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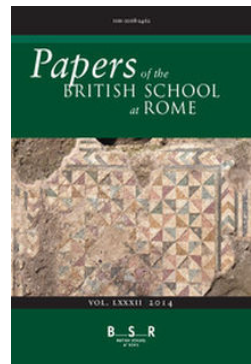
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Sepulchral Relief of a Priest of Bellona

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Papers of the British School at Rome / Volume 9 / January 1920, pp 205 - 213
DOI: 10.1017/S0068246200005638, Published online: 09 August 2013

Link to this article: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0068246200005638

How to cite this article:

Mrs. Arthur Strong (1920). Sepulchral Relief of a Priest of Bellona. Papers of the British School at Rome, 9, pp 205-213 doi:10.1017/S0068246200005638

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PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

VOL. IX. No. 7.

SEPULCHRAL RELIEF OF A PRIEST
OF BELLONA.

BY MRS. ARTHUR STRONG.

THE relief of a priest of Bellona, reproduced on Plate XXVI., is to be seen on the top landing of the staircase of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana—the ancient library of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, which is now the seat of the *Società Romana di Storia Patria*. During the summer of 1917 when working almost daily in this library I repeatedly studied the interesting slab, and by the courtesy of the Assistant Librarian, Signor Cordella, was able to have it photographed, with a view to publication in the present volume of our *Papers*.

The relief was discovered in the year 1729 in the Vigna Mellini on Monte Mario which belonged at the time to the Fathers of the Roman Oratory.¹ It is of a sepulchral character, and adorned a tomb situated between the second and third milestone of the ancient *Via Triumphalis*.² Besides

¹ *C.I.L.* vi. 2233; I. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, ii. p. 205; Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana*, iii. p. 12 f.

² The *Via Triumphalis* ran northwards from the *Pons Neronianus*, and after traversing the flat ground now known as the Prati di Castello, ascended the southern slopes of the Monte Mario to the right of the modern road, till it joined the Via Clodia at La Giustiniana. On the road and its name see the evidence collected by L. Morpurgo, *Bull. Com.* xxxvi. 1908, p. 125 ff., Tomassetti, *loc. cit.*, Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi* iii. p. 129 for the inscr. *C.I.L.* vi. 10247 discovered in 1554 under Julius III. The road was under the same curator as the Via Aurelia and the Via Cornelia (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3610, etc.), but the origin of the name is unknown. (Nissen, *Landeskunde*, ii. 563). The road is the subject of new researches by Dr. Ashby, to be published in some future volume of these *Papers*. See also the late Schneider-Graziosi, *Bull. Com.* xli. (1913), p. 54 ff.

the slab in question, the inscription of a *fanaticus* of Bellona (C.I.L. vi. 2232) was preserved as early as the fifteenth century close to the same site (*ad crucem Montis Marii*) in the actual Villa Mellini, so that this section of the line of tombs was perhaps reserved as a cemetery for the priests of Bellona, who probably had a temple or shrine not far off on the *Mons Vaticanus*.

The sepulchral monument to which our relief belonged was put up by a colleague to one L. Lartius Anthus, a *cistophorus* and priest of *Bellona Pulvinensis*. The relief itself with its long inscription aroused considerable interest at the time of its discovery. The earliest publication¹ is by Francesco Gori in his edition of the *Inscriptiones Antiquae* of Giovanni Battista Doni (1731), Plate VIII. 2, p. 135. Another, after a drawing communicated by Padre Giuseppe Bianchini² of the Oratory, was given by Muratori in his *Novus Thesaurus Vet. Inscr.* (1739), vol. i. p. cxxix, and the inscription alone was discussed by Lami in his curious dissertation, *Le Ciste Mistiche* (1742).³ Since the middle of the eighteenth century, however, nothing of substantial value has been added to our knowledge of the relief. The editors of *Corpus* vi. 1 were unacquainted with its whereabouts.⁴ In vol. iii. of Matz-Duhn (1882), p. 173, No. 3876, it is correctly cited as being in the Vallicelliana, but strangely enough Matz described it from a reproduction in Zoega without looking up the original. It is probably owing to the absence of any adequate publication that the relief which throws light on one of the most celebrated cults of ancient Rome has so nearly dropped out of the recent literature on the subject of Roman religion.⁵

The slab, which is of marble, measures 1 m. 30 cm. × 52 cm. The upper part (H. 93 cm.) is occupied by the full length figure of the priest.

