup> Hermann (1961: 86f) now appears to stand alone in his exclusive identification of the figure as Lucius, while Mansuelli (1958: 203-2, no. 205); Hano (1986: 2339) and Zanker (1988: 125 caption fig. 101, cf. 1973: 48f) are undecided between Gaius and Lucius. Those who identify the figure as Gaius are considerably more numerous and include: Pollini 1978: 307-9 and 1987: 31-35; Simon 1986: 72, 103; Galinsky 1996: 306; Rose 1997: 62, 105-6; Bartman 1999: 85-86. Cf. Gross (1962: 80) who, contrary to iconographic conventions, saw the figure as the *Genius* of Gaius. Polacco (1955: 78-91), on the other hand, identified this figure as Tiberius, but as Pollini (1987: 31, n. 68) has noted, this concurs with neither the iconography nor the historical context of the altar. Ryberg's suggestion (1955: 60) that this figure is Augustus, and that Gaius stands in the centre is highly improbable, given the apparent portrait features and relative ages of the figures.

<sup>17</sup> See Pollini 1987: 31 for a detailed comparison of the hairstyles of these figures, and n. 70, for references to both Augustan portrait types.

<sup>18</sup> Pollini 1987: 31, n. 69.

With the identification of the youth's *gens* has come inevitable questions as to which of the *principes* was represented on the altar. Those favouring Lucius interpret the relief as a commemoration of his induction as an augur in 2 BCE, hence the pecking chicken, a symbol of the practice of augury.<sup>19</sup> This also accounts for the representation of the youth *capite velato*, and the prominence given to the *lituus* (the symbol par excellence of the augurate) that Augustus holds. Alternatives to this theory have been put forward for some time,<sup>20</sup> but it was relatively recently that Pollini disproved assumptions surrounding the figure's identification as Lucius.<sup>21</sup> In particular, Pollini noted that in the Augustan period, the pecking chicken had not yet come to symbolise either the taking of auspices or the augurate. Neither did chickens play any part in the inauguration of priests or magistrates. They were, however, assigned a significant role in the *tripudium*, a very specific type of military auspices taken before a campaign, in which the feeding of corn to sacred chickens was considered to be an omen.<sup>22</sup> In 2 BCE only one imperial campaign was launched – that of Gaius Caesar to Asia Minor, Parthia and Armenia.<sup>23</sup>

Since the iconography of the scene suggests a *tripudium*, not a priestly inauguration, and because the figure on the left appears to be an adolescent rather than a boy, it is prudent to accept that Gaius, not Lucius, accompanies Augustus on the altar. The scene can thus be interpreted as the taking of military auspices before Gaius' departure to the East. That Augustus presides instead of Gaius (who was the general) can be explained, Pollini contends, by the fact that the campaign was waged under the auspices of the *princeps*, who as the holder of superior *imperium* was the appropriate bearer of the *lituus*. Gaius' bookroll is correspondingly interpreted as

---

<sup>19</sup> See e.g., Hermann 1961: 86f.; Zanker 1973: 48f. (cf. Zanker 1988: 121). The year 2 BCE was, in fact, a significant year for both of Augustus' grandsons. Prior to being made augur, Lucius had received his *toga virilis*, while Gaius embarked on an eastern campaign with newly awarded proconsular *imperium*. Both youths were also officially designated *principes iuventutis*, and were honoured with their first statuary group in Rome (for these matters see Rose 1997: 17). On the interpretation of the pecking chicken see Ryberg 1955: 60.

<sup>20</sup> E.g., Mansuelli 1958: 204.

<sup>21</sup> Pollini 1987: 32-35.

<sup>22</sup> For a bibliography of recent discussions of the *tripudium* see Pollini 1987: 33, n. 78.

<sup>23</sup> Those who interpret this scene as a *tripudium* involving Gaius Caesar include: Gross 1962: 78; Simon 1963: 10f.; Pollini 1987: 32-35; Galinsky 1996: 306; Rose 1997: 105. References for Gaius' military mission to the East are given by Pollini (1987: 32, n. 76) and Rose (1997: 261, cat. no. 33, n. 3).

either an allusion to the youth's own lesser proconsular *imperium*, or to an *itinerarium* for the upcoming campaign.<sup>24</sup>

With the subject of the scene and two of its participants established, it remains to determine both the identity of the female who accompanies Gaius and Augustus, and the significance of her presence at the *tripudium*. More than any other figure on the Vicus Sandaliarius altar, the mature woman who carries a libation dish and incense box has proven problematic for scholars. Indeed, such is the extent of confusion over her identity that some are convinced she is mortal,<sup>25</sup> while others maintain that she must be a goddess.<sup>26</sup> At the heart of difficulties in this regard is the figure's lack of any normative portrait iconography. Where both Gaius and Augustus possess individualising characteristics that at least suggest their identity, their female counterpart is simply depicted with idealised features (fig. 74).<sup>27</sup> The absence of physiognomic pointers has not prevented the frequent identification of the woman as Livia, either in the guise of Venus Genetrix,<sup>28</sup> or simply as a priestess.<sup>29</sup> However a number of factors challenge these interpretations. Not least of the arguments against a Livia/Venus conflation is the lack of iconographic traits specific to the goddess. Furthermore, although the difference is not great, it is clear that the woman on the altar is smaller in scale than her male companions. To assume that a divinity would be subordinate to humans in this way is to ignore long-standing artistic traditions.<sup>30</sup> The suggestion that Livia was depicted as a goddess while her husband and his heir remained mortals is equally unconvincing. Indeed, such were the conventions of Augustan art that it is highly improbable any member of the *princeps'* family would have been represented during their lifetime as a deity on a public monument in

---

<sup>24</sup> Pollini 1987: 33-34.

<sup>25</sup> See e.g., Pollini 1978: 306, 1987: 34, n. 88, 2005: 107; Galinsky 1996: 306; Rose 1997: 105-6, 2005: 47-48; Bartman 1999: 85-86.

<sup>26</sup> Polacco (1955: 88, n. 64) and Zanker (1969: 210), however, are mistaken when they insist that the feet of this figure are bare.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Pollini 1978: 306; 1987: 31.

<sup>28</sup> See e.g., Polacco 1955: 87-88; Mansuelli 1958: 204; Hermann 1961: 86; Zanker 1969: 209-211. Gross (1962: 80-81) suggests Livia as Juno, but ultimately concludes that the identity of the figure must remain unknown; cf. Bartman 1999: 85.

<sup>29</sup> See Pollini 1978: 306, 308; 1987: 31; 2005: 107.

<sup>30</sup> See Rose 2005: 47, n. 151.

Rome.<sup>31</sup> Prevailing artistic conventions, along with Livia's own religious status likewise combined to ensure that Augustus' wife did not appear as a priestess on the Vicus Sandaliarius altar. Crucially, Livia could not claim to have been the public priestess of any cult during the Augustan principate, and it was not until the early third century, during the reign of Septimius Severus, that female members of the imperial family were shown performing sacrifices or other cultic rituals in official reliefs.<sup>32</sup> Even had this not been the case, the military nature of the *tripudium* precluded the empress from actively participating in the rite.<sup>33</sup> This injunction has presumably led to the hypothesis that Livia appears thus on the altar in order to recall the private sacrifices the empress made for the safety and success of Gaius on his Eastern campaign.<sup>34</sup> However, nothing in the relief suggests that the three figures (who are linked by dress, gesture and gaze) were intended to be read as anything other than part of a united and synchronic scene.

The female who accompanies Gaius and Augustus in the *tripudium* may not be Livia acting in a religious capacity, but it is clear that the figure is a priestess. Her veiled head, *patera* and *acerra* all conform to traditional priestess iconography, as does her *stephane*, the crown worn only by priestesses and sacrificial animals in Augustan Rome.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, she turns toward Augustus and Gaius with her *patera* extended, an act that suggests she is performing a sacrifice as part of the ritual proceedings. Unfortunately, little is known of either the duties or the cultic affiliations of priestesses who participated in these military rites.<sup>36</sup> We must therefore look to the figure's relatively atypical attributes in order to determine her identity. Particularly relevant here is Brian Rose's recent conclusion that because the figure wears a torque around her neck, she is a priestess of Cybele (i.e., of the Magna

---

<sup>31</sup> On these points see Pollini 1978: 306-7. All of these reasons, and the fact that 2 BCE also witnessed the banishment of Augustus' daughter from Rome, cast considerable doubt on Zanker's identification of the figure as Julia in the guise of Venus. Cf. Zanker 1988: 125, fig. 101, caption.

<sup>32</sup> Rose (1997: 105, 262, n. 10; 2005: 48) gives the image of Julia Domna on the Arch of the Argentarii as probably the first such example.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Bartman (1999: 86) who interprets the Bonn plaques as providing evidence for Livia's admittance into the traditionally all-male military domain.

<sup>34</sup> Pollini 1978: 308, 1987: 34.

<sup>35</sup> See Rose 1997: 262, n. 9; 2005: 48, n. 154, who places the first use of the diadem in Imperial portraiture after the deification of Drusilla in 38 CE.

<sup>36</sup> For a select bibliography on the *tripudium* see Pollini 1987: 33, n. 78.

Mater).<sup>37</sup> Naturally, the factors that contributed to this argument require closer investigation.

Roman artists used torques to indicate, among other things, the geographical origins of the wearer; this was usually either Gaul or Asia Minor. As the Magna Mater's home was to be found in the latter, the torque was a logical attribute of the goddess' priests and priestesses. Indeed, Rose notes that in Rome the only priests to claim the torque as part of their religious raiment were those connected to the cult of the Magna Mater. Accordingly, he identifies the female on the altar not simply as one of the goddess' priestesses, but as a *sacerdos maxima* (chief priestess) on the basis of her torque and diadem.<sup>38</sup> It is an unfortunate but unavoidable fact that the relatively small number of extant depictions of the Magna Mater's priests and priestesses hampers attempts to assess the importance of the torque as an attribute of the goddess' cult personnel. Of the thousands of monuments documented by Vermaseren in the *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*,<sup>39</sup> only twenty-seven are thought to represent *archigalli*, *galli*, or priestesses.<sup>40</sup> The greatest concentration of these consists of eleven works all dating to the first three centuries CE found either in Rome or in its environs. This means that the official garb and attributes of the Magna Mater's personnel in early imperial Rome are comparatively well represented in the cult's archaeological record.<sup>41</sup> Clearly, the torque formed part of this sacerdotal attire, as two of the eleven works show *galli* wearing these distinctive objects about their necks. In both a marble relief found near Lanuvium dated to the mid-second century (fig. 18),<sup>42</sup> and a marble bust of the third century from Rome (fig. 75),<sup>43</sup> the torque is

---

<sup>37</sup> Rose 1997: 18; cat. no. 33, 104-6, pls. 111-14; 2005: 48-49. Cf. Bartman (1999: 85), who believes that while the intention may have been to present the figure as a priestess of Cybele, after Gaius' death it is likely that many viewers took her to be Livia in the guise of Juno.

<sup>38</sup> Rose 1997: 105. On the subject of torques on the Ara Pacis Augustae see also Rose 1990: 455-61.

<sup>39</sup> Vermaseren 1977-89.

<sup>40</sup> These are: CCCA I: nos. 34, 252, 287 (priestesses); CCCA II: nos. 655(?) (*gallus*); 315 (priestess); CCCA III: nos. 249, 446-48 (*archigalli*); 250, 307, 422, 466 (*galli*); 204(?), 218, 258 (priestesses); CCCA IV: nos. 42, 94(?), 169(?) (*galli*); 213 (priestess); CCCA V: nos. 164(?), 166(?) (*archigalli*); 146(?) (*gallus*); 83(?) (priestess); CCCA VI: no. 530 (actor as *gallus*); CCCA VII: nos. 39, 93(?) (*galli*).

<sup>41</sup> *Supra*, 90, n. 141.

<sup>42</sup> CCCA III: no. 466; *supra*, 90, n. 142. Here the ornament is simply labelled a necklace, however, its cylindrical form and matching decorative terminals clearly identify it as a torque. See also Roller 2006.

<sup>43</sup> CCCA III: no. 250. See also Roller 2006.

shown with terminals in the shape of lions' heads with open muzzles. In the Lanuvium relief the lions hold an almond-shaped disc in their mouths;<sup>44</sup> those in the Roman bust carry a *prosthetidion* decorated with images of the Magna Mater and Eros.<sup>45</sup> It is clear from the numerous other decorative accessories adorning both *galli* that torques were just one element in an extremely elaborate ritual costume.<sup>46</sup>

The extent to which the torque was a widespread and easily recognisable attribute of metroac priests and priestesses is impossible to determine from current evidence. That it was used more in Rome than elsewhere, however, is suggested by the fact that only one monument from outside of Latium possibly shows a follower of the Magna Mater wearing a torque. This is a relief from the so-called Tomb of the Elephant in the Roman necropolis at Carmo in Hispania. Here a veiled man standing in a niche is depicted wearing a *tunica*, long trousers and a torque. Vermaseren tentatively identified him as an *archigallus*, and suggested that the grave may be that of a Cybele-priest.<sup>47</sup> Additional finds in the tomb confirm an association between the site and the goddess' cult, but the poor condition of the relief renders any attempt at identification purely speculative.

While lacunae may exist in evidence for the use of the torque by *galli* and priestesses, several monuments show the Magna Mater herself and particularly her consort Attis wearing this distinctive necklace. The torque may not have been ubiquitous, but it was a recognisable cult attribute. A terracotta statue of the Magna Mater found at Zela in Pontus, for example, clearly shows a twisted torque with round terminals adorning the goddess' neck (fig. 76).<sup>48</sup> A virtually identical object appears on the bust of Attis that decorates a late-Hellenistic silver dish found at Hildesheim in

---

<sup>44</sup> Graillot (1912: 237) identifies this as either a gem or a cameo.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Vermaseren 1977: 100, where the smaller figure on the medallion is identified as Attis.

<sup>46</sup> The *gallus* in the Lanuvium relief is also adorned with knotted *influae*, a crown with relief discs showing Zeus and two Attises, earrings and a metal sheet in the shape of a *naiskos* that contains a bust of Attis in oriental dress. His Roman counterpart wears a woollen band round his forehead, multiple bracelets and rings, three precious necklaces and has oval and circular ornaments hanging down from his head. Both priests are shown *capite velato* and are garbed in long-sleeved tunics.

<sup>47</sup> *CCCA* V: no. 166; cf. nos. 164-65 for other cult-related objects found in the tomb.

<sup>48</sup> *CCCA* I: no. 202. Vermaseren gives the date of the statue as 'probably Roman.'

Germania (fig. 77).<sup>49</sup> Plain torques augmented with *bullae* are also worn by Attis figures currently in Paris and Turin.<sup>50</sup>

Returning to the Vicus Sandaliarius altar, we can conclude that the torque adorning the female figure is consistent with known accoutrements of the Magna Mater's cult. That the altar's designer chose to make use of the necklace is hardly surprising. Obviously a distinctive feature was required to ensure that the woman who accompanied Augustus and Gaius at the *tripudium* was recognisable to viewers as a priestess of the Magna Mater. However, the iconographic means to achieve this were limited. The mural crown and the lion, the cult's most familiar attributes, were unsuited to accompany anyone but the Magna Mater herself, and the ever-present tympanum would have been incongruous at solemn military rites. In the torque, however, the artist found an attribute that was not only common to the goddess and her consort in the East, but also to her followers in Rome. As a symbol of Asia Minor the necklace clearly marked the geographic origins of both the Magna Mater and her priestess;<sup>51</sup> it may also have referred to the destination of Gaius' military campaign.<sup>52</sup>

One may wonder why it was that snakes' heads were chosen to adorn the ends of the priestess' torque, rather than the lions' heads used in portraits of the two Roman *galli*.<sup>53</sup> Clearly, the serpent is significant to the priestess, as its form can be seen not just in her torque, but also in the spiral bracelet that winds around her right arm. Despite this, few scholars have sought to explain the relevance of the snake to either the priestess or to the altar in general.<sup>54</sup> This may be because necklaces and bracelets

---

<sup>49</sup> *CCCA* VI: no. 65.

<sup>50</sup> *CCCA* VII: no. 116 and no. 150. A terracotta bust of Attis from Asia Minor (*CCCA* I: no. 856) may also represent the youth wearing a torque, however, it is difficult to discern details in the available photos.

<sup>51</sup> Johannes Lydus (*Mens.* 4.59) records that it was not until the reforms carried by Claudius that Roman citizens were permitted to join the priestly ranks of the cult. This has been interpreted as meaning that, before this, all *galli* and priestesses were recruited in the East (see e.g., Turcan 1996: 37; cf. Roller 1999: 301).

<sup>52</sup> For the latter suggestion see Rose 1997: 106.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Graillot (1912: 237), who identifies the terminals on the torque worn by the *gallus* from Lanuvium as being snakes, rather than lions.

<sup>54</sup> Pollini (1978: 308, n. 188) is an exception. Interpreting the woman as Livia, he has suggested that the snake may have been intended as a symbol of Salus. However, even if the figure were Livia, her association with Salus on the altar would be premature. Not until the reign of Tiberius, when the health of the then octogenarian empress was a matter of some concern, was Livia linked to this goddess of health and preservation. For the issuing of the *Salus dupondii* in 22 CE, see Bartman 1999: 112 and fig. 6.

with snake-head terminals were popular items of Roman jewellery. Their appearance on the Vicus Sandaliarius altar could therefore be interpreted as nothing more than a passing reference to the fashion of the day. However, while the snake was not nearly as prevalent as the lion in cult iconography, it nevertheless appears frequently in the company of the goddess, Attis and their followers, and in association with numerous cult attributes.<sup>55</sup> A statue from Rome dated to the mid-first century CE that shows a priestess of the Magna Mater wearing a snake armband is a particularly useful parallel to the figure on the Vicus Sandaliarius altar (fig. 78).<sup>56</sup> A Pompeian wall-painting shows the goddess herself resting her left arm on a *tympanum* that is surrounded by serpents.<sup>57</sup> In statues from Ostia and Portus, snakes are shown coiled around a tripod standing next to Attis, entwined in Attis' sacred pine tree, and on the lid of a *cista mystica* adorning the sarcophagus of an *archigallus*.<sup>58</sup> Outside Italy, evidence that snakes played a role in the Magna Mater's cult is even more abundant. From Asia Minor come numerous reliefs and altars that show the goddess either holding or accompanied by snakes.<sup>59</sup> A monument from Acmonia in Phrygia depicts her with a snake coiled over her body.<sup>60</sup> Greece and Moesia also provide evidence of a link between the Magna Mater and the serpent.<sup>61</sup> However, despite a considerable body of evidence, the snake's exact function in the cult of the Magna Mater remains something of a mystery. The dates of the monuments cited above range from the

---

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Vermaseren (*CCCA* VI: no. 143, 382) who states that the snake never occurs in association with Attis, and that a goddess pouring a libation to a snake cannot be Cybele. The number of works that the author identifies elsewhere as portraying both the Magna Mater and her consort in the company of snakes, however, makes these views somewhat inexplicable.

<sup>56</sup> Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 57.AA.19. For the identification of this figure as a portrait statue of Livia see Bieber 1968: 7-17, 1969: 39, pl. XVII, figs. 7a-b; Roller 1999: 313. *Contra* Vermeule and Neuberger 1973: 27-28, no. 58; Bartman 1999: 222, no. 8; True et al. 2002: 159. See also *CCCA* III: no. 311; Kleiner and Matheson 1996: 97-98, no. 64 (and bibliography).

<sup>57</sup> *CCCA* IV: no. 45.

<sup>58</sup> *CCCA* III: nos. 373, 376, 446. See also *CCCA* IV: no. 268, the famous Parabiago *patera*, on which large snakes feature prominently entwined around a *betylos* and feeding from a *cornucopia*.

<sup>59</sup> E.g., *CCCA* I: nos. 51, 139, 459, 493, 857; nos. 149, 155 and 158 are altars dedicated to the goddess as Agdistis that have snakes as relief decoration; no. 574 is a stele on which a snake appears next to a woman identified as a priestess of the Mother of the gods.

<sup>60</sup> *CCCA* I: no. 104. Graillet (1912: 200, n. 4), in his discussion of the Antonine cult in Hierapolis, Myra and Aphrodisias, refers to the goddess as 'la dame aux serpents.'

<sup>61</sup> For monuments from Greece see *CCCA* II: nos. 389, 390, 432; from Moesia: *CCCA* VI: nos. 407, 433, 446. Two other works, of unknown provenance are *CCCA* VII: nos. 46 and 90. See Tudor 1976: 99-109, for a discussion of the identity of the goddess in the Danubian reliefs and 219-24, for the snake as a mystic symbol.



sixth century BCE to the late-fourth century CE, suggesting that the cultic significance of the snake was enduring. One could speculate that the reptile's close connection to the earth, and its importance as a symbol of renewed health and rebirth ensured that the snake was readily accepted among the chthonic facets of the Magna Mater's cult.

If we accept the female figure on the altar as a priestess of the Magna Mater, the snake motif in her jewellery can be understood as an attribute of the goddess. That the snake was used in preference to the lion is explicable given the context of the altar as a monument to the *Lares* and to the *Genius Augusti*. In the private worship of a household's guardian spirits (the *Lares familiares*) depictions of snakes are often found in *lararia* either below the *Lares* and the *Genius* of the *paterfamilias*, or entwined around the altar at which the *Genius* conducts a sacrifice; here the snake may be taken as the guardian of the hearth, or as an expression of the family's generative force.<sup>62</sup> The snake was also used to represent the *Genius* of the *paterfamilias* itself. In 2 BCE, the year in which the Vicus Sandaliarius altar was dedicated, Augustus received the title *pater patriae*, and thus officially became the *paterfamilias* of the Roman state.<sup>63</sup> The nature of the *tripudium* scene meant that for once, an altar to the *Lares Augusti* was adorned not with the *Genius* of the *princeps*, but rather with an image of Augustus the man. By choosing to include the snake motifs the relief's designer was nevertheless able to remind viewers not just of the Magna Mater, but also of the *Genius* of the emperor, another of Rome's special protectors.

Let us briefly review the reasons for identifying the female who accompanies Augustus and Gaius as a priestess of the Magna Mater. Of paramount importance is recognition of the torque as both an attribute of the goddess and an element in the priestly attire of her followers. Archaeological evidence from Rome and Asia Minor in particular confirms that this was the case; it similarly attests that snakes were often depicted in the company of the Magna Mater and Attis, and in monuments connected to worship of the *Lares*. The particular choice of snake-jewellery to adorn the priestess is therefore both in keeping with metroac iconography and with the context

---

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 5.84-93. For examples of works showing a snake in the company of the *Lares* and the *Genius familiaris* see *LIMC* 8.1: 599-607, nos. 2, 4, 10, s.v. 'Genius.'

<sup>63</sup> On the relationship of Augustus as *pater patriae* to the city/state see Taylor 1931: 152 and Turcan 2000: 136.

of the altar. Less certain, but still worth considering, is the possibility that a connection existed between the priestess and the chicken that pecks near Augustus' right foot. There is no doubt that the bird serves principally to refer to the augural dimension of the *tripudium*. However, it is also interesting to note that the cockerel (*gallus*) was adopted as the symbol of the Magna Mater's *galli*.<sup>64</sup> The association of the priests and their avian emblem is manifest on a number of monuments including the funeral *cista* of an *archigallus* from Ostia, whose lid is decorated with the statuette of a large rooster;<sup>65</sup> a marble *cippus*, also from Ostia depicts a *gallus* surrounded by priestly attributes, among which is a rooster.<sup>66</sup> It is debatable that viewers of the Vicus Sandaliarius altar made this connection, however. After all, the Magna Mater's representative is a priestess, not a *gallus*, and the bird, which appears to be a chicken (*pullus*) rather than a cockerel, is not proximate to her but stands between Gaius and Augustus. Nor can we assume that the *princeps* would have welcomed allusions to *galli* on the altar. As we have seen, the Magna Mater's priests were marginalised during the Augustan period, their image and behaviour the subjects of ridicule and contempt.<sup>67</sup> For this reason a priestess, whose presence may have invoked thoughts of the cult's long-standing association with patrician women (e.g. Claudia Quinta) was more suited to accompany the emperor.<sup>68</sup>

While the connection of the bird to the cult of the Magna Mater is tenuous at best, we can be more certain of an association between the goddess and the *lituus* held by Augustus. As the principal attribute of the augur, the *lituus* was indispensable during the *tripudium* when omens were sought for the outcome of Gaius' eastern campaigns. It is no coincidence that the staff also appears on a number of Roman altars dedicated to the Magna Mater.<sup>69</sup> As Rose has noted, this connection is perfectly logical, given that 'the *lituus* was used to interpret the will of the gods, especially

---

<sup>64</sup> The potential for a play upon the words *gallus*-*Gallus* was recognised by Roman authors. See e.g., Martial, *Ep.* 13.63-64; Juvenal 3.90; Suetonius, *Nero* 45.4.

<sup>65</sup> *CCCA* III: no. 395; Hales 2002: 94.

<sup>66</sup> *CCCA* III: no. 422; Roller 2006.

<sup>67</sup> *Supra*, 64-65, 92-93.

<sup>68</sup> For the role of priestesses in the Roman cult see Vermaseren 1977: 109-10; Mucznik 1999: 63ff.

<sup>69</sup> Examples include: *CCCA* III: nos. 236, 239, 241a and 404. According to Rose (1997: 106) altars dedicated to the Magna Mater and to the *Lares Augusti* constitute the majority of monuments on which the *lituus* appears.

prior to military campaign, and Cybele was directly associated with military victory.<sup>70</sup> More to the point, the goddess had a long history of involvement in campaigns whose success was publicly prophesied. The official reason for the Magna Mater's introduction to Rome was the Sibylline prediction that Carthaginian invaders would be defeated as long as the goddess was brought to the city.<sup>71</sup> Later, as we have seen, *galli* gave the Magna Mater's assurance of victory to generals on the eve of battles with the Gauls and with the Cimbri and Teutoni.<sup>72</sup> The goddess' ability to predict and affect future events would have been particularly apparent to an Augustan audience familiar with Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which both Creusa and Cymodocea impart prophecies to Aeneas under the Magna Mater's influence.<sup>73</sup>

Clearly, the Magna Mater was invoked as a goddess with both martial and augural aspects during Gaius' *tripudium*. Her long-standing involvement in Rome's military endeavours placed the upcoming campaign in the same context as some of the Republic's most celebrated victories, and the trophy shown on the side of the Vicus Sandaliarius altar signifies that Gaius' success was similarly preordained. Moreover, as the patron of Aeneas, the progenitor of the Julian *gens*, the Magna Mater was the obvious choice not just to predict the future triumph of Aeneas' descendant, but also to ensure that it came about. The goddess had kept Aeneas safe on his voyage from Asia Minor to Rome; centuries later she could therefore be expected to watch over Gaius as he undertook the return journey.<sup>74</sup>

Given both the altar's military dimension and the iconographic idiosyncrasies of the figure in question, Rose is surely correct in his identification of the woman accompanying Augustus and Gaius as a priestess of the Magna Mater. Significantly, he interprets the priestess not just as a reference to the general benevolence of the Magna Mater, but also as an evocation of the topography of the southwest Palatine. In doing so, two familiar details are noted: first, that the goddess' temple was located next to the house of Augustus (where Gaius also presumably lived) and second, that the *princeps* himself had restored the temple. Despite cogent arguments in favour of

---

<sup>70</sup> Rose 1997: 106.

