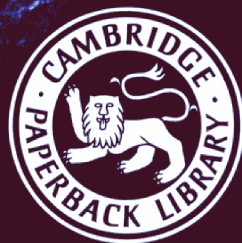


# RITUALS AND POWER

The Roman imperial cult  
in Asia Minor



S R.F. PRICE



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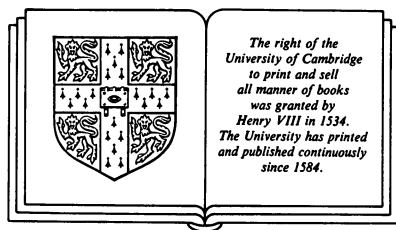


# RITUALS AND POWER

The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor

S. R. F. PRICE

*Fellow and Tutor of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford*



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TO THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER



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- 1a Marble statue of an imperial priest. Photo: M. Ali Döğenci, Aphrodisias Excavations.
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- 4a Marble statue of Hadrian. Photo: Warburg Institute, London.
- 4b Bronze statue of Lucius Verus. Photo: Courtesy of the Indianapolis Museum of Art by kind permission of Mr and Mrs Charles Lipson.
- 4c Bronze statue of Hadrian. Photo: Warburg Institute, London.
- 4d Marble statue of Hadrian. Photo: Archaeological Institute, University of Istanbul.

## PREFACE

Growing up in an Anglican cathedral house I naturally acquired an interest in the significance of establishment religion. So, when I finished my first degree in classics and began my research, I chose to study the official cult of the Roman emperor, a subject normally dismissed as mere politics with no religious meaning.

John North, the supervisor of my doctoral thesis, helped me to see the subject in a new light. At first I found that the imperial cult was less familiar than I had previously imagined; I could not make it fit into either of our standard categories, 'religion' or 'politics'. But then I realized that the imperial cult could become comprehensible by seeing both religion and politics as parts of a web of power.

Many people have helped me to rewrite the thesis for publication. Revised chapters were substantially improved by the following friends and colleagues: Lucilla Burn, Linda Colley, Jim Coulton, Gabriel Herman, Robin Lane Fox, Fergus Millar, Lucia Nixon, John North, Susan Sherwin-White, Bert Smith and Susan Walker. Keith Hopkins skilfully helped me to understand the difference between a thesis and a book. Ann Johnston exercised considerable expertise and attention to detail in preparing the typescript for press. Without wishing to inculcate them in my remaining errors and infelicities, I offer them all my warmest thanks. But my greatest debt is to Mary Beard and Cynthia Farrar who seem to have devoted as many hours to writing this book as I have.

*Oxford*  
*May 1983*

S.R.F.P.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Details of books and articles for which I use the name-date system are given in the bibliography; other books (mainly works of reference) which I cite simply by the author's name or by name and abbreviated title are given here. The abbreviations of periodical titles, if not given below, can be expanded by using the list in *L'Année philologique*. I refer to corpora of inscriptions as (e.g.) *I. Priene*; these works are either listed in J. J. E. Hondius, *Saxa Loquuntur* (1939) or form part of the series *Inscriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* (1972- ), with exceptions listed below. Coins are generally referred to by means of the *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum* (*BMC* followed by the name of the area) or the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (especially the von Aulock and Royal Danish Museum, Copenhagen, collections).

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> (1888- )
<i>AJ</i>	F. F. Abbott, A. C. Johnson, <i>Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire</i> (1926)
<i>Alt. von Perg.</i>	<i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i> (1895- )
<i>Anat. Stud.</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>Annuario</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (ed. H. Temporini, W. Haase, 1972- )
<i>Anz. Wien</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-hist. Klasse</i>
<i>Ath. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> by J. & L. Robert annually in <i>REG</i> , cited by year and paragraph number
Bean, Mitford I	G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, <i>Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963</i> (Denk. österreichische Ak. Wiss., Wien, phil.-hist. Kl. 85, 1965)
Bean, Mitford II	G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, <i>Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968</i> (Denk. österreichische Ak. Wiss., Wien, phil.-hist. Kl. 102, 1970)

## Abbreviations

de Bernardi Ferrero	D. de Bernardi Ferrero, <i>Teatri Classici in Asia Minore</i> I-IV (1966-74)
BGU	<i>Griechische Urkunden aus den koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin</i> I-IV (1895-1912)
BMCRE	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> I-VI (ed. H. Mattingly <i>et al.</i> , 1923-62)
BMC Sculpture	<i>A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum</i> I-III (ed. A. H. Smith, 1892-1904)
Bosch	E. Bosch, <i>Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum</i> (1967)
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> (1923- )
Cat.	A catalogue of imperial temples and shrines in Asia Minor, see end of volume, pp. 249-74.
Charitonides	S. Charitonides, ΑΙ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΛΕΣΒΟΥ. ΣΥΜΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ (1968)
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> I-IV (ed. A. Boeckh, 1828-77)
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (ed. Th. Mommsen <i>et al.</i> , 1863- )
CJ	<i>Codex Justinianus</i> (ed. P. Krueger, 1895)
Coll. Waddington	<i>Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington...</i> (ed. E. Babelon, 1898). Coins now in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> (ed. Th. Mommsen, 1905)
EAA	<i>Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica</i> (ed. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, 1958-70)
ESAR IV	<i>An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome</i> IV (ed. T. Frank, 1938)
FGH	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (1923-58)
FIRA	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani</i> I <sup>2</sup> -III (ed. S. Riccobono <i>et al.</i> , 1940-3)
Forsch. in Eph.	<i>Forschungen in Ephesos</i> (1906- )
Head, HN <sup>2</sup>	B. V. Head, <i>Historia Numorum</i> <sup>2</sup> (1911)
IBM	<i>Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i> I-IV (1874-1916)
I. Didyma	<i>Didyma II: Die Inschriften</i> (ed. A. Rehm, 1958)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> I-XIV (1873- )
IGBulg	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae</i> I <sup>2</sup> -IV (ed. G. Mihailov, 1958-70)
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> I-IV (ed. R. Cagnat <i>et al.</i> , 1906-27)
IGUR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> I-III (ed. L. Moretti, 1968-79)



## Abbreviations

<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> I–III (ed. H. Dessau, 1892–1916)
Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Kl. M.</i>	F. Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Kleinasiatische Münzen</i> I–II (1901–2)
<i>I. Side</i>	<i>The Inscriptions of Side</i> (ed. G. E. Bean, Türk tarih kurumu yayınlarından v 20, 1965)
<i>Ist. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul</i>
Keil, von Premenstein I	J. Keil, A. von Premenstein, <i>Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis</i> (Denk. österreichische Ak. Wiss., Wien, phil.-hist. Kl. 53, 2 (1908))
Keil, von Premenstein II	<i>Id.</i> , <i>Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien</i> ( <i>ibid.</i> 54, 2 (1911))
Keil, von Premenstein III	<i>Id.</i> , <i>Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien</i> ( <i>ibid.</i> 57, 1 (1914))
Lanckoronski	K. Lanckoronski, <i>Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens</i> I (1890), II (1892)
Lane, <i>CMRDM</i>	E. N. Lane, <i>Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis</i> I–IV (1971–8)
Laum	B. Laum, <i>Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike</i> (1914)
LBW	P. Le Bas, W. H. Waddington, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure</i> III (1870)
Liermann	O. Liermann, <i>Analecta epigraphica et agonistica</i> (Diss. Phil. Halle x, 1889)
<i>LSAM</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> (1955)
<i>LSCG</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> (1969)
<i>LSCG Supp.</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques, supplément</i> (1962)
Maiuri	A. Maiuri, <i>Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos</i> (1925)
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> I–VIII (ed. W. M. Calder et al., 1928–62)
<i>Milet</i>	<i>Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899</i> I–IV (1906–73)
Mionnet	T. E. Mionnet, <i>Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines</i> (1807–37)
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae</i> I–II (ed. W. Dittenberger, 1903–5)
Paris	Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, inventory number

## Abbreviations

<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> 1-162 (ed. J. P. Migne, 1857-66)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> 1-217 (ed. J. P. Migne, 1844-55)
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> (1898- )
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> (ed. Th. Klauser et al., 1950- )
Ramsay, <i>HG</i>	W. M. Ramsay, <i>The Historical Geography of Asia Minor</i> (1890)
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (ed. G. Wissowa, E. Kroll et al., 1893- )
<i>Rec.</i>	W. H. Waddington, E. Babelon, Th. Reinach, <i>Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure</i> (1904-25)
<i>RECAM</i>	<i>Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor</i> (1982- )
<i>Rev. Phil.</i>	<i>Revue de Philologie</i>
<i>RIC</i>	<i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> 1-VIII (ed. H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham et al., 1923-81)
Robert, <i>BE</i>	See <i>BE</i>
Robert, <i>Castabala</i>	L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer, <i>La déesse de Hierapolis Castabala, Cilicie</i> (1964)
Robert, <i>Et. Anat.</i>	L. Robert, <i>Études anatoliennes</i> (1937)
Robert, <i>Ét. épigr.</i>	L. Robert, <i>Études épigraphiques et philologiques</i> (1938)
Robert, <i>Gladiateurs</i>	L. Robert, <i>Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec</i> (1940)
Robert, <i>Hell.</i>	L. Robert, <i>Hellenica</i> 1-XIII (1940-65)
Robert, <i>Inscr. Sardes</i>	L. Robert, <i>Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes</i> (1964)
Robert, <i>Laodicée</i>	<i>Laodicée du Lycos: le Nymphée</i> (ed. J. Des Gagniers et al., 1969)
Robert, <i>Monnaies antiques</i>	L. Robert, <i>Monnaies antiques en Troade</i> (1966)
Robert, <i>Op. Min. Sel.</i>	L. Robert, <i>Opera Minora Selecta</i> 1-IV (1969-74)
Robert, <i>Villes</i> <sup>2</sup>	L. Robert, <i>Villes d'Asie Mineure</i> <sup>2</sup> (1962)
<i>Röm. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (ed. J. J. E. Hondius et al., 1923- )
<i>SGDI</i>	<i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> 1-IV (ed. H. Collitz, 1884-1915)
Sherk	R. K. Sherk, <i>Roman Documents from the Greek East</i> (1969)
<i>Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> 1-IV <sup>3</sup> (ed. W. Dittenberger et al., 1915-24)

### *Abbreviations*

<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> (1901– )
<i>Thasos II</i>	C. Dunant, J. Pouilloux, <i>Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos II</i> (Études Thasiennes v, 1958)
Welles, <i>RC</i>	C. B. Welles, <i>Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period</i> (1934)
Weber	<i>The Weber Collection. Greek Coins I–III</i> (ed. L. Forrer, 1922–9)
Weber, <i>Untersuchungen</i>	W. Weber, <i>Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus</i> (1907)

## MAPS

*A Classical Map of Asia Minor* by W. M. Calder and G. E. Bean (1958) has been used as a base, though I have made corrections on the location of sites wherever possible.

- I *Asia Minor*. I show provinces (in larger type) and provincial boundaries as they existed in the early second century A.D. I also show the regions to which I refer in the text.
- II *Imperial altars*. I include all certainly or probably imperial altars, though the choice is often difficult as older publications do not always describe the actual stone on which the text is inscribed. For much of the evidence see ch. 5 n. 74. I exclude monumental altars which formed part of a temple complex, on which see ch. 6 n. 4. I also exclude altars to the gods on behalf of the emperor and those dedicated to gods and emperor where the addition of the emperor is simply honorific. On this problem see Veyne (1962) 75–81, esp. 83 n. 3, and Drew-Bear (1978) 12, no. 6.
- III *Imperial temples*. I include both temples and shrines which are dedicated to the emperor or are very closely associated with him and also other sanctuaries where there was a significant imperial presence. For evidence see ch. 6 and Catalogue from which I exclude doubtful cases.
- IV *Imperial priests*. I exclude provincial priests but include civic priests of individual emperors or of the Sebastoi. For much of the evidence see ch. 4 n. 5. The high priests whose cult is not specified present an intractable problem. Some assume that all were imperial priests (Robert, *L'Antiquité classique* (1966) 414–15 n. 3; *BE* (1977) 459). But in fact there are cases where they demonstrably served other specific cults (*IGR* III 299, Dionysus, Antioch; Robert, *Noms indigènes* 436ff. n. 7, Ma, Cappadocia; Lane, *CMRDM* I, nos. 168–74; more examples in *RE* I (1894) 481) or even had some general control of all the cults of the city (*IGR* IV 708, Synnada; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 807, Magnesia on Maeander, including the imperial cult). The point is of some importance as an extra twenty cities would be added to the map if all high priests were included. I include only those high priests who fairly clearly served the emperor.

## *Maps*

- v *Imperial cult.* This map is a composite version of Maps II–IV with some rivers and the high ground over 1,500 m marked.
- vi *Non-imperial temples and theatres.* I include new or rebuilt temples of the imperial period dedicated to gods other than the emperor. For most of the evidence see Akurgal (1978) and Anabolu (1970). I also give new or rebuilt theatres. See especially Akurgal (1978), Bean (1978) and de Bernardi Ferrero.

## KEY

To discover the number of a particular site please consult the general index. Places which appear only on Map vi are in brackets.

1	Lampsacus	35	Thyatira
2	Ilium	36	Daldis
3	Beujuk Tepekevi	37	Magnesia ad Sipylum
4	Alexandria Troas	38	Tmolus
5	Scepsis	38	Asar Tepe
6	Assos	39	Sardis
7	Adramyttium	40	Jussuf Deressi
8	Perperene	41	Coloe
9	Eresus	42	Philadelphia
10	Mytilene	43	Metropolis
11	Elaea	44	Tire
12	Myrina	45	Ephesus
13	Cyme	46	Magnesia on Maeander
14	Phocaea	47	Tralles
15	Chios	48	Nysa
16	Erythrae	49	Aphrodisias
17	Clazomenae	50	Alabanda
18	Smyrna	51	Heraclea ad Latmum
19	Teos	52	Labraunda
20	Claros	53	Hyllarima
21	Samos	54	Cys
22	Priene	55	Iasos
23	Miletus	56	Mylasa
24	Didyma	57	Stratonicea, Caria
25	Calymnus	58	Panamara
26	Cos	59	Bargylia
27	Nisyrus	60	Hydisos
28	Parium	61	Halicarnassus
29	Cyzicus	62	Ceramus
30	Apollonia, Mysia	63	Caunus
31	Miletopolis	64	Cnidus
32	Pergamum	65	Camirus
33	Sandaina	66	Lindos
34	Attalea, Lydia	67	Byzantium

# *Maps*

68	Calchedon	114	Tlos
69	Dacibyza	115	Sidyra
70	Nicomedia	116	Letoum
71	Apamea, Bithynia	117	Xanthos
72	Cius	118	Patara
73	Nicaea	119	Arneae
74	Prusa	120	Aperlae
75	Dorylaeum	121	Idebessus
76	Ancyra, Phrygia	122	Acalissus
77	Aezani	123	Cormus
78	Temenothyrae	124	Phaselis
79	Traianopolis	125	Rhodiapolis
80	Acmonia	126	Corydalla
81	Acroenus	127	Heraclea Pontica
82	Blaundus	128	Prusias ad Hypium
83	Sebaste	129	Bithynium
84	Synnada	130	Choria Considiana
85	Eumeneia	131	Germa
86	Stectorium	132	Pessinus
87	Apamea Celaenae	133	Philomelium
88	Apollonia, Pisidia	134	Antioch, Pisidia
89	Conana	135	Adada
90	Agrae	136	Gorgorome
91	Hierapolis, Phrygia	137	Vasada
92	Laodicea, Phrygia	138	Selge
93	Colossae	139	Isaura
94	Binda	140	Cotenna
95	Heraclea, Caria	141	Pednelissus
96	Apollonia, Caria	142	Attalea, Pamphylia
97	Ceretapa	143	Perge
98	Sagalassus	144	Aspendus
99	Cidrama	145	Side
100	Pogla	146	Colybrassus
101	Comama	147	Cibyra, Pamphylia
102	Andeda	148	Laertes
103	Cibyra, Caria	149	Syedra
104	Sylleum	150	Ninica
105	Bubon	151	Iotape
106	Balbura	152	Selinus
107	Ariassus	153	Cestrus
108	Termessus	154	Antiochia ad Cragum
109	Marmara	155	Amastris
110	Oenoanda	156	Hadrianopolis
111	Cadyanda	157	Gangra
112	Choma	158	Ancyra, Galatia
113	Telmessus	159	Laodicea Combusta

