

J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM
PUBLICATION No. 3

THE STATUE OF CYBELE

in the J. Paul Getty Museum

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There are many representations of the Magna Mater of Phrygia in Roman art. Most of them have one or two or all three of the following attributes: the towered mural crown on the head; the tympanum under her left lower arm; and the lion. One lion may appear on her lap, below or beside her throne: more often a pair of lions flanks her throne or draws her chariot. All these symbols came with her from Phrygia and characterize her as the protectress of cities and military camps, as the mistress of the Corybants who surrounded her with loud music and ecstatic dances, and as mistress over wild animals. In sculpture, the attributes are often lost or have been added only in modern times.

An exception is the statue now in Malibu, found in the sixteenth century probably in Rome where it once stood in the Collection Mattei. In the eighteenth century it was engraved by Clarac (fig. 1), when still unrestored in Rome. It was later bought by Gavin Hamilton, who sold it to the Marquis of Buckingham. In the nineteenth century it was acquired by Lord Lonsdale for Lowther Castle and described by Michaelis.¹ Finally, in our century, it was bought by J. Paul Getty and brought to his museum in Malibu, California, where Cornelius Vermeule has first published it with one photograph.²

I owe to the kindness of the curator of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Mr. Burton B. Fredericksen, excellent new photographs (figs. 2-7) with the permission to publish them as well as information about details of the state of preservation. A comparison of the sketch by Clarac (fig. 1) and the statue in its present condition has brought to my mind several new problems. The questions which concern the original function of the statue, its date and the identification of its portrait head have to be answered.

The statue must have been executed to stand in a niche. The throne in back rises from breast height on both sides to a peak about four inches wide in the center of the back. It and the top of the head are fairly rough because they are not visible. A large squared dowel hole in the back must have been used to fix the statue in the niche.

The first question is why is this life size statue so overloaded with attributes? She wears a very elaborate mural crown depicting a fortified city or camp in which the large square stones of the walls, the main entrance, two towers with windows and the vaulted battlement for the defenders are clearly indicated. Such a turreted crown on the head of Cybele appears already on republican coins. For example, it appears on the denarius minted by C. Fabius, 96-95 B.C., and on others by Marcus Plaetorius Cestianus, aedilis curulis ca. 68-66 B.C., and Aulus Plautius, aedilis curulis in 54 B.C., all minted on the occasion of the Megalesia, the festival for Cybele, when the aedilis presided.³ Cybele also wears serpentine bracelets on the right upper arm and on both wrists. The lower left arm is restored from the wrist on with part of the bracelet.

The lion at the right side of the goddess is seated on his hindlegs, and he looks up to the goddess like an adoring dog who wants to be petted. Generally, lions are shown seated quietly and heraldically at both sides of the throne, as on bronze sestertii as well as on silver denarii, both with the portraits of Faustina I and II (coin pl. II, fig. 11; and coin pl. III, fig. 13). There are many examples from the period of the Antonines as well as from that of the Severans down to Elagabalus.⁴ Such a pair of lions is also frequently found in sculpture. A good example is a statuette in Naples (fig. 10).⁵

Another frequent representation of the lions serving Cybele is the pair which draws her car shown on coins as well as in sculpture. A good example is a bronze group in the Metropolitan Museum, dated in the Antonine period (figs. 8-9).⁶ A relief in Villa Albani, also Antonine, shows a similar lion-drawn car with Cybele (fig. 11).⁷ There are many coins of the republican period and of the Antonine and Severan periods which show a biga, in the earlier period, and a quadriga, in the later period, of Cybele drawn by lions. Our republican examples were minted ca. 76 B.C. (denarius) by M. Volteius (coin pl. I, fig. 1) and in 44 B.C. (aureus) by L. Cestius and C. Norbanus (coin pl. I, fig. 2).⁸ Lucretius (*De rerum natura*, Libri 6, II, 600f.) described such a chariot carrying Cybele.

Rarer is the figure of Cybele riding on a lion on coins (coin pl. II, fig. 10).⁹ This group is represented, however, on the spina of the Circus Maximus and other circus buildings on mosaics and reliefs. Therefore, torsos in marble in Budapest (figs. 14-15) and in Villa Doria Pamphili at Rome (fig. 16) may come from examples originally standing in the circus where the festival Hilaria for Cybele was celebrated.¹⁰

The third attribute of Cybele, the tympanum or hand-drum, is the most frequent of all her accessories. On the relief in Villa Albani, she as well as her favorite, Attis, carry it (fig. 11). The corybants, her demonic followers, and her human worshippers beat the drums, which together with flutes, castanets and cymbals accompany the ecstatic rites and enthusiastic dances. A round tympanum is clearly shown in the front view in the Clarac engraving (fig. 1), and it is also mentioned by Vermeule. When, however, one studies the new side views of the Malibu statue (figs. 2-4), one sees under the hand, the fingers and outer section of which are broken, a modern strip which seems to have replaced the original tympanum over which the hand was laid.

Two other attributes are also present, the steering rudder and the cornucopia. A second stave coming from the wrist must be the steering rudder, broad and flat, with a ridge down the center. It disappears between the cornucopia and the folds of the mantle at the height of the seat of Cybele's throne. The rounded folds of the lower edge of the mantle look as if here was the end of the steering paddle shown in the old drawing of Clarac (fig. 1). The pillow which vaults out between Cybele and the seat on her right side seems to be worked over on her left side. Her body is not removed from the side edge of the seat as it is on her right side. Thus, the seat must have been cut down by the restorer on her left side. The same can be said for the whole side of the throne (fig. 4) in contrast to the other side. (fig. 2). The surface of the throne between the crossbars and the plinth seems to have been worked over and cut down to remove unevenness. The restored part of the cornucopia seems to be too long. I cannot explain unclear remains on the ground, but they are hardly the remains of the end of the cornucopia. They might have represented one of the musical instruments used in the cult of Cybele, as they are represented on the relief of an archigallus in the Museo Capitolino (fig. 12) where cymbala, flute and horn are represented beside the tympanum.¹¹

The steering rudder belongs to Tyche-Fortuna. Thus, on a coin of Septimius Severus (coin pl. III, fig. 14), it is held by Fortuna Redux on the reverse. However, in Rome Cybele has taken over the function as a leader of men's fate. The cornucopia also belonged first to Fortuna, but it is given to many other gods and personifications, among them Hilaritas (coin pl. III, fig. 15).¹² The content of the horn of plenty consists of pine cones in addition to grapes and apples. The pine is the sacred tree of Cybele. She often holds pine branches instead of a phiale or the poppies and ears of wheat, which in the Malibu statue she holds in her right hand. She shares this assortment of agricultural plants with Demeter, and like Demeter she sponsors agriculture. Also, like Demeter and Rhea, she is a mother of gods. Thus, the Malibu statue is a good example of Roman eclecticism and syn-

chronism, qualities which continue through all Roman cultural achievements.

However, in this case, the cornucopia of the Malibu statue may not only allude to the blessings of Fortuna, but may have a special significance. An important day in the festival of the Megalesia was the 25th of March, the first day which is longer than the night, the day after equinox when both day and night are equal. It marked the return of lighter days, of Attis and the vegetation, which had slept during the dark winter. This joyful spring festival, Hilaria, celebrated with circus plays and also a children's holiday, was personified in Hilaritas, often represented on later imperial coins. The type begins on the coins of Hadrian and Sabina, is particularly frequent on Antonine coins, and ends with the coins of Elagabalus (218-222). One minted in about 202 for Plautilla, when Septimius Severus married her to his son Caracalla, shows Hilaritas, the personification of Hilaria Augusta, the imperial joyful festival (coin pl. III, fig. 16).¹³ She wears a long ungirt tunica and a palla, and she holds a palm branch or in other cases a rudder in her right hand, but always a cornucopia in her left arm. Sometimes, as on a coin of Julia Domna (coin pl. III, fig. 15) at either side a child stretches out his arms to her to indicate the children's participation in the games. Thus, the cornucopia may indicate the return of vegetation at the time of the celebration in honor of the Magna Mater. Two of the attributes of Fortuna and Hilaritas are thus squeezed into the left arm of the Malibu Cybele.

It seems to the author that the inclusion of all five attributes in the one statue of Cybele can be explained by the changes which the Phrygian religion of the Great Mother goddess of Asia Minor experienced on Roman soil.¹⁴ The religion became more sober and was relieved of the excesses and wild rites which the priests, the galli, imitating Attis, performed during the wild ecstatic orgies.¹⁵ The whips and knives used by the Phrygian priests were replaced by fruits, pine cones from the sacred tree, agricultural products and the steering rudder of fortune. The other attributes, the lions, the mural crown and the tympanum, came with her from Phrygia and were retained.

The most interesting feature of the statue in Malibu is the head (figs. 5-7). It is without doubt the portrait of an elderly matron. The head agrees with the body, which has rather plump forms and strong breasts lifted by a belt. The new photographs of the head reveal a half elliptic forehead. It is outlined by three strong waves at the hairline above and softly curved eyebrows below. The lower part of the head is shaped like the lower part of an egg, with rounded cheeks and a broad but short chin. The eyes have a sharp glance between the lids of which the upper ones seem to be half closed. The lower lids are pushed up by the heavy pouches, which form below the eyes in elderly persons. The upper and lower part of the iris, probably originally engraved as a flat contour, is interrupted by the drooping

lids (see figs. 7 and 33). The nose is restored in cement. It was probably more aquiline originally. The mouth is firmly closed with flat, straight upper lip and thick, short lower lip. It has an expression of energy and determination. The left ear seems to have had an earring which was smoothed away. However, it might have been only painted, just as in all ancient marble statues many parts like the iris and pupil of the eyes and the lips were colored. The surface now has a grayish color and a granulated skin, probably due to a cleaning with acid. Thus, it is not possible to see the engraving of the iris, which must have been there originally. One can, however, see clearly the small bored hole for the pupil in fig. 32. A crack from the forehead to her right cheek has destroyed the place of the iris, for whose contour the center drill hole was certainly made.