<sup>71</sup> *Supra*, 116-17.

<sup>72</sup> *Supra*, 117, 123. Plutarch, *Mar.* 17.5-6; Diodorus Siculus 36.13.

<sup>73</sup> *Supra*, 78, 121-22.

<sup>74</sup> Rose 1997: 106; 2005: 49.

the Magna Mater's representation on the altar, however, Rose surprisingly concludes that it was the goddess' eastern origins that led designers to single her priestess out from other religious personnel at the *tripudium*. Ultimately, the *sacerdos* is regarded simply as 'a geographic indicator of the area to which Gaius' military campaign would take him.'<sup>75</sup> To believe as much undervalues both the Magna Mater's place in the Roman pantheon and her usefulness as an instrument of Augustan propaganda.

When considered in relation to the altar's other reliefs, the Magna Mater is revealed as the only deity whose invocation accorded with both the symbolic and religious requirements of Gaius' *tripudium* and the topographical allusions that united all four sides of the monument. Most obvious among the references to Palatine topography are the *corona civica* and the laurel trees that appear on the posterior face of the altar (fig. 69).<sup>76</sup> As discussed above, these were honours voted by the Senate and the people in recognition of the *princeps*' military accomplishments and his salvation of Roman citizens.<sup>77</sup> Augustus himself tells us that the wreath was placed over the lintel of his Palatine house;<sup>78</sup> the laurel trees, which traditionally stood in front of priestly buildings,<sup>79</sup> now flanked his door (fig. 27). On the Vicus Sandaliarius altar the *corona civica* and laurels are shown divorced from their architectural setting. However, such was the undoubted fame of the *princeps*' doorway that the image of the wreath between two trees surely evoked the Palatine context in which the original honours were proudly displayed (cf. fig. 28).

Accepting that references to the Augustan Palatine constitute one of the altar's prevailing themes helps to explain the relatively unusual inclusion of Victoria on a monument to the *Lares Augusti*.<sup>80</sup> The winged figure is shown on one of the short sides of the altar adding the *clipeus virtutis* to a pre-erected trophy made from the

---

<sup>75</sup> Rose 1997: 106. Rose also puts forward the intriguing suggestion that if the *tripudium* took place just prior to the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor on 12 May, 2 BCE, then it may have coincided with the *Ludi Megalenses*, which were held from April 4 to April 10.

<sup>76</sup> For a discussion of these objects as they appear on *Lares* altars see Hano 1986: 2367-69 (laurel trees) and 2369-70 (*corona civica*).

<sup>77</sup> Cassius Dio 53.16. *Supra*, 129-30.

<sup>78</sup> *RG* 34.

<sup>79</sup> E.g., the temple of Vesta, the Regia and the headquarters of the *flamines* and *pontifices*; Zanker 1988: 93; Favro 1996: 105.

<sup>80</sup> For a similar work depicting Victoria (the so-called Belvedere Altar) see Zanker 1969 and Hano 1986: no. 10, 2344-45. For a discussion of the *clipeus virtutis*, trophies and Victoria on *Lares* altars see Hano 1986: 2370-72.

armour of a defeated enemy (fig. 71).<sup>81</sup> The *clipeus virtutis*, like the *corona civica* and laurel trees, was an honour granted by the Senate and people to Augustus in 27 BCE, this time on account of his ‘bravery, clemency, justice, and piety, as is inscribed on the shield itself.’<sup>82</sup> The original honorific shield was displayed in the Curia Julia, where it no doubt became associated with the statue of Victoria that Augustus (then Octavian), the hero of Actium, had erected there two years earlier. By conflating two powerful symbols of Augustan success (the shield and Victoria) with a trophy that prefigured triumphs to come, the designers of the altar cleverly suggest that victories of the past were linked to those of the future, and that Gaius would repeat the glorious achievements of his grandfather. At the same time, the physical placement of Victoria on the right lateral face of the altar (the side connecting the priestess of the Magna Mater to the laurel and *corona civica*) meant that the goddess could be read as a symbol of the Palatine Temple of Victoria, taking its place here between the Magna Mater’s metroön and the House of Augustus.

It is hardly surprising that the *Lares* were retained on the left lateral face of the altar in preference to a further allusion to the Augustan complex on the Palatine (e.g. the Temple of Apollo). After all, the altar was dedicated to the *Lares Augusti* and their omission would surely have been unthinkable to the *vicomagistri* who honoured them. Their presence, however, is not entirely devoid of topographical significance, for the *princeps*’ decision to designate part of his house as a *domus publica* dedicated to the worship of Vesta meant that his household *lararium* became ‘almost *ipso facto* a shrine of the state as well as of Augustus’ family.’<sup>83</sup> The two *Lares familiares* may thus be interpreted as another reference to the house that formed the nexus of the *princeps*’ Palatine complex. Looking further afield, it is even possible that they allude to the temple of the *Lares* built by Augustus near the Palatine *in summa sacra via*.<sup>84</sup> This interpretation expands our topographical reading well beyond the southwest corner of the hill. Nevertheless, it is worthy of consideration, especially in

---

<sup>81</sup> See Rose (2005: 47, n. 149) on the use of the trophy’s Parthian helmet to pinpoint the geographical locus of Gaius’ campaign.

<sup>82</sup> Augustus, *RG* 34. For the place of the *clipeus virtutis* in Augustan ideology see Galinsky 1996: 80-90.

<sup>83</sup> Ryberg 1955: 53. See also Galinsky 1996: 301.

<sup>84</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.24; Suetonius, *Aug.* 57. Little is known of the temple, but its location is thought to have been near the site of the later Arch of Titus.

light of the suggestion that this temple was connected to the cult of the *Lares Compitales*, making it well suited to symbolic inclusion on the Vicus Sandaliarius altar.<sup>85</sup>

From what we have seen it is obvious that the *vicomagistri* responsible for the Vicus Sandaliarius altar succeeded in honouring the *princeps* and his family in several important ways. As an offering to the *Lares Augusti* and to the *Genius Augusti*, the altar celebrated and enhanced Augustus' status as *pater patriae* and *pontifex maximus*. As a dynastic monument with specific military associations, it honoured the Julian *gens* as the preservers and protectors of the state. Finally, as an allusion to the topography of the Palatine, the altar confirmed and exalted the *princeps*' status as the recipient of support and approval from the tutelary deities amongst whom he lived. That Apollo, the most important of these divine patrons, received no mention on the altar may not have escaped Augustus' notice. As part of the new movement towards religious inclusivism, the *princeps* interacted vigorously with the *plebs urbana*. Thus as the *vicomagistri* and their associates honoured Augustus with dedications, so the emperor reciprocated with the donation of cult images to shrines in Rome's *vici*. Suetonius records that money given by the *ordines* as a New Year's gift to the *princeps* was used by its recipient 'to purchase the most expensive images of the gods and set them up in the various districts of the city.'<sup>86</sup> The biographer names two such images, a Jupiter Tragoedus and an Apollo Sandaliarius. Nothing else is known of the Apollo statue, but it is logical to assume that it was placed near the shrine of the *Lares* at the *compitum* of the Vicus Sandaliarius, and thus stood in close proximity to this altar. It is unlikely that we will ever know the exact relationship of the two monuments. Nonetheless, it is tempting to speculate that the altar and the statue reveal that the programme of topographic allusions to the Palatine, while instigated by the *princeps*, was fostered in an atmosphere of dynamic reciprocity between the emperor and the people of Rome.

---

<sup>85</sup> For a bibliography and discussion of the temple's connection to either the *Lares Compitales* or the *Lares Praestites* see Rodriguez 1989: 57-59.

<sup>86</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 57.1 (trans. Zanker 1998: 132). The statue is also listed in *Notit. Reg.* IV.

## CHAPTER 7

## THE SORRENTO BASE

---

In previous chapters we have seen ample evidence that the geographic links between the Magna Mater's temple and the *princeps*' Palatine residence became an adaptable topos in the visual language of Augustan Rome. Its most profound expression was naturally on the Palatine itself, where Augustus systematically incorporated the newly reconstructed and venerable metroön into the legends and environs of the imperial precinct. The *princeps* then presented his message to the people of Rome by manipulating monuments in the Circus Maximus, thereby ensuring that the arena's thousands of visitors were constantly reminded of the close association between their first citizen and his tutelary goddess. Evidently this point was well made, for we find its reflection in monuments from the extremes of Roman society: the Gemma Augustea proving that the city's elite were receptive to the ties binding the *princeps* to the Magna Mater, and the altar from the Vicus Sandaliarius illustrating that these connections were simultaneously understood and utilised by sections of the *plebs urbana*.

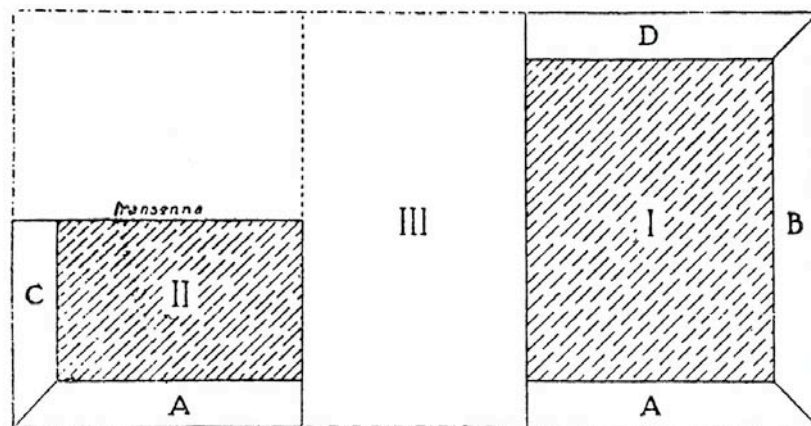
Residents of the imperial capital, it seems, were ideally placed and well conditioned to appreciate allusions to the Magna Mater's temple and its illustrious neighbour when they saw them.<sup>1</sup> The existence of a monument outside Rome, bearing the now familiar Palatine imagery, would demonstrate both the resonance of the metroön/*domus* topos and the assiduity with which Augustus put it to use. A fragmentary base found in Sorrento and dated to the Augustan period on the basis of style and iconography constitutes just such a work (figs. 79-85).<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, 133, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Sorrento, Correale Museum, inv. no. 76. The original context of the monument is unknown, but it is useful to note that Augustus is believed to have maintained a large estate at Surrentum (see D'Arms 1970: 75-76). For the few details of the base's provenance that are available see Rizzo 1932: 10-11. Vermaseren (CCCA IV: no. 76) notes claims by Onofrio Gargiulli that the work was found 'nel luogo

Today the so-called Sorrento base consists of two blocks of Luni marble that together preserve approximately half of the original rectangular monument (ill. 18: I, II).<sup>3</sup> Thought to have been either an altar for the cult of Augustus, or more likely, a pedestal for statues of the imperial family,<sup>4</sup> the Sorrento base was decorated in relief on all four sides, only one of which, the short side conventionally labelled B, remains intact. Both long sides, A and D, are truncated by the loss of the central section of the base (III), with side D suffering the greatest lacunae due to the loss of half of the end block (II); this also means that only half of the short side C is preserved. All four sides are considerably abraded, making the identification of a number of the base's relief figures speculative at best.



Ill. 18. Schematic plan of the Sorrento base (after Rizzo 1932: fig. 1).

detto la Nunziata' at Sorrento (*Memorie della R. Accademia Ercolanenze* I, 1822: 319f.); according to Capasso (1846: 48) and Fasulo (1906: 456, 477, nos. 75-6) the chiesa dell'Annunziata may have been the site of a temple of Cybele (*contra* Peterson 1919: 314-15). On the dating of the base see in particular, Rizzo 1932: 104-7. There is general agreement that the monument is from the Principate in the years after 12 BCE. Logic dictates, however, that the reference to the Palatine metroön's reconstruction on side D provides a *terminus post quem* of 3 CE (*contra* Degrassi 1966/67: 114; Guarducci 1971: 114).

<sup>3</sup> Dimensions: height 1.18m, max width 1.93m, max. depth 1.20m, height of figural frieze 0.76m. According to Tran Tam Tinh (1972: 122) the base was sawn in two for use as decorative elements in a medieval church. Later, the blocks were apparently reused as components in a wall.

<sup>4</sup> Zanker's (1988: 241) tentative identification of the Sorrento base as an altar sets him apart from the majority of scholars who see the monument as a base either for a single statue of Augustus or a member of the imperial family (Petersen 1902: 69; Graillet 1912: 112; Peterson 1919: 314) or a group of three statues, including that of Augustus (Rizzo 1932: 103; Colini et al. 1958: 475; Guarducci 1971: 94; Roller 1999: 310).



Despite its fragmentary condition, enough remains of the Sorrento base to have made it the focus of scholarly activity for over a century.<sup>5</sup> At the root of this interest lies the relief sculpture that decorates the work and commemorates some of the *princeps'* most celebrated architectural and religious accomplishments. Significantly, the Magna Mater is shown amidst, and as the equal, of deities long known to have been accorded close ties to Augustus, notably Vesta, Mars Ultor and Apollo.

The Magna Mater is represented on the side of the Sorrento base commonly designated D, meaning that two-thirds of the scene in which she appeared has been lost (figs. 79-80).<sup>6</sup> Although the representation of the goddess herself is only partially preserved, enough remains to render a positive identification.<sup>7</sup> Here the Magna Mater is depicted in familiar fashion: seated on an elaborately decorated high-backed throne, in three-quarter view facing right, with her right arm resting on a *tympanum* emblazoned with a gorgoneion.<sup>8</sup> She wears a sleeveless *chiton*, girt beneath her breasts by a belt with a Herakles knot. On her head is a mural crown with a veil that covers her back and sweeps over her thighs. Her left arm, left leg and both feet are missing and her face is worn away. At the goddess' right-hand side a lion sits on its haunches, its head turned to look up at its mistress.

---

<sup>5</sup> On the Sorrento base see e.g., Petersen 1902: 69-71; Graillot 1912: 112-13; Rizzo 1932 (with bibliography 12-15); Ryberg 1955: 49-53, fig. 26, pl XIII; Stucchi 1958: 7-23; Degrassi 1966/67: 98-116, figs. 2-6; Guarducci 1971: 89-118; Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 93-94, 122-24, no. C29, figs. 58-61; Vermaseren 1977: 81, pl. 59; CCCA IV: no. 76; Pollini 1978: 318-321; Simon 1986: 24; Zanker 1988: 240-41, fig. 186; Wiseman 1991: 107-109; Kleiner 1992: 88, fig. 68; Favro 1996: 205, fig. 86; Galinsky 1996: 216, fig. 123; Turcan 1996: 43; Beard et al. 1998a: 190, fig. 4.4; Roller 1999: 310-11.

<sup>6</sup> This portion of the base has also been referred to as the 'Ara di Cybele' (see Rizzo 1932: 97). The conventional assignment of the labels A, B C and D to the sides of the base, coupled with the intense scholarly interest in side A, have contributed to the perhaps erroneous impression that the Magna Mater was relegated to the back of the Sorrento base (e.g., Guarducci 1971: 94, 110). No traces remain of the monument's original orientation, or of the means by which the statue(s) it supported were affixed (Stucchi 1958: 8). If indeed the base held but one statue, e.g., a seated Augustus (Petersen 1902: 69; cf. Rizzo 101-102), then either B or C would have constituted the front of the monument. It is only for the sake of consistency that I retain these traditional classifications.

<sup>7</sup> For the identification of the figure as the Magna Mater/Cybele see Petersen 1902: 71; Graillot 1912: 112; Rizzo 1932: 92-95; Ryberg 1955: 50; Stucchi 1958: 15; Degrassi 1966/67: 100; Guarducci 1971: 110; Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 94, 122-23; Vermaseren 1977: 81; CCCA IV: no. 76; Pollini 1978: 320; Wiseman 1991: 107; Kleiner 1992: 88; Favro 1996: 205; Simon 1997: 764, no. 130; Roller 1999: 310-11.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Capasso (1846: 48) and Fasulo (1906: 456, 477) who mistakenly claim that the goddess is represented on a wagon pulled by two lions.

Behind the Magna Mater is a dancing Corybant wearing a crested helmet, high boots and an *exomide* that swirls out behind him as he advances to the right. In his upraised left hand he holds a round shield decorated with leafy branches and two birds; his right arm and hand are lost but the *balteus* of the sword he probably carried remains visible on his right shoulder. At the far left of the scene is a badly worn female figure standing facing right, wearing a *peplos* with an *apoptygma*, who is thought by some to have held a now unidentifiable object against her left shoulder. She in fact seems to raise her left hand to her veil in an act of *anakalypsis*, the gesture common in Greek art that recent findings suggest had less to do with the act of unveiling than with the display of a female's *aidos*, or in this case, *pudicitia* (fig. 81).<sup>9</sup> Her right arm is bent at the elbow; her right hand and the object it may once have held (possibly just her drapery) are now indistinct. The poor condition of the figure and the absence of discernible attributes have led her to be identified variously as Demeter, Demeter-Ceres, Livia, Vica Pota, Fortuna and Juno Sospita.<sup>10</sup> An alternative interpretation, that the figure represents the metroön's famed statue of Claudia Quinta, will be considered below.

The other extant reliefs from the Sorrento base confirm that the setting of the Magna Mater scene is the Palatine metroön. Almost without exception, scholars have recognised that sides A, B and C either depict or allude to the house of Augustus and to the temple of Apollo, the metroön's neighbours.<sup>11</sup> Of these, side A has provoked the most comment due to its subject: the establishment of the cult of Vesta within the *princeps*' Palatine residence on 28 April, 12 BCE (fig. 82).<sup>12</sup> Here at the left, five Vestals process solemnly to the right, each heavily draped in a *chiton*, mantle and

---

<sup>9</sup> L. Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Swansea, 2003) 104; see Millender 2004. Others to interpret the figure as displaying the traditional hand-to-veil gesture of modesty include Guarducci (1971: 110-111) and Simon (1997: 764, no. 130).

<sup>10</sup> Colini et al. 1958: 476 (Demeter); Rizzo 1932: 98-99 (Demeter-Ceres holding a torch); Ryberg 1955: 52, n. 15 (Livia); Stucchi 1958: 20 (Vica Pota holding an oar/rudder); Degrassi 1966-67: 114 (*Fortuna huiusce diei* or *Fortuna Respiciens* holding a rudder); Guarducci 1971: 110-12, Roller 1999: 311 (Juno Sospita); Simon 1997: 764, no. 130 (Ceres).

<sup>11</sup> Notable for their dissent have been Degrassi (1955) and Stucchi (1958).

<sup>12</sup> On this event see *Fasti Caeretani* (April 28) = *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 213; *Fasti Praenestini* (April 28) = *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 236; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.949-54, *Met.* 15.864-65.

*suffibulum*. The priestesses appear against a curtain that suggests an interior setting; above this the upper elements of an Ionic portico are visible.<sup>13</sup>

The sixth Vestal Virgin appears at the far left of the remaining (right-hand) section of side A; the cloth that she wears drawn around her face in the manner of a *suffibulum* confirms her identity.<sup>14</sup> She faces left, her head turned away from the figure at her side. This is Vesta, who is seated on an elaborate high-backed throne with her feet on a footstool. The goddess appears larger in scale than surrounding figures, and wears a *chiton* and a *himation* that is drawn up as a veil, falls down her back and drapes over her legs; her right hand is extended and holds a *patera*, her left hand may have held a long sceptre.<sup>15</sup> A final veiled figure, which closely resembles the female on the extreme left of side D, stands behind Vesta's throne facing left (fig. 83). Like her enigmatic counterpart, she wears a *peplos* with an *apoptygma*; she also raises one hand, in this case her right, to her veil in a far clearer display of *anakalypsis*. Here also, the deterioration of the relief and the figure's lack of attributes have invited multiple interpretations, the most likely being the empress Livia, which will be discussed below.<sup>16</sup>

The curtain that formed the backdrop of the Vestal relief continues behind the goddess and her attendants. Beyond this, statues of a bull and a ram stand on high pedestals flanking the upper part of a round temple containing a statue of Athena. These are the *aedes Vestae* and the Palladium in the Forum Romanum, whose inclusion served to remind viewers that the cult's traditional nexus had now been joined by a new *locus* of worship: the imperial *domus* on the Palatine.<sup>17</sup> Logic

---

<sup>13</sup> See Ryberg 1955: 49, n. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Ryberg 1955: 52; Pollini 1978: 370, n. 228; Fischer-Hansen 1990: 415, no. 25. The figure's partially preserved state, however, has led to alternative interpretations as Libera (Rizzo: 1932: 46-48; Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 123); Juturna (Stucchi 1958: 18); Flora (Guarducci 1971: 106-8) and an unidentified goddess (Wiseman 1991: 107; Beard et al. 1998a: 190).

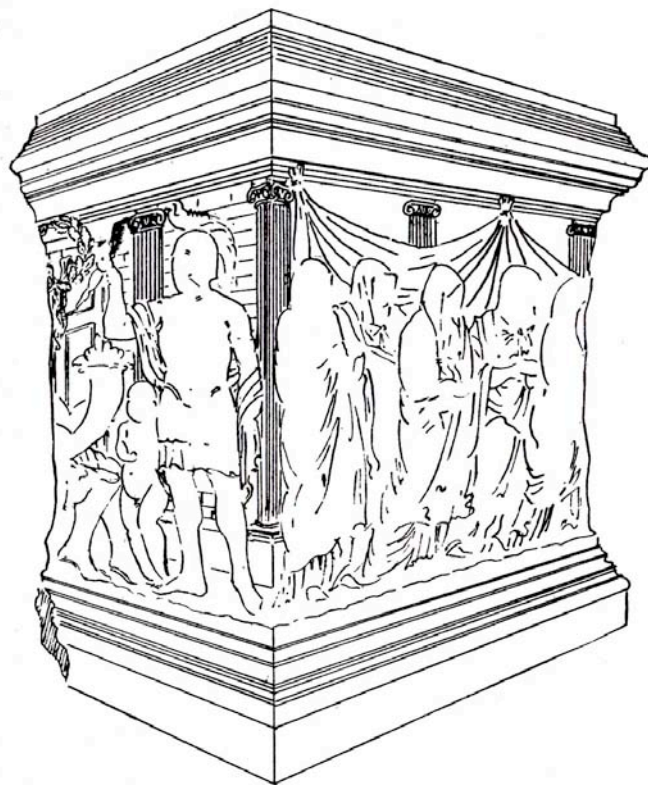
<sup>15</sup> Rizzo 1932: 39; Fischer-Hansen 1990: 415, no. 25. Scholars are largely in agreement on the figure's identification as Vesta; see also Petersen 1902: 70; Graillot 1912: 112; Ryberg 1955: 51-52; Stucchi 1958: 15-18; Degrassi 1966/67: 100; Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 123; Wiseman 1991: 107; Favro 1996: 205; Beard et al. 1998a: 190. Richmond (1910: 44) interprets the figure as Livia in the guise of Vesta, while Guarducci (1971: 95-96) and Pollini (1978: 319) regard the figure as a statue of Vesta.

<sup>16</sup> Ryberg 1955: 52, n. 15; Fischer-Hansen 1990: 415, no. 25. Cf. Rizzo: 1932: 46-48, Guarducci 1971: 105-6, Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 123 (Ceres); Stucchi 1958: 18-19 (Juno Iuga); Wiseman 1991: 107, Beard et al, 1998a: 190 (unidentified goddess).

<sup>17</sup> Much has been written on the exact nature of Vesta's Palatine cult, with modern commentators divided as to the existence of an *aedicula* independent of, but proximate to the *princeps'* house. Their

dictates that Augustus would have been present at the momentous event taking place in his residence. For this reason, the *princeps* as *pontifex maximus*, and the altar that he dedicated to Vesta are generally thought to have occupied the missing central section of side A.<sup>18</sup>

Here, the Sorrento base provides a rare glimpse into the *princeps*' home. The setting is verified by the merging of side A's Ionic portico with the colonnade that adorns the façade of Augustus' house on the adjacent side C (ill. 19).



Ill. 19. Sketch of side C and part of side A of the Sorrento base (after Stucchi 1958: fig. 2).

---

arguments need not be repeated here, but see Guarducci 1971: 89ff., Scott: 1982: 458-59 and Fantham 1998: 275-76 for summaries of evidence and scholarship.

<sup>18</sup> A similar relief in Palermo (Museo Nazionale, inv. 1539) showing a togate *pontifex maximus* standing before an enthroned Vesta and the Vestal Virgins with one hand outstretched over an altar aids in the reconstruction of the lost section. See Kolbe 1966/67: 94-104 (summarised in Guarducci 1971: 97); Ryberg 1955: 52-53, pl. XIV, fig. 27 (who suggests the *princeps* may have been shown in the act of receiving the new *signum* from the *Vestalis Maxima* on the Sorrento base); Pollini 1978: 319; Fischer-Hansen 1990: 417, no. 42, 419; Wiseman 1991: 107; Beard et al. 1998a: 190.

Clearly, the artist's intent was to convey the impression that the two structures were one and the same;<sup>19</sup> as well as sharing a corner column, both colonnades boast identical decorative and architectural detailing, intercolumniations and proportions.<sup>20</sup> While the curtain on side A confirms that the Vestal scene takes place indoors, the ashlar wall that forms the backdrop of side C denotes the exterior of the structure (fig. 84). The identity of the building is made clear by the wreath held by a flying cupid over the partially preserved door at the left edge of the fragment. This, of course, is the *corona civica*, the honour that was placed above the entrance to the house of Augustus and which came to symbolise the imperial residence on coins (fig. 27) and on the Vicus Sandaliarius altar (fig. 69).<sup>21</sup>

Below the civic crown on side C are traces of a seated male facing right, wearing a short garment, possibly over a toga.<sup>22</sup> Most of this figure is lost, but the cornucopia in his left hand allows the figure to be identified as the *Genius* of Augustus.<sup>23</sup> Facing the *Genius* is the naked figure of Cupid, who reaches up with his left hand to grasp the cuirassed and helmeted figure of Mars Ultor at his side.<sup>24</sup> The god stands facing left with his mantle draped about his arms and sweeping behind him. Like the cult statue in his Forum Augustum temple, Mars is shown with his right hand raised as if to hold a spear, and with his left hand at his side, where it

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Wiseman (1991: 109, fig. 3; 1994: 158, n. 50), who suggests that the single portico enclosed both the formal entrance to Augustus' house and the Vesta temple that was situated in a *vestibulum* behind the temple of Apollo.

<sup>20</sup> See Rizzo 1932: 36-37; Stucchi 1958: 10.

<sup>21</sup> *Supra*, 129-30, 214.

<sup>22</sup> The folds of what may be either a short tunic or a mantle are clearly visible on the remains of the figure's thighs. Ryberg (1955: 50, n. 9) has suggested that the break over the right knee may have obliterated traces of a toga, and that folds over the left thigh are suggestive of a long garment; cf. Rizzo (1932: 91), who described the figure as wearing a short tunic and sandals tied up his calves.