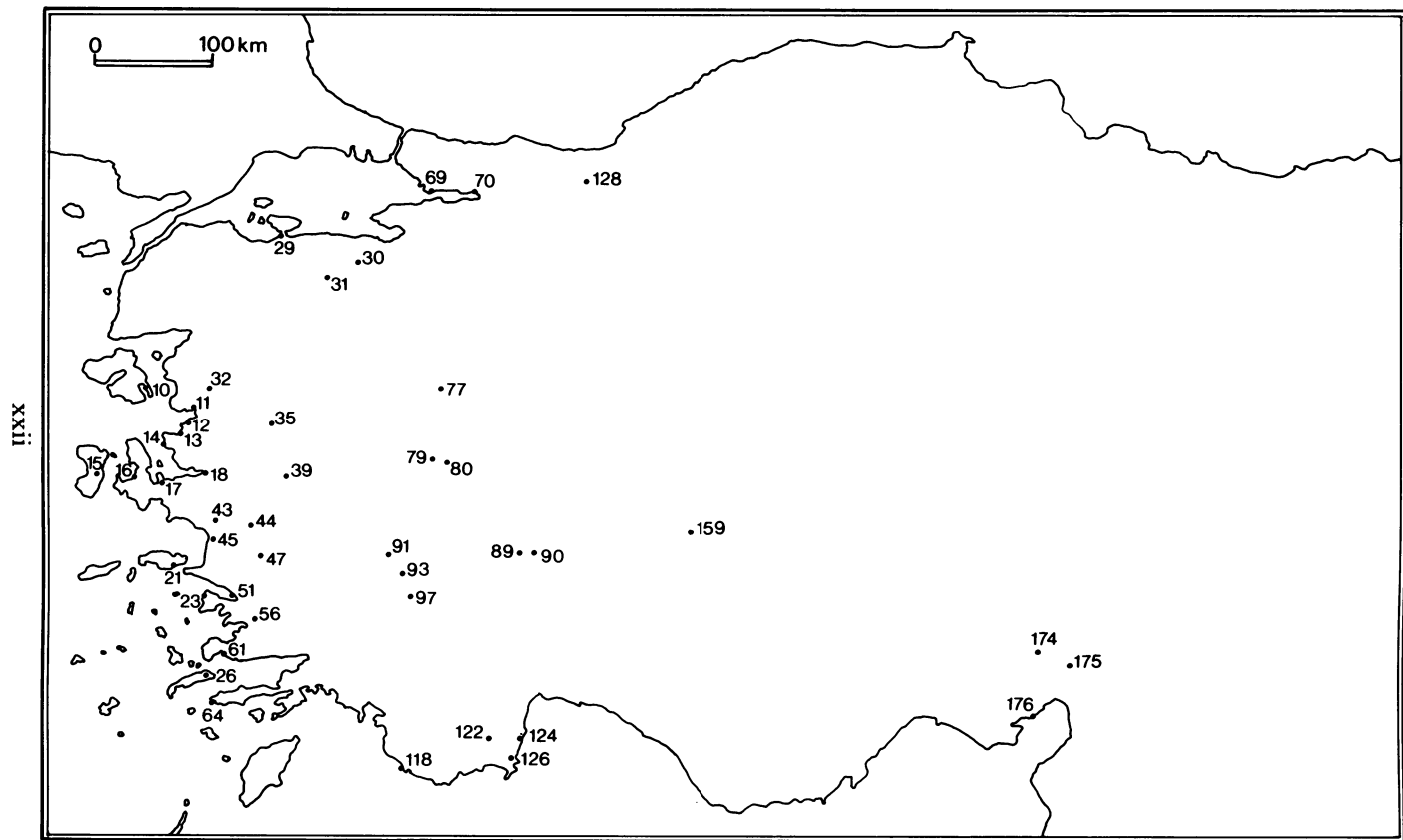


## *Maps*

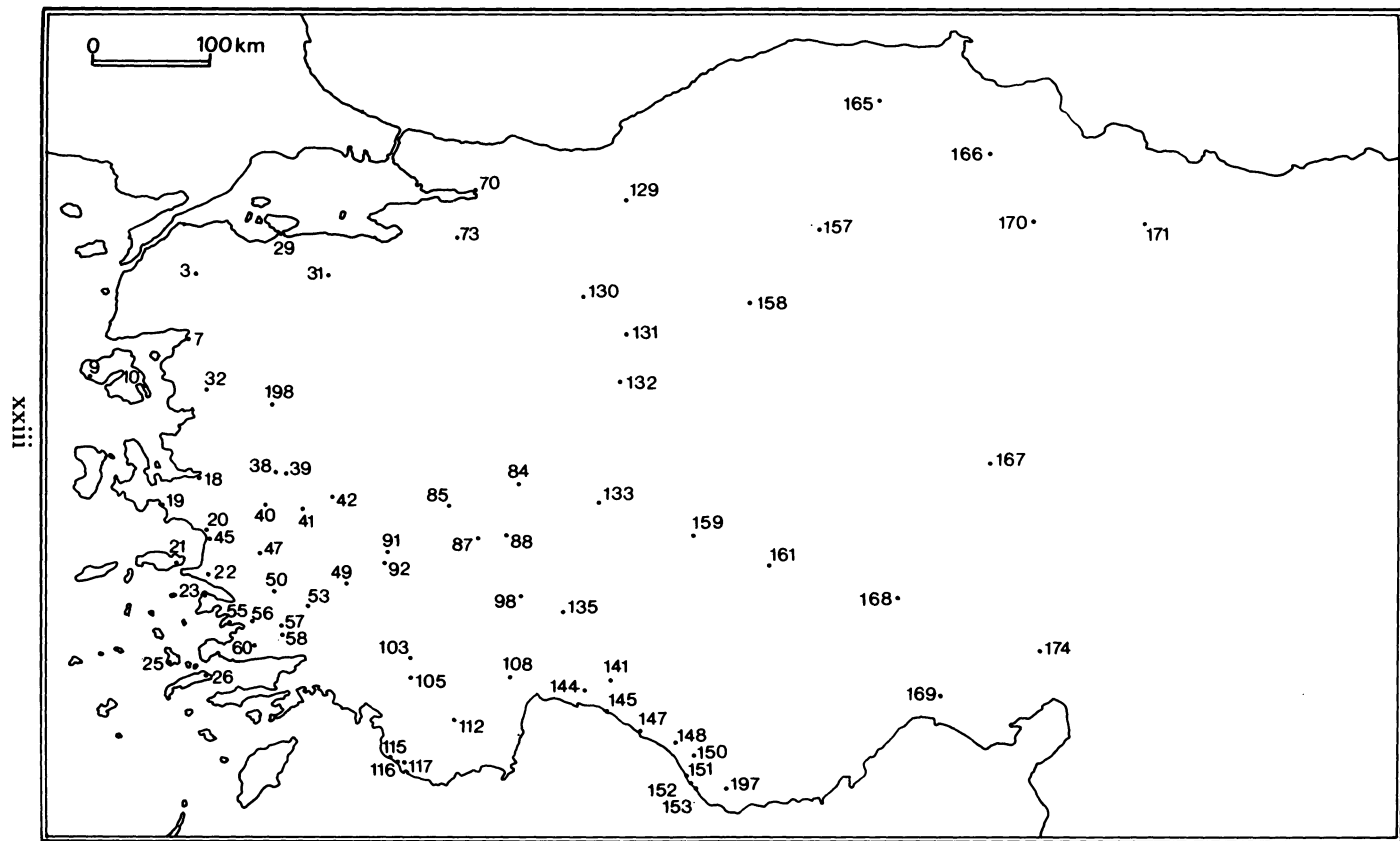
160	Savatra	180	(Motella)
161	Kana	181	(Lagon)
162	Iconium	182	(Nisa)
163	Derbe	183	(Arycanda)
164	Sinope	184	(Limyra)
165	Pompeiopolis	185	(Myra)
166	Neapolis, Paphlagonia	186	(Sivrikale)
167	Caesarea, Cappadocia	187	(Avasun)
168	Faustinopolis	188	(Seleuceia, Pamphylia)
169	Tarsus	189	(Tyana)
170	Amasia	190	(Soli-Pompeiopolis)
171	Neocaesarea, Paphlagonia	191	(Olba)
172	Sebastopolis	192	(Elaeussa-Sebaste)
173	Flaviopolis	193	(Seleuceia, Cilicia)
174	Anazarbus	194	(Comana)
175	Hierapolis-Castabala	195	(Mopsuestia)
176	Aegeae	196	(Direkkale)
177	(Aegae)	197	Lamus
178	(Notium)	198	Nacrasa
179	(Euromus)	199	Nicopolis, Armenia



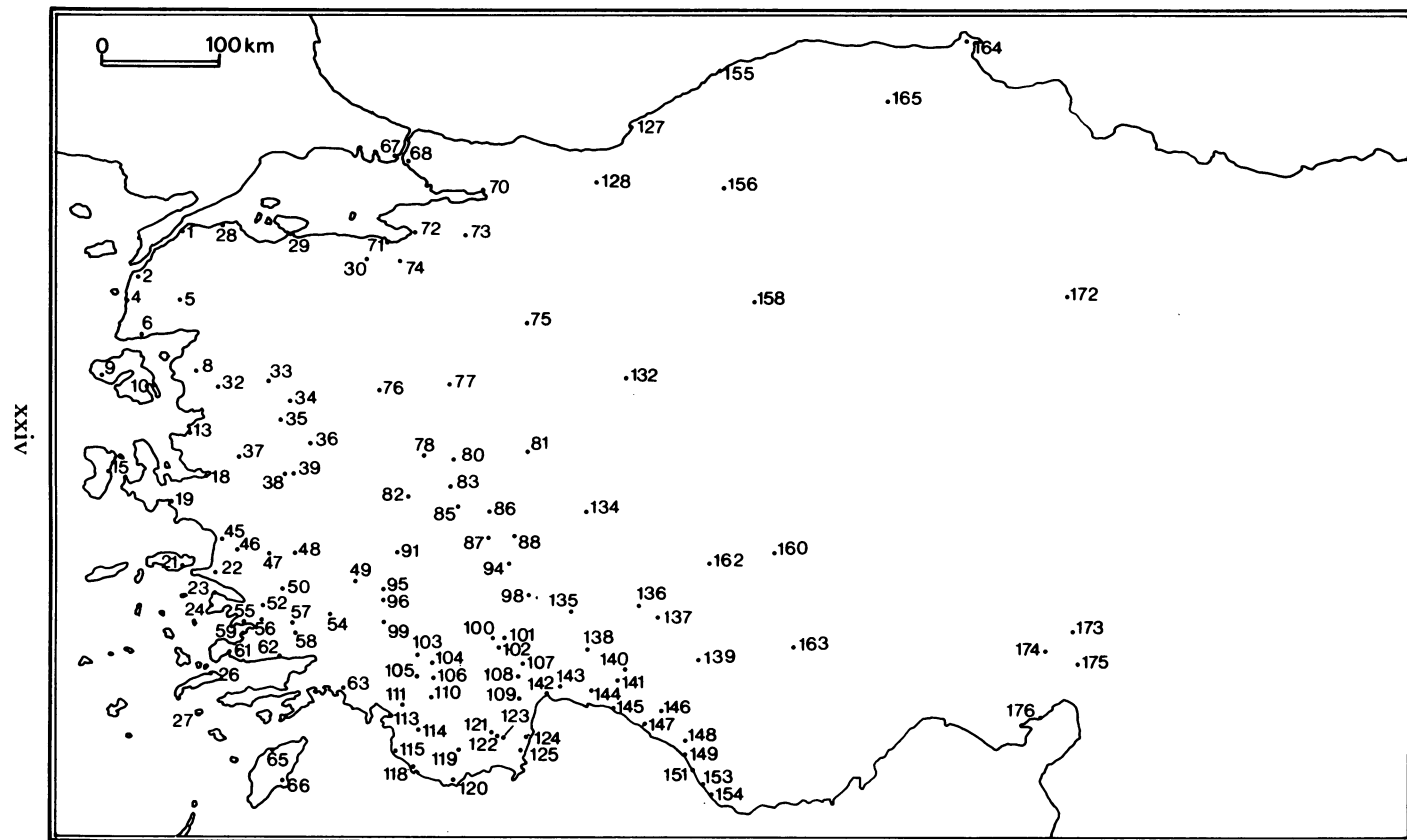
Map I. Asia Minor



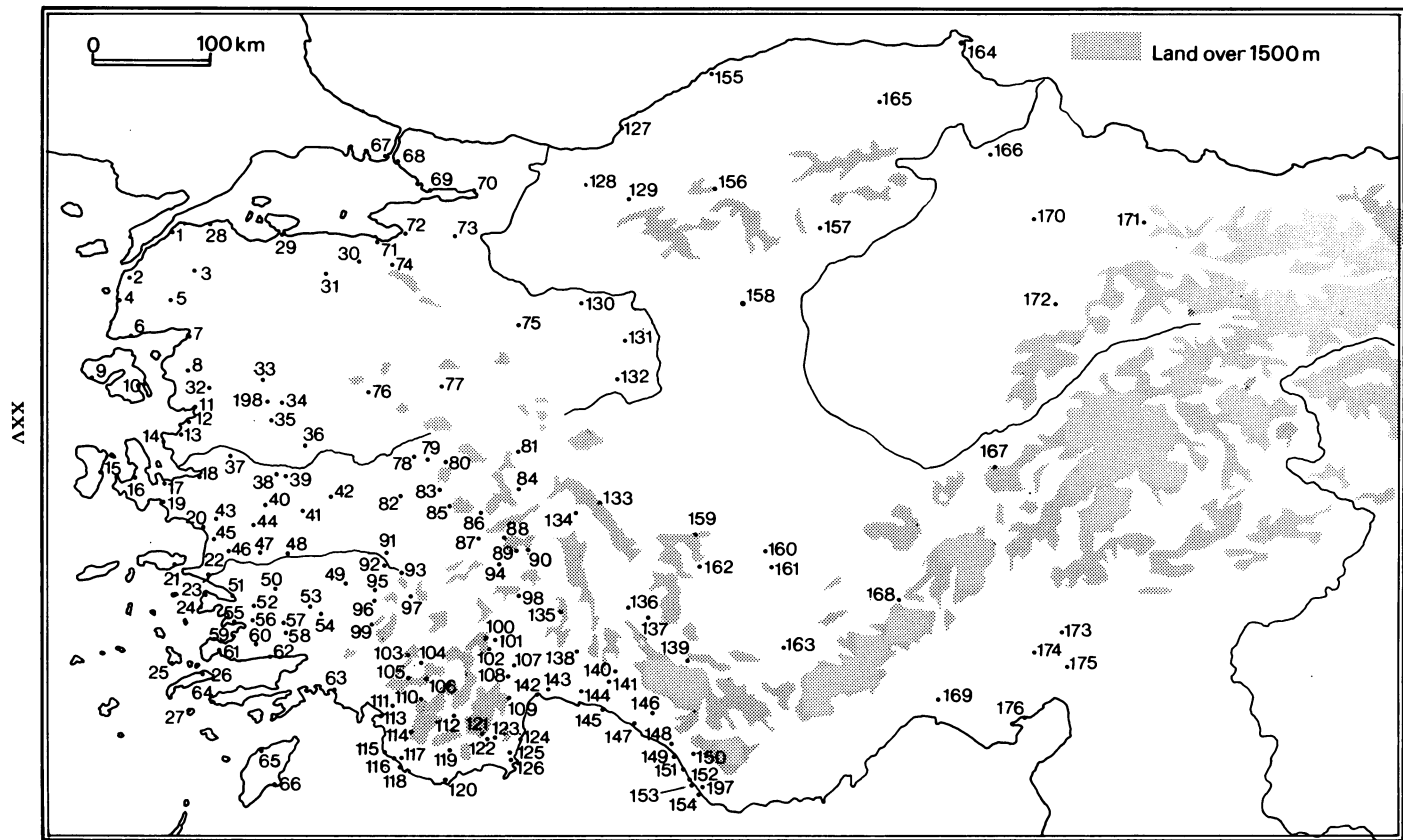
Map II. Imperial Altars



Map III. Imperial Temples

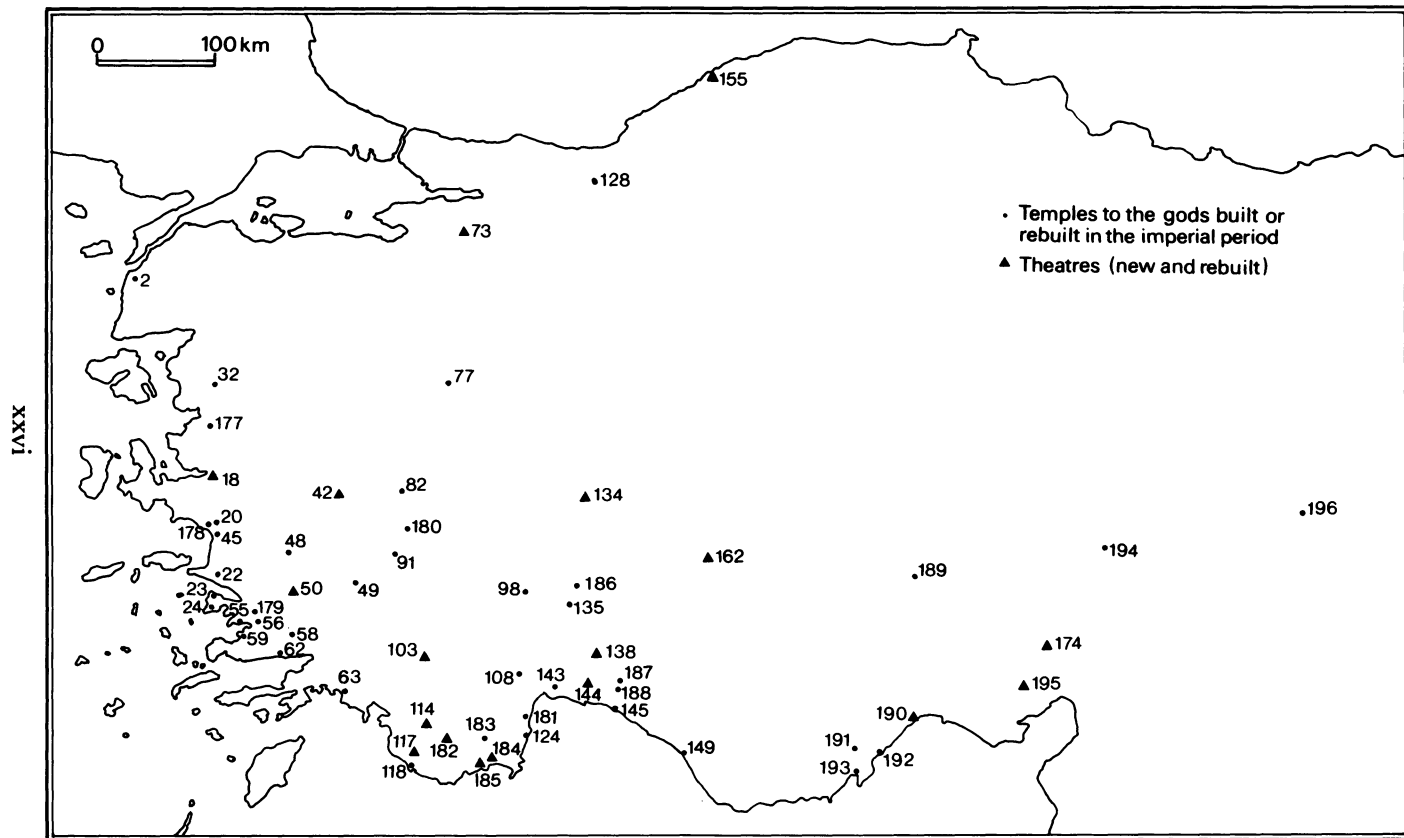


Map IV. Imperial Priests



Map V. Imperial Cult





Map VI. Non-Imperial Temples and Theatres

# 1

## INTRODUCTION

Because mankind address him thus [as Sebastos] in accordance with their estimation of his honour, they revere him with temples and sacrifices over islands and continents, organized in cities and provinces, matching the greatness of his virtue and repaying his benefactions towards them.

The cults of the Roman emperor performed by the Greek cities of Asia Minor during the first three centuries A.D., which form the subject of this book, confound our expectations about the relationship between religion, politics and power. The civilized, complex cities, with their ideals of autonomy and freedom, had to accept subjection to an authority which, while not so alien as to make adjustment impossible, was external to the traditional structures of the city. The answer to the problem lay in finding a place for the ruler within the framework of traditional cults of the gods.

These imperial cults have a particular importance for those interested in the formation of large-scale societies. Much royal ritual – coronations, court ceremonial and funerals – is located in and created by the centre. In many kingdoms there is little representation of the monarch outside the centre, except in royal progresses, which are occasional and transient. In Asia Minor there were ceremonies to greet emperors who visited provincial cities, but they were rarely called for; no emperor visited the area in the whole of the first century A.D. The rituals with which we are concerned are not irregular and passing events, but cults performed for the emperor in his absence and institutionalized on a regular basis. The Roman empire thus offers an excellent opportunity to explore a ruler cult which was a permanent institution, created and organized by the subjects of a great empire in order to represent to themselves the ruling power.

Because of the size of the Roman empire, which stretched from Spain to Syria and from Britain to North Africa, I propose to focus on one area, namely Asia Minor, which is roughly equivalent to modern Turkey. Here the basic unit of political organization was the

city, and the dominant language Greek, but the cities were always at the mercy of external power. Both Persia and Athens had exercised sway over them, and from the time of Alexander the Great (336–323 B.C.) onwards the cities had gradually lost their independence, first to Greek kings and then to Rome. The reign of the first emperor Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14) marked a turning point in the consolidation of Roman power. Asia Minor consisted of several provinces, each administered by a governor who came out from Rome (see map 1). With only a small staff, the governor himself could do little more than handle important legal cases and maintain order. The cities continued to organize themselves and they, rather than Rome, were the primary centres of attachment for their inhabitants.

In this introductory chapter I shall discuss a range of problems which arise in dealing with the imperial cult. Some of these problems concern the quality and limitations of the source material we have available (i); others are problems of method in the interpretation of ritual and especially imperial ritual (ii). We must also analyse and avoid the difficulties which derive from our own cultural background; Christianizing assumptions and categories have proved a major stumbling block in interpretations of the imperial cult (iii) and of these the most pervasive is our assumption that politics and religion are separate areas (iv); we need also to reject an ethnocentric prejudice for the Romans against the Greeks (v). Finally, as a guide to the subsequent chapters, I want to explain how the book is conceived as a study of the re-creation of a meaningful world by the subjects of a large empire (vi).

## I SOURCES

The passage at the beginning of the chapter, taken from a contemporary Greek biography of the emperor Augustus, gives an overall view of the imperial cult.<sup>1</sup> The author, with his eyes no doubt on the eastern part of the Roman empire, sketches out the rituals performed by the subjects of the empire in honour of their ruler. The prevalence and the organization of the cult are made strikingly clear. Travellers in the empire would not have been surprised to meet the cult wherever they went: they would have found the cult located both in local communities and in the associations formed of these communi-

<sup>1</sup> Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGH* 90 F 125. The Latin 'Augustus' was a title, implying divine favour, given to the first emperor, whom we call Augustus, and employed by his successors. 'Sebastos' is the Greek equivalent, but has a stronger association with the display of religious reverence (*eusebeia*) to the emperor. For other literary references to the cult see Philo, *Legatio* 149–51, and Lucian, *Apologia* 13.

ties in particular Roman provinces. The actual forms which the cult took varied from place to place; fortunately there are sources which provide a picture of the details of the cults in their local contexts. For example, the city of Eresus on the island of Lesbos recorded on an inscription the munificence of a local citizen towards the imperial family in the later years of Augustus' reign and the early years of his successor, Tiberius (Catalogue no. 5).

In the magistracy of Gaius Caesar, son of Augustus, leader of the youth, he sacrificed again at [the festivals of] the Nedameia and Sebasta and offered sweet-meats to the citizens and Romans and foreigners. In the magistracy of Apollonodotus, when news came of the safety and victory of Augustus he sacrificed at the good news to all the gods and goddesses and feasted at the sacrifice the citizens, the Romans and the foreigners and gave to those mentioned a bottle of wine and three pounds of bread. He also dedicated to the sons of Augustus a sanctuary and temple from his own money in the most prominent part of the square, on which his name was also inscribed, wanting to show his gratitude and piety to the whole [imperial] house... He also founded at the harbour of the market a temple to Augustus god Caesar, so that no notable place should lack his goodwill and piety to the god [*sc.* Augustus].

This text vividly evokes the range of imperial rituals celebrated in the cities of the empire. The rule of Rome was represented in marble. But the widespread imperial temples and imperial statues did not form the cold grandeur of an alien authority. The visual expression of the emperor was incorporated into the regular life of the communities through public celebrations. Long established festivals, such as the Nedameia, had an imperial element added to them; they were now also called Sebasta. Separate imperial festivals were also founded, where sacrifices were offered and the whole community was involved either in processions or as the recipients of donations from members of the élite, often acting as imperial priests. The honours, temples, priests, festivals and sacrifices, were curiously close to the honours given to the traditional gods. Indeed these honours were designed to display quite explicitly 'goodwill and piety to the god'.

The sources available for the study of the imperial cult in Asia Minor are rich, though there is no extended contemporary discussion of imperial ritual in the provinces. The Greeks themselves felt no need to describe or explain the imperial cult in the Greek world; the quotation with which this book opened is one of the few general descriptions of the cult. The silence is not in itself surprising. It is typically outsiders who are provoked to record the basic institutions of a society, as the Greeks themselves did for certain aspects of Rome.