Who can this elderly important looking lady be, who was represented as Cybele or as the priestess of Cybele? This assimilation of an important personage to Cybele is much rarer than that to Demeter-Ceres or her daughter Kore-Persephone. Thus, Sabina, the wife of Hadrian was represented posthumously in a portrait statue in Ostia in the guise of Demeter-Ceres (fig. 17).¹⁶ She is characterized as such by the bunch of two ears of grain or wheat and two poppies in her left hand. Most frequently used for portrait statues are the so-called large and small *Herculaneum Women*, whose Greek originals certainly represented the Eleusinian goddesses.¹⁷ Thus, the daughter is used for a statue in Naples representing perhaps Marciana, the sister of Trajan, or Matidia, her daughter and the mother of Sabina (fig. 18).¹⁸ The same type is used for an Antonine lady, found in Ostia, with sharply waved hair (fig. 19).¹⁹ The type of the mother is used for a lady in the Louvre, found in Cyrene, who might be Crispina, wife of the emperor Commodus, 177-183 (fig. 20).²⁰ It is in any case of the late Antonine or early Severan period. All these ladies may have been priestesses of the Eleusinian goddesses or on account of their high position were identified with the goddesses.

The question as to which imperial lady could be represented in the guise of Cybele has already rightly been answered by Michaelis: it must be the empress Livia. Vermeule first doubted this attribution because "the features suggest a person who lived somewhat later than the widow of Augustus". Later he thought the identification with Livia "probable".²¹ The cult of Livia was indeed created only in later periods. Vermeule dates the statue between the Claudian and the Flavian periods. We may come to a more likely and definite date if we consider the three following questions:

1. When was the cult of Cybele so popular with the higher classes of the Roman Empire, that a member of the ruling dynasty could be assimilated to or identified with the great mother of the gods, Cybele, instead of with Ceres-Demeter, which was more usual?

2. When was Livia so highly esteemed that she could be equated with the mother of the gods?

3. What does the artistic style and the technique of the statue tell us about the period in which it was carved?

The history of the cult of Cybele in Rome has been well investigated and is well known.²² In 204 B.C. a meteorite was brought from Pessinus in Phrygia to Rome. It came on a ship named *Salvia* up the Tiber. When the ship got stuck in the shallow waters, Claudia Quinta, an aristocratic maiden, freed it and drew it upstream with her belt. This miracle is reported by Ovid (*Fasti* 4, 291-348) in the time of Augustus. It is still represented on an altar in the Capitoline Museum dedicated by Claudia Syntyche, probably in the Antonine period (fig. 13).²³ The same event is represented on a medallion for Diva Faustina the elder, that is after her death and deification in 141 A.D. by her husband the emperor Antoninus Pius.²⁴ The statue, or rather the sacred stone, representing Cybele was then brought up to the Palatine, where under lively participation of the aristocracy a sanctuary was dedicated to the *Mater Deum Magna Idaea* and a temple was erected and dedicated in 191 B.C. Augustus restored this temple as he did many other temples in Rome. It is represented on a fragment of the *Ara Pietatis Augustae*, the altar of piety which was walled into the garden-front of the Casino in Villa Medici at Rome. Voted when Livia was dangerously ill in A.D. 22, it was dedicated only in A.D. 43 by Claudius.²⁵ In the time of Augustus and already during the first century B.C. the interest of the higher circles in Rome in the Mother of the Gods had waned. The reason was the wild rites of the *galli*, the oriental priests of Cybele, who had come with her from Anatolia. Roman citizens were forbidden to enter the priesthood; only *liberti* and slaves could do so. The wild and noisy rites of the *galli*, the flagellation and mutilation, as described by Catullus (*Carmen XLIII*), were repugnant to the sober educated Romans (see the whip beside the musical instrument in the relief of an *archigallus*, fig. 12).

It was Claudius who first allowed Roman citizens to become *archigalli*. He also organized and enlarged the festival of Cybele, extending it to 13 days. It began with a procession on March 15, as represented in the painting on the outside wall of a patrician house in Pompeii (figs. 21-22).²⁶ There followed the transfer of a sacred pine to the sanctuary on the Palatine. A day of mourning for Attis was named *Sanguis* because libations of blood were made at his funeral. This was followed on March 25 by a day of hilarious rejoicing, the *Hilaria* (see coin pl. III, figs. 15-16). On the coin of Plautilla in the American Numismatic Museum the personification of this festival carries a cornucopia and the palm of victory in the games. On other coins she holds a rudder. This was the first day in the year when the day was longer than the night, and under the warm rays of the sun the resurrection

of Attis and the reawakening of the vegetation was supposed to begin. The last day there was again a procession through Rome and the nearby country districts in which the statue of the goddess may have been carried by four men on a platform as in the Pompeian painting (fig. 22). A bath and purification of the cult statue of Cybele in the river Almo ended the festival.

After Claudius the cult of Cybele continued to attract the lower but not the upper classes. Hadrian was the first emperor to strike some coins with the figure of Cybele. The first real interest was shown by Antoninus Pius (138-161). He issued many bronze coins for his wife Faustina with the image of Cybele on the reverse (coin pl. II, figs. 10-11) and also some with the image of Hilaria (similar coins, coin pl. III, figs. 15-16). Under the Antonines, female citizens were allowed to become priestesses of Cybele for the first time. The Taurobolia were added to the festival with their disgusting rites. The blood of a sacrificed bull dripped upon the neophytes (Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, X 1011-1027). The wave of popularity increased when Septimius Severus (193-214) brought the Syrian princesses, his wife Julia Domna (see coin pl. III, figs. 14-15) and her sister Maesa, to Rome. This family was particularly devoted to the cult of Cybele. Elagabalus, the grandson of Maesa, is said to have shown himself in a cart drawn by lions (Lampridius, *Heliogabalus* 28). They must have been tamed lions raised from cubs as they romp on the platform on which the statue of Cybele is carried in procession on the Pompeian wall painting (fig. 22). Elagabalus may have worn the rich dress of an archigallus (see the relief in fig. 12). This again ended for a time the vogue of the cult of Cybele in the higher classes.

The short reign of Julianus Apostata (361-364) brought a last revival. He wrote hymns to the sun god and to the Mother of the Gods. Although the cult lingered on, it did not have any more upper class followers.

Thus, the possibilities of a portrait statue in the guise of the Magna Mater is restricted to two periods: The Claudian and the Antonine Severan.

2. Livia was always highly regarded during her lifetime, but still more so after her death. She was first married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, to whom she bore two sons, Tiberius and Drusus. The young Octavianus induced the first husband to divorce Livia so that he could marry her in 38 B.C., when she was twenty years old. He adopted the two boys and later made Tiberius his successor. He loved Livia and followed her clever advice even after he became Augustus in 27 B.C. However, only in his testament in A.D. 14 did he give her the title Julia Augusta, that is, empress and member of the Julian dynasty. She became priestess of the deified Augustus (Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.*, 56, 46). Tiberius, who owed the throne to her, in the first years also allowed her to share in the government, but later the relationship cooled. When Livia died in A.D. 29, her great grandson Caligula, grandson of Drusus and son of Germanicus, who lived with Livia during the last year of her life,

held the funeral oration. He called her an "Ulixes in the stola", that is a clever and ingenious Odysseus dressed in the stola, the honorary dress given to high class matrons (Suetonius, *Caligula* 10. Tacitus, *Annales* 5,1).²⁷

The highest honors, however, were given to Livia by her grandson Claudius, the youngest son of Drusus, who followed his nephew Caligula on the throne (41-58). In 42, at the centenary of her birth, he made her diva, that is he deified her and thus likened her to goddesses. Another emperor to appreciate Livia greatly was Galba during his short reign in A.D. 68-69, when he was already 65 years old. When young he had been a favorite of Livia and had inherited some of her fortune. The military Flavians and Trajan hardly had so much interest in Livia, but Hadrian, who showed so much piety for the family of his wife Sabina, certainly also honored the ancestress of all empresses. The Antonines named their own wives Julia Augusta (see coin pl. III, fig. 15), as Livia was named in her later years. The Severans probably did not honor her any more but rather deified their clever Syrian women.

From the literary and epigraphical sources it thus seems, that the best periods for portraits of Livia extend from the Augustan to the Antonine periods.

There are indeed many portraits of Livia mentioned in literature: thus, in Tacitus, *Annales* IV, 57; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 21, 50; Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* 49, 38, 1; 55, 2, 5; 56, 47. They were erected by Octavianus Augustus, by the Senate and quite frequently in the provinces of the growing Roman Empire. There are also many portraits of Livia still in existence in bronze, marble, on gems and on coins. Many scholars have worked on these portraits, but only Vagn Poulsen has recently begun to bring some chronological order in this mass of material.²⁸ Special research in this problem is very desirable. Contemporary and posthumous portraits must be differentiated.

V. Poulsen has assembled 25 portrait heads which wear the nodus hair-dress, a coiffure with a knot or roll in the center of the front, accompanied by waves at the sides. He believes, probably rightly, that this is the hairdress worn by Livia during her early years and during most of her lifetime as it was by Octavia, the sister of Octavianus.²⁹ These heads belong partly to the time of Augustus, partly to the time of Tiberius. Unfortunately only one mediocre provincial portrait can be dated exactly, the little bronze bust found together with a bust of Augustus in Neuilly-le-Réal in France and now in the Louvre.³⁰ It is dated by Poulsen and Goethert ca. 27 B.C. at which date Octavianus became Augustus and travelled in Gaul with Livia. When a statue of Livia is found together with one of Augustus, it is tempting to consider it as a portrait made in the lifetime of Augustus. This is the case with the statues of the couple found in the basilica of Otricoli, where Livia is represented as an Orans, a praying woman.³¹ Helga von Heintze, however,

considers the group as a later copy. Both types are certainly Augustan classicizing adaptations of classical Greek statues. Later copyists seem to have gone back more often to these Augustan classicizing than to the original Greek classical works.