<sup>23</sup> There is remarkable accord on this subject. See e.g., Petersen 1902: 70; Richmond 1910: 34; Graillet 1912: 112; Rizzo 1932: 91; Ryberg 1955: 50; Degrassi 1966/67: 114; Guarducci 1971: 94; Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 123; Pollini 1978: 319-20; Simon 1984b: 515-16, no. 24c; Wiseman 1991: 107; Kleiner 1992: 88; Favro 1996: 205; Beard et al. 1998a: 190; Gradel 2002: 132-35. Cf. Gagé 1955: 562; Stucchi 1958: 15-18 (*Genius Populi Romani*). On the standard iconography of the *Genius* of Augustus see Pollini 1978: 332-33; Gradel 2002: 134.

<sup>24</sup> Those to identify the figure as Mars include: Peterson 1902: 70; Richmond 1910: 34; Graillet 1912: 112; Rizzo 1932: 81-85; Ryberg 1955: 50; Degrassi 1966/67: 114; Guarducci 1971: 94; Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 123; Pollini 1978: 319; Simon 1984b: 515-16, no. 24c; Kleiner 1992: 88; Beard et al. 1998a: 190; Gradel 2002: 134. Cf. Stucchi (1958: 22), who identifies the figure as Mars, but not in his avenging guise; Wiseman (1991: 107-9) and Favro (1996: 205) remain undecided between Mars and Aeneas.

customarily supports a shield; no trace of either object remains on the Sorrento base.<sup>25</sup> Cupid's prominence in the scene has led many to speculate that Venus occupied the lost portion of side C; more specifically, it has been suggested that Cupid is shown leading Mars towards his divine lover.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, on side B, the only intact side of the base, three more deities are recognisable (fig. 85). These are Diana, Apollo and Latona, the divine triad from the Palatine temple of Apollo. More precisely, we are shown reproductions of the fourth century BCE cult statues, which Pliny tells us were installed in the Augustan temple.<sup>27</sup> The Diana by Timotheus stands at the left of the scene wearing a long, ungirt *chiton* and with a quiver across her back; she is depicted as *lucifera* with a torch in her left hand.<sup>28</sup> Skopas' Apollo *kitharodos* stands in the centre of the composition wearing a long *chiton* belted at the waist and a heavy mantle that fastens at his shoulders. The remains of a *kithara* are visible against the god's left arm; he may also have held a *patera* in his right hand.<sup>29</sup> A tall tripod cauldron appears in the background to the right of Apollo. On the other side stands the matronly statue of Latona by the younger Cephisodotus. The goddess wears a *peplos* with an *apoptygma*, a veil, and carries a sceptre in her right hand. The semi-nude figure slumped at Latona's feet with her left arm resting on an urn has been convincingly identified as the Cumaean

---

<sup>25</sup> The statue of Mars that stood in the Augustan temple of Mars Ultor has been lost, but numerous copies and reproductions of the work in sculpture and on coins and gems have enabled its appearance to be reconstructed with confidence. On the Mars Ultor type see Simon 1984b: 515-16, no. 24a-e; 530-31, nos. 231-43.

<sup>26</sup> See Petersen 1902: 70 and Rizzo 1932: 85-91. The latter cites parallels with representations of Paris and Helen, where Cupid is depicted pulling the Trojan prince toward Helen (on so-called 'Persuasion of Helen' scenes in Greek and Roman art see Kahil 1988); neither do we lack scenes in which Mars and Venus appear together in the presence of Cupid (Simon 1984b: 556ff.). The so-called Algiers Relief, depicting the statuary group of Mars Ultor, Venus Genetrix and Divus Julius that stood inside the temple of Mars Ultor is of particular interest, as it represents a Cupid, comparable to that on the Sorrento base, in the act of presenting Venus with the sword of Mars (see Simon 1984b: 515, no. 24b; Kleiner 1992: 88, 100-102, fig. 84). Others who place Venus at the left of side C include Richmond 1910: 34; Graillot: 1912: 112; Ryberg 1955: 50; Degrassi 1966/67: 114; Guarducci 1971: 94; Wiseman 1991: 109; Beard et al. 1998a: 190; Gradel 2002: 134.

<sup>27</sup> Pliny, *HN* 36.24-25, 32. A brief description of the statues is given in Propertius 2.31.15-18. See Rizzo 1932: 52-60; Degrassi 1966/67: 100; Pollini 1978: 320; Berger-Doer 1992: 267-68, no. 2; Galinsky 1996: 216; Beard et al. 1998a: 190.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Galinsky 1996: 216, who inexplicably identifies this figure as Apollo.

<sup>29</sup> The presence of a *patera* is reconstructed using numismatic evidence. See Rizzo 1932: 54-60; Kellum 1982: 74, 103 n. 117; 1985: 175.

Sibyl – an allusion to the *princeps*' installation of the Sibylline oracles in the socle of the cult statue of Apollo.<sup>30</sup>

Enough remains of the Sorrento base that we can be sure of its place in the official artistic programme of the Augustan principate. True to form, the monument displays a complex iconographic scheme from which modern commentators have elicited a multitude of meanings. Its overall import, however, is perhaps best summarised in Tran Tam Tinh's observation that here 'c'est l'histoire de la politique d'Auguste qu'on y découvre, c'est un extrait en images des *Res gestae Augusti* qu'on a sous les yeux.'<sup>31</sup> Like the autobiographical list of the *princeps*' accomplishments, the Sorrento base commemorates the realisation of Augustus' vision for Rome. In it we see his status and achievements as both politician and *pontifex maximus*; these merit our consideration, given they reiterate time and again the Magna Mater's centrality in the religious, and indeed political imagery of Augustan Rome.

First and most obviously, the Sorrento base celebrates the Palatine house of Augustus not only as the seat of the emperor, but also as the heart of Rome and the centre of the world.<sup>32</sup> The *domus* is placed firmly in its topographical context amidst deities associated with the neighbouring temples for which Augustus himself claimed credit. Clearly, the cult statues of Diana, Apollo and Latona on side B stand in for the magnificent Palatine temple of Apollo, dedicated by Octavian on 9 October 28 BCE. Whether the Magna Mater on side D reproduces the cult statue in the nearby Augustan metroön is less certain, but the presence of at least one Corybant in an attitude reminiscent of the extant akroterion on the Valle-Medici relief, indicates that allusions to the temple's sculptural programme were intended.<sup>33</sup> For this reason the

---

<sup>30</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 31.3; Cassius Dio 54.17; Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.12. See Graillet 1912: 112; Rizzo 1932: 71-77; Ryberg 1955: 51, n. 11; Guarducci 1971: 94, n. 83; Simon 1984a: 417, no. 404, 1986: 24; Zanker 1988: 241, fig. 186; McKay 1992: 162, no. 7; Caccamo Caltabiano 1994: 756, no. 29. Cf. Stucchi 1958: 20 (Egeria).

<sup>31</sup> Tran Tam Tinh 1972: 94.

<sup>32</sup> Degrassi 1966/67: 116 '...come sede dell'imperatore, il cuore di Roma e quindi il centro del mondo.'

<sup>33</sup> No detailed depiction of the cult statue that stood in the Augustan metroön can be identified. If, however, the so-called Haterii Relief (*supra*, 68, n. 41) indeed refers to the Palatine temple, then the statue shown at the top of a flight of stairs (perhaps the *Scalae Caci*) may represent this work. Here, as on the Sorrento base, the goddess is shown enthroned with her right hand resting on a tympanum and with lions at her side; stylistically, however, the two works have little in common. Rizzo (1932: 94-95) did not doubt the image on the Sorrento base represented the cult statue, a variant of the fifth-century work by Agorakritos, which he supposed had been made for the temple in the Augustan period and

ambiguous female shown accompanying the Magna Mater and the Corybant is best identified as Claudia Quinta or, more correctly, as the revered statue of the illustrious matron that stood in the pronaos of the metroön.<sup>34</sup> Certainly, there is nothing in the appearance of the figure to contradict this hypothesis – her voluminous drapery and veil are entirely consistent with representations of respectable *matronae*, as is her apparent hand-to-veil display of modesty. Nor should the possibility that this figure held an object other than her veil prove problematic. In their analyses of this scene, Sandro Stucchi and Nevio Degrassi proposed that the figure carried a rudder in her left hand.<sup>35</sup> While the scholars' subsequent identifications of the figure as either Vica Pota or Fortuna are incongruous in the context of the Palatine metroön, the association of Claudia Quinta with a rudder is entirely plausible, given that the matron's renown arose from her connection to the *Navisalvia*. The Altar of Claudia Syntyche, on which the dedicant's ancestress is shown liberating the Magna Mater's ship from the bank of the Tiber, clearly illustrates the rudder's potential as an attribute of Claudia Quinta (fig. 15).

Exactly how the remainder of side D once amplified the Palatine setting of the Sorrento base is uncertain. It has been suggested that the lost portions of the frieze mirrored the Vesta scene on side A, and depicted cult personnel performing a sacred rite in honour of the Magna Mater against the backdrop of her newly rebuilt Augustan temple.<sup>36</sup> If true, this would reinforce the goddess' status as one of the pre-eminent deities in the Augustan pantheon, given that her prominence on the monument would have surpassed even that of the *princeps'* beloved Apollo Palatinus. However, we have already noted the unlikelihood that the Magna Mater's *galli* were included on the pediment of the Palatine metroön.<sup>37</sup> That the flamboyant foreign priests would have been included on the Sorrento base, particularly in direct correlation to Rome's

---

which can be recognised in coin types from the Hadrianic period onwards. Cf. Bieber (1969: 40) for arguments against the veneration of anything but the famed black stone within the metroön.

<sup>34</sup> For the identification of the figure as the actual Claudia see Graillet 1912: 112. The miraculous survival of the statue of Claudia Quinta during the fires that plagued the temple of the Magna Mater is discussed *supra*, 25, 81.

<sup>35</sup> Stucchi 1958: 20; Degrassi 1966/67: 114.

<sup>36</sup> Rizzo 1932: 99-100.

<sup>37</sup> *Supra*, 64-65, 92-96.



decorous Vestal Virgins, seems highly improbable. Moreover, the absence of architectural features behind the Magna Mater and her companions, compared with those behind Vesta, belies the idea that the compositions of sides A and D were analogous.<sup>38</sup>

One can, however, restore the lacunae immediately to the right of the Magna Mater with some degree of confidence. A second lion, for example, almost certainly flanked the goddess' throne. Likewise, comparable scenes on the Ara Capitolina and Campana reliefs illustrating episodes from the life of Jupiter suggest the presence of at least one further Corybant (figs. 64, 66).<sup>39</sup> In this way the clamorous dancers would correspond to their akroterial counterparts on the roofline of the Palatine metroön.<sup>40</sup> What occupied the balance of side D remains speculative, but if one thing has become clear from our investigation it is that, like the Magna Mater, Victoria constituted an intrinsic part of the visual language of the Augustan Palatine. Accordingly, it is easy to imagine an allusion to the Temple of Victoria on the Sorrento base. This would be particularly appropriate next to symbols of the metroön, given the actual proximity of the two structures, their long-standing connections and the fact that both had been substantially restored by the *princeps*, perhaps even after the same fire in 3 CE.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> On this point see Guarducci (1971: 112-13). For Stucchi (1958: 9), who unconvincingly identified the context of the reliefs as the Forum Romanum, the solution to the dilemma of the missing architectural features on sides B and D was simple: the Sorrento base is unfinished. As evidence he cites the supposedly rough surface of the two sides, the suggestion of preliminary sketches around the figure of the Magna Mater, and the wide undecorated area between the heads of the figures and the lowest listel of the base's cornice, a space equal to that above the heads of Mars and Vesta.

<sup>39</sup> Rizzo (1932: 95-98) discusses the possibility that Campana plaques provided the prototype for this section on the base. Others to reconstruct another Corybant in the lost portion of side D include Petersen (1902: 70); Guarducci (1971: 112) and Simon (1997: 764, no. 130).

<sup>40</sup> With no place in the metroön's sculptural programme, and at best only unofficial status in the Augustan cult of the Magna Mater, Attis, on the other hand, would seem an unlikely candidate for inclusion (cf. Guarducci 1971: 112). On Attis during the Augustan principate, *supra* 96-101.

<sup>41</sup> Claridge 1998: 126; Cecamore 2002: 114; Haselberger et al. 2002: 266, s.v. 'Victoria, Aedes (Palatium)'. Those who place Victoria on the Sorrento base include Degrassi (1966/67: 114); Wiseman (1991: 107, with Romulus) and Simon (1997: 764, no. 130). Also worthy of consideration is Guarducci's suggestion (1971: 113-14) that the Lupercal was represented on side D, given the grotto's location at the southwest corner of the hill and Augustus' claim to have built the venerable shrine (*RG* 19). However, it is relatively easy to set aside arguments in favour of Jupiter Victor, Propugnator or Stator (Degrassi 1966/67: 114), as archaeological investigations have failed to place these deities near Augustus' Palatine *domus*.

In showing the imperial residence symbolically encircled by the Palatine's most famed temples, all of which owed their very existence to the beneficence of the *princeps*, the Sorrento base celebrates Augustus as Rome's pre-eminent temple-builder.<sup>42</sup> No monument of this kind would be complete without reference to the renowned temple of Mars Ultor, vowed by Octavian in 42 at the battle of Philippi and finally inaugurated on 12 May, 2 BCE.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, on side C of the base the cult statue from the Mars temple is shown removed from its location in the Forum Augustum and placed before the *princeps*' home.<sup>44</sup> Clearly, those who viewed the figure were encouraged to recall the structure that would soon be described as one of the most beautiful buildings in the world.<sup>45</sup> It was equally important that they recognised to whom they owed the monument, for apparently even Mars himself found his temple greater when he looked upon it and read the name Augustus.<sup>46</sup>

The Sorrento base, then, presents us with visual confirmation that the Palatine metroön was among the select group of temples forming the heart of Augustus' programme of religious renewal through *publica magnificentia*. Already we have seen as much implied by the *princeps* himself when he named the structure in the *Res Gestae*.<sup>47</sup> In both works, the Magna Mater's inclusion in the same exclusive context as the temples of Apollo and Mars Ultor attests the metroön's ability to reflect advantageously on its patron. It may not have possessed the grand scale, lavish decoration or ancillary buildings that characterised its more ostentatious counterparts, yet the symbolic value of the Magna Mater's temple was no less profound. As we have seen, the very things that set the metroön apart from Augustus' new foundations ensured its suitability for inclusion on the base. The temple was a venerable structure whose traditional façade had been recreated and maintained almost certainly at

---

<sup>42</sup> On this topic see Zanker 1988: 102-10; Beard et al. 1998a: 196-201.

<sup>43</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 29.2; Ovid, *Fasti* 5.569-78 (vow); Cassius Dio 55.10.1-8, 60.5.3; Velleius Paterculus 2.100.2 (inauguration).

<sup>44</sup> Favro (1996: 204-6), no doubt correctly, also interprets Mars as a deliberate allusion to the cognate relationship of the Forum Augustum and the Palatine, Augustan Rome's two most important urban nodes.

<sup>45</sup> Pliny, *HN* 36.102.

<sup>46</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 5.567-68: *...spectat et Augusto praetextum nomine templum / et visum lecto Caesare maius opus.*

<sup>47</sup> *Supra*, 8-9.

considerable expense to the *princeps*. Accordingly, it stood as a testament not only to Augustus' personal sense of *religio*, but also to his fidelity to Rome's architectural *mos maiorum*. The reconstruction of the historic Republican metroön clearly proclaimed Augustus as *restitutor rei publicae*. The proximity, both in reality and in our reliefs of the temple and the *princeps*' house (the latter adorned with the *corona civica*, a reward for the selfsame restoration), must have further cemented the intimate and obvious ties between the two structures.

On a purely practical level, the metroön's long-standing association with the Palatine made it, and of course the Magna Mater herself, ideal tools with which the artist could establish the iconographic setting of the Sorrento base. Clearly, the work was intended to celebrate the Palatine as a major locus of Roman religion, and more particularly, the ways in which Augustus reprogrammed the environs of his residence to achieve this end. The introduction of the cult of Vesta chronicled on side A provides the most obvious example of this phenomenon. Previously, the *pontifex maximus* was obliged to live in an official house adjacent to the Vestal precinct in the Forum Romanum. It is testament to the high value Augustus placed on his Palatine residence that he found ways to circumvent this requirement, first by declaring part of his house a *domus publica* then, just two months after becoming *pontifex maximus*, by establishing a shrine to Vesta within.<sup>48</sup> As Ovid noted, 'Vesta has been received into the house of her kinsman...Apollo has part of the house; another part has been given up to Vesta; what remains is occupied by Augustus himself...A single house holds three eternal gods.'<sup>49</sup> Vesta's public cult may have remained in the Forum, but the impact of the *princeps*' actions were nevertheless profound, redefining as they did both the office of *pontifex maximus* and the nature of an imperial residence.<sup>50</sup> Henceforth the emperor, as chief priest, was also the *sacerdos Vestae*,<sup>51</sup> a role for which Augustus was ideally suited as the descendant both of Aeneas, who brought the goddess' sacred fire from Troy to Latium, and of Romulus, who introduced the cult of

---

<sup>48</sup> On the declaration of the *princeps*' residence as public property see Cassius Dio 54.27.3; 55.12.4-5.

<sup>49</sup> *Fasti*, 4.949-54 (trans. Beard et al. 1998a: 191).

<sup>50</sup> See Ryberg 1955: 51 and Beard et al. 1998a: 189-91 for further discussion.

<sup>51</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 3.699, 5.573, *Met.* 15.778; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 2.66.

Vesta to Rome.<sup>52</sup> More significantly, the public hearth of the Roman people, with its inherent links to the success of the state, was joined to the private hearth of the emperor. Both Augustus and his Palatine residence were now presented as a microcosm of the Roman state, with the fortunes of all inextricably intertwined.

The extent to which the *princeps*' reforms made the Palatine a focal point of Augustan religion is underscored on sides B and C of the Sorrento base. In the latter, the *Genius Augusti* is shown seated outside the imperial *domus* in an obvious reference to the worship of the spirit of the living emperor. As discussed above, this practice formed an intrinsic part of the cult of the *Lares Augusti*, which the *princeps* had introduced in 7 BCE, and which had prompted the installation of many images of Augustus' *genius* in shrines at Rome's *compita*.<sup>53</sup> While the *princeps* thus became part of a religious network that spanned the city, Augustus' house remained the spiritual focus of the cult. Recent scholarship has suggested that the designation of the imperial residence as a *domus publica* did not mean, as has been thought, that Augustus' household deities became part of the Palatine's new state cult.<sup>54</sup> The relief on the Sorrento base, however, makes it clear that while the *princeps* was content to refuse divine honours in official Roman worship, as *pater patriae* and the state's *paterfamilias*, he was happy to encourage perceptions of his Palatine house as the residence of Rome's ultimate protecting spirit.<sup>55</sup>

While questions remain about the public dimension of Augustus' household cults, there is little doubt that Apollo, who appears on side B of the Sorrento base, enjoyed pride of place in Rome's official pantheon. Here again, it is easy to detect the hand of Augustus the religious reformer at work. Before the Battle of Philippi, Apollo had been primarily a god of healing and of the Sibylline oracles; beyond this he had no particular prominence, and his only temple was that of Apollo *Medicus* near

---

<sup>52</sup> Contemporary writers to touch on the close relationship between Augustus' forebears and Vesta include: Virgil, *Aen.* 2.296, 567; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.527-28, 3.29, 423-6, 6.227, *Met.* 15.730-31; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 2.65.2 (Aeneas); Plutarch, *Rom.* 22 (Romulus); (references given in Beard et al. 1998a : 189-90, n. 77).

<sup>53</sup> *Supra*, 200-201.

<sup>54</sup> See Taylor 1931: 183ff.; Ryberg 1955: 50-51; Liebeschuetz 1979: 70; *contra*: Gradel 2002: 115-16, 132-35, who considers, but ultimately abandons the Sorrento base as evidence that Augustus toyed with the idea of formal state worship of his *Genius*.

<sup>55</sup> On the *Genius Augusti* as the preserver and protector of the Roman state see Zanker 1988: 129.

the Circus Flaminius. Conversely, by the end of the Augustan period Apollo had been transformed into the great god of the Roman state. Lauded as an ancestral deity of the imperial family and even rumoured to be Augustus' sire,<sup>56</sup> the *princeps* credited the god with his great military victories and with inaugurating the *saeculum aureum*. Apollo's reward, besides that of a reinvigorated cult of unprecedented popularity, was primacy in the visual language of Augustan Rome.

Side B of the Sorrento base recognises both Apollo's centrality in Augustan state religion and the extent to which the *princeps* was responsible for the god's newly enhanced status. This was accomplished through reference to Apollo's new temple, the focal monument of the god's cult, his imagery and his connection to Augustus. Crucially, the temple also stood at the heart of the Augustan Palatine and because it is not the temple itself that we see, but the cult statues of the Apolline triad, the artist had yet another opportunity to reiterate the significance of this location. Prior to 12 BCE, the famed Sibylline Books had been kept in the Capitoline's temple of Jupiter. On becoming *pontifex maximus*, Augustus had the books removed to the Palatine, deposited in two gilded cases, and set under the pedestal of the cult statue of Apollo.<sup>57</sup> This act is recalled on the base by the slumped figure of the Cumaean Sibyl at the feet of her god.

In only a few significant acts as *pontifex maximus*, Augustus thus declared his intention to promote the Palatine as the epicentre of Roman religion. While the installation of Vesta in the imperial residence, and the *princeps*' rejection of the conventional *Domus Publica* by no means brought the goddess' traditional cult to an end, attention now shifted to the Palatine at the expense of the Forum Romanum. In much the same way, Augustus' practice of conducting matters of state in his home lessened the importance of the Forum as the centre of the city's bureaucracy. By transferring the Sibylline Books from the Capitoline to the Palatine, the *princeps* made his preferences clear. For centuries the Capitol had primacy among Rome's hills as the site of the ancient and venerable temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Now, however, the Palatine had the new home of Rome's oracular books, the imposing and magnificent temple of Apollo, built on a site reputedly chosen by the

---

<sup>56</sup> Cassius Dio 45.1.2; Suetonius, *Aug.* 94.4.

<sup>57</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 31.1.

god himself, and able to boast intimate links to the imperial *domus* – itself destined for reverence as the home of the *Genius Augusti*.

Clearly, the Sorrento base is much more than a simple commemoration of Augustan architectural projects. It is an artistic summation of the *princeps*' most personal religious reforms, and to appreciate fully the appearance of the Magna Mater on side D it is necessary to assess the goddess with this in mind. As an allusion to the Augustan metroön, the figure of the Magna Mater contextualised Augustus' house and its Vestal shrine in their illustrious Palatine precinct. As a long-term resident of the hill the goddess has even been interpreted as welcoming the newcomers Vesta and the *Genius Augusti* to the site.<sup>58</sup> The evidence examined thus far, however, suggests that the Magna Mater's place in the Augustan pantheon was predicated on much more than the advantageous location of her temple. Indeed, the reconstructed metroön was simply the most visible manifestation of the *princeps*' more comprehensive policy to reinvent the Magna Mater as Rome's national goddess. The realisation of this plan, I contend, constituted another of Augustus' great achievements as *pontifex maximus*; accordingly it became an event worthy of celebration on the Sorrento base.

Without labouring points made at length elsewhere, it is clear that the Magna Mater is presented on side D as one of Augustus' intimate tutelary gods. She appears in the company of, and equal in status to three of the deities with whom the *princeps* most closely associated himself: Apollo, the bringer of victory at Actium and now guarantor of peace and patron of the Golden Age; Mars Ultor, divine instrument of Augustus' vengeance against Caesar's assassins and the Parthians; and Vesta, the very hearth of Rome and new resident in the imperial *domus*. Provided that conventional reconstructions of side C are correct, we can add Venus, ancestress of the Roman people and genetrix of the Julian *gens*, to this catalogue of divine patrons.

As the Trojan goddess whom Virgil and Ovid had placed firmly at the forefront of Rome's greatness, the Magna Mater had more than earned her place among the protective deities on the Sorrento base. In fact, it is no overstatement to say that here we are presented with the visual equivalent of Augustan literature's rehabilitation of the goddess. Before the principate, the attitudes of Roman writers to the Magna Mater had tended to be either ambivalent or openly hostile, often

---

<sup>58</sup> Ryberg 1955: 50-51 (*Genius Augusti*); Guarducci 1971: 116 (Vesta). An analogous image might be the relief in the Villa Albani (inv. no. 1014), ca. 30 BCE, which depicts Victoria welcoming the Apolline triad onto the Palatine. See Zanker 1988: 63-64, fig. 50; Galinsky 1996: 216, fig. 122.

emphasising the apparently un-Roman aspects of her cult.<sup>59</sup> It is possible to trace the first, albeit sceptical efforts to reconcile the goddess with Roman custom to the writings of Lucretius in the mid first century BCE.<sup>60</sup> Only under the *princeps*' influence, however, was the Magna Mater consistently and concertedly portrayed as a beneficent state deity, responsible for the protection not just of Augustus and his family as the direct descendants of Aeneas, but of Rome and its people. Thus Livy, for example, stresses the goddess' long-standing involvement in the city's successful military endeavours.<sup>61</sup> Likewise, Ovid, in his aetiological poetry, presents a nationalistic Magna Mater whose worship, with its emphasis on *pietas* and *castitas*, was entirely suited to integration into formal religious practice.<sup>62</sup> Above all, as we have seen, Virgil's *Aeneid* established the Magna Mater's place in the revitalised Augustan pantheon by according her a pivotal role in the salvation of the Aeneadae and thus in the foundation of Rome.<sup>63</sup>

It is entirely in keeping with the comprehensive character of Augustan propaganda that these themes were as applicable in the plastic arts as they were in the work of contemporary poets and historians. The Sorrento base is an excellent case in point. Here, for example, parallels are drawn between the Magna Mater and Vesta, who not only appear directly opposite one another but also share a similar iconographic type (figs. 80, 82). Both goddesses are depicted enthroned, veiled and heavily mantled, and while the Magna Mater's left arm and hand are lost, it is highly probable that, like Vesta, she once held out a *patera* in a gesture of libation.<sup>64</sup> Such correspondence may perhaps have prompted viewers to contemplate what else the deities had in common. Obviously, the goddesses' patronage of Augustus and

---

<sup>59</sup> See e.g., Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 2.19.3-5; Cicero, *Har. resp.* 12.24; Catullus 63; Varro, *Men.* 131f (Bücheler); Philodemus, *Anth. Pal.* 7.222. A summary of late Republican and early Imperial writers who discuss the cult is given in Wiseman 1984 and Roller 1999: 292-309.

<sup>60</sup> Lucretius 2.594-660. For the interpretation of the rites Lucretius describes as being wholly Roman see Summers 1996.

<sup>61</sup> Livy 29.10.5-6; 38.18.9-10. *Supra*, 116-17.

<sup>62</sup> *Fasti* 4.179-372. On this topic see Littlewood 1981.

<sup>63</sup> E.g., *Aen.* 2.693-97, 788; 3.104-14; 6.784-87; 7.139; 9.77-122; 10.156-58, 251-55. *Supra*, 120-23.