For example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus elucidated Roman sacrifices by comparison with Greek ones (ch. 8 n. 3) and Herodian (iv 2) described the ceremony of imperial apotheosis in Rome for a Greek audience. But the Romans were not motivated to study the social institutions of their subjects and produced no comparable works. With the exception of important evidence on the early Christians and the imperial cult, the main evidence for the local cults of the emperor is thus non-literary.

The non-literary material is abundant. There is firstly the evidence of archaeology and numismatics. Many imperial temples are known. One is indeed still standing in the centre of Ankara (ancient Ancyra), others have been excavated and more are represented on local city coins. Numerous statues of the emperor survive, some actually discovered in temples, while others are again shown on coins. All these mute remains can be made to speak of the position of the emperor in the city. But their value is limited in comparison with the evidence surviving in thousands of texts inscribed on stone. The imperial period was a time when an enormous variety of texts was recorded in this manner and it is these inscriptions which make the present study possible. Two types of text are crucial for our purposes: firstly, the inscriptions put up to commemorate the offices and activities of local notables, such as the citizen of Eresus; secondly, official regulations, both Greek and Roman, for the cults giving details of how the cults were established and prescribing the order of the ceremonies.

These texts make it possible to reconstruct what was supposed to happen at particular imperial festivals. They also provide explicit and unforced uses of the conceptual framework of the cults. For example, the various formulae used to describe imperial sacrifices allow us to create a picture of the relationship between the emperor and the gods; the terms in which activities of the local notables are described and praised are important evidence for the overall purpose of the cults; quite explicit reasons are also provided in some documents concerning the establishment of the cults, since, happily for us, the standard form of Greek decree runs, 'Since it is the case that..., therefore the city has decided...'

The evidence, though plentiful, is very scattered in both time and place. In time it covers the three hundred years of the imperial period, though with a concentration of documents prescribing the ceremonies in the early years of the empire. In place the evidence comes from about 180 communities throughout Asia Minor (see map v); these communities range from small villages up to cities, with a concentra-

tion in a few places (Aphrodisias, Ephesus, Mytilene, Pergamum and Stratonicea), partly because of their size and in part because of the accidents of survival and discovery. In order to handle this dual diversity of place and time the book generally offers a synchronic analysis which assumes that the archetypal Greek city, whose institutions were relatively uniform, provides an adequate framework in which to slot evidence from different places. It does, however, also analyse historical developments, the range of the imperial cult in towns large and small, and the diversity of cultures in the area.

These sources are public and formal, and therefore some historians feel that we lack access to the crucial source of information about personal attitudes to the cult; a questionnaire given to the Greek in the street would surely make everything clear. They imagine the Greeks as having clear and determinate responses to make to our time-travelling researcher about their attitudes to the imperial cult or their views on the divinity of the emperor. Questionnaires may be useful in ascertaining the simple facts of what television programmes were watched the previous evening, but direct questions are of little value when the topic is more delicate and complex.<sup>2</sup> There is no point in asking bluntly what someone believes about the after-life, or about the imperial cult. The respondent would probably have no definite, articulate response to make. There is in fact no reason to think that the public and formal documents are necessarily misleading. There might be private exegetical response to these official conceptions, but one should not privilege such private responses. Nor should their absence lead us to believe that the cult has no meaning for individuals. As an anthropologist has argued, 'A complex symbolic system can work very well without being accompanied by any exegetical commentary.'<sup>3</sup>

Much would no doubt be gained from more subtle questioning of the Greeks. On a matter where questionnaires would have revealed nothing, oblique and in-depth interviews have, for example, shown that a much higher proportion of English students than would otherwise have been expected claim some sort of religious experience.<sup>4</sup> It would be interesting to be able to ask a Greek to list a number of gods. Would the emperor be included in any such list? And better still, we might wish that we could have obtained the status of participant observer in a Greek city, like a modern anthropologist.

<sup>2</sup> R. Towler, *Homo Religiosus* (1974) ch. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Sperber (1975) 18.

<sup>4</sup> D. Hay, 'Religious experience amongst a group of post-graduate students. A qualitative study', *J. Scientific Study of Religion* 18 (1979) 164-82.

But in some ways we are actually better placed to understand the Greeks than to understand a tribe studied by an earlier anthropologist. Many such tribes are known about only through a single source composed by an outsider. For example, anthropologists for fifty years and more have puzzled over the statement by the Bororo of Brazil that they are parakeets.<sup>5</sup> But the elaborate theories founded on this statement have been totally dependent, often unwittingly, on a single source, an explorer's report which was first published at the end of the nineteenth century. The difficulty of using a single source is not just the narrow empirical base but also the fact that the societies studied are typically themselves non-literate and the source is actually composed by an outsider in his own conceptual framework. In dealing with the literate society of Greece we have available to us documents covering a considerable span of time and created by the society for its own purposes. Admittedly these documents emanate from the élite and do not permit us to investigate the tension between ideology and practice, but we can eavesdrop on the Greeks' debates without encountering the dangers that arise from the promptings and interventions of an outsider.

Books and articles on the imperial cult are numerous,<sup>6</sup> but pride of place has traditionally been given to the analysis of the attitudes of members of the Roman élite through the study of literary texts. Little attention has been directed to imperial ritual, particularly outside Rome itself.<sup>7</sup> However, out of the antiquarian tradition long occupied with the evidence from the Greek world, there did emerge at an early date a strand of scholarship that was concerned with the provincial cults of the emperor. So, Spanheim's great work on ancient coins, first published in 1664, included sections on the divine titles of ancient kings and on the nomenclature of the priests of the province of Asia.<sup>8</sup> Similarly the volumes of the French Academy of

<sup>5</sup> J. Z. Smith, *Map is not Territory* (1978) 265–88. J. C. Crocker, 'My brother the parrot', in *The Social Use of Metaphor* (ed. J. D. Sapir, J. C. Crocker, 1977) 164–92, does, as it happens, largely confirm the explorer's main facts on the basis of his own field work, but he shows that the ethnographic context is much more complex than had been realized previously and suggests a new interpretation.

<sup>6</sup> Taylor (1931) remains the best introduction. For fairly complete, classified bibliographies see Cerfaux, Tondriau (1957) 10–73 and P. Herz, *ANRW* II 16.2 (1978) 833–910, with some additions in my bibliography.

<sup>7</sup> The interesting collection of papers, den Boer (1973), largely excludes ritual, and thus produces negative findings about the imperial cult.

<sup>8</sup> E. Spanheim, *Dissertatio de praestantia et usu numismatum antiquorum* (1664) 105–27, 240–7. A. van Dale, *Dissertationes IX antiquitatibus, quin et marmoribus, cum romanis, tum potissimum graecis, illustrandis inservientes* (1702) chs. 3–4, discusses similar topics. See A. D. Momigliano, 'Ancient history and the antiquarian', *JWI* 13 (1950) 285 = *Primo contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (1955) 67 for the distinction between antiquarians and historians.

Inscriptions, whose publication began in 1717, contain numerous studies of points of detail. An article on ancient statues included a section on the cult of imperial statues<sup>9</sup> and other articles catalogued information on the imperial priests, games and titulature of individual cities.<sup>10</sup> Detailed study has continued this century<sup>11</sup> and reaches its finest flowering in the work of the French epigraphist Louis Robert; his writings, devoted to the collection and analysis of detailed information about Greek cities in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, include sympathetic studies of the imperial cult.<sup>12</sup> But, valuable as the antiquarian tradition may be in the collecting of facts, it tends to address itself to endless discussions of problems of purely technical importance and to neglect major questions of interpretation.

## II INTERPRETATION OF RITUAL

Having outlined the strengths and weaknesses of the sources and the importance of the antiquarian tradition devoted to their compilation, I want now to turn firstly to the problem of how to interpret the rituals of the imperial cult and then to an examination of the evaluative categories which scholars have traditionally imposed on the cult.

Royal rituals have long held the attention of historians of other societies, who have written, for example, on the royal touch or on mediaeval European royal insignia.<sup>13</sup> The reason for these studies is that royal rituals and insignia are seen to define the nature of the king and hence of the state itself. I wish to develop the idea that imperial rituals too were a way of conceptualizing the world.<sup>14</sup> I do not see rituals merely as a series of 'honours' addressed to the

<sup>9</sup> Blanchard, 'Observations générales sur les statues des anciens, particulièrement des Grecs et des Romains', *Histoire de l'Académie royale des inscriptions* 14 (1743) 21-37.

<sup>10</sup> M. Vaillant, 'Du titre de Néocore dans les médailles grecques frappées sous les empereurs romains', *Histoire de l'Académie* 2 (1717) 545-61; Abbé Belley, *Histoire de l'Académie* 18 (1753) Mém. 115-58 (Sardis), *ibid.* 37 (1774) Mém. 391-418 (Ancyra), and *ibid.* 38 (1777) 147-70 (Pergamum). Note also the studies of apotheosis collected in J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliographia antiquaria*<sup>3</sup> (1760) 366-8, with frontispiece.

<sup>11</sup> Geiger (1913) and Riewald (1912).

<sup>12</sup> I signal the following from his voluminous output: 'Le culte de Caligula à Milet et la province d'Asie', *Hell.* VII (1949) 206; Robert (1960), (1966), (1967) 44-64 on neocorates, (1969); *BE* (1969) 496.

<sup>13</sup> See Bloch (1924) on the royal touch, and on insignia, the useful introductory pieces by P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste* 1 (1968) 30-58 and IV 2 (1971) 682-701, the latter piece reprinted from *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* III (1956) 1064-83.

<sup>14</sup> Note the suggestion by E. Will, *Rev. phil.* (1960) 76-85, that royal rituals incorporate 'une pensée informulée'.



emperor but as a system whose structure defines the position of the emperor. This approach has been discussed in detail by the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz, who argues ((1966) 10) that complexes of symbols, embedded in ritual and lying outside the individual in 'the intersubjective world of common understandings', shape the world by inducing in the individual a certain distinctive set of dispositions which result in actions. 'The merit of this sort of view of what are usually called "mental traits" or, if the Cartesianism is unavowed, "psychological forces"... is that it gets them out of any dim and inaccessible realm of private sensation into that same well-lit world of observables' where investigation is possible. The interpretation of ritual as a cognitive system, which has proved fruitful for anthropologists, will, I hope, help to shed new light on the imperial cult.

If ritual is to be seen as an embodiment of thinking, the question arises as to the sort of knowledge which is contained in ritual. Perhaps the most helpful way of looking at ritual or religious knowledge, one part of the more general area of symbolic knowledge, is given by Sperber (1975).<sup>15</sup> He accepts a version of the traditional philosophical distinction between analytic and synthetic knowledge, which he terms semantic and encyclopaedic knowledge. Semantic knowledge is knowledge of categories ('All sons are male'), while encyclopaedic knowledge is knowledge of facts about the world ('John is the son of James'). Sperber then argues that symbolic knowledge is distinguished from both. It may take a similar form to encyclopaedic knowledge ('Jesus was the son of God'), but the structure of the knowledge is entirely different. While encyclopaedic knowledge is closely organized to avoid incoherence and contradictions as far as possible, symbolic statements are not so related and can exist along with encyclopaedic statements that contradict them. For example, 'Jesus was the son of God' is a classic symbolic statement which is not falsifiable by encyclopaedic knowledge. Empirical doubts about the existence of God and the physiological facts of paternity are not deemed to be relevant. The crucial point about religious symbolism, whether it is put in a verbal or a non-verbal form, seems to be the way in which it is underexpressed. The suggestiveness of symbols, which Sperber terms their power of evocation, offers a crucial way

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also D. Sperber, 'La pensée symbolique est-elle pré-rationnelle?', in *La fonction symbolique* (ed. M. Izard, P. Smith, 1979) 17-42. Tim Moore, *Evocation* (1978), is a helpful introduction. V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (1967) chs. 1-2, 6, laid the groundwork.

for people to handle types of knowledge which do not fit into either the semantic or the encyclopaedic categories.<sup>16</sup>

The merit of emphasizing the evocative power of ritual and symbolism is that it avoids many of the old problems. A traditional difficulty is the dichotomy posed between literal and reinterpretative approaches to ritual.<sup>17</sup> People might erect a statue of *theos Sebastos* ('god Augustus'). Do they mean that the emperor is literally a *theos*, or is the phrase to be reinterpreted in some manner? The literalist interpreter holds that there is no difficulty about establishing what beliefs a society holds (given a good knowledge of its language) and that if we find a particular belief bizarre, then so much the worse for us. People just do hold unaccountable views and so, in our case, the emperor really was believed to be a god. The literalist approach has seemed very unsatisfactory to many scholars, because it does not enable us to see the point of holding the belief in question. In response, the second approach attempts a different strategy of reinterpreting the ritual so that it does not in fact mean what the observer might normally take it to mean. One version of this approach would see peculiar beliefs as metaphorical rather than literal, and so would suppose that the Greeks perhaps only meant that the emperor was *like* a god. The theory of symbolic evocation, on the other hand, avoids the difficulties inherent in both these approaches. It does permit us to accept that people mean what they say but it does not entail the crude 'literalist' consequences. People can mean what they say without their statements being fully determinate.

To treat ritual as a public cognitive system is to shift the perspective of enquiry away from that traditionally adopted. The conventional approach in ancient history attempts to locate meaning at the level of individuals and their mental states. Thus scholars have often searched the imperial cult for evidence of real feelings or emotions towards the emperor; Nock, for example, grudgingly conceded that 'there were no doubt moments of intense emotion'.<sup>18</sup> In a seemingly different approach Veyne has argued that it is inadequate just to point out and recreate the 'confused sentiment'

<sup>16</sup> For a development of Sperber's ideas see R. L. Gordon, 'Reality, evocation and boundary in the Mysteries of Mithras', *J. Mithraic Studies* 3 (1980) 19.

<sup>17</sup> For philosophical elucidations of the different approaches see J. Skorupski, *Symbol and Theory* (1976), and, more briefly, 'The meaning of another culture's beliefs', in *Action and Interpretation* (ed. C. Hookway, P. Pettit, 1978) 83.

<sup>18</sup> Nock (1957) 121 = (1972) 843. Cf. *Conversion* (1933) 229, by the mid first century the cult was an 'outward sign of loyalty which involved little sentiment'.

which generated the cult and that it is necessary to explain the apparently religious phenomenon not religiously but in terms of the political structures that created it.<sup>19</sup> But Veyne unfortunately does not question the idea that the sentiment of the participants should be seen as the crucial factor in any study of the imperial cult. Indeed he is so influenced by this assumption that he even compares the relationship between cult and sentiment to that between a marriage service and the statement 'je vous aimerai toujours'.

The problem with emotion as the criterion of the significance of rituals is not just that in practice we do not have the relevant evidence but that it is covertly Christianizing. The criterion of feelings and emotions as the test of authenticity in ritual and religion is in fact an appeal to the Christian virtue of *religio animi*, religion of the soul, that is, the interiorized beliefs and feelings of individuals.<sup>20</sup> It would be bad enough naively to adopt a participant category of Christianity as a criterion when analysing Christianity itself. It is far worse to deploy this category in the analysis of the imperial cult. That is to apply the standards of one religion to the ritual of another society without consideration of their relevance to indigenous standards.

The appeal to emotion as a criterion is closely related to another common approach to ritual. One might imagine that although analysis of symbolic knowledge was interesting so far as it went, the important question remained: what did the Greeks really believe about the relationship between the emperor and the gods? That is, the beliefs of individual Greeks are appealed to as a more solid or 'real' level than that of symbolism. I would like to suggest that such an appeal is deeply misguided for two related reasons. Firstly, the status of these 'real beliefs' can only be private and mental, but fundamental objections have been made to the theory of belief as a private and mental action, from various directions. Some philosophers have argued persuasively for a dispositional theory of belief; 'believing that x' is more like being interested in cricket than feeling a twinge in one's big toe.<sup>21</sup> But such philosophical objections to the traditional theory of belief are perhaps still rather culture-bound and do not question the validity of analysing other cultures in terms of 'belief'. Indeed the centrality of 'religious belief' in our culture has sometimes led to the feeling that belief is a distinct and natural capacity which is shared by all human beings. This, of course, is

<sup>19</sup> Veyne (1976) 560–89; cf. p. 566 'L'institutionnalisation ou l'imitation à froid d'une attitude d'exaltation dévote'.

<sup>20</sup> Criticized by Bickerman (1973) 11–12.

<sup>21</sup> See H. H. Price, *Belief* (1969), on the philosophical tradition.

nonsense.<sup>22</sup> 'Belief' as a religious term is profoundly Christian in its implications; it was forged out of the experience which the Apostles and Saint Paul had of the Risen Lord. The emphasis which 'belief' gives to spiritual commitment has no necessary place in the analysis of other cultures. That is, the question about the 'real beliefs' of the Greeks is again implicitly Christianizing.

The second reason for objecting to the question is that it lays an improper emphasis on the individual, which is part of the more general issue of the status of the individual in historical explanation. Many ancient historians, relying (often unwittingly) on a realist epistemology, assume that society is essentially an aggregate of individuals and that explanations of societies have to be couched ultimately in terms of individuals.<sup>23</sup> Methodological individualists can study only the organization of ritual by the élite or by individual members of the élite and the political exploitation of royal ritual for propaganda purposes. That is, they draw a sharp distinction between symbolism and the 'real' world of individuals and they cannot treat ritual as an articulation of collective representations.<sup>24</sup> But from Durkheim onwards insistence on the social as the primary area of analysis has been a commonplace in anthropology and now also in modern history.<sup>25</sup> In particular, language is emphasized as the central phenomenon. Language is not a window onto the real world but is, rather, the stuff of thought itself. Individuals are born into a society which already contains sets of institutions, practices and a common language, from which individuals construct the world and themselves. Thus with the imperial cult the processions and the sacrifices, the temples and the images fill our sources. They are the crucially important collective constructs to which the individual reacted. Ritual is what there was.

### III CHRISTIANIZING ASSUMPTIONS

I want now to turn from discussion of the problems of interpreting ritual and conceptual difficulties of feeling and belief to other conceptual difficulties which lie in our path. The influence of

<sup>22</sup> R. Needham, *Belief, Language, and Experience* (1972).

<sup>23</sup> S. Lukes, *Individualism* (1973) 110-22, analyses the problem.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Mary Douglas' distinction between front-stage and back-stage bias (*Implicit Meanings* (1975) 120).

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., the survey by P. Burke, 'The history of mentalities in Great Britain', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 93 (1980) 529. For a philosophical defence inspired by Habermas, see C. Taylor, 'Interpretation and the sciences of man', *Review of Metaphysics* 25 (1971) 3.

prejudice and the imposition of arbitrary culture-bound categories, especially ones derived from Christianity, are a perennial problem in the study of the imperial cult. The depth of the roots of these problems and the difficulty of eradicating them may best be illustrated by considering works both new and old.

In the twelfth century A.D. Guibert de Nogent attempted to justify the incipient ritual of the French royal touch by reference to the healing miracle performed by Vespasian.<sup>26</sup> Conversely, a contemporary of his, John of Salisbury, attacked the Roman imperial cult as the work of impious flatterers which promoted despotism.<sup>27</sup> He reports the advice offered by one Caecilius Balbus to Augustus that he should not allow himself to be worshipped, as this would weaken the respect given to the gods. Whatever the reliability of this anecdote, known in no earlier source, it is not in dispute that John's argument was firmly directed to contemporary problems. The anecdote ends, 'However, the clique of adulators prevailed, which is also shown by the present state of affairs', clearly a reference to the revival of royal ceremonial by Frederick Barbarossa and Henry II of England.<sup>28</sup>

On the whole, however, in the centuries following John of Salisbury the imperial cult was marginal to contemporary political debate. It played little part in the development of political theory, which was influenced rather by the ideas of Roman law. Political arguments sought precedent in the imperial cult only in the carefully defined field of actual ritual. Thus the imperial cult was used in support of the royal touch when it was under severe attack in seventeenth-century England<sup>29</sup> and it contributed to the development of royal ritual in fifteenth-century Italy and sixteenth-century France.<sup>30</sup>

The polarities of attitude represented by Guibert de Nogent and John of Salisbury have dominated much subsequent writing on the

<sup>26</sup> Bloch (1924) 30.

<sup>27</sup> *Policraticus* III 14; also III 10. H. Liebeschuetz, *JWI* 6 (1943) 33-9, and *Medieval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury* (1950), argued that this anecdote, like the whole of the *Institutio Traiani* purportedly by Plutarch, was invented by John to give classical authority to his arguments. But there are internal difficulties with this argument, and A. D. Momigliano, 'Notes on Petrarch, John of Salisbury and the *Institutio Traiani*', *JWI* 12 (1949) 189 = *Primo contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (1955) 377, considered it possible that John had access to sources now lost. Note Kantorowicz (1957) 94-7 on John's views on kingship.

<sup>28</sup> Liebeschuetz, *Medieval Humanism* (n. 27) 60.

<sup>29</sup> Bloch (1924) 335 n. 2.