When, on the other hand, Livia is represented together with Tiberius, as in a pair of seated statues found at Paestum, now in Madrid (fig. 23),³² we can certainly date these portraits in the time of the early reign of Tiberius, when the emperor allowed her to participate in his government (ca. A.D. 14-24). Tiberius is also the first who issued coins with her portrait (coin pl. I, figs. 3-7). There are no portraits of Livia on coins of Augustus because the right of having their own coins was not bestowed on empresses until they officially became Augusta, and this happened to the first empress Livia only after the death of her husband. Tiberius honored her not as an ordinary woman, but rather represented her on the reverse of coins as Pax, Justitia, Salus and Pietas with the obverse of divus Augustus (coin pl. I, figs. 3-7).³³ Thus, Livia who had been very ill in A.D. 22 was likened to the personification of health. The coin with Salus (coin pl. I, fig. 5) has the same parallel waves of hair as one of the finest and best known heads of Livia in the Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg at Copenhagen.³⁴ Vagn Poulsen rightly dates it in the time of Tiberius. The main differences are the small curls which according to the fashion of the time cover the temples. Goethert and Gross have doubted the identification as Livia, misled by the style which is no longer Augustan. A similar head, however, without the curls, is found in the Villa of Mysteries in Pompeii, probably also of this period.³⁵ It is an example of the differentiation of portrait statue and head. The head was created in Rome and copies were set into torsos prepared in the provinces with cavities for neck and head.³⁶

On the Ara Pacis Augustae (13-9 B.C.) Livia with laurel wreath and veiled head is walking not at the side of Augustus, but between Agrippa, to whose mantle his little son Caesar clings, and her son Tiberius.³⁷ She is a dignified matron who has pulled her palla over her head. There is no sign of personification as on the coins of Tiberius (coin pl. I, figs. 3-7) and no sign of old age. This shows, however, on the grand *camée de France*, in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris.³⁸ The emperor is represented as Jupiter, indicated by the aegis laid over his knees, while Livia is characterized by a bunch of ears of wheat and poppies as Ceres or perhaps rather as a priestess of Ceres. Her age is indicated by the tired way in which she leans back against the throne, so that she becomes much smaller than the emperor. She also leans, as older women do, with her left arm on the side of the throne and her right arm on her lap. Her feet are placed flat on the footstool, which she shares with the emperor, while both his feet are in lively movement. If the emperor is Tiberius, as is assumed by most scholars, she is well

characterized as his old mother. If it is Claudius, as Schweitzer, Matz and Moebius believe,³⁹ she is characterized as his grandmother. Livia may have been made priestess of Ceres as she was priestess of Augustus. As a priestess she is represented in the statue found with other members of the Julio-Claudian house in a chapel for the imperial cult inside the Macellum, the meat market of Pompeii, together with the inscription: *Augustae Juliae Drusi Fil. Divi Augusti DD.*⁴⁰ She wears over her tunic the *stola*, hung by ribbons like a slip from the shoulders. She had her hair gilded, veiled and adorned with a wreath of olive branches. There seems to be no sign of her being identified with a goddess in this statue.

Livia is, however, named *Genetrix* on coins of Tiberius minted in Spain in the colony *Julia Romula*. The reverse shows the head of Livia over a globe with the inscription: *Julia Augusta Genetrix Orbis*; that is the name given her in the testament of Augustus with the addition that she is the parent of the globe or the Roman world. This conception leads to her representation of or identification with a goddess, *Venus Genetrix*, on the relief in Ravenna.⁴¹ Here she stands next to Augustus with little *Amor* on her shoulder. Augustus is conceived as *Jupiter* similar to the bronze statue from *Herculaneum* in Naples (figs. 24-26).⁴² As Livia became *diva* not before Claudius had apotheosized her, I believe that the relief in Ravenna is at the earliest Claudian. The two young men next to her may be her sons *Tiberius* and *Drusus*, or the latter might be *Claudius*, her grandson. She is indeed the *genetrix*, the parent of these Julio-Claudian princes.

Claudius added an image of Livia as *diva* to the statue of *divus Augustus* in his temple. He also minted, probably in 41-42, *dupondii* (bronze worth two asses) in Rome with *divus Augustus* and *diva Augusta* on which Livia is likened to *Ceres* (coin pl. I, fig. 8).⁴³ She remained the priestess of Augustus, but Claudius may have made her not only priestess of other gods and goddesses, but also likened her to them. The latter is certainly the case on the very important *sardonix* in Vienna, Austria (fig. 27).⁴⁴ Livia is seated and holds in her left hand a bunch of ears of wheat and poppies, as she does on the grand *camée de France*. In her right hand she holds the radiated and veiled bust of *divus Augustus*. She leans her left elbow on the side of the throne, but the lower arm is supported by a *tympanum*, decorated with the figure of a lion, the symbol of *Cybele*. She also wears the turreted crown and the mantle drawn up over the head like *Cybele* (cf. figs. 1-11). She certainly is paralleled to the mother of the heavenly gods as the mother of the rulers in the earthly world, the globe (*orbis terrarum*), of the Roman empire. She may have been named by Claudius as the first priestess of the *Magna Mater*, for he was the first to allow citizens to enter the priesthood of *Cybele*. As there was no female aristocratic priestess before the reign of Claudius (37-54), the gem must be dated around the middle of the first century A.D.

Claudius is said to have later neglected Livia in favor of his wives Messalina and Agrippina. The same neglect seems to be the fate of her memory during the reign of the Flavians. Her birthday, on August first, under the Zodiac sign of the lion, was, however, continuously celebrated with a festival by priests and sacrifices by the Arvales (Tacitus, *Annales* VI 5). Galba, in contrast, in his short reign of not quite a year (68-69) struck many coins, on the reverse of which Livia appears holding poppies and ears of wheat or holding patera and scepter, standing or seated, with the inscription *diva Augusta*. These coins were minted in Rome as well as in Spain.⁴⁵ The picture of Ceres appears already on coins of Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius, similar to the seated *Pietas* (coin pl. I, fig. 7). The latter has the portrait of *Divus Augustus pater* on the other side. These pictures may have been wrongly interpreted by Galba as Livia, considering her a priestess of, or assimilated to Ceres.

Ceres is also the favorite goddess with whom the women of the Trajanic family were identified. The statues of Matidia (fig. 18) and of Sabina (fig. 17) may have been erected by Hadrian only after their deaths. He held the funerary oration for his mother-in-law, whom he highly appreciated since she gave him in A.D. 100 her daughter Sabina in marriage so that he could become the successor of Trajan. Although his marriage with Sabina was rather indifferent, he made her *diva* after her death. Both Matidia and Sabina are represented as *Demeter-Ceres*, Matidia in the type of the *Herculaneum* woman, Sabina characterized by the bunch of ears of wheat and poppies. Both are thus divinized in the same way as formerly only Livia. Hadrian also dedicated sanctuaries to the members of the Trajanic family. The apotheosis of Sabina by Hadrian, dated 136-138, between the death of Sabina and of Hadrian, shows her carried by *Aeternitas* upward.⁴⁶ The simple parted hair and veiled head are similar to Livia's later portraits. The same is true for the statue in Ostia (fig. 17), which therefore may be posthumous. The seated *Cybele* on coins with Sabina on the obverse also shows that Sabina has taken the place of Livia. She was given the figure and the title of *Genetrix* which originally had been the right of Livia.⁴⁷

The same happened under the Antonines. Their wives and daughters were honored with portrait statues in the guise of *Ceres* or *Persephone* (above figs. 19-20). On coins their heads on the obverse have the title *Mat. Augg.*, mother of the emperors, while *Cybele* on the reverse is the *Magna Mater Deum*, the great mother of the gods (coin pl. II, figs. 10, 11 and coin pl. III, fig. 13).⁴⁸ The same image is continued under the Severans, particularly on coins of Julia Domna and Julia Maesa, who indeed were the mother, grandmother and aunts of three emperors: Caracalla, Elagabalus and Alexander Severus. The title *Julia Augusta* was assumed by Julia Domna (coin pl. III, fig. 15).

In the Antonine period the cult of Livia flourished. Antoninus Pius restored the temple for the divus Augustus, to whose cult statue Claudius had added the statue of the diva Livia Julia Augusta. This octastyle temple with the two seated statues of the first imperial Roman couple is represented on coins of Antoninus Pius (coin pl. II, fig. 9).⁴⁹ It was minted in 158-159. This date is given by inscriptions naming the offices as *Tribunus Populi*, TR P XXII on the obverse and as *COS III* in the exergue below the temple. The inscription tells that it is the Temple of the divine Augustus (*Templum div. Aug.*) which the pious Antoninus has restored.

We thus have only two periods, the Claudian and the Antonine, in which the highest veneration of Cybele was contemporary with the highest esteem for Livia. In order to decide in which of these two periods the statue of Malibu can have been erected, we must study the style and the technique of the work.

3. The statue in Malibu has decidedly some Claudian characteristics, particularly in the head (figs. 5-6). The oval shape of the face, the half elliptic forehead, the flat bowline of the eyebrows remind us of the colossal head of Livia in Copenhagen found in Cervetri together with a portrait of Claudius, both now in Copenhagen. It is rightly dated by Vagn Poulsen in the Claudian period⁵⁰ and must on account of the large scale represent the emperor and his grandmother as *divus* and *diva*. In other statues Claudius is decidedly characterized as Jupiter by the eagle. In the statue of Livia which Claudius added to the statue of Augustus in the temple of the first emperor (coin pl. II, fig. 9), Livia also must have been characterized as a *diva*. It may have been the prototype for the gem in which Livia holds the head of the *divus* Augustus (fig. 27). The hair of this picture of Livia-Cybele is indeed arranged similarly to the hair of the Malibu statue.