<sup>64</sup> The iconographic correspondence between images of Vesta and the Magna Mater has long been noted. See in particular: Lambrechts 1952b: 253, figs. 2-5, for a comparison of later coin types, and Fischer-Hansen 1990: 419, for sculptural parallels from the fourth and third centuries BCE.

guardianship of Rome were implicit. However, equally significant was the fact that for both deities, the origins of these duties were traced back to Troy, where the Magna Mater's intervention had enabled Aeneas to escape to Latium carrying not just the Palladium and the Penates, but also Vesta and her sacred flame.<sup>65</sup> No doubt the Forum Romanum *tholos*, in which these revered objects were housed, and the statue of Pallas Athena that appear in the background on side A, allude to these momentous events. Now of course, under Augustus, the Palladium and sacred flame were considered the *pignora imperii Romani*, the talismans which protected Rome and guaranteed its future success. By placing the Magna Mater in direct correlation to Vesta, the designer of the Sorrento base ensured that the goddess' place in this process would not be forgotten.<sup>66</sup>

An intrinsic part of Rome's glorious destiny was her military might. The Magna Mater had made important contributions to this, and thus she appears alongside Apollo and Mars Ultor, the two deities deemed most responsible for establishing the *imperium Augustum*. Apollo is shown on the base as *kitharodos*, and Mars may even be in the act of disarming,<sup>67</sup> but these iconographic choices clearly allude to the subsequent *pax Augusta*, and need not have caused viewers to disregard their debt to the gods as bringers of victory. Indeed, the favourable conditions prevailing at the time surely emphasised the significance of Philippi, Naulochus and Actium. On one level the Sorrento base seems designed to remind viewers of Augustus' contention that peace was obtained through victories.<sup>68</sup> In this context, the Magna Mater's presence might well have prompted viewers to contemplate the goddess' involvement in the *princeps'* triumphs and to remember her past intervention in times of military crisis, particularly following the fall of Troy and during the Second Punic War. That the latter held special significance on the base can be inferred from the inclusion both of the Sibyl, whose prophecies had revealed that the Magna Mater was the key to Hannibal's expulsion from Italy, and of Claudia

---

<sup>65</sup> Virgil, *Aen.* 2.293-97. For Ovid's account of the Trojan Vesta in the *Fasti* see Allen 1922: 252-54; 261-62.

<sup>66</sup> On other possible connections between the Magna Mater and Vesta, particularly via the former's identification with Rhea Silvia, see Cruttwell 1946: 27-28 and Wiseman 1984: 229, n. 51.

<sup>67</sup> Stucchi 1958: 21-22. The comparable Algiers Relief, in which Cupid is shown presenting Venus with Mars' sword, is discussed in Zanker 1988: 196-97, fig. 151. *Supra*, 224, n. 26.

<sup>68</sup> *RG* 13: *parta victoriis pax*.



Quinta, the matron who had facilitated the goddess' introduction to Rome, a requisite step in victory over Carthage.<sup>69</sup>

Nor was the Magna Mater necessarily perceived as the sole agent in her cult's defence of Rome. Lucretius, in his account of the Megalensia's *pompa*, had already noted that one explanation for the clamorous behaviour of armed participants was the Magna Mater's instruction that her followers 'defend their native land with arms and courage.'<sup>70</sup> In the past, Phrygia had been the *patria terra* to which these Corybants (here called Curetes) owed their allegiance. Now, however, like the Magna Mater, the martial youths called Rome their home, and evidently they were prepared to fight on her behalf. Such devotion to one's country was, of course, entirely in keeping with Augustan ideology.<sup>71</sup> Lucretius' report that the goddess further commanded her Corybants to 'be both protection and pride to their parents,'<sup>72</sup> surely had equal resonance for the *princeps* who in 2 BCE had been designated *pater patriae*, a title that was subsequently inscribed in the vestibule of his Palatine house.<sup>73</sup> One can easily imagine that on the Sorrento base the Corybant seen beating his sword against his shield was thought to do so at the Magna Mater's behest – his act a demonstration of willingness to take up arms in defence of Rome and, more specifically, on behalf of Augustus, honorary father of his country and Palatine neighbour to the Magna Mater.<sup>74</sup>

Lucretius' writing reveals that the Corybant's journey to respectability as a symbol of *pietas erga patriam* began in the years prior to the Augustan principate. Clearly though, the transformation of the armed band from terrifying foreigners to fearless patriots gathered momentum and authority under Augustus. The fact that Corybants were chosen to adorn the Augustan metroön as acroteria strongly suggests

---

<sup>69</sup> Livy, 29.10.4-6.

<sup>70</sup> Lucretius 2.640-42. On this interpretation of the Corybants, which is unique to Lucretius, see Jope 1985: 258.

<sup>71</sup> The virtue was one of the *princeps*' qualities recognised by the senate on the *clipeus virtutis* in 27 BCE (RG 34.2). See e.g., the marble copy of the shield currently in the Musée de l'Arles Antique (Zanker 1988: 95, fig. 79; Galinsky 1996: 87, fig. 37).

<sup>72</sup> Lucretius 2.643.

<sup>73</sup> Augustus, RG 35.

<sup>74</sup> Citing Pherecydes, Strabo records that Apollo fathered the Corybants (*Geog.* 10.3.21; *supra*, 191). This genealogy, if widely known, would further strengthen links between sides B and D of the base.

the *princeps* both approved of and encouraged increasingly favourable perceptions of the Magna Mater's followers.<sup>75</sup> Of the Augustan poets Ovid, in particular, seems to have responded to the prevailing climate. The Corybants are among the first aspects of the cult to be clarified by Erato in the *Fasti* (4.179-372). In echoes of Lucretius, Ovid explains why the goddess' procession through the streets of Rome is carried out amidst the din of drums, cymbals and flutes.<sup>76</sup> As noted in our discussion of the Gemma Augustea, the answer lay in the commemoration by cult personnel of Jupiter's salvation by legendary Corybants, whose beating of shields and armour had effectively concealed the cries of the infant god from a vengeful Saturnus.<sup>77</sup> The Magna Mater is thus portrayed as the genetrix of the Roman pantheon, and the Corybants as the guardians of Jupiter, the king of the gods.

In this, the cult's archaeological record corresponds to the literary sources, for the goddess and her followers were represented in these capacities on the Ara Capitolina (fig. 64) and on contemporary Campana plaques (fig. 66). It is the Sorrento base, however, that provides the most unequivocal representation of a Corybant's integration into the very fabric of Roman religion. Here the youth is shown in the company of the greatest deities in the Augustan pantheon – the Julii's 'divinités familières – et même familiales' as Pierre Lambrechts has called them.<sup>78</sup> The Corybant himself is not divine, but his exalted status as the Magna Mater's attendant is made clear by his large scale and proximity to the goddess. We can even regard him as being both literally and metaphorically analogous to the Vestal Virgins who stand opposite on side A. Although superficially dissimilar, the priestesses and the Corybants were now united in their duties on behalf of the Augustan principate. Where the Vestals were responsible for the protection of Rome's hearth through ritual and the tending of Vesta's sacred flame, the Magna Mater's armed companions now took their place as defenders of the city's gods and populace.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> The Augustan establishment of the college of 'Pious Kouretes' (later called *philosebatoi*, 'loyal to Augustus') in the prytaneion at Ephesus can surely be taken as further evidence of imperial support for the cult personnel. On this see Graf 2003: 247-50.

<sup>76</sup> *Fasti* 4.197-214; see also Lucretius 2.629-41.

<sup>77</sup> *Supra*, 88-89, 187-91.

<sup>78</sup> Lambrechts 1952b: 253.

<sup>79</sup> Interestingly, later tradition names Vesta, not Amalthea, as Jupiter's nurse (Martianus Capella 1.72, *fl.* 410-29 CE), a claim preserved in the early Medieval period by Albricus (*De deorum imaginibus*

Proof of the inherent *Romanitas* of the Magna Mater's Augustan cult did not end on side D with depictions of the Trojan-Roman goddess and her naturalised Corybant. The inclusion of Claudia Quinta (or more precisely her statue) demonstrates an intention to emphasise facets of the cult that were entirely in keeping with Augustan values. As intrinsic as reinvigorated *pietas* was to the *princeps*' vision for Rome, the necessity for moral renewal was equally evident.<sup>80</sup> As a paradigm of religious devotion and personal propriety, Claudia Quinta was ideally suited to use in official Augustan imagery. After all, this was the woman whom Livy singled out as the most praiseworthy of the *matronae primores civitatis*, the foremost matrons of the state.<sup>81</sup> As such, Claudia had been deemed worthy of receiving the Magna Mater upon the goddess' introduction to Rome in 204 BCE. However, her character had been regarded with some suspicion. Where Livy mentions Claudia's once dubious reputation only briefly, Ovid provides a catalogue of the accusations made against her, listing claims of unchaste, vain and disrespectful behaviour.<sup>82</sup> These would have been grave sins indeed, had Claudia not been able to prove her innocence. For Livy, the matron's service to religion, manifest in the solemn act of receiving the Magna Mater, was sufficient to improve her reputation in the eyes of posterity.<sup>83</sup> However, Ovid's far more sensational account has Claudia Quinta first invoking the Magna Mater, then dislodging the latter's ship from the banks of the Tiber in an act that demonstrates hers was the *casta manus*, the chaste hand that the Sibyl had prophesied would receive the goddess upon her arrival in Rome.<sup>84</sup>

It was, of course, in recognition of both her *pietas* and her *castitas* that the Senate had honoured Claudia Quinta with a statue in the vestibule of the Palatine

---

*libellus*, 17), who also alleges that the temple of Vesta was surmounted by an image of the goddess nursing the infant (see Liebeschütz 1926: 122-23; Seznec 1972: 236; Fischer-Hansen 1990: 412-13).

<sup>80</sup> See Zanker 1988: 156-66, for Augustus' promotion of the *mores maiorum*.

<sup>81</sup> Livy 29.14.12. According to Cicero (*Har. resp.* 13.27), Claudia was Rome's *matronarum castissima*.

<sup>82</sup> *Fasti* 4.305-10.

<sup>83</sup> Livy 29.14.12: *cui dubia, ut traditur, antea fama clariorem ad posteros tam religioso ministerio pudicitiam fecit.*

<sup>84</sup> *Fasti* 4.260, 313-26. See Roller 1999: 265-66.

metroön.<sup>85</sup> The fact that this image remained miraculously unscathed through two temple fires could arguably have been interpreted as proof of the Magna Mater's continuing approbation of these virtues; it certainly ensured the enduring fame of both the statue and its model. To Augustus, a man constantly seeking *exempla* to give visual expression to a campaign for moral reform,<sup>86</sup> Claudia Quinta must have seemed (quite literally perhaps) to be a godsend. It is no surprise, therefore, that the illustrious matron appears on side D of the Sorrento base, where the overriding message was the *princeps*' reinvention of the cult of the Magna Mater in the context of Roman values and traditions (figs. 80-81). One could even speculate that Claudia Quinta was a metaphor for the goddess herself – both figures having suffered from misunderstandings and adverse public opinion, only to have their good character and beneficent intentions made manifest. In keeping with her defining qualities of modesty and chastity, Claudia Quinta appears on the base simply but heavily draped. In this she is not dissimilar to side A's Vestal Virgins, whose company she would join in later literary tradition.<sup>87</sup> Clearly, however, her greatest visual and symbolic affinities are to Livia, who appears at the far right of the Vestal scene also wearing a *peplos* and grasping her veil as a sign of *puđicitia* (figs. 82-83).<sup>88</sup> For her part, it is no wonder that Livia, whom Ovid calls the 'Vesta of chaste maidens' (*Pont.* 4.13.29), appears thus in a scene commemorating the installation of Rome's goddess of the hearth in the imperial *domus*. Accordingly, the empress is shown standing directly behind Vesta, and in the company of the Vestal Virgins with whom she now shared many responsibilities and privileges.<sup>89</sup>

While the main aim may have been to present Livia as the guardian and epitome of Vestal virtues, we cannot dismiss the empress' remarkable similarity to

---

<sup>85</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.64; Valerius Maximus 1.8.11.

<sup>86</sup> E.g., Suetonius, *Aug.* 89.

<sup>87</sup> *Supra*, 83, n. 111. On the basis of a *denarius* minted by C. Clodius Vestalis in 41 BCE, it has been argued that Republican tradition held Claudia Quinta to be a Vestal (see Fantham et al. 1994: 234-35, fig. 7.7; Hänninen 1998: 115). The priestess who appears on the reverse of this coin, however, is not Claudia Quinta, but rather the daughter of Appius Claudius Pulcher (*cos.* 143 BCE) (see *RRC* 521, no. 512/2).

<sup>88</sup> See Ryberg 1955: 52, n. 15; Fischer-Hansen 1990: 415, no. 25.

<sup>89</sup> For Livia's relationship to Vesta and the Vestals see Fischer-Hansen 1990: 419; Bartman 1999: 94-95; Frascetti 2001b: 105.

Claudia Quinta as mere coincidence. As with the Magna Mater and Vesta themselves, the two figures not only have attire and pose in common – their positions on the base are complementary; the pair stand opposite one another, framing their scenes so as to draw the viewer’s eye inward toward the goddesses. The obvious reason for such correspondence is the deliberate connection of Livia and her celebrated ancestress. We have already noted that Claudia Quinta’s rise to prominence coincided with that of the empress herself, and was likely to have been a reflection of new dynastic realities within the imperial household in 4 CE.<sup>90</sup> The question of Claudian succession aside, however, Livia would surely have welcomed comparisons with Claudia Quinta on a personal level. The empress was a strong supporter of Augustus’ views on morality and used her portraiture, in which she frequently appears as Rome’s pre-eminent *matrona*, to reinforce this ideology.<sup>91</sup> She is likewise presented by sources as embodying *castitas*, *nobilitas* and *pudicitia* – the very virtues for which Claudia Quinta was famed.<sup>92</sup> It is plausible, therefore, to interpret these relief scenes as ways for Augustus simultaneously to flatter his wife and emphasise the bonds that united Julian and Claudian *gentes*, while also promoting the Magna Mater’s character as being thoroughly compatible with Augustan values and mores.

Of course, the close association of Livia with Claudia Quinta on the Sorrento base presupposes that the empress also pursued a personal interest in the cult of the Magna Mater. In this respect the monument adds significantly to what is otherwise a surprisingly meagre body of evidence directly linking Livia to the goddess. The point has been well made, for example, that there is no proof that Livia acted as a patron of either the Magna Mater’s temple or her cult;<sup>93</sup> nor does the empress appear to have

---

<sup>90</sup> *Supra*, 55-57, 81-82. Propertius (4.11.51), writing *ca.* 16 BCE, is the first to mention Claudia’s role in the miraculous arrival of the Magna Mater. It is Ovid (*Fasti* 4.291-328), however, who provides by far the fullest account of events.

<sup>91</sup> On Livia’s portraiture and her presentation as the model of propriety see Fantham et al. 1994: 292, 308-10; Kleiner and Matheson 1996: 30, 37-39; Bartman 1999: 72-93.

<sup>92</sup> Littlewood 1981: 384-85; Bartman 1999: 95. Both Valerius Maximus 7.1 and Livy 10.23.1-10 testify to Livia’s transformation of the goddess Pudicitia into a deity of the imperial house. On this see D’Ambra 1993: 36-37, 57.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Bieber (1968: 12) who suggests Livia was made the first priestess of the Magna Mater by the emperor Claudius. Citing no evidence, Bieber also claims, however, that it was only under the Antonines that female citizens were allowed to become priestesses (9). On the cult’s female personnel see Vermaseren 1977: 109-10; Kleiner and Matheson 1996: 98, n. 11; Mucznik 1999.

been assimilated to the goddess in any of her inscriptions.<sup>94</sup> What is certain, however, is that Livia appears in the guise of the Magna Mater on a large sardonyx cameo in Vienna dated to the years after Augustus' death in 14 CE (fig. 86).<sup>95</sup> Here the empress is shown enthroned and veiled, and wearing the Magna Mater's distinctive mural crown. She rests her left forearm on the goddess' tympanum and gazes down at the radiate bust of her deified husband, which she holds in the palm of her right hand.<sup>96</sup> This is Livia the *coniunxque sacerdos*, devoted wife and first priestess of the new Divus Augustus.<sup>97</sup> In this context the conflation of the empress with the Magna Mater acknowledges the many ties that had bound the goddess to Augustus during the *princeps*' lifetime. Above all, it substantiates that which is implicit in the Sorrento base, i.e., that Livia maintained the Claudii's long-standing connection to the Magna Mater, which had begun with Atta Clausus and continued throughout the Republic. Simply put, the benefits of association with the Magna Mater were too great for the empress to remain indifferent to the goddess. In 4 CE, when Augustus named Tiberius as his heir, the imperial family needed a symbol of Julio-Claudian unity. The Sorrento base, with its *terminus post quem* of 3 CE, illustrates how a nationalised Magna Mater filled this role to perfection.<sup>98</sup> A decade later, upon Tiberius' succession, Livia herself became the symbolic nexus of the amalgamated imperial family. Newly adopted into the *gens Julia* and even renamed Julia Augusta,<sup>99</sup> the *princeps*' widow officially became part of the mythic history that had been constructed so assiduously around Augustus. Now, with the combined weight of both Julian and Claudian tradition behind her, Livia could appear not just as a devotee with

---

<sup>94</sup> Bartman 1999: 95.

<sup>95</sup> Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. IX A 95. See further Eichler and Kris 1927: 57, no. 9, pl. 5; Grether 1946: 243-44; Lambrechts 1952b: 251-60; Bieber 1968: 12, fig. 27, 1969: 32; Richter 1971: 101-2, no. 486; Weinstock 1971: 384, pl. 29.2; Simon 1986: 162, fig. 103; Zanker 1988: 234, fig. 184; Turcan 1996: 43; Bartman 1999: 103, fig. 79.

<sup>96</sup> An incised lion is barely visible on the side of the tympanum; Lambrechts (1952b: 252, n. 4) believed this is a modern addition.

<sup>97</sup> E.g., Ovid, *Pont.* 4.9.107.

<sup>98</sup> It is on the basis of the Magna Mater's close association with the imperial household that Ryberg (1955: 52, n. 15) suggested the matron on side D is in fact Livia herself.

<sup>99</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.8; Cassius Dio 56.46.

long-standing links to the Magna Mater, but in the very aspect of the goddess herself.<sup>100</sup>

In sum, more than any other single work, the Sorrento base demonstrates the Magna Mater's centrality, not just in the pictorial vocabulary of Augustan Rome, but also in the *princeps'* very personal religious, social and political ideologies. Here we see a synthesis of all that the goddess is likely to have meant to Augustus. Above all, she was his patron and protector, the legendary deity whose devotion to Aeneas had been transferred to the Trojan's illustrious Julian descendant. The goddess was therefore shown amongst Augustus' most intimate tutelary deities. She was also the protectress of Rome, a fitting companion for Vesta, the goddess of the city's hearth, and for Apollo and Mars Ultor, its most eminent bringers of victory. As the most famous sign of the Magna Mater's connection to Augustus, the Palatine metroön was celebrated on the base, as in the *Res Gestae*, amongst the *princeps'* notable building projects; the temple also served to locate the imperial residence at the heart of civic and religious life in Rome. Finally, as a point of commonality between the Julian and Claudian *gentes*, the goddess' cult provided imagery for a new ruling dynasty. In this, the Sorrento base clearly signals the evolution of an artistic language in which the Magna Mater was inextricably linked to both the fortunes of Rome and its imperial families.

---

<sup>100</sup> For the Getty statue, which has been interpreted as a statue of Livia conflated with the Magna Mater, *supra*, 210, n. 56. However, the controversy surrounding this identification, and the late date of the work preclude its consideration in depth here.

## CONCLUSION

---

For almost two centuries before Augustus came to power, the Magna Mater was thought to reside on the Palatine, in the very heart of Rome. While the goddess' centrality in the city's urban landscape was long-established, it was not until the Augustan principate that the Magna Mater assumed a truly comparable position in Roman historical tradition, religious experience, politics and the arts. The *princeps*' contribution to the Magna Mater's rise to prominence has not always been appreciated. This is made clear by claims that the Augustan metroön demonstrated the *princeps*' disinterest in, and indeed even his disdain for the goddess. Throughout this thesis, however, I have argued that the Magna Mater and her temple were placed at the centre of imperial ideology. Needless to say, the divergence between these approaches is considerable but is easily reconciled once the consistency with which Augustus exploited ties to the Magna Mater is acknowledged.

From virtually the beginning of his political career (when he decided to reside in the environs of the metroön), until the end of his life (when expectations of apotheosis transformed his relationship to the gods), the *princeps* accorded the Magna Mater an important place in the pictorial vocabulary of Augustan Rome. Whether or not this suggests that Augustus felt a personal affection for the goddess remains speculative. More certain is that the multi-faceted Magna Mater was always relevant to the *princeps*' evolving personal image. Thus, in the tumultuous years when Octavian sought to establish his status as *divi filius*, association with the goddess on the historically evocative southwest Palatine reinforced perceptions of the youth as heir to Aeneas and, correspondingly, to Julius Caesar. Residence near the Magna Mater in the years after Philippi also enabled Octavian to claim a timely association with Rome's divine bringers of victory. At this time, the metroön evoked not only the legendary and historical conflicts in which the Magna Mater had played a part, but also Augustus' own triumphs – campaigns that gave rise to the *pax Augusta* and to a new Golden Age. Even after the success of Actium and the conquest of Egypt, this message clearly remained a priority, as the *euripus* monuments in the Circus



Maximus attest. Here, a statue of the Magna Mater's lion formed the heart of an iconographic programme celebrating Augustus' triumphs and the intimacy of his relationship to the Palatine's victory deities: the Magna Mater, Victoria and Apollo.

When the time came to appear as the *restitutor rei publicae*, not a victorious *imperator*, Augustus again used the Magna Mater to reinforce official doctrines. By carefully and sympathetically restoring the venerable metroön, Augustus emphasised both his appreciation of Roman architectural traditions and his own status as 'the builder and holy restorer of temples.'<sup>1</sup> More than this, he demonstrated his commitment to the revival of traditional Republican cults. In much the same way, the Magna Mater's evocation on monuments honouring Augustus as *pater patriae* and *pontifex maximus* – the Vicus Sandaliarius altar and the Sorrento base, for example – helped to emphasise the *princeps*' commitment to the established offices of the State. The association of the virtuous Claudia Quinta with the Magna Mater even meant that the metroac cult could be used to exemplify Augustan moral reforms; hence the matron's appearance alongside the goddess on the Sorrento base. Finally, when the pretence of Augustus as *primus inter pares* was abandoned (in private at least), the Magna Mater, as an allegory of the *orbis terrarum* and a long-standing patron of Rome, represented, on the Gemma Augustea, Augustus' extensive earthly dominion. Because of her conflation with Rhea, moreover, the goddess was also perceived as the mother and saviour of Jupiter. Thus she was ideally suited both to accompany Augustus on the cameo (where he appeared as Jupiter's mortal counterpart) and to acknowledge the *princeps*' inevitable place amongst the gods.

Clearly, the Magna Mater's value to Augustus transcended that of personal patron, and the goddess' time-honoured connections to both Julian and Claudian *gentes* meant that she had particular relevance for the *princeps*' ever-evolving dynastic aspirations. The participation of the Magna Mater's chief priestess at Gaius' *tripudium*, for example (as documented on the Vicus Sandaliarius altar), effectively conveyed the message that the goddess would ensure that Roman supremacy continued under the *princeps*' grandson. Later, when hopes for a Julian heir were extinguished, the Claudii's lengthy involvement with the cult meant that its goddess became the perfect symbol of Julio-Claudian unity and of Tiberius' succession. This

---

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 2.63: *templorum positor, templorum sancte repostor* (trans. Galinsky 1996: 301).

accounts for Augustus' introduction of a new *lavatio* procession, which drew attention to the benefactions of both branches of the imperial family and was presumably concurrent with the metroön's reconstruction and Tiberius' adoption in 3/4 CE. It also explains Claudia Quinta's rise to prominence in contemporary literature and the obvious parallels drawn between the matron and Livia on the Sorrento base.

Close association with the Julio-Claudii, and particularly with Augustus' public image had an inevitable impact on perceptions of the Magna Mater herself. Long regarded as a protectress of Rome, the goddess became one of the foremost deities of the State during the Augustan principate. Virgil's portrayal of the Magna Mater as the guardian of Aeneas may have cemented the goddess' place as the epitome of Rome's heroic past and its glorious future, but it was on the pediment of the Augustan metroön that this message was emblazoned for all to see. A large mural crown, towering over the heads of visitors to the Palatine and of spectators at the Megalensia alike, broadcast the goddess' commitment to Rome's prosperity and defence. Simultaneously, personifications of Mt Ida and the Palatine reinforced the Magna Mater's Trojan origins and the location of her chosen residence in Rome – outcomes that also characterised the revamped Augustan *lavatio*. That the goddess had been fully integrated into Roman ritual was conveyed not only by reference to the *sellisternium* on the metroön's pediment, but also through the Magna Mater's appearance alongside the *Genius* and *Lares Augusti* on the Vicus Sandaliarius altar and the Sorrento base.

This is not to say that Augustus made use of the Magna Mater's cult *in toto*. True to form, the *princeps* was selective when determining which aspects of the goddess' worship would enhance his status and that of the Julio-Claudii. Anything that attested the Magna Mater's connections to the Aeneadae and the foundation of Rome, of course, was beneficial. Allusions to her role as victory-bringer in Republican and Augustan military successes were equally welcome. That Attis, on the other hand, fails to appear in Augustan art is not surprising; his marginal status in Roman cult at the time hardly demanded the *princeps*' attention. More notable is the lack of official references to the *galli*, the Magna Mater's foreign clergy, whose appearance and behaviour must have been an anathema to the moral-minded *princeps*. Instead, the cacophonous rites for which the cult was famed were referenced subtly on both the metroön's pediment and the Sorrento base through use of Corybants shown

re-enacting their salvation of the infant Jupiter. In this way, the more boisterous aspects of the Magna Mater's worship were firmly placed within Roman mythic and religious traditions.

It has been said that Romans reading about the Magna Mater in the *Aeneid* would think of the metroön and of Augustus' interest in the cult.<sup>2</sup> In light of the present study, we can conclude that the converse was also true: viewers of the Palatine temple were just as apt to recall the poet's characterisation of the goddess, and to surmise that Aeneas' Trojan protectress now gave her allegiance to Rome and its *princeps*. We might never know exactly how widespread was the appreciation of Augustus' links to the Magna Mater. Variables such as social status and literacy meant that the *princeps*' message was unlikely to have been received in the same way by all. We have seen, however, that monuments from across the spectrum of Augustan society, and from both inside and outside Rome, refer to the Palatine precinct and to Augustus' relationship with its deities. Clearly, the transmission of official images and ideas pertaining to the Magna Mater was effective. We have always known from contemporary literature that the goddess was important to the *princeps*. It is only when we augment this knowledge with evidence from cult monuments, however, that we find the Magna Mater at the very heart of Augustus' status, values and identity.