¹ Full ref. to the earlier literature in C.I.L. *loc. cit.* The illustrations in Zoega and Millin seem to be repeated from the earlier publications. So also Pottier-Saglio, fig. 815 (art. *Bellona*) is after Muratori; fig. 1986 (art. *Corona*) after Gori-Doni.

² I have examined Bianchini's own detailed and learned description of relief and inscription which still exists in MS. in the Bibl. Vallicell. (under T.1 'Selva per la Dissertazione di Lucio Larzio Anto Cistofofo Bellonario'); cf. Lais, *Cenni Storici della Bibl. Val.* (1875), p. 12, and de Rossi, *loc. cit.*

³ In *Dissertationi dell' Accademia di Cortona*, vol. i. p. 735, p. 3 ff.

⁴ See, however, *Addenda*, p. 3307, where the present locality is given.

⁵ Briefly referred to by G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed., p. 350 and n. 4. Also Graillot, *Culte de Cybele*, p. 134, n. 4 and *passim*; Cahier and Martin *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, iv. p. 5 (cf. Wüschel-Becchi in *Roem. Quartalschrift*, xiii. 1899, p. 94, n. 2).

The inscription, which is cut within the sunk panel of the plinth (H. 39 cm.) reads as follows :—

*L. Lart/io Antho Cistopho/ro aedis Bellonae Pulvinensis / fecit
C. Quinctius Rufinus Fratri et / Domino suo pientissimo cui et / monu-
mentum fecit interius ag/ro Apollinis Argentei Quinctius Rufinus.*

Owing to the late character of both sculpture and epigraphy, and to the nature of the subject, it is generally admitted that the goddess to whom Lartius was priest is not the old Italic Bellona, whose temple, probably situated W. of the Circus Flaminius, had been dedicated about B.C. 293 by Appius Claudius Caecus,¹ but the divinity worshipped under the name of Mā—the Mother—in Cappadocia and in Pontus, whence her cult was introduced into Rome in the time of Sulla.² From her warlike character Mā soon became assimilated to the Roman Bellona, whose worship, under the Empire, she seems to have entirely displaced in favour of her own. As Mā-Bellona she was likewise identified with *Virtus*, the valour of the Roman army. But it is her close association with the renowned cult of the Magna Mater which brought the Oriental Bellona into the prominence she enjoyed under the Empire. The two divinities, whose ritual had many traits in common, came from neighbouring regions of Central Asia-Minor, and it is natural that Mā-Bellona, as newcomer, should have sought the protection of an allied cult, already firmly established in Rome. On inscriptions Bellona is sometimes characterised as the *dea pedisequa*,³ or follower of Cybele; the festival of both goddesses was kept on the 24th of March—the *dies sanguinis*, when the image of the *pedisequa* seems to have followed that of the Great Mother in the procession, and so intimate was the alliance between the two that we shall not be surprised to detect many points of similarity in the accoutrement of their priests. The priests of Cybele, the *archigalli*, as distinguished from the lower order of *galli*, are known at present from two monuments only: the full length statue, unfortunately headless, given by Montfaucon,⁴ which has now disappeared, and the half figure

¹ Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie*, p. 554, and note 131; Platner, *Top. and Monum. of Anc. Rome* (2nd ed. 1911), p. 243 f.

² Wissowa, *op. cit.* p. 349; Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, p. 241; Graillot, *op. cit.* p. 99.

³ *C.I.L.* vi. 3674a; cf. Graillot, p. 100; Wissowa, p. 350. Cumont, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscr.* 1918, p. 19.

⁴ Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, i. Pl. 4 = S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, ii. 506, 6.

in relief on the staircase of the Palazzo dei Conservatori which, though frequently referred to and described, has been rarely well reproduced.¹ Both figures² afford precious points of comparison with that of the *cistophorus* of *Bellona* on the relief at the *Vallicelliana* which deserves a somewhat detailed description :

Lartius is shown standing slightly to the right, with the weight on the left foot and the right foot and knee at ease and turned outwards. His tunic, which is caught up at the waist to form an overfall, reaches half way down the leg and covers the arms only to the elbow. In this arrangement of the tunic, intended probably to leave the movements free for purposes of self-mutilation, the dress differs markedly from the long *stola* with tight sleeves to the waist worn by the *Archigalli*.³ A long loose cloak is fastened on the right shoulder by a round brooch in the form of a five-petalled flower ; at the back this cloak falls to the ankles ; in front it crosses the breast and hangs from the left arm in zig-zag folds. On the feet are soft leather shoes tied round the ankles with thongs fastened together by a round fibula.