The attitude and the arrangement of the clothes of the Malibu statue also reminds us not only of this gem, but also of the seated *Roma* on the *gemma Augustea* in Vienna, Austria, and the Livia on the *grand camée de France*.⁵¹ The same is true for the general design of the folds, which begins with the finely curved folds of the Livia on the *Ara Pacis* and is continued in the *Eumachia* and the Livia as priestess, both found in the *Macellum of Pompeii*.⁵²

All these features are inventions of the Augustan period which the Claudian period inherited and used with some modification in the direction of sophisticated delicacy. The cool elegance and metallic precision of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods are missing in the Malibu statue. The Antonine style is sometimes called classicistic. The artists of the Antonine period, however, did not rework classical Greek models, as did those of the Augustan. Rather, they go back to the Julio-Claudian general concepts but remodel them in their own style. It has much more depth in the hair

as well as in the drapery. The waves of the hair although related to those of the colossal head from Cervetri are much more separated from each other by deeper rounded channels than in the Claudian heads. The folds of the drapery are made into tubular and trumpet folds, and their backs are again enriched by rounded channels. The drapery is not rendered like a fine drawing on a flat ground which represents in the Julio-Claudian period the material of the dress. It is rendered much more realistically, with more depth and more chiaroscuro, change of light and shade. The real parallels to the rendering of the hair with drill runnels while little bars have been left standing, and of the form of the folds, are found in the Antonine reliefs on the arch of Constantine and in the Palazzo dei Conservatori⁵³ as well as in Antonine statues and busts. Particularly similar are good busts of Antoninus Pius in Munich and Naples.⁵⁴ The sagging under the eyes, distinctly separated from the cheeks, also is definitely Antonine.

The Antonine period for the execution of the Malibu statue is particularly well testified by the boring technique used for the mouth and mane of the lion as well as for the content of the cornucopia. The separation of the single fruits from each other and the indication of the center of the fruits by single deeply bored holes is similar to the technique used for the content of the cornucopia of a statue of Livia found in Puteoli, now in the Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg (fig. 28).⁵⁵ Poulsen rightly dates this statue in the Antonine period, but using a prototype of the Claudian period. The style, however, is different from the Malibu statue, particularly as here the texture of a thin chiton, not of a heavy woollen material, is rendered.

The drillwork is also similar to the one of the Alcestis sarcophagus, found in Ostia, now in the Vatican.⁵⁶ The deceased Metilia Acte was priestess of Cybele and her husband Caius Junius Euhodus was president of the College of Builders in Ostia. Their portrait heads were put on the figures of Admetus and Alcestis, like the portrait of Livia in the statue at Malibu was put on that of Cybele. The date is ca. 160-170 A.D. The hairdress of Alcestis resembles that of the Malibu statue.

We have to ask, whether this lady represented in Antonine style could not have lived in the Antonine period. The stylistic and technical parallels to the Malibu statue belong to the Antonine period. Which contemporary woman could be represented besides the ancestress Livia? The only empresses who lived in this period are Sabina and the two Faustina.

Sabina died in 136, two years before her husband Hadrian, who had already adopted Aelius Verus. This young man died before Hadrian. His successor Antoninus Pius had married Faustina the elder and had given their daughter, Faustina the younger, to Marcus Aurelius in marriage. Sabina had in her last years discarded the elaborate Trajanic hairdress and adopted the same simple classicizing hairdress as Livia in her later years. We find it

on the relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori with her apotheosis, which Hadrian must have dedicated to her in 136-138, between her death and his own.⁵⁷ We also see it in the statue found in Ostia (fig. 17) which represents her as Ceres-Demeter. On coins of Sabina, Venus Genetrix appears on the reverse. The style, however, is much purer classical in this Hadrianic Graecophile than in the Antonine period. We can see it in the folds of the dress as well as in the hair in which drillwork is used to loosen the strands. When we compare a good portrait of Sabina like the bust in the Vatican⁵⁸ and the head in the Museo delle Terme in Rome (figs. 29-31)⁵⁹ we find a similar but much simpler hairdo with parallel lines in the hair. A quite different shape is rendered in the eyes. Sabina has strongly separated eye lids with long, heavily marked tear ducts (fig. 31). The Malibu lady has a continuous frame in her eye lids which surround and cut over the eyeball in soft curves (figs. 32-33). As the iris and pupil of Sabina are engraved in the Antonine manner, this portrait must be posthumous. In the Malibu statue it is no longer possible to decide whether the iris was engraved or only painted, but the pupil is bored.

Despite formal and stylistic similarities the physiognomy and expression are decidedly different from the Malibu statue. Sabina is pretty, insignificant, the expression rather morose and lifeless, the forms are picayunish. The Malibu lady is a superior personality of high intelligence and she has an intense expression in the mature forms of the face. The naturalistic rendering is perfectly fused with the allegoric idea of a great mother of all.

Let us compare likenesses of Faustina the elder and Faustina the younger with the Malibu statue, in order to be sure that they also cannot be represented. The elder Faustina became Augusta in 138, died and was apotheosized in 141, only ca. 36 years of age. The apotheosis is represented on the base of the column of Antoninus Pius in the Giardino della Pigna in the Vatican. On her posthumous coins she is named DIVA AUGUSTA FAUSTINA (coin pl. III, fig. 12a).⁶⁰ The high hairdo with the braids on top, on coins (see coin pl. II, figs. 10-11) as on the relief, is quite different from the Malibu lady. Her physiognomy is also distinctly not only younger, but also has a more youthful vigor and energetic expression. On the reverse (coin pl. III, fig. 12b), elephants draw the carriage on which she is seated. This is the ordinary form to indicate apotheosis.⁶¹ The elephant car drove the deceased ruler to the funeral pyre.

The younger Faustina became Augusta in 147. She died in 175 when 45 years old and became diva. Her hair is again parted and waved, but the waves are scalloped over the forehead, harshly separated by deep grooves and more uniform than in the statue of Cybele at Malibu. The physiognomy is again absolutely different and the forms are rather fat.⁶² On her coin (coin pl. III, fig. 13) Cybele appears, seated with a lion at her side, the left arm

rests on a tympanum, the right hand holds a branch. The inscription names her mater deorum. Thus, it is Cybele herself, not the empress personified as Cybele.

The result of this investigation is that the statue in the J. Paul Getty Museum of Malibu can only present Livia in the early Antonine period about 140-160 or about the middle of the second century. It was most likely erected by Antoninus Pius, the pious. He, like all other emperors, considered Augustus his divine model. He restored the temple of Augustus and reproduced it on his coins (coin pl. II, fig. 9).⁶³ Claudius had added the statue of Livia. Both statues are distinctly indicated as seated on the coins. Augustus was probably represented as Jupiter as he appears on the gemma Augustea and in the large standing bronze statue from Herculaneum in Naples (figs. 24-26) with scepter and lightning in a grandiose Hellenistic attitude.⁶⁴

I think it possible that the Malibu statue is copied from the seated Livia statue, which Claudius set up in the temple of Augustus. The first emperor who became divine ancestor and model for the following emperors could well be accompanied by the first empress as the divine model and mother of all emperors and empresses. Paralleled and equated to the mother of the gods, she could be venerated by the Antonine dynasty as she was before them by Claudius and Galba.

Thus, the statue in Malibu is the last and highest of the representations in the guise of personification which Livia was given after her death. Beginning with different virtues as Augusta under Tiberius, she became as diva equated to a goddess, Cybele, under her grandson Claudius, under Galba to Ceres, and finally under the Antonines again to Cybele. While in the time of Claudius she may have been a priestess with the attributes of her goddess, in the Antonine period the idea of her being the great mother of the globe and the ruling emperors, just as Cybele is the great mother of the heaven and the gods, has found its perfect artistic expression. Portrait and allegory have become a consummate unity in the Malibu statue.