---

<sup>2</sup> Zarker 1985: 205.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS & FIGURES

---

### ILLUSTRATIONS

III. 1.	Hypothetical reconstruction of the Palatine metroön in the first phase of construction, <i>ca.</i> 191 BCE.....	15
III. 2.	Plan showing the constructional materials of the Palatine metroön.....	23
III. 3.	Reconstruction of the façade of the Augustan metroön based on the Valle-Medici relief.....	29
III. 4.	Reconstruction of the Augustan metroön based on the Valle-Medici relief.....	30
III. 5.	Axonometric reconstruction of the Palatine metroön <i>ca.</i> 200 CE showing the Augustan portico to the west.....	46
III. 6.	Axonometric reconstruction of the Palatine metroön <i>ca.</i> 111 BCE showing the basin to the west.....	48
III. 7.	Plan of Rome showing the course of the Almo river and inter-urban routes from Ostia.....	50
III. 8.	Plan of central Rome and the southwest corner of the Palatine in the time of Augustus.....	108
III. 9.	Plan of the Palatine sanctuaries of the Magna Mater and Victoria.....	115
III. 10.	Plan of the Palatine showing the House of Augustus and Temple of Apollo.....	127
III. 11.	Plan showing the location of cults in the Vallis Murcia.....	135
III. 12.	Drawing of the Piazza Armerina mosaic.....	141
III. 13.	Drawing of the Barcelona mosaic.....	142
III. 14.	Drawing of the Colchester cup.....	153
III. 15.	Drawing of the Gerona mosaic.....	158
III. 16.	Drawing of the Maffei relief.....	158
III. 17.	Reconstruction of the <i>Solarium Augusti</i> , <i>ca.</i> 10 BCE.....	193
III. 18.	Schematic plan of the Sorrento base.....	218
III. 19.	Sketch of side C and part of side A of the Sorrento base.....	222

## FIGURES

Figure 1.	Remains of the Augustan metroön, Rome.....	252
Figure 2.	Remains of the Augustan metroön showing pronaos and stairs to cella.....	252
Figure 3.	Garden Façade of the Villa Medici showing the location of the Valle-Medici metroön reliefs.....	253
Figure 4.	Plaster cast of the Valle-Medici reliefs illustrating the Augustan metroön.....	253
Figure 5.	Plaster cast of the Valle-Medici reliefs illustrating the entablature of the Augustan metroön.....	254
Figure 6.	Plaster cast of the Valle-Medici reliefs illustrating the pediment of the Augustan metroön.....	254
Figure 7.	Valle-Medici relief illustrating the side of the Augustan metroön.....	255
Figure 8.	Valle-Medici relief illustrating the façade of the Augustan metroön.....	255
Figure 9.	Valle-Medici relief illustrating the pediment of the Augustan metroön.....	256
Figure 10.	Column with stucco coating from the Augustan metroön.....	256
Figure 11.	Reconstruction of the sanctuary of Meter at Mamurt-Kale.....	257
Figure 12.	Basin from the first phase of the Palatine metroön.....	257
Figure 13.	Basin from the second phase of the Palatine metroön.....	257
Figure 14.	Plaster cast of the Valle-Medici relief illustrating the pediment of the Temple of Mars Ultor.....	258
Figure 15.	Altar of Claudia Syntyche depicting the Magna Mater's arrival in Rome.....	258
Figure 16.	Relief illustrating the Magna Mater's throne and <i>cista</i> carried by <i>galli</i> .....	259
Figure 17.	Relief illustrating the pediment of the Temple of Quirinus.....	259
Figure 18.	Marble relief from Lanuvium depicting a <i>gallus</i> .....	260
Figure 19.	Marble <i>cippus</i> from Ostia depicting a <i>gallus</i> .....	260
Figure 20.	Marble statue from Ostia depicting Attis .....	261
Figure 21.	Detail from the Ara Casali showing the personification of the Palatine.....	261
Figure 22.	Campana plaque illustrating the struggle of Herakles and Apollo, Palatine Temple of Apollo, Rome.....	262
Figure 23.	Campana plaque illustrating Perseus and Minerva with the head of Medusa, Palatine Temple of Apollo, Rome.....	262
Figure 24.	Wall painting illustrating a <i>betylos</i> of Apollo, House of Augustus, Rome.....	263
Figure 25.	Campana plaque depicting maidens decorating a <i>betylos</i> of Apollo, Palatine Temple of Apollo, Rome.....	263

Figure 26.	Wall painting depicting a pine garland, House of Augustus, Rome.....	264
Figure 27.	<i>Aureus</i> of Caninius Gallus depicting the door to the House of Augustus.....	264
Figure 28.	<i>Sestertius</i> of Gallius Lupercus depicting the <i>corona civica</i> and laurels.....	264
Figure 29.	<i>Aureus</i> depicting the <i>corona civica</i> and the <i>clipeus virtutis</i> .....	265
Figure 30.	<i>Aureus</i> depicting Augustus wearing the <i>corona civica</i> .....	265
Figure 31.	Sarcophagus depicting the <i>pompa deorum</i> .....	265
Figure 32.	Plastico di Roma imperiale showing the Palatine and the Circus Maximus.....	266
Figure 33.	Detail of the Piazza Armerina mosaic showing the Magna Mater and lion statue group.....	266
Figure 34.	Foligno relief depicting the Circus Maximus.....	267
Figure 35.	Marble statue from Nettuno depicting the Magna Mater on a lion.....	267
Figure 36.	<i>Sestertius</i> of Trajan depicting the Circus Maximus.....	268
Figure 37.	<i>Sestertius</i> of Caracalla depicting the Circus Maximus.....	268
Figure 38.	Campana plaque depicting the Circus Maximus.....	268
Figure 39.	Campana plaque depicting the Circus Maximus.....	268
Figure 40.	Obelisk of Augustus from the Circus Maximus.....	269
Figure 41.	Castel S. Elia relief depicting the Circus Maximus.....	269
Figure 42.	Coffer panel depicting the Magna Mater seated on a leaping lion, Temple of Athena Polias, Priene .....	270
Figure 43.	Relief from Pergamon depicting the Magna Mater on a leaping lion.....	270
Figure 44.	Detail from the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon depicting the Magna Mater on a leaping lion.....	271
Figure 45.	Silver cup depicting a <i>bigae</i> race, House of Menander, Pompeii .....	271
Figure 46.	Silver cup depicting a <i>bigae</i> race, House of Menander, Pompeii .....	271
Figure 47.	Colchester cup depicting the Circus Maximus.....	272
Figure 48.	Gemstone depicting a <i>quadrigae</i> race in the Circus Maximus.....	272
Figure 49.	Sarcophagus depicting a <i>quadrigae</i> race in the Circus Maximus (Vatican Sala Rotonda 546a).....	272
Figure 50.	Medallion from Tuernia depicting a <i>quadrigae</i> race in the Circus Maximus.....	272
Figure 51.	Sarcophagus depicting cupids racing <i>bigae</i> in the Circus Maximus (Vatican, Sala della Biga 613).....	273
Figure 52.	Sarcophagus depicting cupids racing <i>quadrigae</i> in the Circus Maximus (Vatican Sala della Biga 617).....	273

Figure 53.	Trajanic relief depicting a <i>quadrigae</i> race in the Circus Maximus.....	273
Figure 54.	Circus mosaic from Silin.....	274
Figure 55.	Detail from the Piazza Armerina mosaic depicting a prize-giving in the Circus Maximus.....	274
Figure 56.	<i>Cuirass</i> of the Prima Porta Augustus.....	274
Figure 57.	The Gemma Augustea.....	275
Figure 58.	Detail of the Apotheosis of Homer relief showing Oikoumene crowning Homer.....	275
Figure 59.	<i>Denarius</i> showing Octavian with his foot on a globe.....	276
Figure 60.	<i>Denarius</i> showing Octavian holding a globe.....	276
Figure 61.	<i>Denarius</i> of M. Maecilius Tullus showing the head of Augustus on a globe.....	276
Figure 62.	Detail of the Ara Capitolina depicting the birth of Jupiter.....	277
Figure 63.	Detail of the Ara Capitolina depicting Rhea offering a swaddled rock to Saturnus.....	277
Figure 64.	Detail of the Ara Capitolina depicting the salvation of the infant Jupiter.....	277
Figure 65.	Detail of the Ara Capitolina depicting Jupiter enthroned amongst the Olympian gods.....	277
Figure 66.	Campana plaque depicting the salvation of Jupiter by Corybants.....	278
Figure 67.	<i>Denarius</i> showing Sol and the Capricorn.....	278
Figure 68.	Detail of the Vicus Sandaliarius altar depicting Gaius, Augustus and a priestess of the Magna Mater at a <i>tripudium</i> .....	279
Figure 69.	Detail of the Vicus Sandaliarius altar depicting the <i>corona civica</i> and laurel trees.....	279
Figure 70.	Detail of the Vicus Sandaliarius altar depicting the <i>Lares Augusti</i> .....	280
Figure 71.	Detail of the Vicus Sandaliarius altar depicting Victoria adding the <i>clipeus virtutis</i> to a <i>tropaeum</i> .....	280
Figure 72.	Detail of Augustus from the Vicus Sandaliarius altar.....	281
Figure 73.	Detail of Gaius from the Vicus Sandaliarius altar.....	281
Figure 74.	Detail of a priestess of the Magna Mater from the Vicus Sandaliarius altar.....	281
Figure 75.	Bust of a <i>gallus</i> from Rome.....	282
Figure 76.	Terracotta statue of the Magna Mater from Zela.....	282
Figure 77.	Silver dish decorated with a bust of Attis from Hildesheim.....	282
Figure 78.	Statue of a priestess of the Magna Mater from Rome.....	282
Figure 79.	The Sorrento base, Side D, depicting Claudia Quinta, Corybant and the Magna Mater.....	283

Figure 80.	The Sorrento base, detail of Side D.....	283
Figure 81.	The Sorrento base, detail of Claudia Quinta.....	284
Figure 82.	The Sorrento base, Side A, depicting Vestal Virgins, Vesta and Livia.....	284
Figure 83.	The Sorrento base, detail of Livia.....	284
Figure 84.	The Sorrento base, Side C, depicting the <i>Genius</i> of Augustus, Cupid and Mars Ultor.....	285
Figure 85.	The Sorrento base, Side B, depicting Diana, Apollo, Latona and the Cumaean Sibyl.....	285
Figure 86.	Sardonyx cameo depicting Livia with the attributes of the Magna Mater.....	286



# FIGURES



Figure 1. Remains of the Augustan metroön, podium. Southwest Palatine, Rome. Photo: author.



Figure 2. Remains of the Augustan metroön, pronaos and stairs to cella. Southwest Palatine, Rome. Photo: *CCCA* III: pl. II.



Figure 3. Garden Façade of the Villa Medici showing the location of the Valle-Medici metroön reliefs. F: temple façade; S: temple side. Rome. Photo: author.



Figure 4. The Augustan metroön. Plaster cast by Lucos Cozza of the Valle-Medici metroön reliefs. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome. Photo: author.



Figure 5. Entablature of the Augustan metroön. Detail from the plaster cast of the Valle-Medici metroön reliefs. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome. Photo: author.



Figure 6. Pediment of the Augustan metroön. Detail from the plaster cast of the Valle-Medici metroön reliefs. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome. Photo: author.

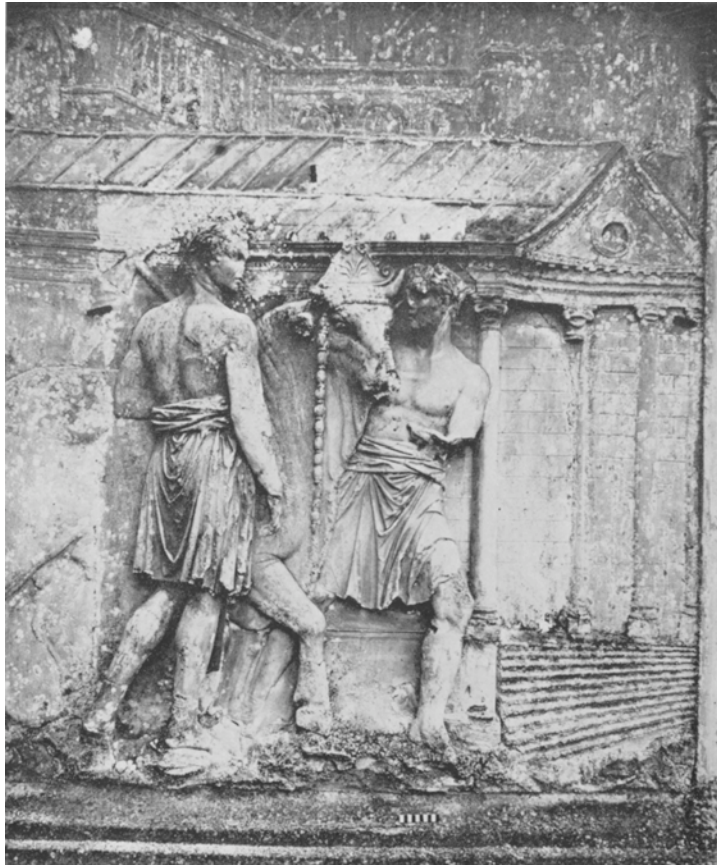


Figure 7. Side of the Augustan metroön. Fragment of an unidentified Julio-Claudian monument with sixteenth century stucco additions. Valle-Medici relief. Villa Medici, Rome. Photo: CCCA III: pl. X.



Figure 8. Façade of the Augustan metroön. Fragment of an unidentified Julio-Claudian monument with sixteenth century stucco additions. Valle-Medici relief. Villa Medici, Rome. Photo: CCCA III: pl. IX.



Figure 9. Pediment of the Augustan metroön. Detail of figure 8. Photo: *CCCA III*: pl. XII.



Figure 10. Column with stucco coating from the Augustan metroön. Southwest Palatine, Rome. Photo: *CCCA III*: pl. VII.



Figure 11. Reconstruction of a Pergamene sanctuary of Meter. Third century BCE. Mamurt-Kale. Photo: Vermaseren 1977: pl. 12.



Figure 12. Excavated remains of a basin from the first phase of construction of the Palatine metroön. 191 BCE. Southwest Palatine, Rome. Photo: author.



Figure 13. Excavated remains of a basin from the second phase of construction of the Palatine metroön. 111 BCE. Southwest Palatine, Rome. Photo: Pensabene 1993: fig. 13.



Figure 14. Pediment of the Temple of Mars Ultor, Detail from the plaster cast of a Valle-Medici relief. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome. Photo: author.



Figure 15. Altar of Claudia Syntyche illustrating the arrival of the Magna Mater in Rome. First century CE. Montemartini Centrale, Rome. Photo: CCCA III: pl. CXIII.





Figure 16. Relief illustrating the Magna Mater's throne and *cista* carried by *galli*. Late second–early third century CE. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Photo: CCCA VII: pl. XXIX.



Figure 17. Pediment of the Temple of Quirinus. Detail from a fragmentary marble relief. First century CE. Museo Nazionale, Rome. Photo: Wiseman 1995: fig. 16.



Figure 18. Marble relief of a *gallus*, from Lanuvium. Mid-second century CE. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photo: CCCA III: pl. CCXCVI.



Figure 19. Marble *cippus* depicting a *gallus*, from Ostia. Second century CE. Museo Paolino, Vatican. Photo: CCCA III: pl. CCLXVI



Figure 20. Marble statue of Attis, from Ostia. Second century CE. Museo Paolino, Vatican, Rome. Photo: Vermaseren 1966: pl. XXI, fig. 3.



Figure 21. Detail from the Ara Casali showing the personification of the Palatine. Early-third century CE. Vatican Museums, Rome. Photo: author.



Figure 22. Campana plaque depicting the struggle of Herakles and Apollo. *Ca.* 30 BCE. Palatine Museum, Rome. Photo: Simon 1986: pl. 6.



Figure 23. Campana plaque depicting Perseus and Minerva with the head of Medusa. *Ca.* 30 BCE. Palatine Museum, Rome. Photo: Tomei 1997: 52.



Figure 24. Wall painting depicting a *betylos* of Apollo. *Ca.* 35-30 BCE. House of Augustus, Room of the Masks. Palatine, Rome. Photo: Simon 1986: pl. 28.



Figure 25. Campana plaque depicting maidens decorating a *betylos* of Apollo. *Ca.* 30 BCE. Palatine Museum, Rome. Photo: Simon 1986: pl. 7.

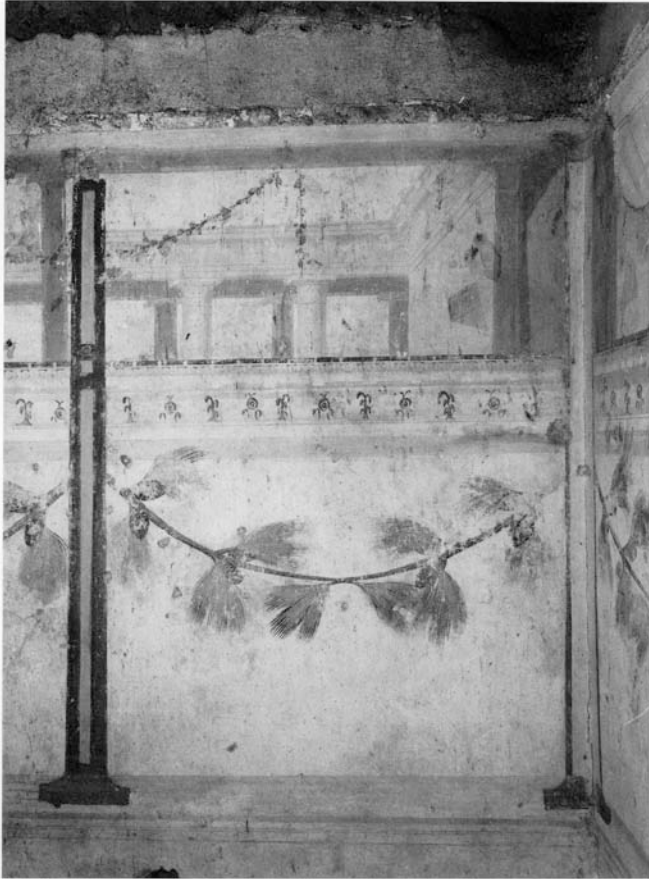


Figure 26. Wall painting depicting a pine garland *Ca.* 35-30 BCE. House of Augustus, Room of the Pine Garlands. Palatine, Rome. Photo: Simon 1986: fig. 241.



Figure 27. *Aureus* of Caninius Gallus depicting the door to the House of Augustus decorated with laurel trees and the *corona civica*. 12 BCE. Photo: Zanker 1988: fig. 75a.



Figure 28. *Sestertius* of Gallius Lupercus depicting the *corona civica* and laurels. 16 BCE. Photo: Galinsky 1996: fig. 17.



Figure 29. *Aureus* depicting the *corona civica* and the *clipeus virtutis*. Minted in Spain, 19/18 BCE. Photo: Zanker 1988: fig. 76a.



Figure 30. *Aureus* depicting Augustus wearing the *corona civica*. Minted in Rome, 19/18 BCE. Photo: Zanker 1988: fig. 76c.



Figure 31. Detail of a sarcophagus depicting the *pompa deorum*. Mid-fourth century CE. Basilica of S. Lorenzo, Rome. Photo: CCCA III: pl. CC.

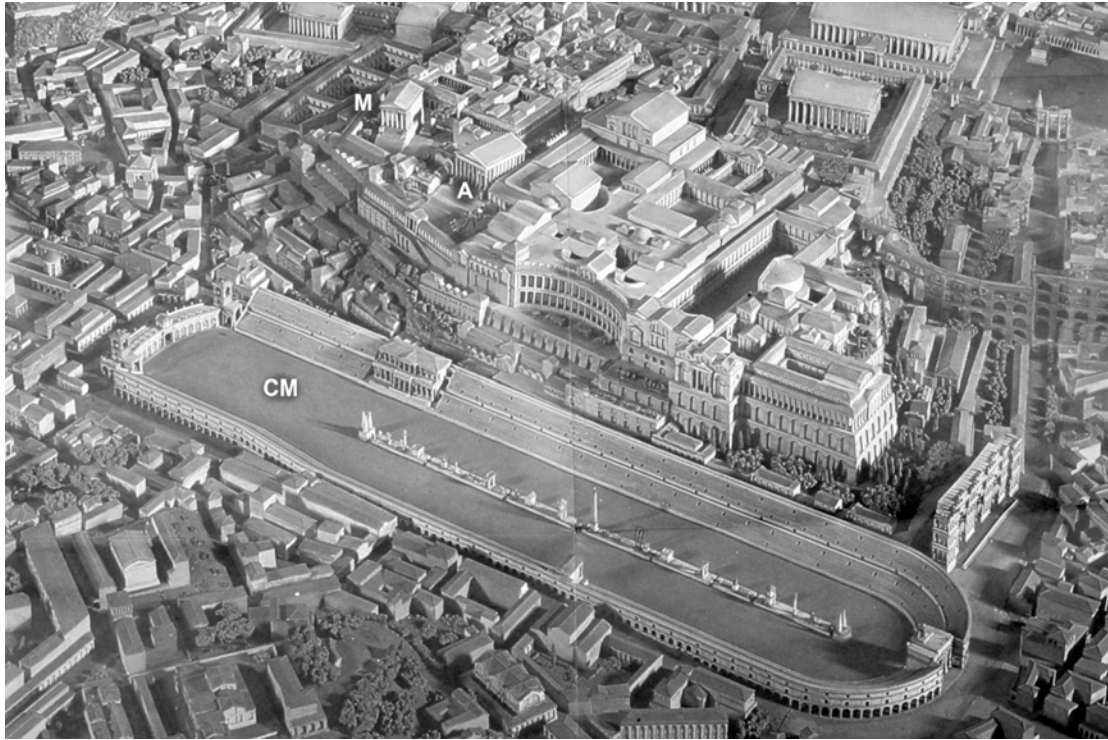


Figure 32. Detail of the Plastico di Roma imperiale showing the Palatine and the Circus Maximus in the fourth century CE. M: Palatine metroön; A: Temple of Apollo; CM: Circus Maximus. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome. Photo: Poster by B. Brizzi.



Figure 33. Detail from the Piazza Armerina mosaic showing the Magna Mater and lion statue group. Fourth century CE. Villa Romana del Casale, Piazza Armerina. Photo: author.





Figure 34. Foligno relief depicting a *quadrigae* race in the Circus Maximus. Third quarter of the third century CE. Palazzo Trinci, Foligno. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 121.



Figure 35. Marble statue from Nettuno depicting the Magna Mater seated on a lion. Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome. Photo: Calza 1977: pl. 74, no. 117.



Figure 36. *Sestertius* of Trajan depicting the Circus Maximus. *Ca.* 103 CE. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 42.



Figure 37. *Sestertius* of Caracalla depicting the Circus Maximus. *Ca.* 213 CE. British Museum, London. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 52.

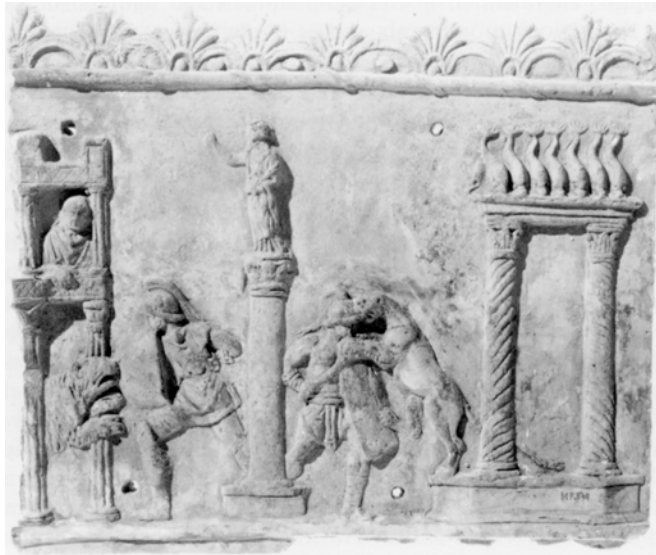


Figure 38. Campana plaque illustrating arena monuments in the Circus Maximus. First half of the first century CE. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 86.

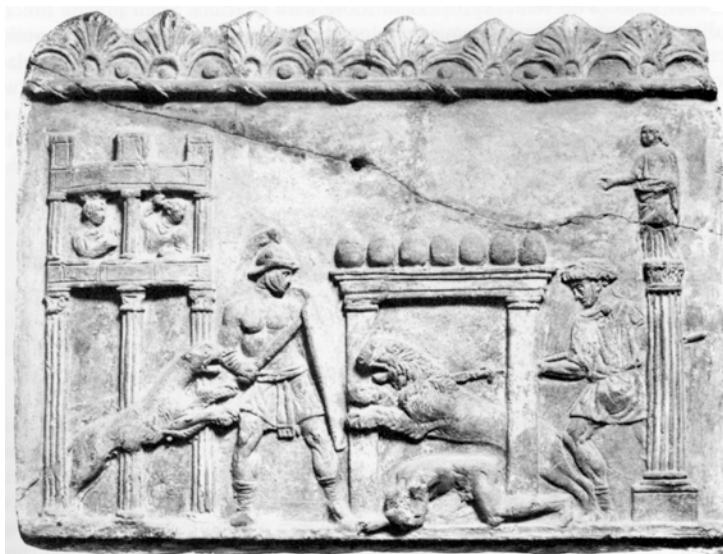


Figure 39. Campana plaque illustrating arena monuments in the Circus Maximus. First half of the first century CE. Terme Museum, Rome. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 87.

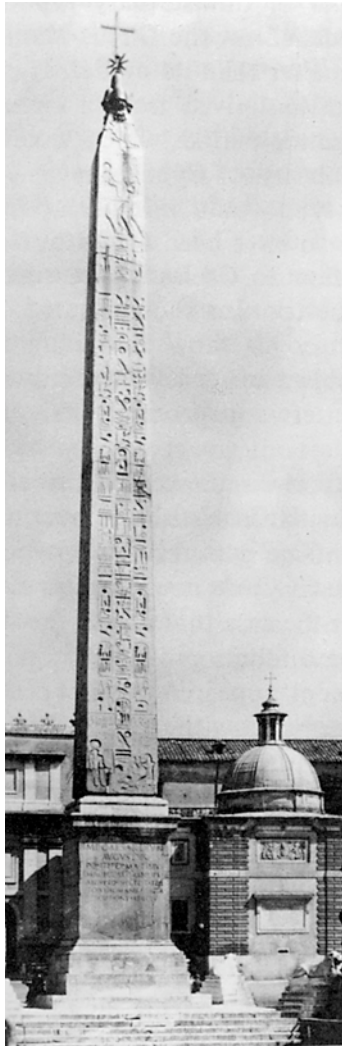


Figure 40. Obelisk of Augustus originally erected in the Circus Maximus in 10 BCE. Piazza del Popolo, Rome. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 131.



Figure 41. Relief depicting a *quadrigae* race in the Circus Maximus. Mid-first century CE. Castel S. Elia. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 95.



Figure 42. Copper panel from the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene depicting the Magna Mater seated on a leaping lion. British Museum, London. Figure: *CCCA I*: pl. CLVII.



Figure 43. Pergamene relief depicting the Magna Mater seated on a leaping lion. First century BCE. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul. Photo: *CCCA I*: pl. LXXXI.



Figure 44. Detail of the Gigantomachy frieze from the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamum depicting the Magna Mater seated on a leaping lion. 180-160 BCE. Pergamon Museum, Berlin. Photo: E. Simon, *Pergamon und Hesiod* (Mainz, 1975): pl. 27.