The short thick beard of the *Cistophorus* contrasts with the smooth beardless face of the *Conservatori Archigallus*⁴ but both have long hair parted to the sides and, in the case of *Lartius*, puffed out over the ears. The hair of *Lartius* is confined by a thick wreath of laurel leaves—intended possibly to be of gold—adorned with three medallions of

¹ Poor cuts in Saglio-Pottier *s.v. Gallus*, fig. 3482, and S.Reinach, *Rép. de Reliefs*, iii. 207, 1. The relief, the most interesting of its kind, will be published in the forthcoming vol. ii. of our *Catalogue of the Municipal Collections of Rome*. Lafaye (*loc. cit.*) is probably right in doubting the correctness of Chabouillet's identification of the seated and veiled figure in a cameo of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Chabouillet's Cat. No. 123) as that of an *archigallus*, but I have not been able to verify the facts.

² The figure at Cherchel (*Musée de Cherchel*, xv. 3 = Reinach, *Rép. Statuaire*, ii. 506), formerly considered to be that of a priestess, has lately been interpreted as a priest of *Cybele* ; but it has no distinguishing *insignia* save the crown, and fillets common to all priesthoods. The figure on the tombstone of a priest of *Isis* and the *Magna Mater*, from *Ostia* in the Lateran Mus. (Benndorf-Schoene, No. 80 ; Paschetto, ' *Ostia*,' in *Atti dell' Accad. Pontif.* 2nd ser. x. ii a, 1912, p. 165 = Graillet, Pl. VI.) seems attired as an *Attis*, and may be *Attis* himself, but scarcely a priest.

³ Graillet, p. 236, p. 297, etc.

⁴ The *galli* wore long hair. (*C.I.L.* vi. 2262. *Religiosus a Matre Magna capillatus* ; Ovid, *Fasti* iv. 238, etc.) in common probably with most Oriental priesthoods, e.g., of a priest of the Syrian goddess : *fanatico furore simulato dum Syriae deae comas iactat*. Florus ii. 7 (iii. 19). M. Cumont, to whom I owe this ref., also points out that the hair of the *galli* was held back by a net, *Anthol. Pal.* vi. 219. 4 (στυρεπτῶν ἀμματα κεκρυφάλων) a detail not visible in the monuments. The figure from Anzio in the *Terme*, which I continue to regard as that of a boy, likewise wears long hair knotted over the forehead.

helmeted divinities : Mars, bearded, on the right ; a goddess, who may be Bellona, in the centre ; and Minerva (?) on the left.¹ A similar wreath adorned with a medallion of Zeus Idaeos for the centre and that of Attis on each side is worn by the Capitoline Archigallus. These wreaths, which were often carried out in gold,² were no doubt a survival of the ancient kingly *insignia* of the priesthood,³ and seem to have been a distinguishing mark of full priestly rank. For instance, in an inscription from Theveste (Dessau, ii, 5432) one *Nonius Elphideforus*, who held in the cult of Bellona an office similar to that of Lartius,⁴ is defined as *coronatus cistifer*, to indicate a different and higher grade to that of the ordinary *cistiferi*. The wreath is worn by the priestly figure at Cherchel, by the priests of the Arval Brotherhood, etc. Of the *Arvales* it is stated by Pliny (*N.H.* xviii. 6) that the wreath was tied with a white fillet : *spicea corona quae vitta alba colligaretur*.⁵ Lartius, too, has fillets of knotted wool hanging from his wreath to his shoulders. The ends of similar fillets appear on the Montfaucon figure and on that of Laberia Felicia, a high priestess of Cybele, on a grave stele of the Vatican.⁶ The Conservatori Archigallus, who seems to be a personage of great importance, has double fillets that hang as far as the waist on either side.