New York, 1968

FOOTNOTES

- 1 A. Venuti, *Vetera Monumenta Matthaeiorum* I, Roma 1779, pl. 23. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture* III, p. 396 A, fig. 664 E. Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine* I, Paris 1897, p. 183, fig. 2. Adolph Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 1882, p. 498, Lowther Castle no. 68.
- 2 Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Bulletin of the J. Paul Getty Museum of Art* I, 1957, pp. 22-25, fig. 10; *idem*, *AJA* 63, 1959, p. 334; *idem*, *Proceedings Am. Philos. Society* 108, 1964, pp. 106 and 126, fig. 18.
- 3 E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, p. 82, nos. 589-591, pl. 19 (Fabius); p. 133, no. 808, pl. 23 (Plaetorius Cestianus); p. 156, no. 932, pl. 26 (Plautius).
- 4 Our coin pl. II, fig. 11 is the specimen in *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Roman Coins (BMC)* IV, *Antonines*, p. 232, no. 1437; our coin pl. III, fig. 13 in ANS is similar to *ibid.*, p. 403, no. 134. For other coins with Cybele seated between two lions see *ibid.* IV, p. 232f., nos. 1436-1441, pl. 34, fig. inscr. Diva Augusta Faustina, rev. Matri deum salutari; p. 402f., nos. 132-135, pl. 55, figs. 17-18, inscr. Matri Magnae; p. 534, nos. 932-933, pl. 73, fig. 11; p. 542, nos. 989-990, pl. 74, fig. 4. *BMC* V, *Pertinax to Elagabalus*, p. 163f., nos. 50-55, 58, pl. 28, figs. 6-7, 10; p. 309, nos. 772f., pl. 47, fig. 4.
- 5 Naples Mus. no. 6371. Ruesch, *Guida del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, p. 158, no. 496. Vittorio Spinazzola, *Pompei alla Luce degli Scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza*, anni 1910-1913, I, Rome 1953, p. 229, fig. 257. For other marble statues of this type see Reinach, *op. cit.*, I, p. 143, fig. 1; p. 182, figs. 5-6; p. 183, figs. 2-3, 5; p. 185, fig. 2 (our fig. 10); V, p. 116, fig. 6; p. 117, figs. 1-2. Graillet, *Le culte de Cybèle. Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* no. 107, 1912, pls. VIII-IX.
- 6 Gisela M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, p. 128f., no. and fig. 258; *idem*, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 6th ed. 1930, p. 307f., fig. 218. Christine Alexander and Helen McLees, *The Daily Life of the Greeks and Romans*, 1938, p. 12, fig. 14. Brian F. Cook, "The Goddess Cybele, a Bronze in New York", *Archaeology* 19, 1966, pp. 251-257, figs. 1-6.
- 7 Helbig-Amelung, *Führer durch die Sammlungen in Rom*³ II, p. 443, no. 1901. Spinazzola, *Pompei Scavi nuovi*, p. 229f., fig. 258. Brian Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 254, fig. 7. M. J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art*, Leiden 1966, p. 27, pl. XVI.
- 8 Sydenham, *Roman Republic*, p. 127, no. 777, pl. 22 (Volteius, obv. bust of Attis or Mars), and p. 188, no. 1155 (Cestius and Norbanus, obv. bust of Venus).
- 9 Gneecchi, *I Tipi delle Monete imperiali*, pl. I, fig. 9. Our fig. coin pl. II, fig. 10, ill. in Gneecchi *Medaglioni* II, pl. 57, fig. 5. Cp. *BMC*, IV, p. 245, no. 1535; p. 403, nos. 134-135, pl. 55, fig. 18 (Faustina II); p. 834, no. 680, pl. 109, fig. 15 (Commodus).
- 10 Statue in Budapest, Musée des Beaux-Arts: Hekler, Budapest, *Die Sammlung antiker Skulpturen*, (1929), p. 138, no. and fig. 130. I owe the photographs to kindness of the director Szilágyi. Wollanka, *Magyajzo Katalogusa* (1912) p. 30f., no. and fig. 19. Statue in Villa Doria Pamphili: Arndt-Amelung, *Einzel aufgenommen antiker Skulpturen*, 2345-2347. The circus representations collected by Marion Lawrence, "The Circus relief in Foligno", *Atti del Convegno di Studi Umbri*, Gubbio 1964, pp. 119-135, pls. II-IV.
- 11 Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, p. 254ff., no. 2, pl. 100. Pietrangeli, Museo Capitolino I, 1951, *Monumenti di Culti Orientali*, p. 20f., no. 29, pl. 2; *idem*, *Bollettino Comunale* 9, 1962, p. 14, fig. 4. Graillet, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, pp. 236ff. Spinazzola, *Pompei Scavi nuovi*, p. 230, fig. 259. Helbig-Speier, *Führer* II⁴, p. 25f., no. 1176.

- ¹² Our coin pl. III, fig. 14 has the inscription Imp(erator) Cae(sar) Sep(timius) Sev(erus) Pert Aug(ustus) Cos I, which gives the date A.D. 193. The reverse has the inscription Fortun(a) Redux. She holds a rudder and the cornucopia. A variant is *BMC V*, p. 89, no. 339. Our coin pl. III, fig. 15, similar to *BMC V*, p. 161, nos. 34f., has the portrait of Julia Domna with the inscription Julia Augusta, and on the reverse Hilaritas. She is holding a long palm and a cornucopia. Two boys flank her to indicate that this is also a festival for children. The boy on the left touches the palm, the one on the right the dress of Hilaritas. Both coins are in the possession of the author. Cf. for Hilaritas also Michael Grant, *Roman Imperial Money*, London 1954, p. 261, s.v. pl. XXXVI figs. 3-4 (Antoninus Pius).
- ¹³ See for Hilaritas note 12 and *BMC IV, Antonines*: p. 85, no. 593, pl. 12, fig. 19; p. 86f., nos. 606-609, pl. 13, fig. 2; p. 288, no. 1774, p. 290f., nos. 1794f., pl. 43, figs. 5 and 11; p. 399, nos. 98-103, pl. 55, figs. 8-9; p. 492, no. 732, pl. 68, fig. 8; p. 531, nos. 911-913, pl. 73, fig. 7; p. 569f., nos. 1147-1151, pl. 76, fig. 10; p. 579, no. 1217, pl. 78, fig. 4; p. 643, no. 1523, pl. 85, fig. 2; p. 666, nos. 1643f., pl. 88, fig. 13; p. 727, nos. 210-212, pl. 96, fig. 1; p. 766, nos. 412-415, pl. 102, fig. 1; p. 768, nos. 428-430, pl. 102, fig. 10; p. 780, no. 493, pl. 104, fig. 3. *BMC V, Plautilla*: p. 300f., nos. 737ff. This coin is similar to our coin pl. III, fig. 16. On the coin p. 301, no. 738, pl. 46, fig. 6 Hilaritas holds a rudder.
- ¹⁴ See for the cult of Cybele in Rome: H. R. Goehler, *De Matris Magnae apud Romanos Cultu*, Diss. philol. Leipzig, 1886. Schwenn, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Reallexikon d. Klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, "Roman Kybele" cols. 2271-2274. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, Paris, 1912. Franz Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Chicago, 1911, pp. 46-78; *idem*, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4th ed. 1929. H. Kirschner, *Die Bedeutung der Fremd-Kulte in der roemischen Ost-Politik*, Diss. Bonn 1956. Franz Boemer, "Kybele in Rom, die Geschichte ihres Kultes als politisches Phänomen": *Roem. Mitt.* 71, 1964, pp. 130-151, pl. 33, figs. 1, 4-5.
- ¹⁵ For the cult of Attis and the rites of his priests see H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult*, Giessen 1903. Cumont, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Reallexikon* s.v. Attis. M. J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art*, Leiden 1966.
- ¹⁶ Ostia, Mus. no. 25. Ashby, *Journal of Roman Studies*, II, 1912, p. 172, pls. 13-14. Raissa Calza, *Bollettino d'Arte* 1922, p. 329, fig. 15; *idem*, *Museo Ostiense, Itinerari dei Musei d'Italia* no. 19. West, *Roemische Portrait-Plastik* II, p. 124, no. 2, pl. XXXIII, fig. 128. Gisela Richter, *Proceedings Am. Philos. Society* 95, 1957, p. 189, fig. 34. Wegner, *Herrscherbildnisse* II 3, *Hadrian*, 1956, p. 127, pl. 41a. G. Becatti, *L'Arte Romana*, 1962, p. 85, fig. 77. M. Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht*, second ed. 1966, p. 61, pl. 50, fig. 2.
- ¹⁷ M. Bieber, "The Copies of the Herculaneum Women" in *Proceedings Am. Philos. Soc.*, 106, no. 2, 1962.
- ¹⁸ Mus. nazionale di Napoli no. 682 (6057). West, *op. cit.*, II, p. 94, pl. XXVII, fig. 90. Bieber, *Proceedings*, 106, 1962, p. 116f., fig. 10. Helga von Heintze, *Roemische Portrait-Plastik*, p. 10, pl. 17. She dates the statue A.D. 110.
- ¹⁹ Museo Ostia no. 1123. Calza, *Guida di Ostia*, p. 47f. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1913, p. 193f., fig. 11. Bieber, *Proceedings* 106, 1962, p. 119f., fig. 15.
- ²⁰ Louvre Mus. No. 1780, Salle d'Afrique. Traversari, *Statue iconique féminine Cyrenaïque*, 1960, p. 82 and 84, no. 40, pl. XXII, fig. 1. Elisabeth Rosenbaum, *Catalogue of Cyrenaican Portrait Sculpture*, 1960, p. 60f., no 80, pl. L, fig. 4, pl. LXXIV, fig. 2. She rightly dates it late Antonine. Bieber, *Proceedings*, 1962, p. 121f., fig. 18. *Idem.*, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 52f., pl. 50, fig. 1.
- ²¹ Vermeule in *Bull. of the J. Paul Getty Museum of Art*, p. 25. *Idem*, *Proceedings* 108, 1964, p. 106.
- ²² See notes 14-15.