Figure 45. Silver cup from the House of Menander at Pompeii depicting a *bigae* race between cupids and winged victories. Late-first century BCE. Photos: Maiuri 1933: pl. 43.



Figure 46. Silver cup from the House of Menander at Pompeii depicting a *bigae* race between cupids and winged victories. Late-first century BCE. Photos: Maiuri 1933: pl. 41.



Figure 47. Colchester cup depicting a *quadrigae* race in the Circus Maximus. Mid-first century CE. British Museum, London. Photo: Harden 1968: 53, no. 61.



Figure 48. Gemstone depicting a *quadrigae* race in the Circus Maximus. Second-third century CE. Gem 2126, British Museum, London. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 105a.



Figure 49. Sarcophagus panel depicting a *quadrigae* race in the Circus Maximus. Third century CE. Vatican, Sala Rotonda 546a. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 102.



Figure 50. Medallion from Tuernia depicting a *quadrigae* race in the Circus Maximus. Second half of the fourth century CE. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 126.



Figure 51. Sarcophagus relief depicting cupids racing *bigae* in the Circus Maximus. Mid-second century CE. Vatican, Sala della Biga 613. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 97.



Figure 52. Sarcophagus relief depicting cupids racing *quadrigae* in the Circus Maximus. Mid-second century CE. Vatican, Sala della Biga 617. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 99.



Figure 53. Trajanic relief depicting a *quadrigae* race in the Circus Maximus. Ex-Lateran. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 78.

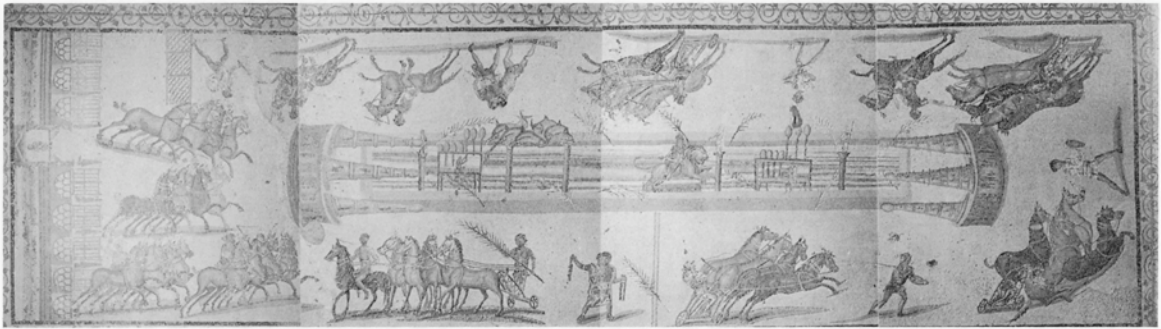


Figure 54. Circus mosaic from Silin. Late-second or early-third century CE. Villa Silin, Silin. Photo: Humphrey 1986: fig. 107.



Figure 55. Detail from the Piazza Armerina mosaic depicting a prize-giving in the Circus Maximus. Fourth century CE. Villa Romana del Casale, Piazza Armerina. Photo: author.



Figure 56. Detail of the *cuirass* of the Prima Porta Augustus. Ca. 14 CE. Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican. Photo: Ramage and Ramage 1996: fig. 3.13.





Figure 57. The Gemma Augustea. Early-first century CE. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photo: Simon 1986: pl. 11.



Figure 58. Detail of the Apotheosis of Homer relief showing Oikoumene crowning Homer. Second century BCE. British Museum, London. Photo: author.



Figure 59. *Denarius* showing Octavian with his foot on a globe. 29 BCE. Photo: Giard 1976: pl. I, no. 16.



Figure 60. *Denarius* showing Octavian holding a globe. 29 BCE. Photo: Giard 1976: pl. I, no. 5.



Figure 61. *Denarius* of M. Maecilius Tullus showing the head of Augustus on a globe. 7 BCE. London. Photo: Weinstock 1971: pl. 5, no. 10.



Figure 62. Detail of the Ara Capitolina depicting the birth of Jupiter. Second century CE. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photo: Jones 1969: pl. 66, 3. A1.



Figure 63. Detail of the Ara Capitolina depicting Rhea offering a swaddled rock to Saturnus. Second century CE. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photo: Jones 1969: pl. 66, 3. A2.



Figure 64. Detail of the Ara Capitolina depicting the salvation of the infant Jupiter. Second century CE. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photo: Jones 1969: pl. 66, 3. A3.



Figure 65. Detail of the Ara Capitolina depicting Jupiter enthroned amongst the Olympian gods. Second century CE. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photo: Jones 1969: pl. 66, 3. A4.



Figure 66. Campana plaque depicting the salvation of Jupiter by Corybants. Augustan. Ny Carlsberg Glyptek, Copenhagen. Photo: *LIMC* 8.2: pl. 294, Iuppiter 286.



Figure 67. *Denarius* showing Sol and the Capricorn. Minted in Nimes, 19/18 BCE. Photo: Giard 1976: pl. 55, no. 1359.

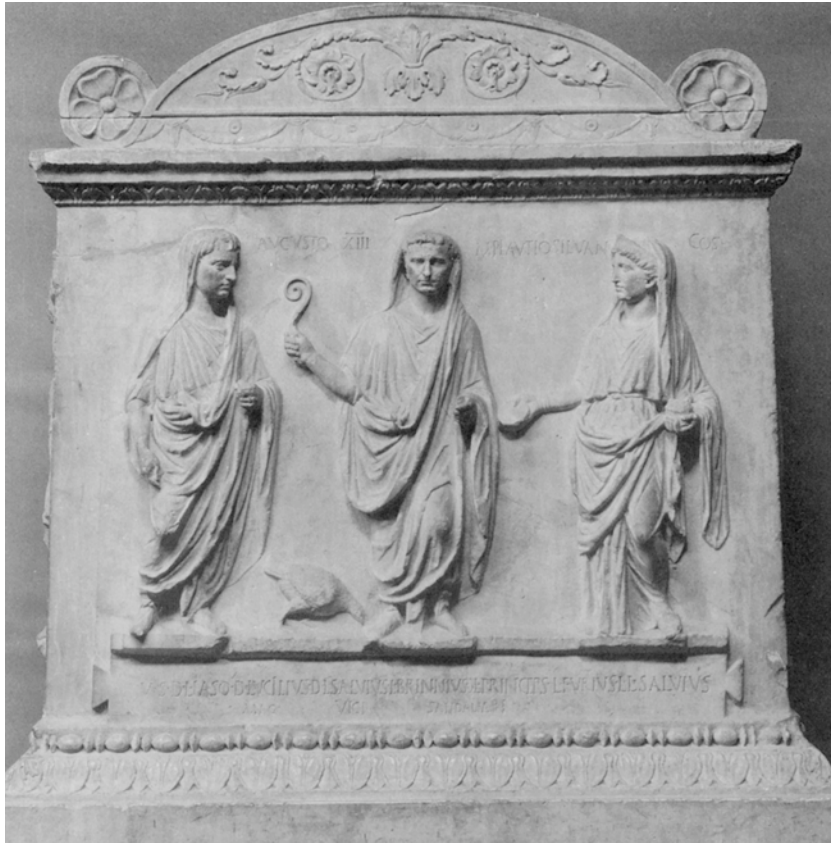


Figure 68. Detail of the Vicus Sandaliarius altar depicting Gaius, Augustus and a priestess of the Magna Mater at a *tripudium*. 2 BCE. Uffizi Museum, Florence. Photo: Rose 1997: pl. 111.



Figure 69. Detail of the Vicus Sandaliarius altar depicting the *corona civica* and laurel trees. 2 BCE. Uffizi Museum, Florence. Photo: Mansuelli 1958: fig. 198b.



Figure 70. Detail of the Vicus Sandaliarius altar depicting the *Lares Augusti*. 2 BCE. Uffizi Museum, Florence. Photo: Mansuelli 1958: fig. 198c.



Figure 71. Detail of the Vicus Sandaliarius altar depicting Victoria adding the *clipeus virtutis* to a *tropaeum*. 2 BCE. Uffizi Museum, Florence. Photo: Mansuelli 1958: fig. 198d.



Figure 72. Detail of Augustus from the Vicus Sandaliarius altar. 2 BCE. Uffizi Museum, Florence. Photo: Rose 1997: pl. 112.



Figure 73. Detail of Gaius from the Vicus Sandaliarius altar. 2 BCE. Uffizi Museum, Florence. Photo: Rose 1997: pl. 113.



Figure 74. Detail of a priestess of the Magna Mater from the Vicus Sandaliarius altar. 2 BCE. Uffizi Museum, Florence. Photo: Rose 1997: pl. 114.



Figure 75. Bust of a *gallus* from Rome. Third century CE. Montemartini Centrale, Rome. Photo: author.



Figure 76. Terracotta statue of the Magna Mater from Zela. Roman. Archaeological Museum, Tokat. Photo: CCCA I: pl. XXXIX, no. 202.

Figure 78. Statue of a priestess of the Magna Mater from Rome. Mid-first century CE. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. Photo: True et al. 2002: 159.

Figure 77. Silver dish decorated with a bust of Attis from Hildesheim. Late Hellenistic. Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Photo: CCCA VI: pl. XII, no. 65.





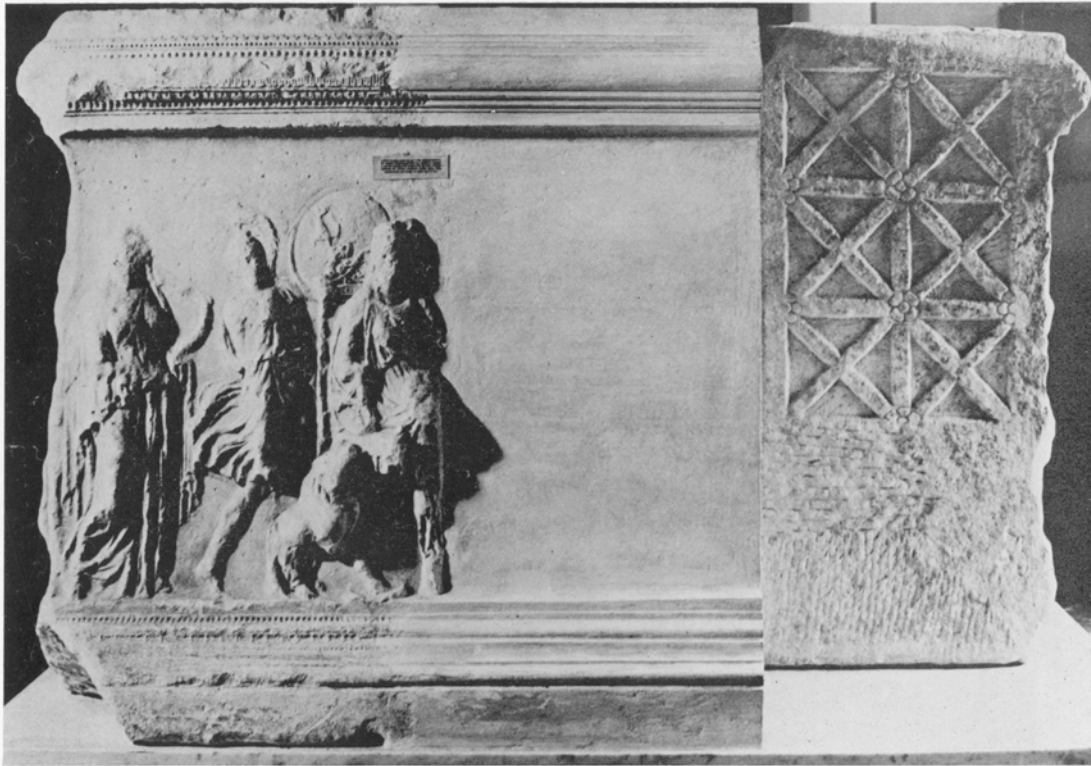


Figure 79. The Sorrento base, Side D: Claudia Quinta, Corybant and the Magna Mater. Early-first century CE. Correale Museum, Sorrento. Photo: CCCA IV, pl. XXVII.



Figure 80. The Sorrento base, detail of Side D. Early-first century CE. Correale Museum, Sorrento. Photo: author.



Figure 81. The Sorrento base, detail of Side D: Claudia Quinta. Early-first century CE. Correale Museum, Sorrento. Photo: author.



Figure 83. The Sorrento base, detail of Side A: Livia. Early-first century CE. Correale Museum, Sorrento. Photo: author.

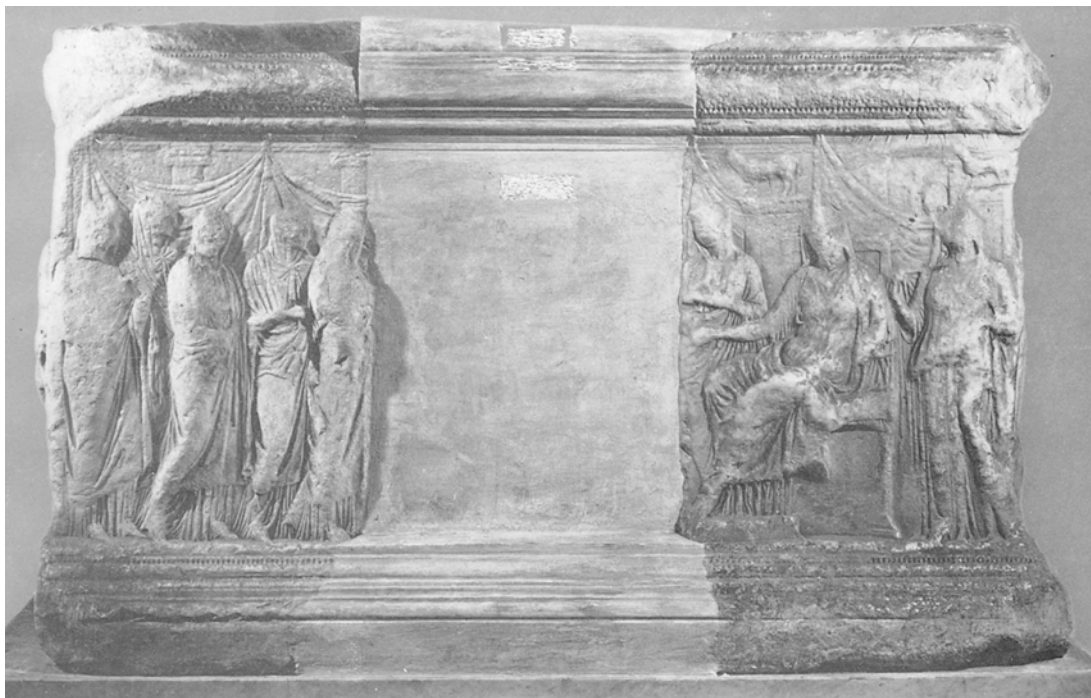


Figure 82. The Sorrento base, Side A: Vestal Virgins, Vesta and Livia. Early-first century CE. Correale Museum, Sorrento. Photo: Tran Tam Tinh 1972: pl. XLIV.

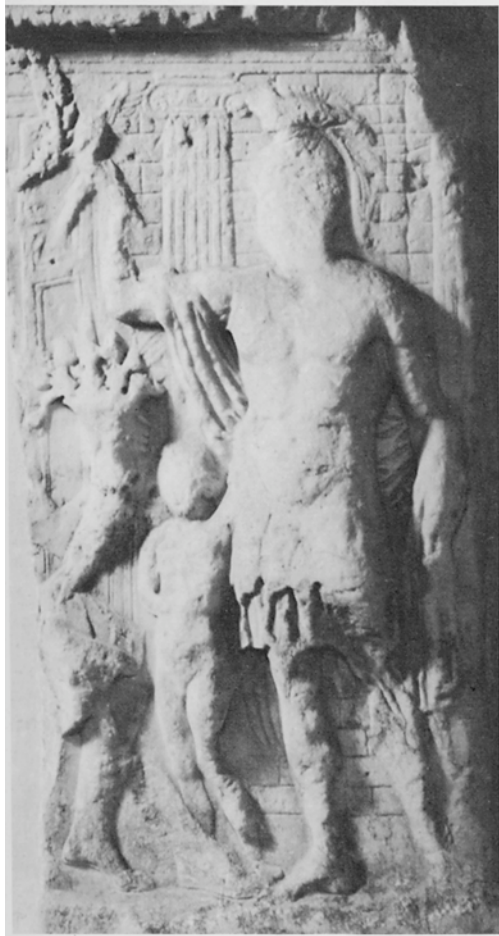


Figure 84. The Sorrento base, Side C: The *Genius* of Augustus, Cupid and Mars Ultor. Early-first century CE. Correale Museum, Sorrento. Photo: *LIMC* II.2, pl. 385, Mars 24c.



Figure 85. The Sorrento base, Side B: Diana, Apollo, Latona and the Cumaean Sibyl. Early-first century CE. Correale Museum, Sorrento. Photo: Zanker 1988, fig. 186.



Figure 86. Sardonyx cameo depicting Livia with the attributes of the Magna Mater, holding a bust of *Divus Augustus*. Ca. 14 CE. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photo: Simon 1986: fig. 211.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 
- Abaecherli, A. L. 1935. 'Imperial Symbols on certain Flavian Coins.' In *CP* 30: 131-40.
- Adam, J.-P. 1994. *Roman Building: Materials and Techniques*. Translated by A. Mathews. Bloomington and Indianapolis.
- Adkins, L. and R. A. 1996. *Dictionary of Roman Religion*. New York.
- Albertoni, M. et al. 2006. *The Capitoline Museums Guide*. Translated by D. A. Arya et al. Rome.
- Albertson, F. C. 1987. 'An Augustan Temple Represented on a Historical Relief Dating to the Time of Claudius.' In *AJA* 91: 441-458.
- . 1990. 'A Redating of the Ara Casali.' In *AJA* 94: 313.
- Aldrete, G. S. 1999. *Gestures and Acclamations in Ancient Rome*. Baltimore.
- Allen, K. 1922. 'The Fasti of Ovid and the Augustan Propaganda.' In *AJP* 43.3: 250-66.
- Altheim, F. 1938. *A History of Roman Religion*. Translated by H. Mattingly. London.
- Anderson, J. C., Jr. 1990. 'Julio-Claudian Building Programs: A Quantitative Study in Political Management, by M.K. Thornton and R.L. Thornton.' Review in *AJA* 94: 515.
- Anderson, W. J., R. P. Spiers, and T. Ashby. 1927. *The Architecture of Ancient Rome: An Account of its Historic Development*. London.
- Anderson, W. S. 1989. *The Art of the Aeneid*. Bristol.
- Ando, C., ed. 2003a. *Roman Religion*. Edinburgh.
- Ando, C. 2003b. 'A Religion for the Empire.' In *Roman Religion*, ed. C. Ando: 220-43. Edinburgh.
- Andres, G. M. 1976. *The Villa Medici in Rome*. Vols. I-II. New York and London.
- Anti, C. 1952. 'Rilievo teatrale romano da Castel S.Elia.' In *Beitrag zur älteren europäischen Kultur Geschichte (Festschrift für Rudolf Egger)* 1: 189-205. Klagenfurt.
- Armellini, F. 1843. *Le sculture del Campidoglio incise e brevemente discritte I-II*. Rome.
- . 1845. *Le sculture del Campidoglio incise e brevemente discritte III-IV*. Rome.
- Austin, R. G. 1977. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos liber sextus*. Oxford.
- Bailey, C. 1969. *Religion in Virgil*. First published 1935. New York.
- Balty, J. C. 1981. 'Aktaie I.' In *LIMC* I.1: 453-54.
- Bartman, E. 1999. *Portraits of Livia: Imaging the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome*. Cambridge.
- Barton, I. M., ed. 1996. *Roman Domestic Buildings*. Exeter.
- Bauman, R. A. 1992. *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome*. London and New York.
- Beard, M. 1994. 'The Roman and the Foreign: The Cult of the "Great Mother" in Imperial Rome.' In *Shamanism, History and the State*, ed. N. Thomas and C. Humphrey: 164-90. Ann Arbor.
- Beard, M. and J. North, eds. 1990. *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World*. Ithaca, NY.
- Beard, M., J. North and S. Price, eds. 1998a. *Religions of Rome: Volume I - A History*. Cambridge.
- . 1998b. *Religions of Rome: Volume II - A Sourcebook*. Cambridge.

- Becker, U. 1994. *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Symbols*. Translated by L. W. Garmer. New York.
- Bellingham, D. C. and A. Watson. 1989. 'N. Hannestad, Roman Art and Imperial Policy.' Review in *JRS* 79: 217-18.
- Bennett, F. M. 1912. *Religious Cults Associated with the Amazons*. Reprinted 1987. New York.
- Berger-Doer, G. 1992. 'Leto/Latona.' In *LIMC* VI.1: 267-72.
- Berneder, H. 2004. *Magna Mater Kult und Sibyllinen. Kulttransfer und annalistische Geschichtsfiktion*. Innsbruck.
- Bertoletti, M., M. Cima, and E. Talamo, eds. 1999. *Sculptures of Ancient Rome: The Collections of the Capitoline Museums at the Montemartini Power Plant*. Rome.
- Bianchi, E. 1994. *Ara Pacis Augustae*. Translated by I. Butters Caleffi. Rome.
- Bianchi Bandinelli, R. 1970. *Rome: The Center of Power, 500 B.C. to A.D. 200*. Translated by P. Green. New York.
- Bieber, M. 1961. *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*. Revised edition. New York.
- . 1968. *The Statue of Cybele in the J. Paul Getty Museum*. J. Paul Getty Publication No. 3. Los Angeles.
- . 1969. 'The Images of Cybele in Roman Coins and Sculpture.' In *Hommages à Marcel Renard*. Vol. 3, ed. J. Bibauw: 29-40. Brussels.
- . 1971. *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*. Revised edition. Princeton.
- Biedermann, H. 1992. *Dictionary of Symbolism*. Translated by J. Hulbert. New York.
- Blake, M. E. 1947. *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus*. Washington.
- Blake, M. E. and D. T. Bishop. 1973. *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society. Vol. 96. Philadelphia.
- Blanckenhagen, P. H. von. 1949-50. 'Vom Ursprung Roms.' In *PZ* 34-35: 245-49.
- Bloch, R. 1939. 'L'Ara Pietatis Augustae.' In *MÉFRA* 56: 81-120.
- Blume, F., K. Lachmann, and A. Rudorff. 1967. *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*. Vol. I Texte und Zeichnungen. Vol. II Erläuterungen. Hildesheim.
- Boardman, J. 1968. *Archaic Greek Gems: Schools and Artists in the Sixth and Early Fifth Centuries BC*. London.
- . 1970. *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical*. London.
- . 1978. *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period*. London.
- . 1985. *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period. A Handbook*. London.
- . 2001. *The History of Greek Vases*. London.
- Bömer, F. 1964. 'Kybele in Rom.' In *RM* 71:130-51.
- Borgeaud, P. 2004. *Mother of the Gods: From Cybele to the Virgin Mary*. Translated by L. Hochroth. Baltimore and London.
- Boschung, D. 1993. *Die Bildnisse des Augustus*. Berlin.
- Bosworth, B. 1999. 'Augustus, the *Res Gestae* and Hellenistic Theories of Apotheosis.' In *JRS* 89: 1-18.
- Bowersock, G. W. 1965. *Augustus and the Greek World*. Oxford.

- . 1990. 'The Pontificate of Augustus.' In *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, ed. K. A. Raafaub and M. Toher: 380-94. Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford.
- Boyancé, P. 1972a. 'Les origines de la légende Troyenne de Rome.' In *Études sur la religion romaine*. CÉFR 11: 153-70. Rome. (= *REA* 45, 1943: 275-90).
- . 1972b. 'Cybèle aux Mégalésies.' In *Études sur la religion romaine*. CÉFR 11: 195-200. Rome. (= *Latomus* 13, 1954: 337-42).
- Bremmer, J. N. 1987. 'Slow Cybele's Arrival.' In *Roman Myth and Mythography*, J. N. Bremmer and N. M. Horsfall. *BICS Suppl.* 52: 105-111.
- Bremmer, J. N. and N. M. Horsfall. 1987. *Roman Myth and Mythography*. *BICS Suppl.* 52.
- Brilliant, R. 1986. "'I Come to You as Your Lord": Late Roman Imperial Art.' In *Artistic Strategy and the Rhetoric of Power: Political Uses of Art from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. D. Castriota: 27-37. Carbondale and Edwardsville.
- Brinkmann, V. 1985. 'Namenbeischriften an Friesen des Siphnierschatzhauses.' In *BCH* 109: 77-130.
- . 1994. *Die Friese des Siphnierschatzhauses*. Munich.
- Broughton, T. R. S. 1951. *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. Vol. 1. New York.
- . 1953-54. 'Notes on Roman Magistrates.' In *Historia* 2: 209-13.
- Brunt, P. and J. Moore. 1967. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus*. Oxford.
- Buchner, E. 1982. *Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus*. Mainz.
- Budde, L. and R. Nicholls. 1964. *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge*. Cambridge.
- Burkert, W. 1985. *Greek Religion*. Translated by J. Raffan. Cambridge, MA.
- Burn, L. 1991. *The British Museum Book of Greek and Roman Art*. London.
- Burton, P. J. 1996. 'The Summoning of the Magna Mater to Rome (205 B.C.).' In *Historia* 45: 36-63.
- Butler, S. 1998. 'Notes on a *membrum disiectum*.' In *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations*, ed. S. R. Joshel and S. Murnaghan: 236-55. New York.
- Caccamo Caltabiano, M. 1994. 'Sibyllae.' In *LIMC* VII.1: 753-57.
- Cagianò de Azevedo, M. 1951. *Le Antichità di Villa Medici*. Rome.
- Calame, C. 1993. 'Legendary Narration and Poetic Procedure in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*.' In *Callimachus: Hellenistica Groningana: Proceedings on the Groningen Workshops on Hellenistic Poetry*, ed. M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit and G. C. Wakker, I: 35-55. Groningen.
- Calza, G. and G. Becatti. 1974. *Ostia*. Ninth edition. Rome.
- Calza, R. 1977. *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphilj*. Rome.
- Canciani, F. 1994. 'Oikoumene.' In *LIMC* VII.1: 16-17.
- Caneva, G. and M. Cutini. 1998. 'Palatino: trasformazioni ambientali e aspetti floristico-vegetazionali legati ai problemi archeologici.' In *Il Palatino Area Sacra Sud-Ovest e Domus Tiberiana*, ed. C. Giavarini: 195-258. Rome.
- Capasso, B. 1846. *Topografia Storico-Archeologiche della Penisola Sorrentina e raccolta di antiche iscrizioni edite ed inedite appartenenti alla medesima*. Naples.