<sup>30</sup> A. Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (1979) 47-74, on Italy; Kantorowicz (1957) 427-8, 505, and R. E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (1960).

subject, and need to be taken into account when evaluating the work of modern scholars in this area. In our century the poles are represented by Eduard Meyer, supporter of absolutism,<sup>31</sup> and Syme, staunch opponent of totalitarianism, who noted characteristically that 'the rulers of Rome claimed the homage due to the gods and masqueraded, for domination over a servile world, in the guise of divinity' (1939, 256).

Such political positions are relatively transparent; more pervasive and more insidious are the modernizing categories which scholars employ, especially the Christianizing assumptions, whose influence on studies of ritual we have already noted. They are particularly clear in Tillemont's *Histoire des empereurs*, published in 1692, which is the first major history of the Roman empire.<sup>32</sup> Tillemont's history includes a brief excursus on the imperial cult in the context of the deification of Augustus, which is entitled most significantly, 'honneurs sacrilèges rendus à la mémoire d'Auguste': the demons prevented the pagans from seeking the means of saving their immortal souls by uniting themselves to their true sovereign, and the demons in fact encouraged them to separate themselves from the true God, to swell themselves by imagining a false deity or to fall into the flattery of a new impiety by adoring as gods those who would burn with them in the inferno.

Tillemont's stirring denunciation of the imperial cult, on the grounds both of flattery and of impiety, is taken over directly from the attitude of the early Church. Tillemont in fact cites a fourth-century Greek bishop, John Chrysostom, in support of his case.<sup>33</sup> Gibbon held the same position, talking of 'this servile and impious mode of adulation'.<sup>34</sup> One might expect modern scholars to have outgrown this position. But in this century scholars have characterized ruler cult in the Hellenistic period as an irreligious substitute for hero cult,<sup>35</sup> while a work on Roman religion produces an evaluation of the imperial cult explicitly in Judaeo-Christian terms: 'the ritual of

<sup>31</sup> 'Alexander der Grosse und die Absolute Monarchie' (1905), in *Kleine Schriften* 1<sup>2</sup> (1924) 265, with the comments of A. Demandt, 'Politische Aspekte im Alexanderbild der Neuzeit', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 54 (1972) 325ff. at p. 355.

<sup>32</sup> L. S. Lenain de Tillemont, *Histoire des empereurs et des autres princes qui ont régné durant les six premiers siècles de l'Eglise* 1 (1692) 71-3; 1<sup>2</sup> (1720) 46-8, fuller. Cf. 1v<sup>2</sup> (1723) 208-9 and 270-1 on Constantine. For his significance see A. D. Momigliano, 'La formazione della moderna storiografia sull'impero romano', *RSI* (1936) = *Primo contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (1955) 107.

<sup>33</sup> PG LXI 580-1. Cf. Setton (1941) 210.

<sup>34</sup> *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* 1 (ed. J. B. Bury, 1909) 75-7.

<sup>35</sup> Ferguson, *CAH* VII (1928) 17; Cerfaux, Tondriaux (1957) 263, a work subtitled 'Un concurrent du Christianisme', which received the imprimatur.

loyalty never involved its spectators in the intense mental participation of the congregation at a Jewish or Christian service'.<sup>36</sup> The pitfalls involved in approaching paganism from a Christian perspective may be generally acknowledged, but they are rarely avoided. In fact to pose the problem in terms of paganism and Christianity is to accept the perspective of the victorious side. There is a deep-rooted ethnocentric desire to play off Greek and Roman cults against Christianity so as to define its standing, and the imperial cult is closely bound up in this debate. To admit that the imperial cult cannot simply be dismissed as pseudo-religion would be obscurely to threaten our confident Christian or post-Christian assumptions.

The delimitation of the boundary between Christianity and traditional Greek and Roman religion is sharpened by an argument stressing the decline of these traditional cults. In the eighteenth century Abbé Mongault represented the cult of Roman governors as an aspect of the impoverishment of the religion of the ancients, who had lost the true ideas of religion transmitted by the patriarchs.<sup>37</sup> Modern work has employed a different model of decline, but one equally Christianizing. This conventional model, which has been applied to both Greek and Roman cults, posits an early apogee followed by a long and continuous decline, until the last embers were extinguished by Christianity.<sup>38</sup> Ruler cult is seen as the final stage of this decline. Thus the meaningless and formal nature of the gods of the Roman pantheon meant that 'the inclusion of a mortal among the gods would not bring to the men of the day the same shock that it would have caused in a time when the native religion was strong'.<sup>39</sup> The same attitude has been expressed even more strongly of ruler cult in the Greek world. Nilsson, one of the leading historians of Greek religion, once stated (with reference to the fifth century B.C.!) that

<sup>36</sup> Liebeschuetz (1979) 82. The quotation continues, 'but it was not just a cold ceremony performed by a few professionals either'.

<sup>37</sup> Abbé Mongault, 'Dissertation sur les honneurs divins qui ont esté rendus aux gouverneurs des provinces pendant que la République Romaine subsistoit', *Histoire de l'Académie royale des inscriptions* 1 (1717) Mémoires 353-69. This estimation of the patriarchs goes back to Eusebius.

<sup>38</sup> E.g. A. J. Festugière, 'Le fait religieux à l'époque hellénistique' (1945), in *Études de religion grecque et hellénistique* (1972) 114-28. Thus a recent textbook, F. W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World* (1981) 209, starts its chapter on religion, 'The sophistic movement had engendered a mood of scepticism about most accepted beliefs and at the same time many foreign cults had found a home in Greek cities... Old certainties had gone and though ancient rites were still zealously performed in the conviction that what was traditional should be preserved, many people were at bottom agnostics or even atheists. The observance of established rituals must have meant little to many worshippers.'

<sup>39</sup> Taylor (1931) 54.

‘the origin of the cult of men in Greece is to be sought in the convulsions of the dying religion’.<sup>40</sup>

Such decay, especially of Greek civic cults, accords with the common argument that the cities themselves were in decline in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. They ceased to have political significance and individuals felt adrift in a world they could not comprehend or control. But the more recent picture of the cities and religious life in this period is very different. It is now hardly in dispute that cities continued to play a vital role for their inhabitants even after the appearance of the Hellenistic kings,<sup>41</sup> and some historians, whose conclusions I accept, have argued firmly for the continuing vitality of civic cults in the Greek world up to the third century A.D.:<sup>42</sup> changes that do occur should not be interpreted as decline.<sup>43</sup>

#### IV RELIGION AND POLITICS

The boundaries of Christianity are further defined by a delimitation of the respective territories of politics and religion, which has long bedevilled the study of the imperial cult. The most dramatic manifestation of this preoccupation is the consistent misinterpretation by Christian scholars of the persecution of the Christians, which inflates the importance of the imperial cult and posits a stark choice between Christ and the Caesars, between religion and politics.<sup>44</sup> The concern to distinguish politics from religion again goes back to the early Church. From the theologian Origen in the third century through into the eighth- and ninth-century debates on the role of religious images a distinction was drawn between religious and secular honours.<sup>45</sup>

In modern times the preoccupation with this distinction is pervasive. Most scholars agree that the imperial cult was only superficially

<sup>40</sup> M. P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion* (1925) 288 and cf. 285. He continued to hold this view: Nilsson (1961) 182.

<sup>41</sup> E.g. Rostovtzeff (1941) 1119–25.

<sup>42</sup> Geffcken (1920); R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (1981).

<sup>43</sup> J. A. North, ‘Conservatism and change in Roman religion’, *PBSR* 44 (1976) 1–12.

<sup>44</sup> Cerfaux, Tondriau (1957) 392, with references. See recently D. L. Jones, ‘Christianity and the Roman imperial cult’, *ANRW* II 23, 2 (1980) 1023–54, who begins ‘From the perspective of early Christianity, the worst abuse in the Roman Empire was the imperial cult.’

<sup>45</sup> Legitimate secular honours to rulers were termed *proskynesis* in Greek and *adoratio* in Latin, while religious honours were called *latreia* and *cultus*. See Setton (1941) 202–11 and Ladner (1953) 20. Cf. the sixteenth-century Anglican distinction between royal and religious images, R. C. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (1963) 37–9.



a religious phenomenon. It was 'fundamentally a secular institution',<sup>46</sup> 'more a matter of practical politics than of religion'.<sup>47</sup> The conventional formula is that the imperial cult was simply an expression of political loyalty.<sup>48</sup> In Nock's classic dictum, the cult was homage not worship.<sup>49</sup> The distinction must be convicted of perpetuating a Christian debate.

The reasons given for the location of the imperial cult in the domain of politics are two-fold. The first is that the cult was manipulated by the state, an argument that is particularly common in work on the Western provinces. 'Like all religious constructions of politicians, [the imperial cult] had a weakness, for it lacked all genuine religious content.'<sup>50</sup> But, of course, central promotion does not necessarily imply cynical manipulation.<sup>51</sup> The second reason applies to other parts of the empire, where the initiatives came from below. A study of the imperial cult in the Greek world concludes that the cult discloses 'little about the religious life of the Hellenic peoples but much about their ways of diplomacy'.<sup>52</sup> The imperial cult is thus essentially a political phenomenon, either because it was exploited by the Roman state, or because the subjects made diplomatic capital out of it. But both arguments assume that an examination of overt initiatives and of the interests served by the cult exhausts the significance of the phenomenon. This is clearly not the case.

If the imperial cult is a political matter, one can, in good conscience, assume its absurdity,<sup>53</sup> and argue that it was the product of flattery. As we have already seen, this argument is found in John of Salisbury, Tillemont and Gibbon. Dr Johnson, quoting Horace (*Odes* III 5,2), gave the view trenchant expression:

No modern flattery is so gross as that of the Augustan age, when the Emperor was deified. *Praesens Divus habebitur Augustus*. [Augustus shall prove himself a God on earth.] (29 April 1773)

Similarly a modern work claims that 'the cults of loyalty at all times must have involved an appalling amount of hypocrisy'.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Liebeschuetz (1979) 78.

<sup>47</sup> Taylor (1931) 35, 237, 238. Cf. Fishwick (1978) 1253, who concludes: 'The real significance of the worship of the Roman emperor, particularly in its provincial application, lies not in the realm of religion at all but in a far different field: that of practical government, wherein lay the historic destiny of the Roman people.'

<sup>48</sup> K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (1960) 312-26, a 'Loyalitätsreligion'.

<sup>49</sup> A. D. Nock, *CAH* x (1934) 481, 482, though he recognized that there was hardly an equivalent ancient distinction, (1930) 50 = (1972) 241.

<sup>50</sup> M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Piety* (1948) 178.

<sup>51</sup> Hopkins (1978) 208-9.

<sup>52</sup> Bowersock (1965) 112.

<sup>53</sup> As Liebeschuetz (1979) 76.

<sup>54</sup> Liebeschuetz (1979) 75, 89.

V PREJUDICE

The charge of hypocrisy and adulation raises a particular problem in relation to the imperial cult in the Greek world, involving all our ethnocentric assumptions about the relative merits of Greeks and Romans. Van Dale, an interesting antiquarian, whose work was used by Gibbon, manifests this difficulty. In an appendix to an important book on oracles first published in 1683 he illustrated the subjects of consecration, the cults of statues and apotheosis from a wide range of literary texts and inscriptions, commenting on the imperial cult as follows:

Such things were less surprising given the Greeks' fickleness and perverted talent for flattery; but it was far more surprising of the Romans, whom both Polybius (Book VI) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Book II) commend most highly over the Greeks for their gravity of manners, particularly in the matter of religion. But, nevertheless, we have just seen that they were rivals not only concerning the dead but also sometimes those still living.<sup>55</sup>

The passage poses the problem which many have felt: the Romans, allegedly so like ourselves, could not really have taken the imperial cult seriously. Imperial refusals of cult offered by the Greeks 'plays a part that commands admiration by its sanity and moderation'.<sup>56</sup> These words were published in 1939, at a time overshadowed by the rise of political leaders not noted for their sanity or moderation.<sup>57</sup> If the official Roman attitude was of decent restraint, those who actually offered the cult are left in a very dubious position. The conventional strategy is simply to classify the Greeks as flatterers. Thus Mongault, when talking of the cult of Roman governors, says that the Gauls, his ancestors, did not offer cult to Caesar and 'at first avoided prostituting themselves like the Greeks in flattery so demeaning and bizarre' (n. 37).

This prejudice against the Greeks springs from various sources. Historians of Greece, as we have noted, have often seen nothing but a sorry decline after the classical age. The true Hellenic spirit was lost. The *History of Greece under Foreign Domination* published in 1857 by George Finlay, a notable fighter for Greek freedom in the War of Independence, illustrates the point. 'The physical and moral degradation of the people deprived them of all political influence,

<sup>55</sup> A. van Dale, *De oraculis veterum ethnicorum dissertationes duae*... (1683, 1700<sup>2</sup>) App. III: De consecrationibus, esp. pp. 655-6 (second ed.).

<sup>56</sup> Charlesworth (1939) 10.

<sup>57</sup> Note that the earlier major study of these imperial refusals (S. Lösch, *Deitas Jesu und Antike Apotheose* (1933) 47-67) had appeared in Hitler's Germany.

until Greek society was at length regenerated by the Christian religion' (I<sup>2</sup> xii).

This view has been compounded by the adoption of a Romano-centric perspective. Roman historians surveying the empire from the centre have taken over the attitude of members of the senatorial upper class, whose social position many have shared or desired, and have dismissed the Greeks under Roman rule as bickering flatterers, contending for empty titles. 'The subject race had recourse to deceit and flattery (they had a long practice in these necessary arts under previous rulers), thereby exciting distrust and aversion in their frank, honourable, and ethical governors.'<sup>58</sup> This failure to comprehend the nature of civic life under the empire is epitomized in the borrowing of a Tacitean phrase to describe the imperial cult as *Graeca adulatio*.<sup>59</sup>

This is a bleak picture of the imperial cult, but more nuanced and sympathetic models are also available.<sup>60</sup> The work of Nock marks a major advance in the study of ancient ruler cult.<sup>61</sup> It was virtually the first attempt to look carefully at the details of titulature (such as 'saviour' or 'new Apollo') and of ritual (such as the position of rulers in traditional temples). All subsequent scholars have been indebted to him. I shall be insisting on the importance of such details, but the difficulty with Nock's detailed studies is that the evidence is interpreted largely (as is usual) within a Christianizing framework. Much of the impetus for Nock's work came from a desire to establish the proper relationship between traditional cults and Christianity and, as we have already seen, he insisted in a Christianizing manner on emotion as a criterion for religion and strengthened the conventional distinction between politics and religion, or homage and worship. More recent work has developed the positive sides of Nock's contribution. Pleket (1965) and Bickerman (1973) in discussing imperial mysteries and Roman apotheosis have stressed the importance of careful investigation of the parallels between imperial and divine rituals. This procedure provides the essential technique by which one can avoid the imposition of our categories on the ancient world.<sup>62</sup>

To follow the conventional distinction between religion and

<sup>58</sup> R. Syme, 'The Greeks under Roman rule', *Proc. Massachusetts Hist. Soc.* 72 (1957-60, 1963) 3-20 at p. 7 = *Roman Papers* II (1979) 566-81 at p. 570.

<sup>59</sup> Syme (1939) 473, Bowersock (1965) 12. For the correct attitude see Robert (1969) 63 and *BE* (1977) 489. Note also Robert, *Castabala* 77-8, on the importance of a local perspective on honours given by cities.

<sup>60</sup> Note the intelligent essay in Hopkins (1978) 197-242.

<sup>61</sup> Included in Nock (1972), which has a good index.

<sup>62</sup> For other studies see Veyne (1958-9) and especially C. Gallini, *Protesta e integrazione nella Roma antica* (1970), on religious developments in the late Republic.

politics privileges the view of an observer over that of the Greeks and makes it impossible to understand the dynamics of the imperial cult. While in the end we have no choice but to attempt to make some sense of the participants' perspective in our own terms, still we must start by looking at the subject, as far as possible, through their eyes. To do otherwise is as unhelpful as to impose on another society a culturally relative distinction between religion and magic. We now take for granted that religion provides a coherent and moral world view while magic is simply a matter of technical manipulation in pursuit of limited practical goals. On the basis of this distinction a classic study was made of early modern England showing the retreat of magic before the advance of true religion, but in fact this distinction between religion and magic was drawn by Puritan divines as part of the religious battle in which they were engaged.<sup>63</sup> The imposition of the distinction on the seventeenth century forces one to stand on the side of the victors and forms a continuation of the cultural process it purports to describe. Similarly, I would suggest, the preoccupation with a distinction between religion and politics in the study of the imperial cult is a perpetuation of the perspective engendered by the struggles and eventual triumph of the Christian Church.

So long as we continue to adopt the position of the Romans and see the Greek cults of the emperor as *Graeca adulatio* or to classify in Christian fashion the cults as homage not worship, we are like the ethnographer who is convinced that the practitioners of magic are doomed before the inevitable advances of religion (or science). But the imperial cult cannot be dismissed as a bizarre and distant phenomenon.<sup>64</sup> It was only under the pressure of American military force that the Japanese emperor renounced his claims to divinity, a renunciation that is still discounted by some of his supporters.<sup>65</sup> Indeed the cults of the Japanese emperor had posed such problems for his Catholic subjects that in 1920 the Vatican commissioned a comparative study of Byzantine ruler cult.<sup>66</sup> I want to avoid such ethnocentric judgements on the Roman imperial cult, while stressing that its peculiarities cannot be evaded by consigning it to the decent obscurity of a dead culture.

<sup>63</sup> See the comments of H. Geertz on K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971), in *J. Interdisciplinary History* 6 (1975) 71–89, accepted, in part, by Thomas pp. 91–109.

<sup>64</sup> Witchcraft, too, which is flourishing in part of contemporary France, cannot be lightly dismissed. See J. Favret-Saada, *Deadly Words. Witchcraft in the Bocage* (1980).

<sup>65</sup> J. Herbert, *Shintô at the Fountain-Head of Japan* (1967) ch. 17.

<sup>66</sup> Bréhier, Batiffol (1920).

VI PROVINCIAL RITUALS

Roman history has traditionally been Romanocentric, focussing on the political affairs of the capital and, in consequence, much work on the imperial cult takes as its theme the characters and policies of individual emperors along with the writings of members of the Roman élite. What rituals actually happened in the provinces have remained largely unexplored. But, as Millar has shown in the context of imperial politics and diplomacy, we must adopt a provincial perspective. 'The very nature of the Empire itself means that it can only be understood by starting from the provinces and looking inward.'<sup>67</sup>

The Roman empire is too large and too diverse to allow us to examine the imperial cult throughout the empire. The value of an area study is that it permits proper attention to be given to the historical, social and cultural contexts. My reason for choosing Asia Minor is that the evidence for this area is far richer than for any other part of the empire.<sup>68</sup> Within this area there are some important differences of organization and tradition, to which I have tried to do justice, but these differences do not affect the forms of the imperial cult, which was an aspect of a relatively uniform Greek culture. Those who approach this subject with a knowledge of the current relations between Greece and Turkey may be surprised that the dominant culture of Asia Minor was Greek, at least by the time of the Roman empire. But, of course, the current position is the product of the Turkish conquests of the eleventh century onwards which finally broke the Greek civilization of that area. As Asia Minor was a part of the Greek world I have felt at liberty to include material from other parts of this world, from North Africa, from the Greek part of South Italy, and especially from mainland Greece, and this has been done systematically for imperial sacrifices (ch. 8). But Syria, Egypt and the various parts of the Latin-speaking world form different cultural areas and it is important to draw on them only for parallel or contrast.

The imperial rituals celebrated in Asia Minor need to be located firmly in a number of different contexts (Part I). Some have believed that symbolic systems, such as sacrifice or divine kingship, can be

<sup>67</sup> Millar (1966) 166, and, in general, (1977).

<sup>68</sup> I have taken this area to run from the province of Asia in the West (which included the Aegean islands adjacent to the coast) to the Euphrates frontier in the East. The only other book devoted to one area is Étienne (1958); for articles see P. Herz, *ANRW* II 16, 2 (1978) 858–9. See also now I. S. Sventitskaya, 'Polis and empire: the imperial cult in the cities of Asia Minor in the first and second centuries', *VDI* (1981) no. 4, 33–51 (in Russian with English summary).

understood, and compared on their own, but this is to ignore both the forces that motivate and sustain such systems and also the contexts which lay down the range of evocations of the symbolism. Ritual makes no sense in a vacuum. The story of imperial ritual has to begin in the preceding centuries. The three hundred years of the Hellenistic period which lie between Alexander the Great and Augustus saw the development of ruler cult in the Greek world, from its beginnings earlier in the fourth century. What are the similarities and differences between these Hellenistic ruler cults and the imperial cults? Was the imperial cult simply a continuation of Hellenistic ruler cult? What in broad outline is the reason for these cults? (ch. 2). The rest of the book is largely a synchronic study of the cults of the imperial period, from Augustus' seizure of sole power through into the dark years of the third century A.D., until the cults were transformed with the re-establishment of central authority and the 'triumph of Christianity' at the turn of the third and fourth centuries. Within these three centuries of the empire there are various contemporary contexts in which the cults need to be set. The cults were at first sight initiated by the Greeks, but how much of an eye did they have on Rome? How are we to understand the seemingly negative response of the emperor to offers of cult? (ch. 3). The cults were very widespread in Asia Minor, but they were not ubiquitous. In order to understand the dynamics of the cults more fully we need to investigate their role within Greek urban culture and their failure to penetrate the non-Greek cultures which continued to exist outside the cities (ch. 4). Within Greek communities expenditure on the imperial cult became an expected part of the activities of the local élites, but it was not merely an élite game. The cults, and in particular the festivals, were sufficiently important in the life of the cities to be points of conflict, both within the cities and in the relationship between cities (ch. 5).