- 23 Stuart Jones, *Sculpture of the Capitoline Museum* p. 181f. Sala delle Colombe. no. 109b, pl. 43. Helbig-Speier, *Führer*⁴ II (1966) p. 24f., no. 1175. Pietrangeli. Museo Capitolino I, 1961, *Monumenti di Culti Orientali*, p. 15f., no 18, pl. 4. F. Boemer, *Roem. Mitt.* 71, 1964, pp. 149-151, pl. 33, fig. 2. Larissa Warren. *La Parola del Passato, Rivista di Studi antichi* XCIX, 1966, p. 254f.
- 24 Boemer, *op. cit.*, p. 149, pl. 33, fig. 5. The medallion is in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nat. in Paris.
- 25 Cagianò di Azevedo, *Le Antichità della Villa Medici*, p. 40, no. 11, pl. IV; for the Ara Pietatis in general see Raymond Bloch, *ibidem*, pp. 9-23. Inez Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art, American Academy Memoires*, 22, 1955, pp. 65-70, pl. XXI. Cozza, *Bollettino d'Arte* 43, 1958, pp. 107ff. Helbig-Speier, *Führer*⁴ II, pp. 526-528, no. 1751.
- 26 Spinazzola, *Pompei Scavi nuovi*, Casa IX, VII, 1, pp. 214-242, figs. 250-255, 264f., II, p. 706f., fig. 676. For other paintings of Cybele on Pompeian wall paintings see *ibidem* I, p. 239, fig. 269; p. 356, fig. 404. The latter may represent a priestess of Cybele.
- 27 Joseph Aschbach, *Livia, Gemahlin des Kaisers Augustus. Eine historisch-archaeologische Abhandlung. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, philol.-hist. Kl. Denkschriften* 13, 1864, pp. 29-84, pls. I-IV. J. J. Bernoulli, *Roem. Ikon.* II, 1, pp. 83-109, pls. XXVII, XXX-XXXI, pl. of coins XXXII, figs. 9-13. Friedrich Sandels, *Die Stellung der Kaiserlichen Frauen aus dem Julisch-Claudischen Hause*. Dissertation, Giessen, 1912. For the stola see Bieber in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc. s.v. stola*.
- 28 Vagn Poulsen, *Les Portraits Romains*, I, République et Dynastie Julienne, Copenhagen, 1962, pp. 65-75, nos. 34-39, pls. LII-LXV. See also the attempt of H. Gross, "Julia Augusta; Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia-Ikonographie," *Abh. Akad. Goettingen* III 22, 1962, pp. 9-21, pl. I.
- 29 See V. Poulsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-69, nos. 34-35, pls. LII-LVI. See also R. West, *Roemische Portraet-Plastik* I, pp. 106-109, pls. XXVI-XXVII, figs. 104-110.
- 30 Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, p. 89f., fig. 10. West, *op. cit.*, p. 125f., pl. XXXI, fig. 127. Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 207b, G. Hafner, *Roem. Mitt.* 62, 1955, pp. 164-166. Goethert, *Festschrift Rumpf*, pp. 93ff., pl. 20, fig. 3, pls. 61-64.
- 31 Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat. Mus.* II, pp. 538-541, Sala dei Busti, no 352, pl. 70. Helga von Heintze, in Helbig-Speier, *Führer*⁴ I, p. 134f., no. 183. For the Augustus see *ibid.* p. 15f., no. 19. Lippold, *Skulpt. Vat. Mus.* III 1, p. 163f., Sala a croce greca, no. 565, pl. 55.
- 32 Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, inv. no. 2737. Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelnahmen antiker Skulpturen*, nos. 1765-1770. Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II 1, p. 92, no. 5, fig. 11 (Livia); p. 152, no. 43 (Tiberius). Theodor Kraus, *Das roemische Weltreich. Propylaeen-Kunstgeschichte* II, 1967, p. 259, no. and fig. 291.
- 33 Mattingly, *BMC of Roman Coins I, Augustus to Vitellius*, pp. 124-127, nos. 30-60, pl. 22, figs. 20-26; pl. 23, figs. 1-9 (*Pax*). Our coin pl. I, fig. 3a-b in ANS is a denarius minted in Lugdunum. It is similar to *BMC* I, p. 126f., nos. 48-55, pl. 23, figs. 4-7; *ibid.*, p. 131, nos. 79-80, pl. 24, fig. 1 (*Justitia*); p. 131, nos. 81-84, pl. 24, fig. 2 (*Salus Augusta*); p. 133, no. 98, pl. 24, fig. 7 (*Pietas*). Our coin pl. I, fig. 6 is minted by Drusus Caesar under Tiberius. Our coin pl. I, fig. 3, is a denarius; our figs. 4-6 in ANS are dupondii minted in 22-23 in Rome. *Ibid.*, p. 141, no. 151, pl. 26, fig. 3, *Pietas* seated between large *SC*; our coin pl. I, fig. 7 in ANS is an undated dupondius. Reverse: DIVUS AUGUSTUS PATER. See also West, *op. cit.*, pp. 124f., pl. LXIX, fig. 64 (*Salus*), fig. 65 (*Justitia*), fig. 70 (*Pietas*).
- 34 Arndt-Bruckman, *Portraits* pls. 6-7. Delbrück, *Antike Portraits*, XLVIII, no. and pl. 34. West, *op. cit.*, I, p. 128, pl. 31. Helga von Heintze, *Roem. Portraet-Plastik*, p. 8f., pl. 9. Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 74f., no 39, pls. LXIV-LXV. *Billedtavler*, pl. L, no. 614. Goethert, *Festschrift für Rumpf* (1952), pp. 93f., pls. 19-23. Gross, "Julia Augusta," *Abh. Goett. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 52, 1962, p. 126f. Goethert and Gross deny the identification with Livia. Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, p. 92, no. and fig. 71, recognizes it as a portrait created during the reign of Tiberius.

- 35 A. Maiuri, *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1930-1931, p. 11f., figs. 5-7; *idem*, *La Villa dei Misteri*, pp. 223ff., pls. 96-98. A. de Francescis, *Il Ritratto Romano a Pompei*, p. 55f., figs. 56-58. Paribeni, *Il Ritratto nell'arte antica*, pl. 115. Kaschnitz von Weinberg, "Der italische Charakter der offiziellen Portraits", *Mitt. d. deutschen Instituts*, Berlin, III, 1950, p. 175, pl. XIV 1 (head); reprinted in *Ausgewählte Schriften* ed. Helga von Heintze, p. 111, pl. 57, fig. 1. Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, p. 91f., no. and fig. 70 on p. 172; *idem*, *Classical Sculpture*, p. 336, no. and fig. 285.
- 36 Bieber, in *Proceedings Am. Philos. Society*, 103, 1953, pp. 400-404, figs. 41-46. Traversari, *Statue iconiche femminili Cirenaiiche*, p. 91, pl. XXIII.
- 37 E. Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augusti*, Sonderheft d. Oesterr. Arch. Inst. II (1902) pp. 94, 107f., pl. VI, figs. 20-25. Rodenwaldt, *Kunst um Augustus* (1945), pp. 45 and 48, fig. 31. Kaehler, *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 69, 1954, p. 76. Inez Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*, p. 43f., pl. XII, fig. 23b. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Mittelmeerische Kunst, Ausgewählte Schriften* III, pp. 467-469, pl. 136. G. Moretti, *L'Ara Pacis Augustae*, Rome, 1938, ill. on p. 37.
- 38 Guide du Cabinet des Médailles, pp. 101-112, no. 264, fig. 47. Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-299, pl. XXX. Aschbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-75, pl. II, fig. 2. Furtwaengler, *Gemmen*, pp. 208ff., 269ff., pl. LX. Gerda Bruns, *Staatskameen*, Berliner Winckelmanns Program no. 104, 1948, pp. 11-13, fig. 8. Charbonneaux, *Mélanges Picard I*, pp. 170-185; *idem*, *L'Art au Siècle d'Auguste*, p. 86ff.
- 39 Schweitzer, *Klio*, Neue Folge 16, 1949, p. 344ff., reprinted in *Zur Kunst der Antike II*, 1963, pp. 217-245, figs. 54-55. He dates it ca. 41. Matz, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes* IV, p. 279. H. Moebius, *Festschrift für Zucker*, 1954, p. 372.
- 40 Museo Nazionale di Napoli, inv. no. 6071. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II¹ p. 90f., no. 2, pl. V. Aschbach, *op. cit.*, pl. I. Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, p. 89f., fig. 40. Ippel, *Pompeji*, *Berühmte Kunststaetten* vol. 68, pp. 24-26, fig. 25. Franciscis, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-65, figs. 72-73. West, *op. cit.*, p. 232f., pl. LXV, fig. 276 (he names the statue Octavia). For replicas of this type see Hekler, *Roem. Gewandstatuen*, pp. 133 and 227. Best replica in Holkham Hall: F. Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, p. 53f.
- 41 Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II¹, pp. 91, 93, 254-260, pl. VI. Curtius, *Mitteil. d. Inst.* I, 1948, pp. 59-63, 81-87, 94, dates it rightly Claudian. G. Hafner, "Zum Augustus-Relief in Ravenna", *Roem. Mitt.*, 62, 1955, pp. 160-173, pls. 61-64 (he believes to see Antonia instead of Livia, but names rightly the last fig. Claudius). Goethert, *Festschrift für Rumpf*, p. 97. Moebius, *Festschrift für Matz*, p. 95, pl. 26, fig. 2. Ryberg, *Rites*, pp. 90-93, pl. XXVIII, fig. 42c (she dates it in the time of Caligula). D. E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture*, pp. 27 and 92, no. and fig. 46.
- 42 Mus. no. 5595. *Guida di Napoli* no. 802. Kluge-Lehmann-Hartleben, *Grossbronzen II*, pp. 1f. and 94, III pl. I (head).
- 43 Our fig. on coin pl. I, fig. 8, is in ANS; *BMC, Coins of the Roman Empire*, I, p. 195, nos. 224-225, pl. 37, fig. 7. Cf. Michael Grant, *Roman Imperial Money*, London, 1954, p. 147, fig. 51.
- 44 Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, p. 94f., pl. XXVII, fig. 2. Delbrück, *op. cit.*, p. XLVII, fig. 19. Eichler-Kries, *Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien*, no. 9. For other gems showing Livia holding the bust of Augustus see Delbrück, *op. cit.*, p. V, vignette; and Marie Louise Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneide-Kunst und ihre Künstler in spaetrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit*, p. 75 with note 62, pl. 86, figs. 1-6.
- 45 Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum (BMC) I*, pp. 309f., nos. 3-13, pl. 52, figs. 2-6; p. 317, no. 54, pl. 55, fig. 16; p. 537f., nos. 166-169, pl. 53, figs. 4-5; p. 344, nos. 201-202, pl. 58, fig. 4.
- 46 Stuart Jones, *Sculpture in the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, p. 266f., Scala no. 11, pl. 105. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmaeler*, pl. 405. Eugenie Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 237, pl. LXXXI, fig. 2; *idem*, *Scultura Romana*, pp. 249f., figs. 151-152. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, p. 245, no. X, pl. XXX, fig. 3. Helbig-Speier, *Führer⁴ II*, p. 569f., no. 1800. Giovanni Becatti, *L'Arte Romana*, p. 90, fig. 87. D. E. Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 96, no. and fig. 78.