Both Lartius and the Archigallus of the Conservatori wear gold torcs round their necks, ending in heads of wolves (?) linked together by a disc.⁷ In the Montfaucon figure, if we may trust the engraving, the ends

¹ This is how they seem interpreted in Gori-Doni. Even with the help of a strong magnifying glass it is difficult to make out the heads very distinctly on the original slab.

² Graillet, p. 237, for long hair, wreath and torc, and note 1 for the gold wreaths (cf. p. 351). Cf. the medallions on the wreaths of countless priestly busts from Palmyra ; for crowns adorned with busts in the round see G. F. Hill in *Oesterr. Jahreshefte* (1899), i. p. 241 ff. (portrait head found at Ephesus).

³ Cf. the passage from Theon of Smyrna quoted by J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, Ed. 2, p. 593, note 1. ⁴ Cumont in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1919, p. 256.

⁵ Cf. Wissowa, art. *Arvales fratres* in Pauly-Wissowa, p. 1470. The attempt made by Wüscher Becchi (*Röm. Quartchriftals*, xiii. 1899, p. 105) to derive the appendages of a Bishop's mitre (*fasciae, penduli, infulae*, etc.) from the *vittae* of the pagan priesthoods is contested by J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, p. 460.

⁶ Amelung, *Vat. Kat.*, ii. p. 614, and Plate 58. No. 403 (Gall. delle Statue), Dessau II 4160.

⁷ The species of animal is difficult to make out. It seems to be clearly a wolf in the torc of the priest of Bellona to whom possibly wolves were sacrificed as it is conjectured they were in the cult of Mithras (Cumont, *Mithras* II. p. 69) ; the heads of the torc of the Conservatori Archigallus are perhaps those of dogs. Cf. Graillet, p. 237, n. 6. The torc is usually taken to be identical with the *occabus* (*C.I.L.* x. 3698, l. 23 : *occavo* (sic) *et corona* : also the inscription at Lyons of the year 160 A.D., *C.I.L.* xiii. 1751, l. 15 : *occabo et corona*). Cf. Lefaye in Pottier-Saglio, s.v. 'Gallus.'

of the torc are in the shape of a flower with a third flower between them. Unlike the priests of Cybele, Lartius has no pectoral ornaments. His ritual attributes, however, are analogous to those of the Conservatori Archigallus; in his left hand he holds two double axes, with which the devotees of Bellona were wont to mutilate themselves, and in his right he carries the laurel twig with which to sprinkle the faithful with his blood.¹ So, too, the Archigallus has his instrument of self-torture—in his case the scourge or *flagellum* of cord and knucklebones suspended on his left side, while in his raised right hand he holds, together with a pomegranate, three pomegranate twigs to serve as *aspergillum*, though of what nature the *aspersiones* of the Galli were, whether of lustral water or of blood, is not clear. On the ground, to the right of Lartius, is his *cista* with closed lid; it is evidently made of basket-work, and one of the handles by which it was raised is visible.² A similar *cista*, but with taller, more pointed lid, and provided with a hanging strap instead of handles, appears on the left of the Archigallus.

That the attire of Lartius is fully sacerdotal seems clear from its close agreement in all essentials with that of the Archigalli of Cybele. The question next arises as to what precisely was the office of *cistophorus* or *cista*-bearer in the cult of Bellona. Quite recently fresh light has been shed on the subject by an inscription from the end of the first century or beginning of the second, discovered at Madaura in Numidia and commented by M. Franz Cumont.³ The text opens as follows:

[nomina ci]STHIFERORVM . DEAE . VIRTVTIS

[qui aras] DVAS DEXTRA . SINIXTRA ET GRADVS D.S.F.⁴

Then follows in two columns a list of names of priests and other persons who had dedicated the monuments⁵ mentioned in l. 2 to the *genius* of the *Cistiferi* (= *cistophori*) of Virtus-Bellona. Four among

¹ Graillet, p. 99 f. So, too, in the procession of Isis described by Apuleius, a priest is described as holding a golden branch most delicately worked (*altollens palmam auro subtiliter foliatam*) in one hand, and in the other the caduceus (Apul. ed. Eyssenhardt, xi. ch. 10, p. 211).

² Owing to the inaccuracy of the old illustrations this has frequently been described as an ornament in the shape of a crescent!