- Carandini, A. and R. Cappelli, eds. 2000. *Roma: Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città*. Rome and Milan.
- Carcopino, J. 1923. 'Attideia.' In *MÉFR* 40: 135-59, 237-324.
- Carettoni, G. 1960. 'Excavations and Discoveries in the Forum Romanum and on the Palatine during the last Fifty Years.' In *JRS* 50: 192-203.
- . 1966-67. 'I problemi della zona Augustea del Palatino alle luce dei recenti scavi.' In *RendPontAcc* 39: 55-75.
- Carson, R. A. G. 1990. *Coins of the Roman Empire*. London and New York.
- Carter, J. C. 1983. *The Sculpture of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 42. London.
- Casson, L. 1971. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Princeton.
- Castagnoli, F. 1964. 'Note sulla topografia del Palatino e del foro Romano.' In *ArchCl* 16: 173-99.
- Castriota, D., ed. 1986. *Artistic Strategy and the Rhetoric of Power: Political Uses of Art from Antiquity to the Present*. Carbondale and Edwardsville.
- . 1995. *The Ara Pacis Augustae and the Imagery of Abundance in Later Greek and Early Roman Imperial Art*. Princeton.
- Cecamore, C. 2002. *Palatium: Topografia Storica del Palatino tra III sec. A.C. e I sec. D.C.* BullCom Suppl. 9. Rome.
- Champlin, E. 2003. *Nero*. Cambridge, Mass. and London.
- Cheal, C. L. 1999. 'Augustan Imagery on Coinage from Paphos.' In *Interpretatio Rerum: Archaeological Essays on Objects and Meaning by Students of R. Ross Holloway*, ed. S. S. Lukesh: 85-97. Archaeologica Transatlantica 17. Providence, Rhode Island.
- Ciancio Rossetto, P. 1985. 'Circo Massimo.' In *Roma, Archeologia nel Centro*. Vol. 1: 213-223.
- Claridge, A. 1998. *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*. Oxford.
- Clarke, J. R. 2003. *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 315*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Clauss, M. 2001. *Kaiser und Gott: Herrscherkult im römischen Reich*. Leipzig.
- Clinton, K. 2003. 'Stages of initiation in the Eleusinian and Samothracian Mysteries.' In *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults*, ed. M. B. Cosmopoulos: 50-78. London and New York.
- Coarelli, F. 1977. 'Public Building in Rome between the Second Punic War and Sulla.' In *PBSR* 45: 1-23.
- . 1982. 'I monumenti dei culti orientali in Roma.' In *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano*, ed. U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren: 33-67. Leiden.
- . 1993. 'Auguratorium.' In *LTUR* I: 143.
- . 1996. 'Iuno Sospita (Palatium).' In *LTUR* III: 129-30.
- Colin, J. 1954. 'Les sénateurs et la Mère des Dieux aux Megalesia: Lucrèce IV, 79.' In *Athenaeum* 32: 346-55.
- Colini, A. M. 1923. 'Indagini sui frontoni dei templi di Roma.' In *BullCom* 51: 299-347.
- Colini, A. M. et al. 1958. *Museo della Civiltà Romana: Catalogo*. Rome.



- Conlin, D. A. 1997. *The Artists of the Ara Pacis: The Process of Hellenization in Roman Relief Sculpture*. Chapel Hill.
- Conticello, B. 1961. 'Ida.' In *EAA* IV: 85-86.
- Cordischi, L. 1985. 'Sul problema dell'Ara Pietatis Augustae e dei rilievi ad essa attribuiti.' In *ArchCl* 37: 238-65.
- Cozza, L. 1958. 'Ricomposizione di alcuni rilievi di Villa Medici.' In *BdA* 43: 107-111.
- . 1997. *Roma*. Third edition. Milan.
- Cramer, F. H. 1954. *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 37. Philadelphia.
- Crawford, M. H. 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Vols. I-II. Cambridge.
- Croci, G. and M. Biritognolo. 1998. 'Studio della stabilità e interventi di consolidamento delle strutture archeologiche e delle pendici Sud Ovest del Palatino.' In *Il Palatino Area Sacra Sud-Ovest e Domus Tiberiana*, ed. C. Giavarini: 177-94. Rome.
- Crutwell, R. W. 1946. *Virgil's Mind at Work: An Analysis of the Symbolism of the Aeneid*. Oxford.
- Cumont, F. 1956. *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*. Second edition. New York.
- . 1959. *After Life in Roman Paganism: Lectures Delivered at Yale University on the Silliman Foundation*. First published 1922. New York.
- Cunliffe, B. 1971. *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961-1969. Volume II: The Finds*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 27. London.
- D'Ambra, E. 1993. *Private Lives, Imperial Virtues: The Frieze of the Forum Transitorium in Rome*. Princeton.
- Danthine, H. 1959. 'L'imagerie des trônes vides et des trônes porteurs de symbols dans le Proche Orient ancien.' In *Mélanges syriens offerts à René Dussard*. Vol II: 857-66. Paris.
- D'Arms, J. H. 1970. *Romans on the Bay of Naples: A Social and Cultural Study of the Villas and Their Owners from 150 B.C. to A.D. 400*. Cambridge, MA.
- Darwall-Smith, R. H. 1991. 'M.K. and R.L. Thornton, Julio-Claudian Building Programs: A Quantitative Study in Political Management.' Review in *JRS* 81: 211-12.
- Davies, W. 1875. *The Pilgrimage of the Tiber, from its Mouth to its Source*. London.
- Day Lewis, C. 1998. *The Aeneid*. First published 1952. Oxford.
- De Angeli, S. 1996. 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes (Fase Tardo-Repubblicane e di età Imperiale.)' In *LTUR* III: 148-53.
- Degrassi, A. 1955. 'Esistette sul Palatino un tempio di Vesta?' In *RM* 62: 144-54.
- Degrassi, N. 1966/67. 'La dimora de Augusto sul Palatino e la base di Sorrento.' In *RendPontAcc* 39: 77-116.
- Develin, R. 1978. 'Religion and Politics at Rome during the Third Century BC.' In *JRH* 10: 3-21.
- Di Cesare, M. A. 1974. *The Altar and the City: A Reading of Virgil's Aeneid*. New York and London.
- Di Filippo Balestrazzi, E. 1984. 'Apollon Agyieus.' In *LIMC* II.1: 327-32.
- Dilke, O. A. W. 1971. *The Roman Land Surveyors: An Introduction to the Agrimensores*. Newton Abbot.
- Domaszewski, A. von. 1911. 'Magna Mater in Latin Inscriptions.' In *JRS* 1: 50-56.
- D'Onofrio, C. 1967. *Gli Obelischi di Roma*. Second edition. Rome.

- Dudley, D. R. 1967. *Urbs Roma*. London.
- Dumézil, G. 1970. *Archaic Roman Religion*. Vol. II. Chicago.
- Dumser, E. A. 2002. 'Magna Mater, Aedes.' In Haselberger et al. *Mapping Augustan Rome*. JRA Supplementary Series 50: 163-64. Portsmouth.
- Dwyer, E. J. 1973. 'Augustus and the Capricorn.' In *RM* 80: 59-67.
- Edwards, C. 1996. *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*. Cambridge.
- Edwards, D. R. 1996. *Religion And Power: Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greek East*. Oxford.
- Eichler, F. and E. Kris. 1927. *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum*. Vienna.
- Elsner, J. 1991. 'Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice and the Ara Pacis Augustae.' In *JRS* 81: 50-61.
- . 1995. *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity*. Cambridge.
- Erskine, A. 2001. *Troy between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power*. Oxford.
- Evans, J. DeRose. 1992. *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus*. Ann Arbor.
- Fagerlind, L. 1932. 'The Transformations of the Corinthian Capital in Rome and Pompeii during the Later Republican Period.' In *Corolla Archaeologica Principi Hereditario Gustavo Adolpho Dedicata*. *SkrRom* 2: 118-131.
- Fantham, E., H. P. Foley, N. B. Kampen, S. B. Pomeroy and H. A. Shapiro, eds. 1994. *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*. New York and Oxford.
- Fantham, E., ed. 1998. *Ovid: Fasti Book IV*. Cambridge.
- . 2002. 'The *Fasti* as a Source for Women's Participation in Roman Cult.' In *Ovid's Fasti: Historical Readings at its Bimillennium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown: 23-46. Oxford.
- Farnell, L. R. 1907. *The Cults of the Greek States*. Vol. IV. Oxford.
- Fasulo, M. 1906. *La Penisola Sorrentina (Vico Equense, Meta, Piano, S. Agnello, Massalubrense): Istoria – Usi e Costumi – Antichità*. Second edition. Naples.
- Favro, D. 1993. 'Reading the Augustan City.' In *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, ed. P. Holliday: 230-57. Cambridge.
- . 1996. *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*. Cambridge.
- Fears, J. R. 1977. 'Princeps A Diis Electus: The Divine Election of the Emperor as a Political Concept at Rome.' *PAAR* 26. Rome.
- Feeney, D. C. 1992. 'Si licet et fas est: Ovid's *Fasti* and the Problem of Free Speech under the Principate.' In *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*, ed. A. Powell: 1-25. London.
- . 1998. *Literature and Religion at Rome*. Cambridge.
- Ferguson, J. 1970. *The Religions of the Roman Empire*. New York.
- Ferrari, O. et al. 1989. *Le Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*. Rome.
- Fischer-Hansen, T. 1990. 'Hestia/Vesta.' In *LIMC* V.1: 412-420.
- Fishwick, D. 1966. 'The *Cannophori* and the March Festival of the Magna Mater.' In *TAPAPA* 97: 193-202.
- Fontenrose, J. E. 1939. 'Apollo and Sol in the Latin Poets of the First Century B.C.' In *TAPAPA* 70: 439-55.

- Fowler, W. W. 1918. *Aeneas at the Site of Rome: Observations on the Eighth Book of the Aeneid*. Oxford.
- Frank, T. 1924. *Roman Buildings of the Republic: An Attempt to Date Them from Their Materials*. PAAR 3. Rome.
- Fraschetti, A., ed. 2001a. *Roman Women*. Translated by L. Lappin. Chicago and London.
- . 2001b. 'Livia the Politician.' In *Roman Women*, ed. A. Fraschetti: 100-117. Chicago and London.
- Frazer, J. G., ed. 1929. *The Fasti of Ovid*. Vols. III-IV. London.
- Freedberg, D. 1989. *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago and London.
- Fremersdorf, F. 1961. *Römisches geformtes Glas in Köln*. Cologne.
- Furtwängler, A. 1896. *Beschreibung der Geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium*. Berlin.
- Futrell, A. 2006. *The Roman Games*. Oxford.
- Gagé, J. 1931 'Observations sur le *Carmen Saeculare* d'Horace.' In *REL* 9: 290-308.
- . 1955. *Apollon Romain*. Paris.
- Gais, R. M. 1978. 'Some Problems of River-God Iconography.' In *AJA* 82: 355-70.
- Gale, M. 1994. *Myth and Poetry in Lucretius*. Cambridge.
- Galinsky, G. K. 1967. 'Sol and the *Carmen Saeculare*.' In *Latomus* 26: 619-33.
- . 1969. *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome*. Princeton.
- . 1996. *Augustan Culture - An Interpretive Introduction*. Princeton.
- Gatteschi, G. 1924. *Restauri della Roma Imperiale*. Rome.
- Giard, J.-B. 1976. *Catalogue des Monnaies de l'Empire Romain. I: Auguste*. Paris.
- Gilbert, O. 1886. 'Der tempel der Magna Mater in Rom.' In *Philologus* 45: 449-68.
- Gilliam, J. F. 1954. 'The Roman Military Feriale.' In *HThR* 47.3: 183-96.
- Gordon, R. 1990. 'Religion in the Roman Empire: The Civic Compromise and its Limits.' In *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. M. Beard and J. North: 235-255. Ithaca, NY.
- Gow, A. S. F. and D. L. Page, eds. 1968. *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*. Vol. II Cambridge.
- Gradel, I. 2002. *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*. Oxford.
- Graf, F. 2003. 'Lesser Mysteries – Not Less Mysterious.' In *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults*, ed. M. B. Cosmopoulos: 241-62. London and New York.
- Graillot, H. 1912. *Le culte de Cybèle, mère des dieux, à Rome et dans l'empire romaine*. Paris.
- Grandazzi, A. 1997. *The Foundation of Rome: Myth and History*. Translated by J. M. Todd. Ithaca, NY and London.
- Grant, M. 1946. *From Imperium to Auctoritas: A Historical Study of Aes Coinage in the Roman Empire 49 B.C.—A.D. 14*. Cambridge.
- Green, C. M. C. 2002. 'Varro's Three Theologies and their Influence on the *Fasti*.' In *Ovid's Fasti: Historical Readings at its Bimillennium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown: 71-99. Oxford.
- Green, M. 1991. *The Sun-Gods of Ancient Europe*. London.

- Grether, G. 1946. 'Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult.' In *AJP* 67: 222-52.
- Griffin, J. 1986. *Virgil*. Oxford.
- Gros, P. 1976. *Aurea Templā: Recherches sur l'architecture religieuse de Rome à l'époque d'Auguste*. Rome.
- . 1993. 'Apollo Palatinus.' In *LTUR* I: 54-57.
- Gross, W. H. 1962. *Iulia Augusta: Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia-Ikonographie*. Göttingen.
- Gruen, E. 1990. *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy*. Leiden.
- Grunow, M. D. 2002. *Architectural Images in Roman State Reliefs, Coins, and Medallions: Imperial Ritual, Ideology, and the Topography of Rome*. Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan.
- Guarducci, M. 1971. 'Enea e Vesta.' In *MdI* 78: 73-118.
- Gurval, R. A. 1995. *Actium and Augustus - The Politics and Emotions of Civil War*. Ann Arbor.
- Gury, F. 1997. 'Zodiacus.' In *LIMC* VIII.1: 490-497.
- Hales, S. 2002. 'Looking for Eunuchs: The Galli and Attis in Roman Art.' In *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. S. Tougher: 87-102. London and Swansea.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A. 1975. *Roman Art: A Modern Survey of the Art of Imperial Rome*. New York and London.
- Hannestad, N. 1988. *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*. Aarhus.
- Hänninen, M. L. 1998. 'Conflicting Descriptions of Women's Religious Activity in Mid-Republican Rome: Augustan Narratives about the Arrival of Cybele and the Bacchanalia Scandal.' In *Aspects of Women in Antiquity: Proceedings of the First Nordic Symposium on Women's Lives in Antiquity, Göteborg 12-15 June 1997*, eds. L. L. Lovén and A. Strömberg: 111-26. Jonsered.
- Hano, M. 1986. 'A l'origine du culte impérial: les autels des Lares Augusti. Recherches sur les thèmes iconographiques et leur signification.' In *ANRW* II, 16.3: 2333-81.
- Hanson, J. A. 1959. *Roman Theater-Temples*. Princeton.
- Harden, D. B. 1946. 'Part of a Glass Bowl from Ham Hill, S. Somerset.' In *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* 92: 93-95.
- . 1947. 'The Glass.' In *Camulodunum: First Report on the Excavations at Colchester 1930-1939*, ed. C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 14: 287-307.
- . 1958. 'A Roman Sports Cup.' In *Archaeology* 11: 2-5.
- . 1971. 'Mould-Blown Glass.' In *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961-1962. Volume II: The Finds*, ed. B. W. Cunliffe, 337-39.
- . 1982. 'New Light on Mould-Blown Glass Sports Cups of the First Century A.D. Bearing Both the Chariot Races in *Bigae* and Gladiatorial Combats.' In *JGS* 24: 30-43.
- Harden, D.B., K.S. Painter, R.H. Pinder-Wilson, and H. Tait. 1968. *Masterpieces of Glass*. London.
- Hardie, P. 1987. 'Ships and Ship-Names in the *Aeneid*.' In *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, eds. M. Whitby, P. Hardie and M. Whitby: 163-71. Bristol.
- Harris, W. V. 1989. *Ancient Literacy*. Cambridge, MA and London.
- Harrison, S. J. 1991. *Virgil Aeneid 10*. Oxford.

- Haselberger, L. et al. 2002. *Mapping Augustan Rome*. JRA Supplementary Series 50. Portsmouth.
- Hauer-Prost, M. 'Rea Silvia.' In *LIMC* VII.1: 615-20.
- Head, B. V. 1911. *Historia Numorum*. Oxford.
- Heiken, G., R. Funicello and D. De Rita. 2005. *The Seven Hills of Rome: A Geological Tour of the Eternal City*. Princeton and Oxford.
- Henig, M. 1974. *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites*. Parts 1 and 2. BAR 8.2. Oxford.
- . 1981. 'Amaltheia.' In *LIMC* I.1: 582-584.
- . 1994. *Classical Gems: Ancient and Modern Intaglios and Cameos in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*. Cambridge.
- Henry, E. 1989. *The Vigour of Prophecy: A Study of Virgil's Aeneid*. Bristol.
- Herbert-Brown, G. ed. 2002. *Ovid's Fasti: Historical Readings at its Bimillennium*. Oxford.
- Hermann, W. 1961. *Römische Götteraltäre*. Regensburg.
- Herrmann, J. J. 1978. 'Archaeology News: Pompeii A.D. 79.' In *Archaeology* 31.4: 52-56.
- Hill, D. E. 2002. 'Ovid and Augustus.' In *Vertis In Usam: Studies in Honour of Edward Courtney*, ed. J. F. Miller, C. Damon and K. S. Myers: 140-51. Munich and Leipzig.
- Holland, L. A. 1961. *Janus and the Bridge*. PAAR 21. Rome.
- Hommel, H. 1942. 'Domina Roma.' In *Die Antike* 18: 127-58.
- Hommel, P. 1954. *Studien zu den römischen Figurengiebeln der Kaiserzeit*. Berlin.
- Homo, L. 1900. *Lexique de Topographie Romaine*. Paris.
- Horsfall, N. M. 1987. 'The Aeneas Legend from Homer to Virgil.' In Bremmer, J. N. and N. M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography*. BICS Suppl. 52: 12-24.
- Huelsen, C. 1895. 'Untersuchungen zur Topographie des Palatins. 1. Der Tempel der Magna Mater.' In *MdI* 10: 3-28.
- . 1928. *The Forum and the Palatine*. Translated by H. H. Tanzer. New York.
- Hull, M. R. 1958. *Roman Colchester*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 20.
- Humphrey, J. H. 1986. *Roman Circuses - Arenas for Chariot Racing*. Berkeley.
- Hunt, J. W. 1973. *Forms of Glory: Structure and Sense in Virgil's Aeneid*. Carbondale and Edwardsville.
- Iacopi, I. 1995a. 'Domus: Augustus (Palatium).' In *LTUR* II: 46-48.
- . 1995b. 'Domus: Livia.' In *LTUR* II: 130-32.
- . 1997. *Gli Scavi sul Colle Palatino*. Rome.
- Icard-Gianolio, N. 1992. 'Kymodoke.' In *LIMC* VI.1: 163-64.
- Iversen, E. 1968. *Obelisks in Exile, Volume One: The Obelisks of Rome*. Copenhagen.
- Jaeger, M. K. 1993. 'Custodia Fidelis Memoriae: Livy's Story of M. Manlius Capitolinus.' In *Latomus* 52: 350-63.
- Jenkyns, R. 1998. *Virgil's Experience – Nature and History: Times, Names, and Places*. Oxford.
- Jocelyn, H. D. 1966. 'The Roman Nobility and the Religion of the Republican State.' In *JRH* 4: 89-104.

- Johansen, K. F. 1951. *The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period: An Essay in Interpretation*. Copenhagen.
- Johnson, W. R. 1976. *Darkness Visible: A Study of Virgil's Aeneid*. Berkeley.
- Jones, A. H. M. 1970. *Augustus*. New York and London.
- Jones, H. S. ed. 1968. *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*. Rome. Vol. 1 (text), vol. 2 (plates).
- . ed. 1969. *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*. First published 1912. Rome. Vol. 1 (text), vol. 2 (plates).
- Jope, J. 1985. 'Lucretius, Cybele, and Religion.' In *Phoenix* 39: 250-62.
- . 1988. 'The Fasti: Nationalism and Personal Involvement in Ovid's Treatment of Cybele.' In *EchCl* 32, n.s. 7: 13-22.
- Kahil, L. 1988. 'Helene.' In *LIMC* IV.1: 498-563.
- Kähler, H. 1939. *Die Römischen Kapitelle des Rheingebietes*. Berlin.
- Kaiser, W. B. 1968. 'Die Göttin mit der Mauerkrone.' In *SchwMbl* 18.70: 25-36.
- Karanastassi, P. and F. Rausa. 1992. 'Nemesis.' In *LIMC* VI.1: 733-770.
- Kellum, B. A. 1982. *Sculptural Programs and Propaganda in Augustan Rome: The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine and The Forum of Augustus*. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.
- . 1985. 'Sculptural Programs and Propaganda in Augustan Rome: The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine.' In *The Age of Augustus. Interdisciplinary Conference held at Brown University, April 30 – May 2, 1982*, ed. R. Winkes: 169-76. Louvain-la-Neuve and Providence, R.I.
- . 1990. 'The City Adorned: Programmatic Display at the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae*.' In *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, ed. K. A. Raaflaub and M. Toher: 276-96. Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford.
- . 1994. 'The Construction of Landscape in Augustan Rome: The Garden Room at the Villa *ad Gallinas*.' In *ArtB* 76: 211-224.
- Kleiner, D. E. E. 1978. 'The Great Friezes of the Ara Pacis Augustae. Greek Sources, Roman Derivatives and Augustan Social Policy.' In *MÉFRA* 90: 753-86.
- . 1992. *Roman Sculpture*. New Haven and London.
- Kleiner, D. E. E. and S. B. Matheson eds. 1996. *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*. New Haven.
- Knox, P. E. 2002. 'Representing the Great Mother to Augustus.' In *Ovid's Fasti: Historical Readings at its Bimillennium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown: 155-174. Oxford.
- Koeppl, G. M. 1982. 'Die Ara Pietatis Augustae: ein Geisterbau.' In *RM* 89: 453-55.
- . 1983. 'Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit I. Stadtrömische Denkmäler unbekannter Bauzugehörigkeit aus augusteischer und julisch-claudischer Zeit.' In *BJb* 183: 61-144.
- Kolbe, H.-G. 1966-67. 'Noch einmal Vesta auf dem Palatin.' In *RM* 73-74: 94-104.
- Kurzmann, R. 2005. 'H. Berneder, *Magna Mater Kult und Sibyllinen. Kulttransfer und annalistische Geschichtsfiktion*.' Review in *BMCR* 2005.05.25. Available as of May 2005 at <<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2005/2005-05-25.html>>.
- Laistner, M. L. W. 1921. 'The Obelisks of Augustus at Rome.' In *JRS* 11: 265-66.

- Lambrechts, P. 1951. 'Cybèle, divinité étrangère ou nationale?' In *Bulletin de la Société royale belge d'Anthropologie et de Préhistoire* 62: 44-60.
- . 1952a. 'Les fêtes "phrygiennes" de Cybele et d'Attis.' In *BIHBelge* 27: 141-170.
- . 1952b. 'Livie-Cybèle.' In *NouvClio* 5-8: 251-60.
- Lambrinudakis, W. 1984. 'Apollon.' In *LIMC* II.1: 183-327.
- Lancellotti, M. G. 2002. *Attis. Between Myth and History: King, Priest and God*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, vol. 149. Leiden, Boston and Köln.
- Lanciani, R. 1888. *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*. London.
- . 1897. *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*. Reprinted 1979. New York.
- . 1893-1901. *Forma Urbis Romae*. Reprinted 1990. Rome and Milan.
- Lane, E. N. 1996. *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M.J. Vermaseren*. Leiden.
- La Piana, G. 1927. *Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire*. (Reprinted from the *Harvard Theological Review*, October 1927). Cambridge, Mass.
- La Regina et al. 1998. *Museo Nazionale Romana: Palazzo Massimo alle Terme*. Rome.
- La Rocca, E. 1990. 'Juno.' In *LIMC* V.1: 814-56.
- Lattimore, S. 1974. 'A Greek Pediment on a Roman Temple.' In *AJA* 78: 55-61.
- . 1975. 'A Greek Pediment on a Roman Temple: Addenda.' In *AJA* 79: 375-76.
- Lawall, M. L. 2003. "'In the Sanctuary of the Samothracian Gods": Myth, Politics, and Mystery Cult at Ilion.' In *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults*, ed. M. B. Cosmopoulos: 79-111. London and New York.
- Lawrence, M. 1965. 'The Circus Relief at Foligno.' In *Richerche sull'Umbria tardo-antica e preromanica: atti del II Convegno di studi umbri, Gubbio, 24-28 maggio 1964*: 119-35.
- Leach, E. W. 1988. *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome*. Princeton.
- Le Bonniec, H. 1958. *Le culte des Cérés à Rome: des origines à la fin de la République*. Paris.
- Le Gall, J. 1953a. *Le Tibre Fleuve de Rome dans L'Antiquité*. Paris.
- . 1953b. *Recherches sur le Culte du Tibre*. Paris.
- Leoni, U. and G. Staderini. 1907. *Sull'Appia Antica: una passeggiata da Roma ad Albano*. Rome.
- Letta, C. 1988. 'Helios/Sol.' In *LIMC* IV.1: 592-625.
- Lewis, N. 1959. *Samothrace: Excavations Conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. I. The Ancient Literary Sources*. London.
- Ley, A. 2002. 'Apollo.' In *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: New Pauly*, I: 850-58. Leiden and Boston.
- Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. 1979. *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*. Oxford.
- Liebeschütz, H. 1926. *Fulgentius Metafloralis*. Leipzig and Berlin.
- Lindner, R. 1997. 'Kouretes, Korybantes.' In *LIMC* VIII.1: 736-741.
- Littlewood, R. J. 1981. 'Poetic Artistry and Dynastic Politics: Ovid at the Ludi Megalenses (*Fasti* 4. 179-372).' In *CQ* 31.2: 381-95.
- Lugli, G. 1946. *Roma antica. Il centro monumentale*. Rome.
- . 1950. 'Le temple d'Apollon et les édifices d'Auguste sur le Palatin.' In *CRAI*: 276-85.

- . 1959. *The Roman Forum and the Palatine*. Rome.
- Lugli, J. 1962. *Fontes ad Topographicum: veteris urbis Romae pertinentes*. Vol. 8. Rome.
- Maaskant-Kleibrink, M. 1978. *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet The Hague: The Greek, Etruscan and Roman Collections*. Vol. I Text. Vol. II Plates. The Hague and Wiesbaden.
- McKay, A. G. 1975. *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World*. London.
- . 1992. 'Kyme II.' In *LIMC* VI.1: 162-63.
- McKeown, J. C. 1984. 'Fabula Proposito Nulla Tegenda Meo: Ovid's *Fasti* and Augustan politics.' In *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, ed. T. Woodman and D. West: 169-87. Cambridge.
- Magagnini, A. 1989. *Le Origini di Roma Attraverso i Materiali dell'Antiquarium Comunale*. Rome.
- Magie, D. 1950. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor: To the End of the Third Century after Christ*. Vol. I Text. Princeton.
- Maier, J. 1985. *Architektur im römischen Relief*. Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe klassische Archäologie 23. Bonn.
- Maiuri, A. 1933. *La Casa del Menandro e il suo Tesoro di Argenteria*. Rome.
- Mansuelli, G. A. 1958. *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le Sculture*. Rome.
- Marconi, P. 1929. *La Pittura dei Romani*. Rome.
- Marucchi, H. 1906. *The Roman Forum and the Palatine according to the Latest Discoveries*. London.
- Mattern, T. 2000. 'Der Magna-Mater-Tempel und die augusteische Architektur in Rom.' In *RM* 107: 141-53.
- Mattingly, H. 1945. 'The First Age of Roman Coinage.' In *JRS* 35: 65-77.
- Millender, E. G. 'Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece*.' Review in *BMCR* 2004.06.09. Available as of May 2005 at <<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2004/2004-06-09.html>>.
- Miller, J. F. 1991. *Ovid's Elegiac Festivals - Studies in the Fasti*. Studien zur Klassischen Philologie, Bd. 55. Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York and Paris.
- . 2002. 'Ovid on the Augustine Palatine (*Tristia* 3.1).' In *Vertis In Usum: Studies in Honour of Edward Courtney*, eds. J. F. Miller, C. Damon and K. S. Myers: 129-39. Munich and Leipzig.
- Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i Beni Librari e gli Istituti Culturali. 1994. *Archeologia in Posa: cento anni di fotografie del Palatino*. Rome.
- Momigliano, A. 1932. 'Archigallus.' In *RivFil* 60: 226-30.
- Moreno, P. 1963. 'Palatinus.' In *EAA* V: 849-50.
- Moretti, G. 1948. *Ara Pacis Augustae*. Rome.
- Morgan, M. G. 1973. 'Villa Publica and the Magna Mater.' In *Klio* 55: 215-45.
- Mucznik, S. 1999. 'Roman Priestesses: the Case of Metilia Acte.' In *Assaph: Studies in Art History*. Vol. 4: 61-78.
- Nash, E. 1957. 'Obelisk und Circus.' In *MdI* 64: 232-59.
- . 1961-62. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Vols. 1-2. New York.