- 47 Livia is called Julia Augusta Genetrix Orbis on a coin minted in the time of Tiberius in the colony Julia Romula in Spain (Cohen I, p. 169, no. 3). The senate intended to give her this title already in A.D. 14 after the death of Augustus, but Tiberius objected (Tacitus, *Annales* I, 14. Dio Cassius 57, 12). She is also called genetrix in an inscription from Spain *CIL* II 2038. For coins of Sabina with the title of Genetrix see West, *Roemische Portraet-Plastik* II, p. 123, no. 1, pl. LIV, fig. 66. Wegner, *Das roemische Herrscherbild*, section II, vol. 3, *Hadrian*, p. 91, fig. 45b, 47b, 48b. *BMC, Roman Empire* III, p. 396, no. 1095, pl. 75, fig. 7 (Cybele); p. 541, no. 1903, pl. 99, fig. 14 (Genetrix).
- 48 *BMC* IV *Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, p. 232f., nos. 1436-1441, pl. 34, fig. 4; p. 402f., nos. 132-135, pl. 55, figs. 17-18; *ibidem*, p. 241, no. 1505, pl. 36. These and our coin pl. II, fig. 11 show diva Faustina and on reverse Cybele on lion car with inscription Aeternitas. Our medallion coin pl. II, fig. 10 in the Brit. Mus. of Faustina I shows Cybele riding a lion. Our sestertius, coin pl. II, fig. 11, *BMC* IV, p. 232, no. 1436, and our denarius of Faustina II, coin pl. III, fig. 13, in ANS, similar to *BMC* IV, p. 403, no. 134, both show Cybele seated.
- 49 Our sestertius of Antoninus Pius in ANS, coin pl. II, fig. 9, is similar to *BMC* IV, p. 352, no. 2063. It is dated 158-159. For other representations of the temple of Divus Augustus see *ibid.* p. 310, no. 1869, pl. 45, fig. 17; p. 350, nos. 2031f., pl. 49, fig. 20; p. 352, nos. 2063-2066, pl. 50, fig. 2; p. 402f., nos. 132-135, pl. 55, figs. 17-18. Mattingly-Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage* III, p. 10, note 12, p. 146, no. 973 and p. 156, no. 1061. They date the coin 157-158. Mattingly, *Roman Coins* (Quadrangle), p. 172. Boemer, *Roem. Mitt.* 71, 1964, pp. 149-151, pl. 33, fig. 5.
- 50 Vagn Poulsen, *Cat.*, p. 72f., no. 37, pls. LVIII-LIX. The head of Claudius, *ibid.*, p. 92f., no. 58, pls. XCVI-XCVII.
- 51 For the Gemma Augustea see Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II 1, pp. 262-274, pl. XXXIX. Furtwaengler, *Gemmen* I, pl. 56, II, pp. 257f., III, p. 315. Eichler-Kries, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum*, Wien, 1927, pp. 9, 52-53, mus. no. IXa, 79. Kraus, *op. cit.*, *Propylaeen-Kunstgeschichte* II, p. 238, no. and fig. 384b. D. E. Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 92, no. and fig. 45. Colored reproduction in Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, pl. XVII. For the grand camée de France see above note 38.
- 52 For Livia see above note 40. For Eumachia who founded the meat market see West, *op. cit.*, I, p. 199, pl. 51 and p. 230. Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, p. 83f., fig. and no. 52.
- 53 Stuart Jones, *Cat. of Sculpt. in the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 21-25, nos. 4, 7, 10, pl. 12. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*, pp. 156ff., fig. 86; *idem*, *Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius*, Monograph to *AJA* XIV, 1967, pp. 9-83, pls. II-LII. Helbig-Speier, *Führer*⁴, II, pp. 255-261, no. 1444. Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 112f., 224, fig. and no. 118.
- 54 Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II, 3, pp. 135f., pls. XLII-XLIII (Aelius Verus); p. 143, no. 36, pl. XLIV (Antoninus Pius). Arndt, *Portraits*, pl. 753. Paribeni, *Ritratto*, pl. 253. Wegner, *Das Roemische Herrscherbild*, section II, vol. 4, (*Herrscherbildnisse der Antoninischen Zeit*), p. 134f., pls. I-II.
- 55 Poulsen, *Cat.*, p. 13f., no. 38, pls. LX-LXIII. West, *op. cit.*, I, p. 217. Cp. for the type Hekler, *Gewandstatuen*, p. 153, no. 2.
- 56 K. Robert, *Sarcophagreliefs* I 1, pp. 31ff., pl. 7, fig. 26. Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat. Mus.* I, 1903, pp. 429f., Museo Chiaramonti no. 179, pl. 45. Wegner, *Arch. Anz.* 53, 1938, pp. 322-325, figs. 24-28, show the hairdress. Helbig-Speier, *Führer*⁴ I, p. 229f., no. 291. Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 113f., 205, no. and fig. 120.
- 57 See note 46.
- 58 Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II 2, p. 129, no. 4, pl. XL. Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat. Mus.* II, p. 549f., no. 359, pl. 71. Helbig-Speier, *Führer*⁴ I, p. 136, no. 185. West, *op. cit.*, II, p. 125, no. 5. M. Wegner, *Das roemische Herrscherbild*, section II, vol. 3, *Hadrian, Plotina, Matidia, Sabina*, pp. 71, 90, 129, pls. 44b and 46f; *idem* in *Arch. Anz.* 53, 1938, pp. 303-314, figs. 16-21 (on the hairdress of Sabina).

- ⁵⁹ Wegner, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-91, 126-131, pls. 41-48. The head in the Museo delle Terme no. 127. Wegner, p. 90, pls. 45b, 47b, 48b (our figs. 29-31). Helga von Heintze, *Roemische Portraet-Plastik*, p. 11, pl. 22a. West, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 126-128 pl. XXXIV, fig. 130. Paribeni, *Il Ritratto*, pl. 235. Bianca Maria Felletti Maj, *I Ritratti*, p. 103f., no. and fig. 197.
- ⁶⁰ Amelung, *Sculpt. Vat. Mus.* I, pp. 883-893, Giardino della Pigna, no. 223, pls. 116-118. Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II 2, pp. 153f., pls. XLVI-XLVII, pl. of coins IV, figs. 8-10. Stuart Jones, *Sculpt. Cap. Mus.*, p. 197f., Stanza degli Imperatori, no. 36, pl. 52. Wegner, *op. cit.*, section II, vol. 4, *Die Herrscherbildnisse der antoninischen Zeit*, pp. 26-32, 153-166, pls. 10-13, pl. 58 (coin); p. 163, pl. 13a (head from apotheosis). Lippold, *Sculpt. Vat. Mus.* III 1, p. 116, pl. 47 (apotheosis). Helbig-Speier, *Führer*⁴ I, p. 378-380, no. 480. D. E. Strong, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 and 98, no. and fig. 91.
- ⁶¹ Our coin pl. III, fig. 12, is in Naples. For similar coins of the Antonine period representing the apotheosis of members of the imperial house see Mattingly, *BMC*, IV, p. 232, nos. 1432-1435, pl. 34, fig. 11 and pl. 35, fig. 1. They are also minted by Antoninus Pius for the Diva Faustina and have in the exergue EX SC, ordered by the Senate; IV 241, nos. 1501-1504, pl. 35, fig. 16 also has the inscription Aeternitas, eternity. Coins minted by Marcus Aurelius for the divus Verus, *ibid.*, p. 612, nos. 1367-1369, pl. 81, figs. 8-9 have the inscription consecratio.
- ⁶² Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, II 2, pp. 92-94, pls. LII-LIV, pls. of coins IV, figs. 19-21; V, figs. 1-3. Wegner, *Herrscherbildnisse* II 4, pp. 48-55 (p. 49f. shows her hairdo), pp. 210-225, pls. 34-37, pl. 63 (coins).
- ⁶³ See note 49.
- ⁶⁴ See note 42.

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1. Drawing of Malibu Statue, from Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*.



2. Malibu Statue, right front.



3. Malibu Statue, front.



4. Malibu Statue, left side.



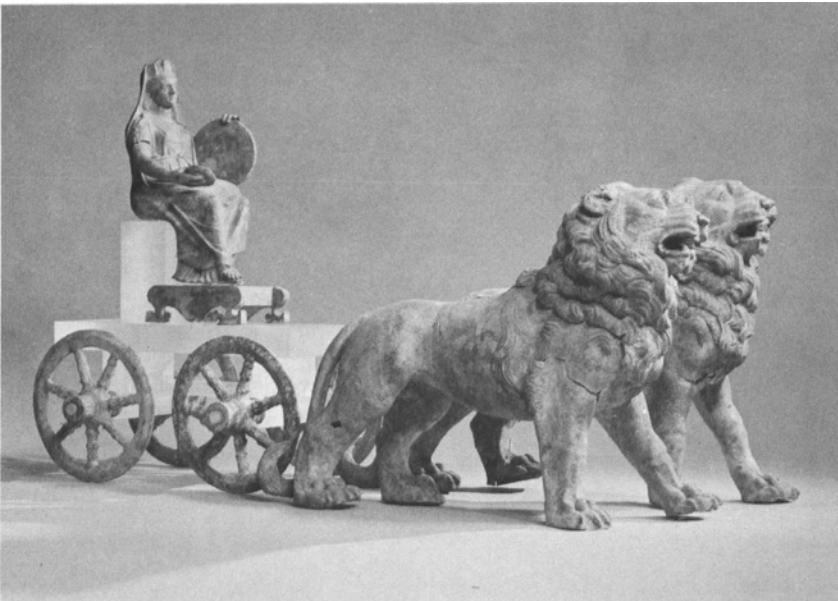
5. Head of Malibu Statue, front.