³ *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1918, p. 312. Since then M. Cumont has accepted M. Stéphane Gsell's reading [CI]STHIFERORUM for the earlier emendation [HA]STHIFERORUM, *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1919. In either emendation the aspiration of the T would be explained as a provincialism.

⁴ I.e. *de suo fecerunt*.

⁵ For the [*exedras*] originally suggested, Cumont now proposes [*qui aras*].

these personages are further distinguished by the addition of *sac.* = *sacerdos*, so that evidently a *cistophorus* was not necessarily—any more than a *gallus*—a fully ordained priest. His humbler function may have been to act as one of the bearers of the *ferculum* or platform on which the *cista* was borne, like the image of the goddess herself, while only the high priests would have the right of handling the holy receptacle. It has been fairly well demonstrated by M. Graillet that the *cista* carried in the processions of Cybele contained the vital parts, the *vires* of Attis.¹ This is also the opinion of Mr. E. M. W. Tillyard, who in a recent paper contributed to the *Journal of Roman Studies* publishes an altar of peculiar interest which shows the sacred *cista* solemnly enthroned and placed upon the *ferculum*, being actually carried in procession by four *galli*² in a manner similar to that in which the image of the Magna Mater itself is seen carried in procession on a sarcophagus at San Lorenzo.³ It is nowhere expressly stated that emasculation was practised by the priests of Bellona, but considering the many close analogies between the rites of Cybele and those of her *pedisequa*, we may assume that the contents of the *cistae* were of a similar character in both cults. One of the chief functions of the *cistophorus coronatus* may have been to place the *cista* on the *ferculum* when the procession began and to receive it at its close. The handles of the *cista* on the Vallicelliana relief suggest that it was raised by two *cistophori*, and carried between them when not on the *ferculum*. An interesting inscription found some twenty years ago at Cherchel shows, as M. Cumont points out,⁴ that Bellona, like Cybele, was borne in the procession on a *ferculum*, and we may assume that so was her *cista*.⁵ It is to be hoped that some monument of equal importance to the altar discovered by Mr. Tillyard may turn up to throw further light on these obscure details of ceremonial.

To return to the inscription, the cognomen *Anthus* ('*Ἀνθος* = flower) tends to show that the priest was of foreign, probably Graeco-Oriental

¹ Graillet, p. 179; cf. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, ii. p. 1552.

² *J.R.S.* vii. 1917, p. 284 ff. The altar is in the possession of Mr. G. A. Warren, of Streatham Hill.

³ Reinach, *Reliefs* iii. 321, 1.

⁴ Cumont, *op. cit.* p. 9. The inscr. was published by R. Cagnat in *Année Epigraphique*, 1898, p. 61: *Deae pedisequae Virtutis (i.e. Virtuti) Bellonae lecticam cum suis ornamentis et basem C. Avianus Amandus, augur d(onum) d(edit) et consecrav[it].* Cumont makes it clear that *lectica* is used here in the sense of *ferculum*.

⁵ See the examples, s.v. '*Anthus*,' in Forcellini's *Onomasticon* new ed.

birth or extraction.¹ On the other hand, the *nomen* of Lartius suggests a connexion with the patrician *Gens Lartia* of some member of which the priest or one of his forebears was possibly the freedman. The Quinctius Rufinus² who set up the memorial *fratri et domino suo pientissimo* uses *dominus* to indicate his religious superior, and *frater* in the sense of religious brotherhood—a meaning of *frater* which, as M. Cumont kindly points out to me, occurs likewise in the mysteries of Mithras (e.g. *C.I.L.* vi. 727, etc.) while the Christian formula *fratres carissimi* is actually found in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus (*C.I.L.* vi. 406 = 30758).

'The Field of the Silver Apollo,' where the tomb was erected, took its name from some shrine of Apollo that contained a silver image of the god.³ The same topographical formula appears, as Schneider-Graziosi has shown, in two other inscriptions,⁴ so that evidently the shrine and its site were of some importance. It would be satisfactory to be able in conclusion to say something certain about the locality of the temple of Bellona to which Lartius was attached. One of his colleagues, as we have seen, a *fanaticus* of Bellona, was buried in a neighbouring tomb to his own, and if we may assume that there was a group of *Bellonarii* buried on this spot, it looks as if the temple were not very far off, but Platner and other authorities assert that 'its location is unknown.' The celebrated inscription of A.D. 236 from Kastell near Mayence (*C.I.L.* xiii. 7281), which records that the *hastiferi*⁵—another priestly college of Bellona

¹ On the other hand, in the procession of Isis described by Apuleius (ed. Eyssenhartdt, xi. ch. 11) both the *cista secretorum capax*, and the little urn that contained the 'ineffable mystery' were carried by priests. Allowance must also be made for differences of usage within the same cults. In Catholic processions, too, the Monstrance, though generally carried, may sometimes be seen placed on a car, as in processions of the 'Corpus Domini' in Spain.