Having gradually focussed in on the cult in the cities, in the second part of the book I propose to look in detail at various aspects of the symbolic system itself. By examining imperial temples, images and sacrifices (chs. 6-8), I hope to paint a picture of the position of the Roman emperor in the eyes of his subjects. This will be rather different from both of the diametrically opposed views that are often adopted. Nock argued that the ancients were quite clear about the relationship between emperor and gods. 'The men of the Graeco-Roman world did not in fact confuse kings and gods.'<sup>69</sup> On the other

<sup>69</sup> Nock, *Gnomon* 33 (1961) 587 = (1972) 935; also *JRS* 37 (1947) 109 = (1972) 664 and Liebeschuetz (1979) 75.

### *Introduction*

hand a standard textbook of imperial history claims that by the mid second century A.D. the emperor had been 'long an unquestioned god in the East'.<sup>70</sup> In the final chapter I underline the importance of the imperial cult by examining its relationship to the religious and the political systems.

<sup>70</sup> A. Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines* (1974) 468. Cf. Taylor (1931) 244.

# 2

## HELLENISTIC CITIES AND THEIR RULERS

Cults of the ruler were no novelty in the Greek world under Augustus. This chapter is devoted to the appearance and changes in the divine rituals performed in honour of rulers in the preceding centuries.<sup>1</sup> The conventional interpretation of the subject, some of whose features will be familiar from the discussion in the previous chapter, forms a neatly closed system as difficult to expound as to overthrow. There is no one premiss on which the rest of the interpretation hangs and therefore no obvious point at which to begin. A series of arguments creates a self-confirming system which seems to accommodate all the evidence while actually practising the most radical of exclusions.

The application to the Hellenistic period of the conventional distinction between religion and politics has the rather unexpected consequence that ruler cults do not fit comfortably into either category and, as a result, are not properly located in their contemporary contexts. If religion is seen as belief in the gods, ruler cults can at best be regarded as a peculiar limiting case of religious belief, at worst as the ultimate degeneration of religion. This view of the degradation of religion of course fits neatly into the picture of the decline of traditional cults in this period. Real religious activity and belief are sought elsewhere. But if ruler cult is really political it has only a marginal importance in that context.<sup>2</sup> Politics is commonly held to be concerned with political actions, with royal policies, with diplomacy and wars. Ruler cults established by the Hellenistic cities are just honours granted in gratitude for political benefactions. The

<sup>1</sup> Habicht (1970) is fundamental. There are useful surveys in Bevan (1901), Kornemann (1901), Nilsson (1961) 132–85 and C. Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique* I (1978) 181–294 (on ‘the king’). Robert (1966) is an invigorating study. For a general outline of the Hellenistic period see my piece in *The Oxford History of the Classical World* (ed. J. Boardman *et al.*, forthcoming).

<sup>2</sup> E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* I<sup>2</sup> (1979) 200–1 (on ruler cult and Ptolemaic foreign policy), ‘C’est surtout *for sake of completeness* que nous envisageons ici ce point de vue... On considéra ici le culte des souverains comme une donnée ne requérant pas d’analyse particulière en ce contexte.’



conventional political realists, confident in their 'hard-headed' appreciation of the world, neither analyse the forms of political relationship (such as treaties) nor grant ruler cult any more than a decorative role. Ruler cults modelled on the cult of the gods were no more than a final stage of 'grade inflation' and cannot be seen as any more than honours. Initially, it is claimed, leading figures were not given divine honours; the lesser heroic honours sufficed. But, as the system of heroic cult was in process of debasement and as the figures to be honoured grew more important, a switch was made from heroic to divine honours. The greatest honours for the greatest people. This view of the cult comes round full circle to the starting point. Divine cults of mortals cannot be more than honours: the cults of the gods which might have lent some resonance were themselves in decline. There is therefore no need to investigate ruler cults as part of the traditional symbolic system defining the relationship of gods and men.

The imperial cult is often seen simply as a continuation of this system of honours. While it is true that there are many common characteristics of ruler cults in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, to speak of 'continuation' implies an unacceptable reification of ruler cults. The cults were not a uniform institution that simply went on decade after decade, century after century. Only the isolation of ruler cults from their contemporary contexts makes this view at all plausible. There were great changes in the course of the Hellenistic period in many areas of political, social and religious life and one cannot treat the time between Alexander and Augustus as a single unit. In particular to pass from the cults of Hellenistic kings straight to the imperial cult entails the elision of almost two hundred years of history.

In the past decade studies have been made of the cults of the goddess Roma, the personification of the power of Rome, in these two centuries before Augustus. These studies have usefully gathered the material together, but the significance of these cults has been seen simply as the transmission of the forms of royal cults down to the imperial period.<sup>3</sup> This work has also ignored the range of responses that were made to Roman power by concentrating on Roma herself. Also, scholars concerned with ruler cult have rarely considered an important phenomenon of the century before Augustus, namely the divine cult offered publicly to citizens of the Greek cities. The grounds for this exclusion are presumably that these are not cults of

<sup>3</sup> Note how Mellor (1975) 196-8 is unable to explain the continuation of the cults of Roma into the empire.

rulers of the city, but any analysis of the significance of the use of divine symbolism in this period must take them into account.

In place of the traditional exclusions I wish to offer an analysis of these divine cults which locates them very firmly in their contemporary religious and political contexts. The chapter will fall into three chronological sections: firstly the initial uses of divine cults of mortals in the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and their prevalence in the third century; secondly, the cults of Roman power in the second and first centuries B.C., and finally the public cults of Greek citizens in the first century B.C. I hope to show how these cults formed a way for the Greek cities to represent to themselves their new masters in a traditional guise.

## I CULTS OF HELLENISTIC KINGS

The beginnings of the phenomenon lie not in the misty origins of a traditional practice but in the full light of history. To specify the attendant circumstances will bring out the distinctive features of the Hellenistic monarchies. Our focus here will be on the Greek cities along the coast of Asia Minor, though the history of the cities of mainland Greece is also relevant. The communities of the interior of Asia Minor only become clear to us when they adopt the ideals and practices of Greek cities, but these ideals did become the dominant political ideals of communities in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The earlier archaic and classical periods (from the seventh to the fifth centuries B.C.) had not lacked autocratic rulers, but ruler cult was absent.<sup>4</sup> This is perhaps surprising. Why did the Greek 'tyrants' of these, and later periods, not receive divine honours from their subjects, like Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors? I would suggest that the crucial factor was the relationship of the ruler to the city. The tyrants did not fit easily into the city, but they did not develop monarchical institutions, such as official titulature or rites of installation, which would have elevated them above the city. In consequence they were either abominated as being antithetical to the city or they were provisionally accommodated within the framework of the city. This is made clear, for example, in the poems of Pindar: he does not employ a special language when praising tyrants and thus does not mark them out as entirely distinct from other aristocrats.<sup>5</sup> The Persian king, who ruled Greek cities in Asia

<sup>4</sup> The largely hostile sources on Greek tyrants contain no hint of cults.

<sup>5</sup> O. Murray, 'Περὶ βασιλείας. Studies in the justification of monarchic power in the Hellenistic world' (unpublished D.Phil. Oxford, 1970) 9-10.

Minor for long periods, is another figure who might have received cult. But there were no cults of the Persian king, or his governors, in the Greek cities (or indeed elsewhere in his empire).<sup>6</sup> Persian monarchy, unlike the rule of the tyrants, was highly developed, and posed major problems for the cities, but cults would have been inappropriate. Persian rule was resented or rejected rather than accommodated within the city.

The crucial development was a form of autocratic rule that was both external to the institutions of the city and yet at least partially Greek. It ceased to be possible either to pretend that the ruler was simply a noble, or to reject the rule as foreign. The first known case of divine cult of a living human falls at the end of the fifth century B.C. Out of the confused situation at the end of the Peloponnesian War emerged Lysander, the Spartan general, who was for a time the most powerful figure in the eastern Aegean, and who received cult on Samos.<sup>7</sup> Also, in the first part of the fourth century we hear of Dion being greeted as a god on his return to Syracuse as ruler,<sup>8</sup> but these are scattered cases. A new phase of political relations began with the extension of the power of Macedon, in what is now northern Greece, by Philip and Alexander over the old cities of Greece from the mid fourth century B.C. While the evidence for cults of Philip is tenuous,<sup>9</sup> contemporary sources show that divine cult was offered to Alexander in his lifetime.<sup>10</sup>

In Macedonia itself cults of Macedonian kings, both before and after Alexander, were extremely rare. Towns in Macedonia played a much less important role in the organization of the kingdom than did the old Greek cities.<sup>11</sup> They were of recent development and possessed a different structure to that of the Greek cities; there was no civic self-government or autonomous local citizenship.<sup>12</sup> It has been suggested that the absence of royal cults is simply a function

<sup>6</sup> S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (1982) 252 n. 241. There was, though, court ceremonial.

<sup>7</sup> Habicht (1970) 3-6, 243-4.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch, *Dion* 46, 1. See Habicht (1970) 8-10, 244-5. Diodorus XVI 20, 6, however, refers to heroic honours.

<sup>9</sup> E. Badian, 'The deification of Alexander the Great', in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* (1981) 27-71.

<sup>10</sup> Hyperides, *Or. fun.* 21, *c. Dem.* 31-2; Dinarchus, *c. Dem.* 194; also Timaeus, *FGH* 566 F 155. For further discussion see Habicht (1970) 17-25, 245-6, 251-2 and Badian (n. 9).

<sup>11</sup> Pydna, Amphipolis and Pallene, where there were cults (Habicht (1970) 11-13), are not exceptions as they were Macedonian only by annexation.

<sup>12</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* VII 9, 2. See P. A. Brunt in Arrian, *Anabasis* I (Loeb ed., 1976) xxxv-xlv and Hammond, Griffith (1979) 197-8, 647-52, 657-71.

of the paucity of early inscriptions from this area<sup>13</sup> but in fact this paucity is itself indicative of the difference between Macedonia and Greece proper. The lack of independent civic traditions, whose significance will become clear shortly, combined with the unproblematic nature of the traditional monarchy,<sup>14</sup> explains the absence of the cult of Macedonian kings in their own land.<sup>15</sup>

The extension of this monarchy, however, beyond its traditional confines posed serious problems. These were shrewdly analysed by the Athenian orator Isocrates.<sup>16</sup> In a pamphlet addressed to Philip he pointed to the acceptability of monarchy to the Macedonians but argued that Greek traditions were crucially different. While it was natural for the Persian king to plot against the Greeks it was particularly invidious for Philip, as a descendant of Heracles the benefactor of Greece, to take hostile actions against them. The Greeks were not accustomed to monarchy and, Isocrates recommends, Philip should not attempt actually to rule them. Rather, he should adopt a tripartite system, and be benefactor of the Greeks, king of the Macedonians, and ruler of the barbarians.

This delicate balance was not, however, achieved and the extension of monarchic rule over the traditional and flourishing Greek city created the tensions that generated the ruler cult. The city formed the basic organizational element of Greece. An indication of the number of cities in the fifth century B.C. is given by the fact that the Athenians had about two hundred and fifty cities in their alliance. These were situated only in limited parts of mainland Greece, the islands and western Asia Minor and so the total number of Greek cities in the fifth century must have been much larger. This number gradually increased as tribal was replaced by urban organization, a process which continued through the Hellenistic and Roman periods with the spread of Hellenization to new areas (cf. ch. 4). An indication of the number of communities in the imperial period that claimed civic status is given by the list of places that issued their own coins. The total number of such places, even if they may have made only one issue of coins, is over five hundred, of which over three hundred are found in Asia Minor. Indeed a higher figure of five

<sup>13</sup> Lane Fox (1973) 546–7.

<sup>14</sup> R. M. Errington, 'The nature of the Macedonian state under the monarchy', *Chiron* 8 (1978) 77; Hammond, Griffith (1979) esp. 152–65, 383–404, 692–3.

<sup>15</sup> Nor should one hypothesize some innate Macedonian hostility to divinization, as Cerfaux, Tondriau (1957) 123, 171–2.

<sup>16</sup> Isocrates v. See also *Ep.* 3, with Balsdon (1950) 366–8 and Hammond, Griffith (1979) 645 n. 3, for an extension of this argument.

hundred is the canonical number in contemporary sources for the cities of Asia alone.<sup>17</sup>

The size of these cities ranged widely, from the smallest with only a few hundred citizens up to fifth-century B.C. Athens with a notional 30,000 adult (male) citizens, or the 40,000 citizens in Ephesus and Pergamum in the second century A.D. In addition to the relatively restricted body of citizens there were many other inhabitants of the city. The total size of the population in these cities is much debated; it depends on how many dependants and slaves each citizen had and how many resident foreigners there were. A reasonable guess would give both Ephesus and Pergamum a total population of around 200,000.<sup>18</sup> But it was the size of the citizen body that counted, as Aristotle says (*Politics* 1325b–1326b), cautioning that the number should not be too large, but ‘the greatest number required for achieving a life of self-sufficiency which can be taken in at a single view’. Though the scope of strictly political activity permitted to the citizen body as a whole was greatly restricted by imperial times, possession of local citizenship was still an important source of pride and security. Whether these places were large cities or small face-to-face communities they were all, ideally, autonomous and independent.<sup>19</sup> There were alliances, such as the fifth-century alliance of Athens and her allies, but they were not supposed to infringe this autonomy; witness the responses in the fourth century, after the ending of the Athenian empire, to Athenian exploitation of her position of strength. For example, in reaction to earlier Athenian misdemeanours the fourth-century Athenian alliance specified that each ally ‘shall be free and autonomous and have whatever form of government he chooses. He shall not be required to receive a garrison, nor to accept an Athenian governor, nor to pay tribute.’<sup>20</sup>

These cities had to face the rule of kings whose base was not in the city. The fundamental point is that the relationship of the Greek city to the new rulers was and remained problematic.<sup>21</sup> Civic traditions provided no ready-made position for the king, nor did treaties between kings and cities serve to provide a clear juridical basis

<sup>17</sup> T. B. Jones, ‘Greek Imperial coins’, *North American Journal of Numismatics* 4, 12 (1965) 295, with map. Cf. Magie (1950) 639 and Habicht (1975) 67.

<sup>18</sup> *ESAR* iv 812–16 on Roman Asia Minor. Only three European cities, Naples, Paris and London, achieved higher populations in the period 1500–1800.

<sup>19</sup> E. J. Bickerman, ‘Autonomia. Sur un passage de Thucydide (I 144, 2)’, *RIDA* 5<sup>3</sup> (1958) 313–44.

<sup>20</sup> J. Cargill, *The Second Athenian League* (1981) 18.

<sup>21</sup> E. Bickermann, ‘Alexandre le Grand et les villes d’Asie’, *REG* 47 (1934) 346, and ‘La cité grecque dans les monarchies hellénistiques’, *Rev. Phil.* (1939) 335; Jones (1940) 95–112.

for the relationship. Treaties were indeed made between king and king, king and league of cities and king and independent city, but they were not struck between a king and an individual city that was directly subject to royal rule. They did not spell out the terms of subjection. Also, the existence of a treaty was no guarantee for an 'independent' city against the might of the king. For example, at the end of the fourth century B.C. Iasos and Ptolemy I of Egypt made an alliance, marked by mutual oaths, that the city would be a free, autonomous, ungarrisoned and untaxed ally of Ptolemy.<sup>22</sup> Iasos clearly recognized Ptolemaic hegemony but attempted to be an ally rather than a subject of Ptolemy. A few years later, however, the position of the city slipped. Ptolemy still allowed it to enjoy its revenues but insisted on exacting a contribution for himself. This illustrates the extent to which the cities were dependent on the will and favour of the king. By means of careful diplomacy they certainly might hope to maintain their position or even to gain a range of benefits or concessions from the king. If the city was successful in gaining a royal benefaction it often responded with the establishment of a royal cult in the city. There were initially strong reservations about the offering of such cults,<sup>23</sup> but these feelings were smoothed away, no doubt partly because of the mythical prototype of the Dioscuri and Heracles, who had once been mortals and were then elevated to the status of gods.<sup>24</sup> The cults were normally formulated as expressions of gratitude to the king, and scholars have been content to treat the cults simply as the greatest honours which the cities were able to pay. But this does not explain the emergence of ruler cults. The conventional view simply repeats the terms in which the Greeks formulated the cults. It is necessary in order to reach a fuller understanding to go further than this; examination of the forms and details of the cults in their full contexts suggests another level of analysis.

I wish to suggest that the cities established cults as an attempt to come to terms with a new type of power. Unlike the earlier leaders and kings the Hellenistic rulers were both kings and Greek, and some solution had to be found to the problem this posed. There was no

<sup>22</sup> *Annuario* 45-6 (1967-8) 437, no. 1 (revised texts in *ZPE* 9 (1972) 223-4, 18 (1975) 193-8), with Bagnall (1976) 89-92. Similarly Cos, which had a treaty with a Ptolemy (*Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* III (ed. H. H. Schmitt) no. 545), was not subject to direct Ptolemaic rule (S. M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (1978) 90-131).

<sup>23</sup> *RAC* I 735-9; Habicht (1970) 213-21; also Rhianus, *FGH* 265 F 60. See further ch. 8 p. 222.

<sup>24</sup> *Odyssey* XI 302-4, 601-3; so still Aristides, *Panathenaikos* 33, 48. Heracles is cited in the debate in Arrian, *Anabasis* IV 11, 7. See further W. Derichs, *Herakles, Vorbild des Herrschers in der Antike* (Diss. Köln, 1950).

legal answer and the cities needed to represent this new power to themselves. The cults of the gods were the one model that was available to them for the representation of a power on whom the city was dependent which was external and yet still Greek. By borrowing and adapting this pre-existing model of classification it proved to be possible to accommodate the new kings.

Two examples may serve to clarify the context and nature of these cults. Both are known from inscriptions which have excited little comment outside epigraphical circles, and both, by chance, concern the extension of power by Antiochus III of Syria over cities of western Asia Minor.<sup>25</sup> The liberation of Iasos by Antiochus in 197 B.C. from the temporary control of Philip V of Macedon probably resulted in the establishment of an altar of Antiochus.<sup>26</sup> A year or two later, as a result of benefactions from the king, further honours were established. This second set of honours comprised various elements. First, the old ceremony of the transferral of keys from the outgoing magistrates to their successors was altered. The reasons for this modification are obscure, but the change seems to have followed a period of strife in the city which may have centred on the succession of magistrates; the strife was ended as a result of the consultation of an oracle of Apollo, the ancestor of Antiochus' family the Seleucids. The regular sacrifices of the new magistrates were transformed into sacrifices on the altar of the king to the king and his ancestors. The second aspect of the new cult concerned Laodice III, the wife of Antiochus, who had been responsible for the establishment of dowries for the daughters of poor citizens. In gratitude a new cult was founded. In addition to other rites now lost to us, there was to be an unmarried priestess of Aphrodite Laodice, i.e. the queen collocated with the goddess of love; a procession on the queen's birthday and sacrifices by all the brides and bridegrooms to the queen. These cults established the king and queen at the centre of civic life, both political and social.

My second example consists of one of the fullest accounts of a ruler cult from the ancient world. Teos, which had been subject to the Attalid kingdom of Pergamum, went over to Antiochus III, receiving from him the privileges of being sacred, inviolable and free from

<sup>25</sup> Both also fall after Habicht's terminal date of 240. For another recent Seleucid cult see Robert, *Inscr. Sardes* 9-21.

<sup>26</sup> *Annuario* 45-6 (1967-8) 445, no. 2, with Robert, *BE* (1971) 621, who suggests that *OGIS* 237 is part of the same text. Cf. also *BE* (1972) 423, (1973) 436-8, (1974) 544. Note also the decree passed by a tribe of Iasos in honour of Antiochus III, *Annuario* 39-40 (1961-2) 578, no. 5, with Robert, *REA* 65 (1963) 308 = *Op. Min. Sel.* III 1503 and *BE* (1973) 439. See now *I. Iasos* 4-5.

tribute, and set up in 204/3 a cult of Antiochus and Laodice.<sup>27</sup> The citizens, assembling in their own civic groupings, each of which had its own altar, performed official sacrifices under the general direction of the priest of the king. Non-citizens were excluded from this but were enjoined to celebrate a cult at home. Magistrates assembled together for a feast after the sacrifices and the festival was to be recorded in the 'holy book', presumably the civic cult calendar.