- Nielsen, I. 2002. *Cultic Theatres and Ritual Drama: A Study in Regional Development and Religious Interchange between East and West in Antiquity*. Aarhus.
- Nock, A. D. 1934. 'Religious Developments from the Close of the Republic to the Death of Nero.' In *CAH* 10: 465-511.
- . 1952. 'The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year.' In *HThR* 45.4: 187-252.
- North, J. A. 1976. 'Conservatism and Change in Roman Religion.' In *PBSR* 44: 1-12.
- . 1979. 'Religious Toleration in Republican Rome.' In *PCPS* 25: 85-103 (= *Roman Religion*, ed. C. Ando: 199-219). Edinburgh.
- . 1980. 'Novelty and Choice in Roman Religion.' In *JRS* 70: 186-91.
- . 1986. 'Religion and Politics, from Republic to Principate.' In *JRS* 76: 251-58.
- . 2003. 'Religious Toleration in Republican Rome.' In *Roman Religion*, ed. C. Ando: 199-219. Edinburgh.
- Nugent, S. G. 1990. 'Tristia 2: Ovid and Augustus.' In *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, ed. K. A. Raaflaub and M. Toher: 239-57. Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford.
- Ogle, M. B. 1910. 'Laurel in Ancient Religion and Folk-Lore.' In *AJP* 31: 287-311.
- Orlin, E. M. 1997. *Temples, Religion and Politics in the Roman Republic*. Leiden.
- Pais, E. 1906. *Ancient Legends of Roman History*. London.
- Palma, B. 1974-75. 'Una statua di Cibele sul leone a Villa Doria Pamphilj.' In *StMisc.* 22: 141-47.
- Papageorgiadou, C. 1990a. 'Ide I.' In *LIMC* V.1: 642-43.
- . 1990b. 'Ide II.' In *LIMC* V.1: 643.
- Pasco-Pranger, M. 2002. 'Added Days: Calendrical Poetics and the Julio-Claudian Holidays.' In *Ovid's Fasti: Historical Readings at its Bimillennium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown: 251-74. Oxford.
- Pasinli, A. 2001. *Istanbul Archaeological Museums*. Istanbul.
- Patterson, J. R. 1992. 'The City of Rome: from Republic to Empire.' In *JRS* 82: 186-215.
- Pauly A. F. and G. Wissowa. 1909. *Pauly's Real Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Vol. 6.2. Stuttgart.
- Pensabene, P. 1978. 'Roma – Saggi di scavo sul tempio della Magna Mater del Palatino.' In *ArchLaz* 1: 67-71.
- . 1979. "'Auguratorium" e Tempio della Magna Mater.' In *ArchLaz* 2: 67-74.
- . 1980. 'La zona sud-occidentale del Palatino.' In *ArchLaz* 3: 65-81.
- . 1981. 'Nuove acquisizioni nella zona sud-occidentale del Palatino.' In *ArchLaz* 4: 101-18.
- . 1982. 'Nuovi indagini nell'area del tempio di Cibele sul Palatino.' In *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano*, ed. U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren: 68-98. Leiden.
- . 1983. 'Quinta campagna di scavo nell'area sud-ovest del Palatino.' In *ArchLaz* 5: 65-75.
- . 1984. 'Sesta e settima campagne di scavo nell'area sud-ovest del Palatino.' In *ArchLaz* 6: 149-58.
- . 1985a. 'Ottava campagna di scavo nell'area sud-ovest del Palatino.' In *ArchLaz* 7: 149-55.

- . 1985b. ‘Area sud-occidentale del Palatino.’ In *Roma, Archeologia nel Centro*, ed. A. M. Bietti Sestieri et al.: 179-212. Rome.
- . 1988. ‘Scavi nell’area del Tempio della Vittoria e del Santuario della Magna Mater sul Palatino.’ In *ArchLaz* 9: 54-67.
- . 1990-91. ‘Casa Romuli sul Palatino.’ In *RendPontAcc* 63: 115-62.
- . 1993. ‘Campagne di scavo 1988-1991 nell’area sud-ovest del Palatino.’ In *ArchLaz* 11: 19-37.
- . 1994. ‘Nuovi rinvenimenti nell’area sud-ovest del Palatino (1992-1993).’ In *ArchLaz* 12: 13-32.
- . 1996. ‘Magna Mater, Aedes.’ In *LTUR* III: 206-8.
- . 1998. ‘Vent’anni di studi e scavi dell’Università di Roma “La Sapienza” nell’area Sud Ovest del Palatino (1977-1997).’ In *Il Palatino Area Sacra Sud-Ovest e Domus Tiberiana*, ed. C. Giavarini: 1-154. Rome.
- . 1999a. ‘Victoria, Aedes.’ In *LTUR* V: 149-150.
- . 1999b. ‘Victoria Virgo, Aedicula.’ In *LTUR* V: 150-51.
- . 2000. ‘Le Reliquie dell’eta Romulea e i Culti del Palatino.’ In *Roma: Romolo, Remo el la fondazione della città*. Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, 28 giugno – 29 ottobre 2000, ed. A. Carandini and R. Cappelli: 74-82. Rome and Milan.
- Pensabene, P. and A. D’Alessio. 2006. ‘L’immaginario urbano: spazio sacro sul Palatino tardo-repubblicano.’ In *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation – Visualization – Imagination. Proceedings of the Third Williams Symposium on Classical Architecture held at the American Academy in Rome, the British School at Rome, and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, on May 20-23 2004*. JRA Supplement 61: 31-49.
- Petersen, E. 1902. *Ara Pacis Augustae*. Vienna.
- Peterson, R. 1919. *The Cults of Campania*. PAAR 1. Rome.
- Picard, C. 1954. ‘Le trône vide d’Alexandre dans la cérémonie de Cyinda et le culte du trône vide à travers le monde Gréco-Romain.’ In *CahArch* 7: 1-17.
- Pietrangeli, C. 1978. *Otricoli: un lembo dell’Umbria alle porte di Roma*. Rome.
- Platner, S. B. 1911. *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*. Boston.
- Platner, S. B. and T. Ashby. 1929. *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. London.
- Polacco, L. 1955. *Il volto di Tiberio: saggio di critica iconografica*. Rome.
- Pollini, J. 1978. *Studies in Augustan “Historical” Reliefs*. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- . 1987. *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar*. New York.
- . 1993. ‘The Gemma Augustea: Ideology, Rhetorical Imagery, and the Creation of a Dynastic Narrative.’ In *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, ed. P. Holliday: 258-98. Cambridge.
- . 2005. ‘The Armstrong and Nuffer Heads and the Portraiture of Julius Caesar, Livia, and Antonia Minor.’ In *Terra Marique: Studies in Art History and Marine Archaeology in Honor of Anna Marguerite McCann*. Oxford.
- Pollitt, J. J. 1986. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge.
- Polzer, J. 1965. ‘The Location of the Obelisks in the Circus Maximus in Rome.’ In *JSAH* 24: 165-69.

- . 1973. 'The Villa at Piazza Armerina and the Numismatic Evidence.' In *AJA* 77: 140-50.
- Porte, D. 1984. 'Claudia Quinta et la probl me de la *lavatio* de Cyb le en 204 av. J.-C.' In *Klio* 66: 93-103.
- Powell, B. B. 2001. *Classical Myth*. Third edition. New Jersey.
- Price, S. R. F. 1984. *Rituals and Power: The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge.
- Prott, I. von and L. Ziehen. 1988. *Leges Graecorum Sacrae: The Sacred Laws of the Greek City States Collected from the Inscriptions*. Reprint Edition. Chicago.
- Quilici, L. 1977. *La Via Appia da Roma a Bovillae*. Rome.
- Quinn, K. 1968. *Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description*. Ann Arbor.
- Ramage, E. S. 1987. 'The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' "Res Gestae." *Historia* 54. Stuttgart.
- Ramage, N. H. and A. 1996. *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*. Second edition. New Jersey.
- Rasmussen, A. H. 2002. 'The Attalid Kingdom and the Cult of Cybele at Pessinus.' In *Ancient History Matters: Studies Presented to Jens Erik Skydsgaard on his 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, ed. K. Ascani: 159-64. Rome.
- Rawson, E. 1974. 'Religion and Politics in the Late Second Century B.C. at Rome.' In *Phoenix* 28: 193-212 (= *Roman Culture and Society: Collected Papers*. Oxford. 1991: 149-168).
- Rea, J. A. 1999. *The Locus of Political Power: Sacred and Social Places on the Palatine*. Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Rehak, P. 1987. 'A Reconstruction of the "Ara Pietatis Augustae"/Ara Gentis Iuliae.' Abstract in *AJA* 91: 304.
- . 1990. 'The Ionic Temple Relief in the Capitoline: The Temple of Victory on the Palatine?' In *JRA* 3: 172-86.
- . 2000. 'Augustus and the Obelisks of Egypt.' Paper delivered at the College of Art Association, New York, February 2000. Available as of August 2001 at <[www.duke.edu/~prehak/CAA.html](http://www.duke.edu/~prehak/CAA.html)>.
- Remy, E. 1907. 'La Statue  questre de Cyb le dans les Cirques Romains.' In *MusB* 11: 245-265.
- Richardson, L. jr. 1988. *Pompeii: An Architectural History*. Baltimore and London.
- . 1992. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore.
- Richmond, O. L. 1910. *The Secret of the Palatine*. Three Lectures Delivered at King's College, Cambridge, November 1910 (unpublished).
- . 1914. 'The Augustan Palatium.' In *JRS* 4: 193-226.
- Richter, G. M. A. 1950. *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*. Revised edition. New Haven and London.
- . 1966. *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*. London.
- . 1971. *Engraved Gems of the Romans - A Supplement to the History of Roman Art. The Engraved Gems of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans 2*. London.
- Ridgway, B. S. 1970. *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*. New Jersey.
- . 1984. *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: The Problem of the Originals*. Ann Arbor.
- Ripostelli, J and H. Marucchi. 1908. *La Via Appia   l' poque Romaine et de nos jours*. Rome.
- Rizzo, G. E. 1932. 'La Base di Augusto.' In *BullCom* 60: 7-109.

- Rodriguez, C. L. 1989. *Poetry and Power: Studies on Augustan Monuments and the Poets of the Augustan Age*. Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University.
- Roller, L. E. 1991. 'The Great Mother at Gordion: The Hellenization of an Anatolian Cult.' In *JHS* 111: 128-43.
- . 1994. 'Attis on Greek Votive Monuments; Greek God or Phrygian?' In *Hesperia* 63: 245-62.
- . 1997. 'The Ideology of the Eunuch Priest.' In *Gender and History* 9.3: 524-59.
- . 1999. *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele*. Berkeley.
- . 2003. 'Attis between Myth and History: King, Priest and God, by Maria Grazia Lancellotti.' Review in *BMCR* 2003.08.05. Available as of February 2004 at <<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2003/2003-08-05.html>>.
- . 2005. 'Philippe Borgeaud, Mother of the Gods. From Cybele to the Virgin Mary.' Review in *BMCR* 2005.05.48. Available as of May 2005 at <<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2005/2005-05-48.html>>.
- . 2006. 'The Priests of the Mother – Gender and Place.' In *Classical Archaeology in Boston: Archaeology, Art, Science and Humanities – Proceedings of the XVI international Congress of Classical Archaeology*, ed. C. Mattusch and A. A. Donohue. Forthcoming.
- Romanelli, P. 1963. 'Lo scavo al tempio della Magna Mater sul Palatino.' In *MonAnt* 46: 201-330.
- . 1964. 'Magna Mater e Attis sul Palatino.' In *Hommages à Jean Bayet*, ed. M. Renard and R. Schilling. Collection Latomus, vol. 70: 619-26.
- Rose, C. B. 1990. "'Princes" and Barbarians on the Ara Pacis.' In *AJA* 94: 453-467.
- . 1992. 'The 1991 Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troia.' In *Studia Troica* 2: 43-60.
- . 1995. 'The 1994 Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troia.' In *Studia Troica* 5: 81-105.
- . 1997. *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*. Cambridge.
- . 1998. 'The 1997 Post-Bronze Age Excavations at Troia.' In *Studia Troica* 8: 71-113.
- . 2005. 'The Parthians in Augustan Rome.' In *AJA* 109: 21-75.
- Rossini, O. 2006. *Ara Pacis*. Translated by S. Fox. Milan.
- Rostovtzeff, M. 1941. *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*. Vol. 2. Oxford.
- Roulet, A. 1972. *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome*. EPRO 20. Leiden.
- Rutter, J. B. 1968. 'The Three Phases of the Taurobolium.' In *Phoenix* 22.3: 226-49.
- Ryberg, I. S. 1955. *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*. MAAR 22. Rome.
- Sablayrolles, R. 1981. 'Espace urbain et propagande politique: L'organisation du center de Rome par Auguste (*Res Gestae*, 19 à 21).' In *Pallas* 28: 59-77.
- Saladino, V. 1994. 'Salus.' In *LIMC* VII.1: 656-61.
- Saller, R. P. 1982. *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*. Cambridge.
- . 1984. 'Familia, Domus, and the Roman Conception of the Family.' In *Phoenix* 38: 336-55.
- Scheid, J. 2001. 'Claudia the Vestal Virgin.' In *Roman Women*, ed. A. Fraschetti, 23-33. Chicago and London.

- . 2003. 'Cults, Myths, and Politics at the Beginning of the Empire.' In *Roman Religion*, ed. C. Ando: 117-38. Edinburgh.
- Schillinger, K. 1979. *Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung des Magna Mater-Kultes im Westen des römischen Kaiserreiches*. Ph.D. diss., Universität Konstanz.
- Schofield, W. 1969. 'Sol in the Circus Maximus.' In *Hommages á Marcel Renard*, ed. J. Bibauw, 639-49.
- Schütz, M. 1991. 'Der Capricorn als Sternzeichen des Augustus.' In *A&A* 37: 55-67.
- Schwertheim, E. 2005. 'Ida.' In *BNP*. Vol 6: 709-10. Leiden and Boston.
- Scott, R. T. 1982. 'Providentia Aug.' In *Historia* 31: 436-59.
- Scullard, H. H. 1981. *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*. Ithaca, NY.
- Sear, F. 1998. *Roman Architecture*. First published 1982. London.
- Settis, S. 1975. 'Per l'interpretazione di Piazza Armerina.' In *MÉFRA* 87: 873-994.
- Seznec, J. 1953. *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*. New York.
- ShIPLEY, F. W. 1931. 'Chronology of the Building Operations in Rome from the Death of Caesar to the Death of Augustus.' In *MAAR* 9: 7-60.
- Showerman, G. 1900. 'Was Attis at Rome under the Republic?' In *TAPA* 31: 46-59.
- . 1969. *The Great Mother of the Gods*. First published 1901. Chicago.
- Simon, E. 1967. *Ara Pacis Augustae*. Tübingen.
- . 1967/68. 'Beobachtungen zum Grand Camée de France.' In *Kölner Jahrbuch für vor- und Frühgeschichte: Herausgegeben vom Römisch-Germanischen Museum und der Archäologischen Gesellschaft Köln* 9: 16-22.
- . 1984a. 'Apollon/Apollo.' In *LIMC* II.1: 363-500.
- . 1984b. 'Ares/Mars.' In *LIMC* II.1: 505-59.
- . 1986. *Augustus: Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitenwende*. Munich.
- . 1990. *Die Götter der Römer*. Munich.
- . 1997. 'Kybele.' In *LIMC* VIII.1: 744-766.
- Small, J. P. 1994. 'Palatinus.' In *LIMC* VII.1: 150-51.
- Smith, J. O. 1996. 'The High Priests of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus.' In *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults*, ed. E. N. Lane: 323-35. Leiden.
- Smith, R. R. R. 1988. *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*. Oxford.
- Smith, S. A., 1877. *The Tiber and its Tributaries, their Natural History and Classical Associations*. London.
- Spier, J. 1992. *Ancient Gems and Finger Rings: Catalogue of the Collections. The J. Paul Getty Museum*. Malibu.
- Springer, L. A. 1954-1955. 'The Cult and Temple of Jupiter Feretrius.' In *CJ* 50: 27-32.
- Stahl, H.-P. 1985. *Propertius: "Love" and "War" – Individual and State under Augustus*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London.
- Stambaugh, J. 1978. 'The Functions of Roman Temples.' In *ANRW* 16.1: 554-608.
- . 1988. *The Ancient Roman City*. Baltimore.

- Steinby, E. M. ed. 1993-2000. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*. 6 vols. Rome.
- Strong, D. 1988. *Roman Art*. Second edition. London.
- Strong, E. 1934. 'The Art of the Augustan Age.' In *CAH* 10: 545-82.
- Stucchi, S. 1958. *I monumenti della parte meridionale del Foro Romano*. Rome.
- Summers, K. 1996. 'Lucretius' Roman Cybele.' In *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M.J. Vermaseren*: 337-65. Leiden.
- Sydenham, E. A. 1952. *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*. London.
- Syme, R. 1939. *The Roman Revolution*. Oxford.
- . 1978. *History in Ovid*. Oxford.
- Tagliamonte, G. 1996. 'Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes, Templum (Fino all'a. 83 A.C.).' In *LTUR* III: 144-48.
- Takacs, S. A. 2003. 'Cybele.' In *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: New Pauly*, ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Vol. 3: 1035-40. Leiden and Boston.
- Tameanko, M. 1999. *Monumental Coins: Buildings and Structures on Ancient Coinage*. Iola, WI.
- Taylor, L. R. 1931. *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*. Middletown, CT.
- . 1935. 'The Sellisternium and the Theatrical Pompa.' In *CP* 30: 122-30.
- . 1937. 'The Opportunities for Dramatic Performances in the Time of Plautus and Terence.' In *TAPA* 68: 284-304.
- . 1952. 'Lucretius on the Roman Theatre.' In *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood*, ed. M. E. White: 147-155. Toronto.
- . 1955 (1956). 'Sellisternium and Theoxenia.' In *Atti dell'VIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia delle religioni Roma*: 349-50. Rome.
- . 1985. *The Cults of Ostia: Greek and Roman Gods-Imperial Cult-Oriental Gods*. First published 1913. Chicago.
- Thomas, G. 1984. 'Magna Mater and Attis.' In *ANRW* 2.17.3: 1500-35.
- Thomas, R. F. 1993. 'Callimachus Back in Rome.' In *Callimachus: Hellenistica Groningana: Proceedings on the Groningen Workshops on Hellenistic Poetry*, ed. M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit and G. C. Wakker, I: 197-215. Groningen.
- . 2001. *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*. Cambridge.
- Thornton, A. 1976. *The Living Universe: Gods and Men in Virgil's Aeneid*. Dunedin.
- Thornton, M. K. and R. L. 1989. *Julio-Claudian Building Programs: A Quantitative Study in Political Management*. Wauconda.
- Tillyard, E. M. W. 1917. 'A Cybele Altar in London.' In *JRS* 7: 284-88.
- Toebelman, F., ed. 1923. *Römische Gebäulke*. Heidelberg.
- Tomei, M. A. 1997. *Museo Palatino*. Rome.
- . 1998. *The Palatine*. Translated by L. Guarneri Hynd. Rome.
- . 1999. *Scavi Francesi sul Palatino: Le Indagini di Pietro Rosa per Napoleone III (1861-1870)*. Rome.
- Torelli, M. 1982. *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs*. Ann Arbor.
- Toynbee, J. M. C. 1964. *Art in Britain under the Romans*. Oxford.

- . 1973. *Animals in Roman Life and Art*. London and Southampton.
- Tran Tam Tinh, V. 1972. *Le Culte des Divinités Orientales en Campanie en dehors de Pompéi, de Stabies et d'Herculanum*. EPRO 27. Leiden.
- Tripolitis, A. 2002. *Religions of the Hellenistic-Roman Age*. Michigan and Cambridge.
- True, M. et al. 2002. *The J. Paul Getty Museum – Handbook of the Antiquities Collection*. Los Angeles.
- Tudor, D. 1976. *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Equitum Danuvinorum (CMRED). II. The Analysis and Interpretations of the Monuments*. EPRO 13. Leiden.
- Turcan, R. 1996. *The Cults of the Roman Empire*. Translated by A. Nevill. Oxford.
- . 2000. *The Gods of Ancient Rome*. Translated by A. Nevill. New York.
- Van Deman, E. 1912a. 'Methods of Determining the Date of Roman Concrete Monuments (First Paper).' In *AJA* 16: 230-51.
- . 1912b. 'Methods of Determining the Date of Roman Concrete Monuments (Second Paper).' In *AJA* 16: 387-432.
- Van Heck, A. 1977. *Breviarium Urbis Romae Antiquae*. Rome.
- Vermaseren, M. J. 1966. *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art*. EPRO 9. Leiden.
- . 1977. *Cybele and Attis: the Myth and the Cult*. London.
- . 1977-89. *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*. 7 vols. EPRO 50. Leiden.
- . 1986. 'Attis.' In *LIMC* III.1: 22-44.
- Vermeule, C. C. 1968. *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*. Cambridge, MA.
- . 1977. *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste*. Ann Arbor.
- . 1979. *Roman Art: Early Republic to Late Empire*. Boston.
- . 1987. *The Cult Images of Imperial Rome*. *Archaeologica*, 71. Rome.
- Vermeule, C. C. and N. Neuberburg. 1973. *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum: The Larger Statuary, Wall Paintings and Mosaics*. Malibu, CA.
- Viscogliosi, A. 1996. *Il Tempio di Apollo In Circo e la Formazione del Linguaggio Architettonico Augusteo*. Rome.
- Visconti, C. L. and R. Lanciani. 1873. *Guida del Palatino*. Turin.
- Vollkommer, R. 1994. 'Pudicitia.' In *LIMC* VII.1: 589-92.
- . 1997. 'Victoria.' In *LIMC* VII.1: 237-269.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1989. 'Rome's Cultural Revolution.' In *JRS* 79: 157-64.
- Wardman, A. 1982. *Religion and Statecraft among the Romans*. London.
- Warrior, V. M. 2002. *Roman Religion: A Sourcebook*. Newburyport, MA.
- Waywell, G. B. 1991. 'Paul Zanker: The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus.' Review in *CR* 41.1: 186-89.
- Weigel, R. 1992. 'Lupa Romana.' In *LIMC* VI.1: 292-96.
- Weinstock, S. 1957. 'The Image of the Chair of Germanicus.' In *JRS* 47: 144-54.
- . 1971. *Divus Julius*. Oxford.
- Williams, F. 1971. 'A Theophany in Theocritus.' In *CQ* 21: 137-45.
- . 1978. *Callimachus 'Hymn to Apollo,' A Commentary*. Oxford.

- Williams, G. 1983. *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*. New Haven and London.
- Williams, R. D. 1985. *The Aeneid of Virgil: A Companion to the Translation of C. Day Lewis*. Bristol.
- Wilson, D. R. 1965. 'Roman Britain in 1964.' In *JRS* 55: 199-228.
- Wiseman, T. P. 1974. 'Clodius at the Theatre.' In *Cinna the Poet and other Roman Essays*: 159-69. Leicester.
- . 1979. *Clio's Cosmetics: Three Studies in Greco-Roman Literature*. Rowman and Littlefield.
- . 1980. 'Josephus on the Palatine.' In *Roman Studies: Literary and Historical* 167-75. Liverpool. (= *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 5.10 December 1980: 231-38).
- . 1981. 'The Temple of Victory on the Palatine.' In *AntJ* 61.1: 35-52. (= *Roman Studies: Literary and Historical* 187-205. Liverpool).
- . 1982. 'Philodemus 26.3 G-P.' In *CQ* 32: 475-76.
- . 1984. 'Cybele, Virgil and Augustus.' In *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, ed. T. Woodman and D. West: 117-28. Cambridge.
- . 1985. *Catullus and His World – A Reappraisal*. Cambridge.
- . 1987. *Roman Studies: Literary and Historical*. (Collected Classical Papers, 1). Liverpool.
- . 1991. *Flavius Josephus: Death of an Emperor*. Exeter Studies in History No. 30. Exeter.
- . 1993. 'Clivus Victoriae (Palatium).' In *LTUR* I: 288.
- . 1994. 'Conspicui Postes Tectaque Digna Deo: The Public Image of Aristocratic and Imperial Houses in the Late Republic and Early Empire.' In *Historiography and Imagination: Eight Essays on Roman Culture*: 98-115. Exeter. (= *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire*. CEFR 98. 1987: 395-413. Rome.)
- . 1995. *Remus: A Roman Myth*. Cambridge.
- . 1998. *Roman Drama and Roman History*. Exeter.
- . 2002. 'Ovid and the Stage.' In *Ovid's Fasti: Historical Readings at its Bimillennium*, ed. G. Herbert-Brown: 275-299. Oxford.
- . 2004. *The Myths of Rome*. Exeter.
- Wroth, W. 1894. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos*. London.
- Yalouris, N. et al. 1980. *The Search for Alexander: An Exhibition*. Washington.
- Yavetz, Z. 1984. 'The *Res Gestae* and Augustus' Public Image.' In *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, ed. F. Millar and E. Segal: 1-36. Oxford.
- Zanker, P. 1969. 'Der Larenaltar im Belvedere des Vatikans.' In *RM* 76: 205-18.
- . 1988. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Ann Arbor.
- Zarker, J. W. 1985. 'Augustan Art and Architecture in Virgil's Aeneid.' In *The Age of Augustus. Interdisciplinary Conference held at Brown University, April 30 – May 2, 1982*, ed. R. Winkes: 197-208. Louvain-la-Neuve and Providence, R.I.
- Ziolkowski, A. 1992. *The Temples of Mid-Republican Rome and their Historical and Topographical Context*. Rome.



Zwierlein-Diehl, E. 1979. *Die Antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien*. Vol. 2. Munich.