² The Cognomen Rufinus is one of the commonest (see Deane, *Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions*, p. 46 and p. 466) or else it might be suggested that Rufinus, = blood-red, had some connexion with the cult of Bellona, one of whose epithets *Rufilia* some have attempted to explain in allusion to the 'blood-red' character of her cult, though as Aust (*l.c.*) points out, the epithet *Rufilia* more probably represents the name of the dedicator (cf. *Fortuna Flavia*. *C.I.L.* vi. 187).

³ This shrine has nothing to do with a supposed *templum Apollinis* in the *ager Vaticanus* mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*, see Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. p. 193, where it is shown as against De Rossi (*loc. cit.*) that a temple of Apollo in the Vatican region probably never existed at all. Cf. Jordan-Huelsen, p. 659.

⁴ Schneider-Graziosi in *Bull. Com.* xli. 1913, p. 54 ff., on *C.I.L.* vi. 29967 (a b *Apolline Argenteo*) and *C.I.L.* vi. 21861. Cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 26, *aedes cum sigillo Apollinio*.

⁵ On their functions, which he takes to be those of *δαρυφόροι*, see Cumont's paper referred to above; also Hepding, *Attis*, p. 169; and Gruppe. *loc. cit.*

—*Civitatis Mattiacorum*, restored a *Mons Vaticanus* which had fallen into ruin through age, is taken by all the commentators¹ to refer to a temple or shrine set up in imitation of the great *Phrygianum* or temple of Cybele on the Vatican hill. Graillot, indeed, goes so far as to suggest that the Roman colonies possessed a *Mons Vaticanus* much as they did a *Capitolium*. But though there is evidence of *taurobolia* in honour of Cybele taking place at Lyons and other places² in association, so to speak, with the sacrifices offered at the mother-shrine in the Vatican, there is little or no evidence for the existence of shrines actually called *Mons Vaticanus* outside that provided by the inscription of Kastell. At present there seems nothing to prevent our giving to the Kastell inscription its obvious meaning which would seem to be that the *hastiferi* of Bellona of Castellum-Mattiacorum had restored a *Mons Vaticanus* in their native city, so-called in honour of a shrine on the Vatican hill in Rome, just as in our own days innumerable rock shrines imitate the original grotto of Lourdes. The expression *Mons Vaticanus* which only the supreme importance of St. Peter's has narrowed down in modern times to the one hill which is the actual site of the basilica and its dependencies was, in antiquity, more strictly used in the plural; while the *ager Vaticanus* was a vast region extending as far as the sea. It may at least be surmised that somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Temple of the Magna Mater, either on the same hill or on another of the *Montes Vaticani*, was another temple dedicated to her *pedisequa*. The conjecture is warranted by the existence of tombstones of priests of Bellona on the *Via Triumphalis*. The epithet *pulvinensis* shows that it was no mere shrine or chapel within the precinct of the Magna Mater, but an official temple with a *pulvinar*.³ Under the Empire the cult of Bellona was only second in importance to those of the Magna Mater and of Mithras, and it is to be hoped that the locality of her worship in Rome may still be ascertained.

It is thought that the official temple of Bellona Pulvinensis cannot have been earlier than the third century A.D., and our relief, owing to the almost frontal pose of the figure and to the way in which the pupil of the eye is not only incised but raised slightly upward, can hardly be dated before the period of Caracalla.

¹ See especially *C.I.L.*, xiii. 1751, l. 10, and what Huelsen says (*Jordan-Huelsen*, p. 659, n. 93).

² *Jordan-Huelsen*, p. 554, n. 131.

³ Cf. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus* (2nd ed.), p. 349 f



MARBLE RELIEF OF A PRIEST OF BELLONA

ROME, BIBLIOTECA VALLICELLIANA.