Cult statues of the king and queen were dedicated beside the cult statue of Dionysus, the chief god of the city, in his temple,

so that having made the city and its territory sacred and inviolable and having freed us from tribute and having conferred these favours on the people and the association of artists of Dionysus, they should receive honours from everyone to the greatest possible extent and, by sharing in the temple and other matters with Dionysus, should become the common saviours of our city and should give us benefits in common.

Interesting details are also given of the ritual surrounding the cult statue of the king which was dedicated in the council house. Officials of the city at their entry to office made sacrifice there annually, not only to the king but also to the Charites and Mneme, the personifications of Gratitude and Memory, who symbolize with great clarity the role of the cult in expressing the eternal thanks of the city. Sacrifices were also to be made on the same day by the youth of the city so that their entry into public life should be marked by a demonstration of gratitude to benefactors. Those feted as victors of major games were to go straight from their point of entry to the city to the council chamber, crown the cult statue of the king and perform sacrifices.

A striking provision is that an offering of the first fruits of the trees was to be made each year to the cult statue of the king and that the priest of the king was to ensure that the statue be crowned with the produce of the seasons. There are parallels for this<sup>28</sup> but the precise nature of the offerings may be explained by the association of the king and the queen with Dionysus. One might be tempted to think of the Frazerian notion of the association of the king with the fertility of the crops but the reason given by the text is that the benefactions of Antiochus had included the bringing of peace and the lightening of taxes on the land, which resulted in more profitable agricultural production.

There were also unparalleled honours for Laodice. A fountain in

<sup>27</sup> P. Herrmann, 'Antiochos der Grosse und Teos', *Anadolu* 9 (1965) 29 (text, with good commentary and discussion), with *BE* (1969) 495-6. Also *BE* (1968) 451, (1969) 497-9, (1977) 405.

<sup>28</sup> *OGIS* 56, 68; Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus* 18, 2.



honour of Laodice was to be built in the main square, whose water was to be used for sacrificial purposes, perhaps for the washing of the dead, and for the ritual baths of brides. The explanation given in the text for this provision is that, since the queen had displayed piety to the gods and gratitude to men (in ways that are not specified), it was fitting for those honouring the gods and performing religious ceremonies to commence the ritual from this fountain.

*Kings are gods not heroes*

The cults of Hellenistic kings were modelled on divine cult. For example, at Teos the role of the priest of the king was explicitly modelled upon that of the priest of Poseidon. The significance of this relation to divine cults can only be fully appreciated if we examine an option which was not taken. There was, I believe, an important distinction between divine cult and the 'heroic' cults which were used for legendary heroes and the dead.<sup>29</sup> The conventional view sees heroic and divine cults as confused, and would not accord much significance to the absence of heroic cults of rulers. The proponents of this view admit that there are some features of cults which are specifically heroic, the nocturnal timing of the rites (though this was rare), the colour of the victims (black), the type of altar and of the sacrifices. Perhaps the best example is the cult in honour of those who died at the battle of Plataea against the Persians in 479 B.C., which was still observed under the Roman empire.

(The procession) is led forth at day break by a trumpeter sounding the signal for battle; waggons follow filled with myrtle-wreaths, then comes a black bull, then free-born youths carrying libations of wine and milk in jars, and pitchers of oil and myrrh...and, following all, the chief magistrate of Plataea...; he slaughters the bull at the funeral pyre, and, with prayers to Zeus and Hermes of the Earth, summons the brave men who died for Greece to come to the banquet and its copious draughts of blood; next he mixes a bowl of wine, drinks and then pours a libation from it, saying these words: 'I drink to the men who died for the freedom of the Greeks'.<sup>30</sup>

The standard view is that, despite these features of heroic cults, there was not a clear distinction between divine and heroic honours, particularly with respect to sacrifices. Neglect or arbitrary confusion

<sup>29</sup> F. Deneken, 'Heros', *Roscher* 1 (1889) 2441; E. Rohde, *Psyche* (tr. 1925) 115-55; F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* (1909-12) esp. 466-501; P. Foucart, 'Le culte des héros chez les Grecs', *Mem. Acad. Inscr.* 42 (1918) 1; Burkert (1977) 306-19.

<sup>30</sup> Plutarch, *Aristides* 21 (tr. adapted from Loeb).

is assumed.<sup>31</sup> It is true that the two systems were never mutually incompatible, but interest in the distinction and ability to discriminate between gods and heroes as late as the first century B.C. is shown by a curious case involving the cult of Amphiaraus in central Greece.<sup>32</sup> The Roman general Sulla granted tax exemption to the lands of Amphiaraus as the result of a vow he had made but this exemption was challenged by the tax gatherers on the grounds that Amphiaraus was not a god. In fact Amphiaraus, who was a prophet at the time of the Trojan War, had been worshipped as a god since at least the fifth century B.C. It is preferable to explain what seems to be 'confusion' between the two systems as borrowings from the other system in order to express aspects of the nature of the honorand that could not otherwise be captured. For example, the dubious status of Heracles, a mortal who had been raised to the heavens, was marked in some places by sacrifices to him both as hero and as god.<sup>33</sup>

In spite of this possibility of combining the two systems, the heroic system of classification was eschewed in ruler cult in favour of the divine system.<sup>34</sup> If a classificatory term was applied it was 'god' rather than 'hero', and there are no clear cases of specifically heroic altars for rulers nor of specifically heroic sacrifices for Hellenistic kings or Roman emperors.<sup>35</sup> It is only at the actual death and funeral of a ruler that the uncertainty might have been expressed through heroic honours and it is not surprising that we only once hear of 'heroic honours' in ruler cult, at the funeral of Alexander the Great, clearly a moment when the status of Alexander was most in doubt.<sup>36</sup> Nor was heroic cult performed at the tomb of the dead ruler. The tomb itself was not termed a 'heroon'; in fact a temple and sanctuary, marks of divine cult, were raised over the tomb of Seleucus I of Syria by his successor.<sup>37</sup>

It was only with associates or junior relatives of the ruler that the question of heroic status arose. A contemporary Athenian writer

<sup>31</sup> A. D. Nock, 'The Attic Orgeones and the cult of heroes', *HThR* 37 (1944) 141 = (1972) 575; also B. Bergquist, *Herakles on Thasos* (1973) 38, and F. T. van Straten, 'Did the Greeks kneel before their gods?', *BABesch* 49 (1974) 159, esp. 176, 187-9, on altars.

<sup>32</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 747 = Sherk 23.

<sup>33</sup> Pausanias II 10, 1 (Sicyon); Herodotus II 44 (Thasos). See also M. Jameson, *BCH* 89 (1965) 162-5, on Zeus Meilichios and ch. 8 p. 218 on Achilles.

<sup>34</sup> See however ch. 9 p. 243.

<sup>35</sup> Habicht (1970) 16, 17-18, 79 and 105 disposes of the Hellenistic cases. Mausolus may have been heroized, though the sacrifices at the burial were not chthonic holocausts (S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (1982) 251-61). The evidence for heroic sacrifices in Macedonia is also weak (Hammond, Griffith (1979) 157-8). See, however, ch. 8 pp. 217-19 on Augustus.

<sup>36</sup> Diodorus XVIII 28, 4.

<sup>37</sup> Appian, *Syriace* 63.

drew a distinction between the divine honours paid to men, that is to Alexander, elsewhere in the Greek world, and the heroic cults which the Athenians were being forced to pay the servants of these men.<sup>38</sup> Thus two decades later the associates of Demetrius Poliorcetes of Macedon, who had just conquered Athens, were honoured not with divine but with heroic sanctuaries, altars and libations.<sup>39</sup> In this case interest lies in the tension between these honours and the abuse that portrayed these important political figures as mere flatterers and hangers-on. The tension reflects the difficulties that the cities had in coming to terms with the position not only of the kings but also of their political associates.<sup>40</sup> The initial and conflicting solutions were either to classify them as heroes or to hurl abuse. But gradually, from the beginning of the third century, cities were prepared to classify them as 'friends of the king', a term which the kings themselves had used earlier. This offered a convenient solution to the problem of classification and resulted in the almost total cessation of cults of the associates of kings. In the Roman period only deceased junior members of the imperial house are termed heroes.<sup>41</sup>

It is often claimed that the conferring of heroic cults on important civic figures after their death was an important precursor of divine ruler cult.<sup>42</sup> This is true only at a superficial level in terms of the extension of the traditional heroic honours. Ruler cult had a different explanation; it was carefully distanced from heroic cult and was played off against the background of the cult of the gods. Some might argue that this was because heroic cult would have been insufficiently honorific for a ruler. While a ranking between divine and heroic cult is clear in the case of the associates of Hellenistic kings, many of the traditional 'heroes' had themselves been kings and this ranking had force precisely because the option of divine cult for kings was already being taken. Talk solely of honours cannot explain why this option was in fact taken; heroic cult with its association with mortality would have been an inappropriate classificatory system for a king.

<sup>38</sup> Hyperides, *Epitaphios* col. viii, with Bickerman (1963). Thus Arrian, *Anabasis* vii 23, 6, refers to heroic sacrifices for Hephaestion, though there was also a tradition that Alexander had wanted divine sacrifices for him.

<sup>39</sup> Demochares, *FGH* 75 F 1. See L. Robert, 'Adeimantos et la ligue de Corinthe', *Hell.* ii (1946) 15, for an important revaluation of their role; also Habicht (1970) 55-8, 204, 255-6.

<sup>40</sup> G. Herman, 'The "Friends" of the early Hellenistic rulers: servants or officials?', *Talanta* 12-13 (1980-1) 103-49.

<sup>41</sup> Nero Drusus on coin of Clazomenae, *Copenhagen* 118; Lucius Caesar, *Thasos* ii no. 178; Antinous, Blum (1914); the governor 'hero benefactor' (*OGIS* 469) may also be deceased. The living emperor is, however, once at least officially termed a hero, *IGR* iv 1506 = *Sardis* vii 1, 58.

<sup>42</sup> Habicht (1970) 200-5, 266-8 provides a useful discussion.

Death is one of the major problems facing any monarchy. The human frailty of the ruler and the anxious transition from reign to reign are cruces that have to be resolved by any royal system. The power of the living king demanded attention, but to have given heroic honours in his lifetime would have laid an undesirably explicit emphasis on the mortality of the king. On the other hand heroic honours after death would have made more difficult the association of the rule of the king with the rule of the gods. The offering of divine honours avoided these difficulties. If they were given in the lifetime of the ruler they served to veil the awkward fact of death, which could be seen merely as a change of state. Divine honours after death and the glorification of death as a 'transferral to the gods', as with the Attalids of Pergamum,<sup>43</sup> or as an apotheosis, as in Rome, established a link with the gods and also made it possible to give prominence to the collectivity of the royal ancestors.<sup>44</sup> The power of the hero was limited in space and could not have intimate relations with the powers of heaven. But the perception which lay behind ruler cult was the analogy between the universal power of a god lying outside the city and that of the king.

This reasoning was reinforced by the changing nature of hero cult in the Hellenistic age.<sup>45</sup> Changes in the iconography of death neatly illustrate the greatly increased frequency with which heroes were created. In the classical period a funerary banquet scene was used only in connection with the relatively small number of official state heroes, while in the Hellenistic and Roman periods the imagery was employed of any deceased member of a private family.<sup>46</sup> Technically heroes had to be recognized by an oracle and this practice is occasionally found on inscriptions, but normally the city was free to declare any citizen a hero and to authorize a cult.<sup>47</sup> Often the term is used on private inscriptions without even that authorization, and comes to mean merely 'the late'.<sup>48</sup>

Along with this change went the development of funerary foundations from the late fourth century B.C., which gathered together the

<sup>43</sup> Kornemann (1901) 61 n. 1. The fact of lifetime cults outside Pergamum (Magie (1950) 1293 n. 49, Hansen (1971) 453) shows the complexity of the kingdom.

<sup>44</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, 'Progonoi', *JHS* 55 (1935) 56, on the Seleucids.

<sup>45</sup> See n. 29; H. W. Pleket, *The Greek Inscriptions at Leyden* (1958) 28-31; Nilsson (1961) 116-17, 143-4, 232, 545-6; P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (1977) esp. 76-81.

<sup>46</sup> R. N. Thönges-Stringaris, 'Das griechische Totenmahl', *Ath. Mitt.* 80 (1965) 1; cf. E. Pfuhl, H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* I-II (1977-9).

<sup>47</sup> Plato, *Laws* IV 738; *IG* XII 3, 863 with Supp. 1349. *SEG* III 774 = *I. Cret.* III 4, 38.

<sup>48</sup> Brief list in Deneken (n. 29) 2548-54. Robert, *Hell.* XIII (1965) 207; *id.*, *Laodicée* 265. Once used of a living man (Nilsson (1961) 144 n. 1).

family circle or, better, the whole city to celebrate the dead with sacrifices and feasts.<sup>49</sup> For this purpose the appropriate type of sacrifice was the *thysia* (or sacrifice commonly used in the cult of the gods), part of which could be eaten by those present, rather than the non-consumable heroic sacrifice (*enhagisma*), but the sacrifices were not directed to the deceased and did not deify them.

It is difficult to explain these changes in heroic cult. Some scholars talk of degeneration, but this assumes an arbitrary idealizing of earlier Greek history against which all change has to be seen as decline. Such moralizing evades the task of analysis. There was indeed a major expansion of heroic cult, which must be seen in the light of the changing nature of the Greek city. The funerary foundations with their public participation make sense in terms of the changing structures of the family and the changing relationship of the élite to the city.<sup>50</sup> To take this explanation further one would also have to take into account important local differences, such as the limitation of the term 'heroization' almost exclusively to Thera<sup>51</sup> and the existence of the cult of the 'Agathoi Daimones' ('Good Spirits') solely in Caria.<sup>52</sup> In any case this increasingly common heroic cult, which was employed for citizens of the city, was quite unsuitable for the ruler. The problem was precisely that the ruler was not like a citizen.

The strategy of divine cult was adopted by the cities without overt initiatives from the king.<sup>53</sup> Cities did not generally adopt dynastic cults which were promulgated by the king. There were such centrally promoted cults, but they are found in Asia Minor only sporadically, and mainly in kingdoms which were not based primarily on the Greek city,<sup>54</sup> though these kings also received cults in Greek cities outside

<sup>49</sup> See the interesting study by P. Schmitt-Pantel, 'Evergétisme et mémoire du mort', in *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes* (ed. G. Gnoli, J. P. Vernant, 1982) 177-88. *Enhagismos* does continue through the period, *SEG* xvi 418 (c. 100 B.C.), *SEG* xxiii 207 (Augustan), *I. Ephesos* vii 2, 3803b2 (A.D. 301).

<sup>50</sup> W. Kamps, 'Les origines de la fondation cultuelle dans la Grèce ancienne', *Archives d'hist. du droit oriental* 1 (1937) 145. See also S. M. Sherwin-White, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 207-17, and below pp. 47-51.

<sup>51</sup> Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1944) 40-4 = *Op. Min. Sel.* iii 1406-10.

<sup>52</sup> Laumonier (1958) 139, 461, 639.

<sup>53</sup> Balsdon (1950) 383-8 suggests that there was no direct demand for divine honours by Alexander, though pressures there may have been.

<sup>54</sup> Sanctuary dedicated by Nicomedes II of Bithynia to his mother (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 3172); Mithridates VI of Pontus as Dionysus, though most of the evidence refers to areas outside Pontus (Magie (1950) 214, 1102 n. 31; Cerfaux, Tondriaux (1957) 255-7). For Ptolemaic state cult see Fraser (1972) 213-46 and H. Volkmann, 'Der Herrscherkult der Ptolemäer in phönikischen Inschriften und sein Beitrag zur Hellenisierung von Kypros', *Historia* 5 (1956) 448; add *SEG* xxvii 1114 + 1305.

their kingdom which they had aided.<sup>55</sup> The best example is that of Commagene. The entire kingdom was organized by Antiochus I in the first century B.C. around various cult centres and detailed regulations were made for the participation of the entire population in the cults.<sup>56</sup> The numerous texts and monuments give a fascinating picture of the cultural amalgam of Greek and Persian traditions, but a detailed analysis cannot be attempted here. There was also an important state cult of the royal ancestors and of his wife established by Antiochus III of Syria in all the provinces of his kingdom, from Iran to western Asia Minor.<sup>57</sup> But it is notable that this had no effect on the civic cults. At Teos the cults were related to local conditions and took no account of these centrally organized cults nor of the gods of the Seleucid house, in particular Apollo, the ancestor of the line.

The main cults of Hellenistic kings both sprang from the cities and were closely integrated into their religious life. The Teian regulations for the royal cult statues in the temple of Dionysus and for the manifold activities involving the statues demonstrate how the cult was incorporated into the city. Perhaps the most vivid detail is the inscription of the cult in the sacred calendar of the city. The old orthodoxy of the decline of the traditional cults would see little significance in this incorporation; indeed it has sometimes been felt that ruler cult actually speeded up the decline by a deliberate down-grading of traditional cults. The devaluation of the gods was a necessary part of the elevation of men; in consequence the boundaries between the two were eliminated.<sup>58</sup> Like the conventional argument which denies that there was a significant distinction between heroic and divine cults, this view denies any real significance to the fact that rulers (and essentially only rulers) received divine cult.

<sup>55</sup> Cults of Cappadocian kings on Cos (*PP* 27 (1972) 182-3) and by technitai at Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1330 with Robert, *Ét. épigr.* 38ff. and *Hell.* XI-XII (1960) 121-2, 129; cult of Nicomedes II of Bithynia by Ionian League (*I. Priene* 55).

<sup>56</sup> H. Dörrie, *Der Königs-kult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriften-Funde* (Abh. Ak. Wiss. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. 60, 1964) with reviews by O. Murray, *CR* 80 (1966) 105-8, and H. W. Pleket, *Mnemosyne* 21 (1968) 444-7; H. Waldmann, *Die kommagenischen Kultformen unter König Mithradates I Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I* (1973), with review by G. Petzl, *Gnomon* (1976) 370-5. Waldmann collects the texts, to which add *SEG* xxvi 1623. See also *Antike Welt* 6 (1975) Sondernummer on Commagene and D. Musti, 'Morte e culto del sovrano in ambito ellenistico', *La mort* (n. 49) 189-201.

<sup>57</sup> Welles, *RC* 36-7; Robert, *Hell.* VII (1949) 5-29 and *CRAI* (1967) 281-96.

<sup>58</sup> Eitrem (1936) 125-6. Cerfaux, Tondriaux (1957) 185 on the hymn. Perhaps compare Philetas (J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (1925) 93, no. 13). The hymn to Demetrius led E. R. Dodds (*The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951) 242) to comment: 'When the old gods withdraw, the empty thrones cry out for a successor, and with good management, or even without management, almost any perishable bag of bones may be hoisted into the vacant seat.'

If the gods were no longer of paramount importance, there was no obstacle to giving the rulers what remained of their honours. There is indeed material which might at first sight support this view, but I believe that a more careful examination will lead to different conclusions.

The most startling piece of evidence is the hymn sung in honour of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Athens at the end of the fourth century. One passage from the hymn, which is the only cult hymn for a ruler that survives complete from the ancient world, runs:

The other gods are far away or do not have ears or do not exist or do not pay any attention at all to us, but you we see present, not of wood or stone but real.

The hymn with its curious mixture of current philosophical ideas shows that devaluation of the gods was one option that was open, but it must be stressed that this hymn had no discernible effect on civic cults in Athens. Theoretical writings on the gods have also been used to support the argument about the degradation of the gods. The work of Hecataeus of Abdera, composed in Egypt in the early third century B.C., which was taken up by Euhemerus a little later, argued that the gods were former kings who were deified after their death.<sup>59</sup> His writings seem to have followed the earliest ruler cults, by which they may have been influenced, but there is no sign that they affected the further development of Ptolemaic ruler cult. It has been argued that the advisers of Antiochus of Commagene, who allegedly dreamt up the royal cult, were deeply indebted to Euhemerus but the parallels adduced are not sufficiently close or striking to support the argument.<sup>60</sup> Even if influence of Euhemerus on the cult of Antiochus could be shown, it would not necessarily help the traditional case. Euhemerus is now commonly taken to have been a subversive figure who undermined the authority of the traditional gods, but Greek cities celebrated the birthdays of their gods and even proclaimed that they were the place where the god was born. Though Euhemerus was occasionally attacked in antiquity as an atheist, it was only with the rise of Christian apologetics that he achieved notoriety. It is the product of this Christian perspective to imagine that the origins of gods are crucially important for their authority. Thus, denigration

<sup>59</sup> O. Murray, 'Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic kingship', *JEA* 56 (1970) 141; for the date see O. Murray and M. Stern, *JEA* 59 (1973) 159–68; Fraser (1972) 289–98 on Euhemerus.

<sup>60</sup> So Pleket against Dörrie (n. 56). Euhemerism is important only in its stress on the benefactions of the gods, Robert, *REG* 94 (1981) 358.

of the traditional cults was not a common option in ruler cults. The honours were in fact calqued on the honours of the gods and carefully inserted into the body of the traditional civic cults.