6. Head of Malibu Statue, left side.



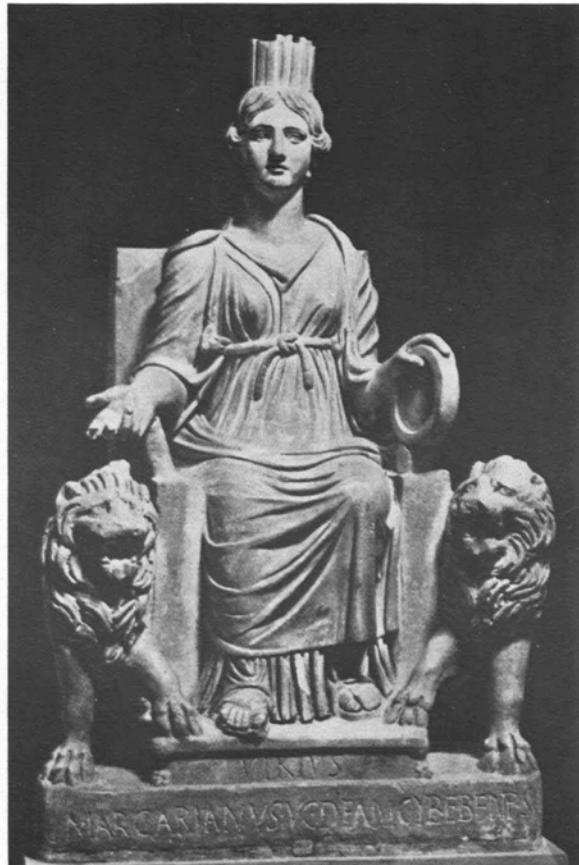
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8. Lion chariot of Cybele in the Metropolitan Museum.



9. Detail of Cybele from fig. 8.



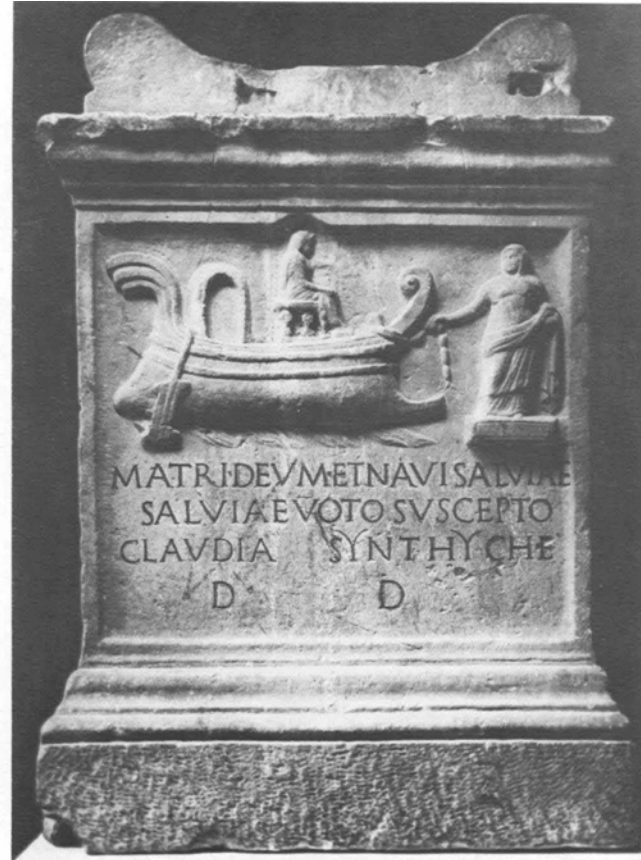
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11. Relief in Villa Albani.



12. Relief of an Archigallus
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13. Relief of Claudia pulling the ship Salvia
up the Tiber, Capitoline Museum.



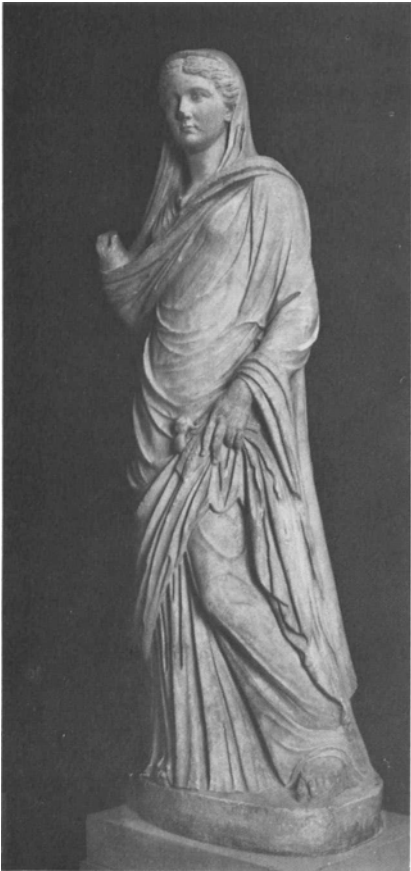
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16. Cybele riding a lion, group in Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome.



17. Statue of Sabina as Ceres, in Ostia.



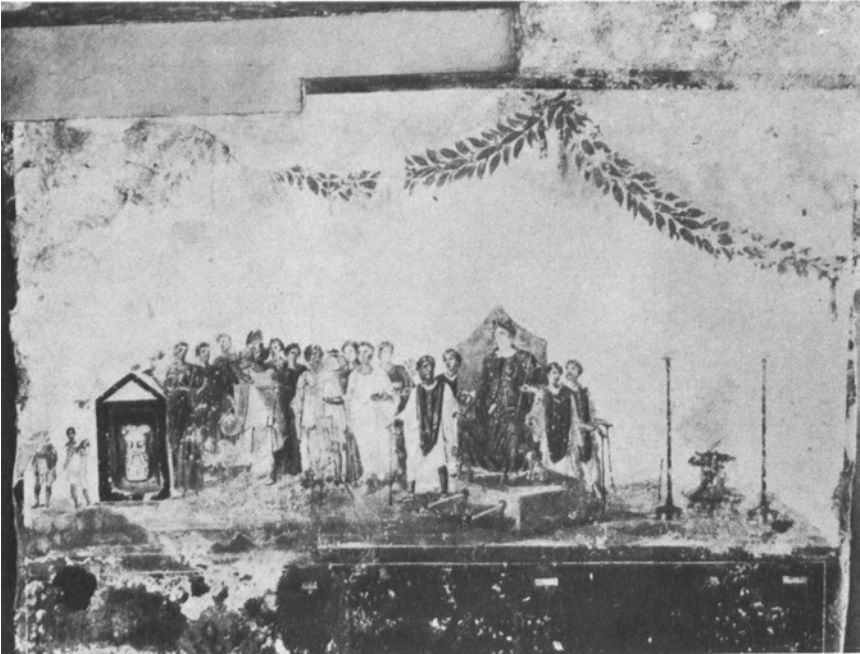
18. Matidia as small Herculaneum Woman, Museo Nazionale, Naples.



19. Antonine lady as small Herculaneum Woman, in Ostia.



20. Crispina as large Herculaneum Woman, Louvre.



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23. Statue of Livia, found in Paestum, now in Madrid.



24. Augustus as Jupiter found in Herculaneum, now in Naples; front.



25. Augustus as Jupiter, back



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27. Gem with Livia as Cybele holding bust of divine Augustus, in Vienna, from Bernoulli, *Rocm. Ikon.*



28. Livia found in Puteoli, now in Copenhagen.



29. Sabina, head in Museo delle Terme, Rome, profile.



30. Sabina, head in Museo delle Terme, Rome, front.



31. Sabina, head in Museo delle Terme, Rome, detail of eye.



32. Malibu Statue, detail of eyes.



33. Malibu statue, detail of eyes.

COIN PL. I Coins of Republican and Julio-Claudian Periods.



Republican Coins: 1. Denarius 76 B.C. 2. Aureus 44 B.C.



Tiberius, 14-27. 3. Denarius, Tiberius and Livia as Pax.
 4-7. Dupondii. 4. Livia as Justitia, 5. as Salus, 6. as Pietas,
 7. Pietas seated and Divus Augustus Pater.



Claudius, 27-41. 8. Dupondius. Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta.



a.



b.

9.

9. Antoninus Pius and Temple of Augustus. Sestertius 157-159.



a.



b.

10.

10. Faustina I and Cybele riding a lion. Medallion 138-141.



a.



b.

11.

11. Faustina I and Cybele seated between lions. Sestertius



a.



b.

12.

12. Faustina I and elephant car. Bronze sestertius 141.

13-16. Silver denarii



a.



b.

13.

13. Faustina II and Cybele 161-175.



a.



b.

14.

14. Septimius Severus and Fortuna Reduc 193.



a.



b.

15.

15. Julia Domna and Hilaritas 196-211.



a.



b.

16.

16. Plautilla and Hilaritas 202.

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Publications of the J. Paul Getty Museum (edited by Burton B. Fredericksen):

1. Howard, Seymour. *The Lansdowne Herakles* (1966) \$1.00
2. Fredericksen, Burton; & Davisson, Darrell. *Benvenuto di Giovanni and Girolamo di Benvenuto* (1966) \$2.50
3. Bieber, Margarete. *The Statue of Cybele in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (1968)

Miscellaneous publication available through the J. Paul Getty Museum:

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Stothart, Herbert. *A Handbook of the Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (1965) \$.50.

Fredericksen, Burton. *A Handbook of the Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (1965) \$.50.

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