The picture of Hellenistic cults presented so far has largely eschewed chronological change,<sup>61</sup> though the establishment of cults of Antiochus III at Iasos and Teos has already alerted us to the relationship between cults and the expansion of power. There would be little profit in demonstrating the point at length. A proper account would indeed entail a full study of the complex shiftings of the different power blocks that made up the Hellenistic world. A sketch of the introduction of new cults from the 240s must suffice.<sup>62</sup> At this time the power of Ptolemaic Egypt re-emerged over the south and west coasts of Asia Minor and on the Aegean islands as a result of conquests in war.<sup>63</sup> Ptolemaic cults are found in the whole area from Thrace through Lesbos to Lycia. For example, Telmessus in Lycia passed a decree in 240 honouring the beneficial rule of the Ptolemaic dynast-cum-governor and establishing an altar on his behalf to Zeus Saviour in the main square where an annual sacrifice of a three-year-old cow would be offered.<sup>64</sup> These cults fell in coastal areas or on islands which were under fairly direct Ptolemaic rule. Ptolemaic influence extended out through an intermediate zone to areas where there was no direct control. There were occasional cults in places such as Cos<sup>65</sup> and Crete<sup>66</sup> which were not subject to the Ptolemies but which came under their influence.

The conquests of Antiochus III of Syria at the end of the third and beginning of the second century B.C. broke the Ptolemaic power in the Aegean permanently and severely reduced the Attalid kingdom of Pergamum; its consequences we have already examined.<sup>67</sup> Attalid power had grown from the mid third century and was restored again by the terms of the peace of Apamea in 188 after the defeat of Antiochus III by the Romans. This power was exercised more widely over the interior of Asia Minor than that of its competitors and cults

<sup>61</sup> For changes in sacrifices see ch. 8 pp. 222–7.

<sup>62</sup> Habicht (1970) ceases here.

<sup>63</sup> Magie (1950) ch. 4 provides a narrative; Bagnall (1976) includes the cults. The best Ptolemaic evidence is *IG* xii Supp. 122 (Eresus), *SEG* ix 5 (Cyrene), and in Robert (1966).

<sup>64</sup> *OGIS* 55 = *TAM* II 1.

<sup>65</sup> S. M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (1978) 100–1, 367–70.

<sup>66</sup> Habicht (1970) 121–2.

<sup>67</sup> H. H. Schmitt, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Grossen und seiner Zeit* (1964), has useful maps, to be slightly modified in the light of the Teian evidence. Bickerman (1938) 236–57 is excellent on Seleucid cults in general; also a cult of Achaëus established by two villages, *Chiron* 5 (1975) 59–87.



are found not only on the coast but also in several cities of the interior.<sup>68</sup>

The other side of this picture of the introduction of new cults is the fate of the old.<sup>69</sup> Cults were often ended when the city left the sway of a particular ruler and their ending could be violent. After the break with Philip V of Macedon the Athenians passed a decree ending all the festivals, sanctuaries, priests and statues in honour of Philip V and his ancestors as far back as Antigonos I. His name was to be erased on inscriptions, his monuments destroyed and he was to be cursed in the annual prayer for the city.<sup>70</sup> But in general the picture is of covert supersession, which was aided by the absence of royal temples which might have been awkward to rededicate.<sup>71</sup> Consequently, only the sequence of different cults can be seen. On the island of Delos there were festivals and perhaps a royal altar in honour of the Antigonid kings of Macedon, but when Antigonid influence was replaced by that of the Ptolemies, a Ptolemaic festival, with altar and sacrifices to Ptolemy, superseded the earlier cult.<sup>72</sup>

Cults did, however, continue in cities which passed from subjection to freedom in the second century B.C. For example, at Eresus on Lesbos, which was declared free in the peace of Apamea, the Ptolemaic cult lasted at least a generation.<sup>73</sup> Two other cities in the same century celebrated cults of a plurality of foreign powers. The gymnasium on Cos was the scene for honours for Ptolemy and for the Pergamene rulers,<sup>74</sup> while at Erythrae there were cults of Alexander the Great, Antiochus I of Syria, perhaps the Pergamene king, and Roma side by side.<sup>75</sup> This collocation was made possible by the position of these cities on the fringes of different power blocks.

## II CULTS OF ROMAN POWER

The appearance of a cult of Roma at Erythrae is symptomatic of a shift in the balance of power in the eastern Mediterranean, which resulted finally in the exercise of sole control by the Romans from Augustus onwards. The involvement of the Romans in Greek affairs

<sup>68</sup> Hansen (1971) 453–70; add *Bull. Comm. Arch. Rom.* 60 (1932) App. 28, no. 25 (Cos, cult of Eumenes).

<sup>69</sup> Habicht (1970) 185–92.

<sup>70</sup> Livy xxxi 44, 4–8.

<sup>71</sup> Ch. 6 pp. 162–3.

<sup>72</sup> P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (1970) 515ff., esp. 577–9.

<sup>73</sup> E.g. *IG xii Supp.* 139. Also, at Ilion, a *basileia* in the second century B.C., restored in first century A.D. (*I. Ilion* 52, 29; 104, 7), and a month named after Seleucus I in 77 B.C. (*OGIS* 444 = *I. Ilion* 10, 3).

<sup>74</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1028 = *LSCG* 165 with Habicht (1970) 125–6 and Hansen (1971) 466–7.

<sup>75</sup> *LSAM* 26 = *I. Erythrae* 207.

in the course of the fifty years from the 220s B.C. brought about the demotion of Macedonia to a second-rate power and the expulsion of the Syrian Seleucids from Asia Minor, marked by the peace of Apamea in 188 B.C. The Attalid kingdom of Pergamum was left as the major kingdom in Asia Minor and Greece was declared free by Titus Flamininus in 196 B.C. but both areas stood in the shadow of Rome. The Attalid kingdom was actually bequeathed to Rome in 133 B.C. and was turned into a Roman province. The following century down to Augustus was marked by the further spread of Roman power in this area.

Cults of the power of Rome accompanied these political developments.<sup>76</sup> The earliest known cult in this area dates to 195 B.C. and such cults became prevalent in the course of the following hundred and fifty years. So, for example, an Aphrodisian treaty of the second century B.C. which invokes the goddess Roma gives a clear indication of the spread of these cults alongside growing Roman political influence, though of course such an invocation to the goddess does not conclusively prove the existence of a permanent cult at this stage.<sup>77</sup> The beginnings of the process of establishing permanent cults emerge from a recently published Chiot inscription.<sup>78</sup> Chios, which had been a Roman naval base in the campaign against Antiochus III of Syria, succeeded in recovering her freedom, was exempted from tribute, which had previously been paid to Antiochus, and also made certain territorial gains on the mainland. In gratitude for the appearance (*epiphaneia*) of the Romans (or perhaps of some deities) in the war, the city voted to hold a procession, sacrifice and games for Roma; this was to follow the festival of the Theophania, which may be connected with the appearance of the Romans. A prominent local citizen, acting as manager of the games on his return from an embassy to Rome, was responsible for a series of donations to the locals and the Romans.

Cults of Roma became quite common,<sup>79</sup> but an excessive concentration on the worship of Roma herself tends to divert attention from the variety of other forms that such cults could take.<sup>80</sup> At Athens there was a priestess of the Hearth of the Romans,<sup>81</sup> and cults of the People of the Romans, which included dedications and sacrifices, were quite

<sup>76</sup> Mellor (1975), with review by C. P. Jones, *Phoenix* (1977) 77–81; Fayer (1976); Tuchelt (1979) 21–45; Mellor (1981). Add *SEG* xxviii 1246 and *I. Ephesos* iii 859A.

<sup>77</sup> Reynolds (1982) no. 1.

<sup>78</sup> *ABSA* 77 (1982) 79–92 with Moretti (1980), *BE* (1980) 353 and (1981) 364. LSJ<sup>9</sup> s.v. *epiphaneia* §1 supports Moretti against Robert.

<sup>79</sup> Mellor (1975) 207–28 lists the inscriptional evidence.

<sup>80</sup> Robert, *Laodicée* 321 n. 7.

<sup>81</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 5102, 5145 (attestations of imperial period).

common and should not be confused with cults of Roma herself.<sup>82</sup> There were also cults of 'the universal Roman benefactors', with priests, sacrifices and encomia.<sup>83</sup> These honours to Roman benefactors run through the second century B.C. starting in the 180s, with two new cults attested towards the beginning of the first century B.C.

It is important to note that there was no cult of the Roman Senate in the East in the Republic; it is found only in a handful of cities in Asia under the empire when the Senate was also honoured on local coinages.<sup>84</sup> This is a little surprising in the light of king Prusias of Bithynia who addressed the senators as *theoi soterai*, saviour gods, and also in the light of the remarks of the Greek historian Polybius on how the power of the Senate was perceived by the Greeks.<sup>85</sup> But perhaps more impact was made by individual Romans. Certainly the author of the First Book of *Maccabees* (8, 15-16), while recognizing the importance of the Senate as a deliberative body, believed that the Romans 'entrusted their government to one man for a year at a time, with absolute power over the whole empire and this man was obeyed by all without any envy or jealousy'.

Cults of individual Roman officials are found in the Greek world.<sup>86</sup> Interestingly they begin to become common at a time when the collective cults of 'Roman benefactors' were dying out and this suggests that the reason is the increasing autonomy of these men from the institutions of Rome. The first two cults of officials are found at the turn of the third and second centuries B.C. There was then a long gap before the next two cults we hear of towards the end of the second century, and it was only in the first century that the phenomenon became common.<sup>87</sup> With the exception of a pair of cults in which the

<sup>82</sup> Fears (1978) and Fayer (1978).

<sup>83</sup> *IG* x 2.1. 31-2, 133, 226 (priests); *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 705, 45 (sacrifice); *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 702, 5 and *F. Delphes* III 3, 124, line 6 (encomia). See in general Robert (1969) 57-60. C. Wehrli, *Siculatorum Gymnasium* 31 (1978) 479-96, adds little. Sacrifices on behalf of the Romans were also important: *I. Délos* 1498 (161/60 B.C.); 1499 (153/2); *SEG* XXI 469 = *LSCG* Supp. 14, 57 (Athens, 129/8); *LSCG* Supp. 121 (Ephesus, third-century A.D. copy of ancestral law).

<sup>84</sup> The material is collected by G. Forni, *Hiera e theoi sunkletos* (*MAL* 5, 3,<sup>8</sup> 1953) 49-168, but Robert showed that none of the evidence is Republican (*BE* (1954) 54; *Monnaies grecques* (1967) 75-8; *Laodicée* 321).

<sup>85</sup> Polybius xxx 18, vi 13.

<sup>86</sup> Facts in Cerfaux, Tondriau (1957) 279-85 and Bowersock (1965) 150-1. For monuments see Tuchelt (1979) 45-118. Add *IG* XII 9, 233 (sacrifices for Titus?, Eretria); *SEG* XII 270 = *IG* IX 1. 3, 719 (sacrifices and Pompey, Chaliu); *I. Side* 101 = *AE* (1966) 462 (Pompey honoured *en isotheoi*); *ZPE* 34 (1979) 215, no. 3 (Censorinus, Mylasa); *OGIS* 469 = *IGR* IV 963 with Tuchelt (1979) 106 (+ pl. 20) (altar to Vibius Postumus, Samos). On Marcellus see Propertius III 18, 33, a reference I owe to M. H. Crawford.

<sup>87</sup> Marcellus, Sicily (perhaps after his death in 208); Titus Flamininus, Greece, 190s; Manius Aquillius, Asia, 120s; Marcus Annius, Macedon, 117.

individuals were linked with the goddess Roma,<sup>88</sup> the autonomy of these figures was recognized by the establishment of independent cults.

These varied cults constitute the different ways in which the Greeks reacted to the power of Rome in the second and first centuries B.C. There are obvious similarities in form and language between these cults and the earlier royal cults. In both cases the Greeks employed the traditional cults of the gods in order to represent to themselves the external power facing them.<sup>89</sup> The cults therefore shared a common objective. But the differences in actual power relations made the cults crucially different. Comment is often made on these differences, but in terms which portray the Greeks as fumbling for ways to represent a non-monarchical state. The variety and changes of the cults seem rather to show clear-sighted perception of the new situation.

The difference of the new nexus of power from that found in the Hellenistic kingdoms is reflected in the distribution of the cults of Roma and the Romans, which were much more widespread than Hellenistic royal cults, although their precise prevalence in the Republican period is difficult to assess owing to frequent uncertainty over the date of the introduction of a cult.<sup>90</sup> It is unwise to assume that the cults must have arisen at the earliest known political crisis and then to project back evidence which exists only in the imperial period. It is more than likely that many of the cults of Roma and Augustus were new creations, and did not replace earlier cults of Roma. But there are still some twenty cults of Roma known from Asia Minor if one takes only cults which are certainly Hellenistic. They are found not only on the islands and in major coastal cities but also in a number of inland cities.<sup>91</sup>

Cults of Roman magistrates were similarly widespread. In addition to the major cities, both on the coast and inland, one finds an altar to one Roman official at Zela in Pontus, while the minor town of Appia in Phrygia had plans to build a monument to another official. This extension of cults inland and to less important places reflects the greater spread of Roman power and its more regularized forms of

<sup>88</sup> Flamininus and Servilius Isauricus.

<sup>89</sup> Contrast Mellor (1981) 958 who ignores the background of traditional cults and finds that 'the essential similarity between the worship of the rulers and of Roma is the political significance, the political motivation, and the political consequences'.

<sup>90</sup> See maps in Tuchelt (1979), who does however include cults only attested in the imperial period.

<sup>91</sup> Alabanda, Hierocaesarea, Thyatira; Apamea, Aperlae, Tripolis (if Hellenistic in date).

administration, as embodied in the person of the governor. Even the Attalid kingdom of Pergamum, the only power to have effectively controlled the interior, had operated without governors, though some of the local officials may have been royally appointed.<sup>92</sup> And it is in general clear that the kings attempted simply to control rather than to run their cities. There are, for example, notably few signs that kings or their officials intervened in the regular administration of justice in the cities. If the scope of the exercise of power was changing, so too was the distribution of the Greek city. The coming of Roman rule coincided with and helped to promote further the development of the Greek city in new areas. The continuation of this process under the empire lies behind the further increase of ruler cult which can be seen in the imperial period (ch. 4).

These cults may be the product of a new situation created by the advent of Rome, but they are still expressed in a Greek idiom. The replacement of the Greek kingdoms by Rome might have been met by a refusal to follow the path of incorporation that was adopted at Teos for Antiochus III. Rome might have been honoured, if at all, in her own, foreign idiom. This in fact happened only occasionally, as for example at Chios where an element of the early cult of Roma was the dedication to Roma of what was perhaps a sculpture of the wolf-suckling Romulus and Remus. Many other such monuments are known from the Latin West, from a later period, but this type of adaptation of a specifically Roman tradition is almost never found again in the Greek world.<sup>93</sup> The return of an ambassador from Rome to Chios, full of pride in having discovered the authentic tradition about the origins of Rome, combined with uncertainty about how to handle Rome, help to explain this exceptional case.

While the cult at Chios took over that alien tradition, other features of Rome are already interpreted there in a Greek framework. In particular, the epiphany of the Romans fits into a long line of comparable military epiphanies in the Greek world. This strategy of the incorporation of Rome into a Greek context was the one generally followed. The iconography of Roma in the Hellenistic period, so far as it is known, shows her in Hellenic guise. For example, on Greek coins the iconography was developed on the model of Athena, with almost no influence of Roman iconography.<sup>94</sup> So too the cult of the Roman Demos or people, which we have already noticed, was modelled on the preceding cults of the Athenian and Rhodian

<sup>92</sup> Hansen (1971) 166–87.

<sup>93</sup> A similar relief has, however, recently been found at Aphrodisias (Cat. no. 64).

<sup>94</sup> Fayer (1975); Mellor (1981) 961–4.

Demos; in place of the elderly bearded man of the Roman 'Genius of the Roman People' is found a youthful clean-shaven figure, familiar from Greek portraiture.<sup>95</sup>

There is a tendency to argue that the imperial cult in the East was simply a continuation of the Hellenistic royal cults. A system of honours had been established which continued remorselessly onwards, irrespective of the conditions and of the appropriateness of the honours. In this crude form the argument cannot stand. Just as royal cults in the Greek cities came and went with the changes in the spheres of political influence, so also when dynasties ended and areas fell into Roman hands the royal cults ceased to be celebrated. Thus an official in charge of a civic gymnasium at the end of the Attalid dynasty was also priest of Attalus and celebrated the king's birthday each month.<sup>96</sup> But in his second term of office, probably after the end of the dynasty, nothing is heard of the royal cult. The same was certainly true of cults of kingdoms which Rome had actually overthrown, but the Attalid cults, because of the relatively peaceful transfer of power to Rome, did occasionally continue. At Pergamum in the 60s B.C. one Diodorus Paspasros was very active in the promotion of Attalid cults,<sup>97</sup> while festivals continued down to Augustus or even the mid third century.<sup>98</sup> Cults of Alexander the Great were also sufficiently unpartisan to survive into the second and third centuries of the empire in a few places,<sup>99</sup> but these are all sporadic survivals which were quite insufficient to provide contemporary models.

A modified version of the Hellenistic inheritance argument would see the cults of Roma as the crucial link in the tradition between the cults of kings and the imperial cult. It is certainly clear enough that cults of Roma did continue into the empire and were sometimes even replaced by those of the emperor,<sup>100</sup> but it is quite inadequate simply to see Roma as an intermediary. That is to ignore the meaning of an institution for its contemporaries and to look only at its historical

<sup>95</sup> Fears (1978) 275-80.

<sup>96</sup> *OGIS* 339 with Hansen (1971) 470 (Sestos).

<sup>97</sup> *IGR* IV 293b7-9; 294 lines 19-20, 39, 47-8, with dating of C. P. Jones (1974), accepted in *BE* (1974) 466.

<sup>98</sup> Robert, *Hell.* IX (1950) 18-19; Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 164-5. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 985 = *LSAM* 20, 6-7 (first-century B.C. cult of Zeus Eumenes) may also be relevant; see Weinreich, *SHAW* (1919) 48-50, and Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1934) 287-91 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 1186-90.

<sup>99</sup> Rostovtzeff (1939) 285-6, Habicht (1970) 185. Note also the head from Bubon (Cat. no. 82). There is only one possible case of Seleucid cult continuing, Habicht (1970) 105-6, but this is doubtful. See Rostovtzeff (1939) 286-7. The basileia at Ilion was repaired in the first century A.D. (*I. Ilion* 104, 7-8) but its function is not clear.

<sup>100</sup> Robert, *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1966) 116; also Le Glay (1978).

consequences. Such an argument would be bad enough if the actual cults were reasonably uniform but in fact the range of variations was so great that it is very misleading to talk of a tradition. So many options were available that the establishment of a cult was never an automatic process.

The types of decisions that had to be taken can well be seen by considering the details of the cults offered to individual Roman officials, despite difficulties in discovering sufficient information. Generally the texts merely refer to festivals and priests and we lack the text of a decree establishing a cult.<sup>101</sup> This difficulty of discovering the details of the cults is probably not chance, but reflects a real uncertainty as to the permanence of the cults. The importance of this uncertainty is also supported by the lack of any temple to a Roman governor. Such temples were indeed offered by the Greeks in the late Republic, for Cicero was able to refuse one. Suetonius (*Augustus* 62) could even believe that it was regular for temples to be voted to proconsuls, but the only evidence that they were in fact erected is the curious lines allegedly inscribed by Hadrian on the grave of Pompey contrasting the meanness of his tomb with the number of temples in his honour.<sup>102</sup> It seems unlikely that the Greeks seriously expected their offers of temples to be accepted and even more unlikely that any were built.

Such positive details as we can recover manifest concern for the appropriateness of the honours. It is true that there are some signs that the honours were classified as divine honours. Pompey and a stray agent of Augustus were honoured with *isotheoi timai* or 'divine honours', and there is also the curious private dedication on an altar to 'Calvinus god', who is probably a governor, Domitius Calvinus. But the honours are generally undercut by qualifications. Prayers at Pergamum, for example, were not directed to Manius Aquillius but were rather offered on his behalf. Similarly the honours for Titus Flamininus are interestingly restrained. There were sacrifices to him, and the paeon sung there ended with an expression of reverence towards mighty Zeus, Roma, Titus and the Good Faith of the Romans. However, while Titus is clearly placed among the gods, there is no prayer explicitly to him where it might be expected at

<sup>101</sup> Cf. the decree for Philopoemen, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 624.

<sup>102</sup> Appian, *Bellum civile* II 86 = Dio LIX 11, 1 = *Anth. Pal.* IX 402. The building to be erected for Claudius Pulcher was not necessarily a temple. A *lex* did expressly permit expenditure on temples and monuments (Cicero, *ad Qu. fr.* I 1, 26) but these will have been in honour of the gods, even if the *lex* was interpreted as applying to honours for governors. Tuchelt (1979) 105–12, 123, also argues against cult places for Roman officials.

the close of the paean, and the final invocation was of Titus Soter, 'Saviour', a term which straddles the divide between human and divine.

The cults of Roman officials have sometimes been seen as a debased element in a tradition of divine honours: a mechanical routinization resulted in the awarding of cults to the completely inappropriate figures of Roman generals and governors. I have tried to show that the cults retained rationality and internal logic. The variations and subtleties of the cults show that they cannot be seen as an automatic formula. For example, some of the details of the honours given by Teos to Antiochus and Laodice are hardly paralleled in other royal cults and certainly not in the cults of Roman governors. Their power was obviously greater than that of Roman governors and the honours more obviously divine. There is no need to see the relatively restrained cults of Roman governors as debased. There was a continuing process of flexible adaptation of the traditional cults in response to the changing circumstances, as the Greeks attempted to represent to themselves first the Hellenistic kings and then the power of Rome.

### III CULTS OF INDIVIDUAL GREEKS

A neglected element in the picture of late Hellenistic divine cults is the public cult of private citizens in the Greek cities.<sup>103</sup> The heroic cults of the type that we have already examined continued; there were new funerary foundations to ensure the continuance of cult,<sup>104</sup> public funerals and burial in the gymnasium or square,<sup>105</sup> and even the establishment of a sanctuary of the hero with public facilities of race-ground, exercise area and baths.<sup>106</sup> But a collective cult of civic benefactors, involving competitions and sacrifices to gods and benefactors, which is found especially towards the close of the second century B.C.,<sup>107</sup> was superseded by divine cults of individual citizens. These cults might be seen as a mark of the final collapse of the system of divine cult, but they are in fact comprehensible in the light of the changed role of citizens in the troubled times of the late Hellenistic period when the cities were faced with the problem of accommodating the new power of their individual citizens.

<sup>103</sup> Robert (1969) and *REG* 94 (1981) 358–61 are basic.

<sup>104</sup> *SEG* vi 673; *LSAM* 60 = *SEG* xv 640. Also Laumonier (1958) 134–5, 138.

<sup>105</sup> Delorme (1960) 341–2 with Robert, *L'Antiquité classique* (1966) 422; add *O Ath* 10 (1971) 36 (Caurus).

<sup>106</sup> *IBM* 797 (Cnidus).

<sup>107</sup> Robert, *BCH* 50 (1926) 499–500 = *Op. Min. Sel.* 163–4; also *IGR* iv 292, 38–9.



Almost the earliest, and certainly the most interesting, case is the cult of Diodorus Paspas at Pergamum.<sup>108</sup> Because of Pergamum's involvement in the Mithridatic War against Rome (88–85 B.C.) the city had lost its treaty and its freedom, and probably other privileges, and in addition was suffering under the burden of Roman troops and businessmen. Diodorus went on an important embassy to Rome and succeeded in reducing the levels of tribute and debt to Rome; the abuses perpetrated by Roman soldiers were curbed and the property of dead citizens, which had probably been confiscated by Rome, was restored. The city marked its gratitude for these services by passing a series of divine honours for him, as it had earlier for his father.<sup>109</sup> A tribe was named after Diodorus, he received a priest, the day of his return from Rome was commemorated by a festival. The dedication of a sanctuary, named after him and containing his cult statue, which has recently been excavated, was marked by a public procession and by sacrifices probably placed on the altar in front of the cult statue. A second series of honours was established in the gymnasium.<sup>110</sup> His cult statue was erected in a separate room 'sharing the throne with the gods of the palaestra'. A second cult statue was erected in another room with the cult statue of Philetaerus, the founder of the Attalid dynasty, and sacrifices were offered to it.<sup>111</sup> These honours, of which I have only given a selection, were obviously divine, and were in fact explicitly classified as 'god-like honours' (*isotheoi timai*).<sup>112</sup> They were designed to promote his immortality (*athanasia*), a statement which goes further than the usual proclaimed intentions of funerary cults about the perpetuation of the deceased's (eternal) memory.<sup>113</sup> The text also explains that the honours, which were given to Diodorus in his lifetime, were designed to encourage him to even greater efforts on behalf of the city. The city was all too aware of its dependence on such people.

The political troubles of the period produced further important figures. Theophanes of Mytilene, who was an associate of Pompey, 'recovered from the Romans, the common benefactors, the city and the territory and the ancestral freedom, and restored the ancestral sanctuaries and the honours of the gods'.<sup>114</sup> In turn he was assimilated to Zeus Eleutherios, Zeus Liberator, perhaps after his death. Artemidorus of Cnidus, who came from a family that had played an important part in the relations between his city and Rome, received

<sup>108</sup> D. Kienast, *RE Supp.* xii (1970) 224–32, with dating of C. P. Jones (1974). For the sanctuary see W. Radt, *AA* (1976) 314–16, (1980) 414–16.

<sup>109</sup> *IGR* iv 292; *Ath. Mitt.* 35 (1910) 409, no. 3, 18ff.

<sup>110</sup> *IGR* iv 293 i 34ff., ii 64ff.

<sup>111</sup> *IGR* iv 294, 29ff.

<sup>112</sup> *IGR* iv 293 ii 12ff., 37ff.

<sup>113</sup> Laum I 42–4.

<sup>114</sup> Robert (1969).

similar honours.<sup>115</sup> His father had won the freedom of the city from Caesar; Artemidorus was a friend of Caesar (familiar to us from Shakespeare for his unsuccessful attempt to warn Caesar of the plot against him) and may possibly have had the grant of freedom confirmed by Augustus. He was honoured with a gold image 'sharing the temple with Artemis', whose priest he had been. The city 'founding an altar and voting sacrifices, a procession and a quadrennial gymnasial competition, the Artemidoreia, honoured him with god-like honours (*timai isotheoi*)'.

The common factor in these cases is the major services rendered by these figures to their cities.<sup>116</sup> The political and economic turmoil of the last century B.C. rendered uncertain the position of the cities, both internally and with respect to Rome. It was thus natural that some of the most important contributions that these people could make were in relation to Rome, though their significance should not be limited to their role as intermediaries with Rome.<sup>117</sup> The scope of their contributions was rendered wider by the disturbances of the times and in consequence the dependence of the city on prominent individuals increased. This created a strain on the civic ideology of parity, if not between all citizens, at least between members of the élite. Such people were no longer just ordinary citizens. An analogous situation had arisen in the first part of the fifth century B.C. when a number of victorious athletes were given cults in their cities. Bohringer (1979) has argued neatly that the limitation of these cults to the earlier fifth century demands explanation in terms of the high prestige of aristocratic victors at this period. These figures, who gained prestige in competitions outside the city, seem also to have been involved in political interventions within the city. As a result of problems about their status, cults were established to them which maintained the proper distance between hero and city and affirmed the unity of the group. Similarly in the first century B.C. the problem of how to accommodate the power of dominant individuals was solved by their controlled extrusion onto the divine plane.

The reign of Augustus marked the end of all new public divine cults of individuals, whether citizens of Greek cities or Roman officials.

<sup>115</sup> *IBM* 787 with Robert, *L'Antiquité classique* (1966) 420-1.

<sup>116</sup> A Cyzicene merely served in forces aiding Caesar (*IGR* iv 159 with *BE* (1964) 227 p. 180) while Labeo of Cyme is known only to have repaired the gymnasium but was offered honours appropriate 'to those who have given greatest services to the people' (*IGR* iv 1302 = *I. Kyme* 19). There are also the obscure cases of *BCH* 3 (1879) 466-8 with Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1927) 112-13 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 1067-8 (third-century B.C. *timai isolumpioi*) and *BCH* 7 (1883) 300, no. 24 = 11 (1887) 219, no. 13 with A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge* I (1911) 55ff. = *Akademieschriften* I 73ff. (second/first-century B.C. cult at Synnada). <sup>117</sup> As implied by Robert (1969).

Local citizens of course continued to receive all kinds of honours from their cities, but the cult of Artemidorus of Cnidus is the last known case of explicitly divine honours publicly awarded to a private citizen.<sup>118</sup> From the reign of Augustus onwards the practice was to award at most heroic honours. Such heroized citizens might receive a priest,<sup>119</sup> their own buildings for heroic cult<sup>120</sup> and heroic sacrifices.<sup>121</sup> For example, one Caius Julius Xenon of Thyatira, who had conferred great benefits on the whole of Asia and on his own city, was honoured as hero in the first half of Augustus' reign with a monument named after him, which was perhaps a tomb cut into the rock, and was commemorated by an association also named after him.<sup>122</sup> The only use of divine symbolism for locals that did continue in the cities was very different from that of the first century B.C. In private family circles there was an increasing tendency in the second and third centuries A.D. for the dead to be deified,<sup>123</sup> but divine language is being used in this context for a quite different range of evocations about life and death and immortality.<sup>124</sup> The city itself could still erect *agalmata*, or 'cult statues',<sup>125</sup> and even shrines of local dignitaries, whose funerary monuments could be described as temples or temple-like.<sup>126</sup> But there were no more public celebrations of divine cults of such people.

The reasons for the cessation of these divine cults are complex. Their continued formation would certainly have been politically undesirable. This is made clear by the fact that one of the charges brought under Tiberius against a descendant of Theophanes of Mytilene was that the Greeks had offered divine honours to Theophanes.<sup>127</sup> Similarly the fictitious trial before Domitian of the 'holy man' Apollonius of Tyana hinged on the accusation that the Greeks had worshipped Apollonius as a god.<sup>128</sup> These cults would also

<sup>118</sup> Unless the sacrifices to the late Barcaeus of Cyrene are slightly later (*SEG* ix 4 with Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1939) 156–63; 16–15 B.C.).

<sup>119</sup> Hybreas and Euthydemus of Mylasa, early Augustan (*SEG* ii 547–8, Robert, *AJA* 37 (1933) 335 and *L'Antiquité classique* (1966) 420).

<sup>120</sup> Potamon of Mytilene (*IG* xii 2, 51, l. 5 with Supp. p. 13 and *IG* xii 2, 29, l. 10) and Menogenes of Sardis (*Sardis* vii 1, 17, l. 5 with Robert, *Hell.* ix (1950) 9).

<sup>121</sup> Vergilius Capito, Miletus (Robert, *Hell.* vii (1949) 209; *I. Didyma* 149).

<sup>122</sup> *IGR* iv 1276. Other cases include Athenodorus of Tarsus (Lucian, *Macrobioi* 21), a Thasian (*Thasos* ii 93, no. 192), Eurycles and Lacon at Gytheum (*SEG* xi 923, 19ff.), and perhaps Balbillus at Ephesus (Magie (1950) 1398 n. 5).

<sup>123</sup> *JRS* 69 (1979) 204.

<sup>124</sup> As in the *apotheosis* of Junia Theodora (*SEG* xviii 143, 44 and 65).

<sup>125</sup> Dio, *Or.* xlv 3; *SEG* xxviii 953, 57–67.

<sup>126</sup> Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* p. 134 (Loeb); cf. ch. 6 pp. 165–7.

<sup>127</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* vi 18, 2.

<sup>128</sup> Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* vii 20, 21; viii 5, 7.7 and 15. See further ch. 3 p. 66.

have been inappropriate in other ways. The conditions which had brought them into being had passed away and civic life returned to a more placid level. Local citizens no longer posed a threat to the city. A fascinating case which illustrates the transition shows that divine honours were offered to one Labeo of Cyme towards the end of Augustus' reign; he, however, declined a temple and the title of 'founder' as excessive and suited only to the gods and those like the gods (*tois issotheoisi*), namely the emperor.<sup>129</sup>

New cults of Roman officials similarly petered out under Augustus. Some cults had a long life during the Hellenistic period<sup>130</sup> and some even continued into the second century of the empire,<sup>131</sup> but the last new cult of a Roman governor was established in the first decade A.D.<sup>132</sup> No doubt imperial pressure was felt. Triumphs and the appellation of 'imperator' ceased in general for senators under Augustus, who also, in A.D. 11, banned honours for governors in their provinces during their term of office and for sixty days thereafter.<sup>133</sup> Such pressures presumably coincided with a recognition by the Greeks of the changed circumstances of the empire. Roman officials were no longer the autonomous figures they had been in the Republic. The emperor alone was supreme.

The divine cults of the Hellenistic age which we have considered in this chapter were formulated by the Greeks as the giving of thanks to benefactors and, consequently, some modern scholars have gone so far as to deny that there were any Hellenistic cults of rulers as such. Of the civic cults 'it may be said that there is in a sense no ruler-cult but only the cult of benefactors... Hellenistic kings were worshipped because they were donors, saviours from danger, founders, and not

<sup>129</sup> *IGR* IV 1302 = *I. Kyme* 19. Charlesworth (1939) 5-6 takes the *issotheoi* to be heroes but the reference is clearly to the emperor; there is also no reason to believe that Labeo is simply copying an Augustan model.

<sup>130</sup> Marcellus' cult down to Verres; Titeia at Argos c. 100 B.C., *BCH* 88 (1964) 569ff. with 607-9; M'. Aquillius' cult at Pergamum in 60s B.C.

<sup>131</sup> Flamininus under Tiberius at Gytheum and in Plutarch's day at Chalcis; Isauricus in second century A.D. The Smintheia Pauleia at Alexandria Troas of the second or even third century A.D. are irrelevant if they are named after a local benefactor (Robert, *Anatolian Studies* W. H. Buckler (1939) 245-8 = *Op. Min. Sel.* I 629-32).

<sup>132</sup> Censorinus, c. A.D. 2; Vibius Postumus, A.D. 6-9, perhaps posthumous. The miraculous statue of Neryllinus at Alexandria Troas (Athenagoras, *Legatio* 26) is normally referred to the governor of 69/70 (Nilsson (1961) 525). But Athenagoras seems to be referring to a lately deceased contemporary. This is hardly likely to be a second-century governor and is probably a member of a local family of that name attested there in the second century (*CIL* III 7071). Note also encomia for Messalinus (consul 3 B.C.) at Thespiae (*AE* (1974) 602).

<sup>133</sup> Syme (1939) 308-9, 404; Dio LVI 25, 6.

primarily because they were kings.<sup>134</sup> But simply to paraphrase the terms employed is to be seduced by the ideology of the cult. While it is important to take into account the terminology of the actors it is also essential to proceed further. The key to an historical explanation of the cults which goes further than the statements of the actors without imposing modernizing observer categories is that the cults be seen as reactions to power.<sup>135</sup> It was by solving the crucial problem of classification that the Greeks were able to represent to themselves otherwise unmanageable power, whether of the king or of local citizens. The cults clearly arose from specific historical circumstances, but that does not imply that they were primarily an historical and only secondarily a religious phenomenon.<sup>136</sup> This solution to the problem of power over the city is no less religious a phenomenon than the cults of the traditional gods. These too were conceived in terms of honours and can also be analysed as the representations of power.<sup>137</sup> The significance of the classification of the ruler in divine terms is that it disguised the novelty of the monarchies and formed a significant element in the relationship of power between subject and ruler. We need now to see how the dynamics of ruler cults and the relationship between subject and ruler altered in the Roman period.

<sup>134</sup> C. P. Jones, *Phoenix* 31 (1977) 80, following Habicht (1970).

<sup>135</sup> This has been seen but not developed at length by J. Kaerst, *Studien zur Entwicklung und theoretischen Begründung der Monarchie im Altertum* (1898) 51-2; Nock (1930) 61-2 = (1972) 250-1; Habicht (1970) 235-6. See further ch. 9.

<sup>136</sup> As Habicht (1970) 236 argues.

<sup>137</sup> Nock (1925); cf. ch. 8 p. 233.

# 3

## GREEKS AND ROME

The relationship between subject and ruler is crucial to an understanding of the imperial cult, but the cult has often been treated simply as the product of conscious intentions and deliberately formulated policies. The standard picture of the formation of the imperial cult in the Greek world presents the Greeks as the sole initiators. Cities decided to establish cults with an eye to clear political advantage, which was sought in diplomatic contacts with the emperor. 'Initiative from Rome was not required, only modification and adjustment.'<sup>1</sup> The emperor for his part had a policy on the imperial cult and made responses to the approaches from the cities, typically turning down the offers of cult, in accordance with his view of his own position. There has been a little criticism of this account, which has pointed to the importance of Roman interest and involvement in the establishment of the cults, but it is symptomatic of the strength of the conventional assumptions that this criticism has been confined to the level of the biography of the individuals concerned and has not questioned the validity of the traditional model.<sup>2</sup> While it is true that the strategies of individuals must have a place in an account of the imperial cult, an exclusive focus on them blinds one to the significance of the cult as a system with power and meaning not encompassed by the intentions of the actors.

I propose to investigate the cult as a system with its own history, its own dynamics and sets of controls in the complex process of exchange between the Greeks and Rome. The first section of this chapter presents a sketch of the history of the cults from Augustus to their transformation in the third and fourth centuries. Secondly, I show in a preliminary fashion the roots of the cults in local pressures and values, a subject which will be elaborated further in chapter 5. The third section employs the model of gift-exchange to give a new analysis of the relations between the Greeks and Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Bowersock (1965) 121.

<sup>2</sup> E. Gabba, *RFIC* 95 (1967) 217 refers to one individual.

I HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The disorder and strife of the last century before Christ, whose impact on the cities we have already investigated, was resolved with the establishment of the new order under Augustus. The poverty, misery and uncertainty caused by the Roman economic exploitation of Asia, the revolt of Mithridates, the incursions of pirates and the campaigns of the Roman civil wars were transformed into almost three centuries of stability and prosperity. Oppression and injustice no doubt continued but the Roman system of administration became less corrupt and arbitrary. Pirates were largely eliminated, though brigandage remained endemic in certain areas. Roman armies, with their attendant evils, certainly passed through the provinces of Asia Minor to fight in the East but there was, for example, no Roman legion stationed in the province of Asia and the area as a whole was free from enemy invasions until the attacks of the Goths in the 250s. Most of the splendid remains of ancient cities that are scattered across the landscape of Asia Minor date from the first two centuries after Christ.

Ruler cult also shows a decisive change with Augustus.<sup>3</sup> The assembly of the province of Asia decided in about 29 B.C. to offer a crown 'for the person who devised the greatest honours for the god' (*sc.* Augustus).<sup>4</sup> When the crown was finally awarded in 9 B.C. the assembly explained the reasons for its desire to honour Augustus.

Whereas the providence which divinely ordered our lives created with zeal and munificence the most perfect good for our lives by producing Augustus and filling him with virtue for the benefaction of mankind, sending us and those after us a saviour who put an end to war and established all things; and whereas Caesar [*sc.* Augustus] when he appeared exceeded the hopes of all who had anticipated good tidings, not only by surpassing the benefactors born before him, but not even leaving those to come any hope of surpassing him; and whereas the birthday of the god marked for the world the beginning of good tidings through his coming...<sup>5</sup>

The actual proposal, to start the new year on Augustus' birthday, was made by the Roman governor, who expressed similar sentiments about the crucial importance of the birth of Augustus.

<sup>3</sup> Weinstock (1971) 401-7 places the significant change earlier with the honours offered Julius Caesar in his lifetime and those promoted by his followers after his death. But there is little evidence from the Greek world datable before the triumph of Augustus and many cults may have been founded only after it became clear that Augustus was eager to promote the cult of his father.

<sup>4</sup> Laffi (1967); slightly inferior text in Sherck 65.

<sup>5</sup> Translation adapted from *Roman Civilization* II (ed. N. Lewis, M. Reinhold, 1955) 64.

(It is hard to tell) whether the birthday of the most divine Caesar is a matter of greater pleasure or benefit. We could justly hold it to be equivalent to the beginning of all things, and he has restored at least to serviceability, if not to its natural state, every form that had become imperfect and fallen into misfortune; and he has given a different aspect to the whole world, which blithely would have embraced its own destruction if Caesar had not been born for the common benefit of all. Therefore people would be right to consider this to have been the beginning of the breath of life for them, which has set a limit to regrets for having been born. And since no one could receive more auspicious beginnings for the common and individual good from any other day than this day which has been fortunate for all...; and since it is difficult to render thanks in due measure for his great benefactions unless in each case we should devise some new method of repayment, but people would celebrate with greater pleasure his birthday as a day common to all if some special pleasure has come to them through his rule; therefore it seems proper to me that the birthday of the most divine Caesar shall serve as the same New Year's Day for all citizens....<sup>6</sup>

The expression of gratitude and enthusiasm found in this document is characteristic of the Augustan period.<sup>7</sup> In its emphasis on the importance of repaying the debts of benefactions the imperial cult was at one with Hellenistic ruler cults, but the language of the Augustan decree has no parallel in the earlier ruler cults of this area. The exaltation of Augustus is carried even further in a lengthy, but poorly preserved, Coan decree which starts 'Since Emperor Caesar, son of god, god Sebastos has by his benefactions to all men outdone even the Olympian gods...'.<sup>8</sup> Similarly a decree from Mytilene speaks of gratitude for his benefactions and continues:

that he should ponder upon his own self-esteem because it is never possible to match those honours which are insignificant both in accident and in essence to those who have attained heavenly glory and possess the eminence and power of gods. But if anything more glorious than these provisions is found hereafter the enthusiasm and piety of the city will not fail in anything that can further deify him.<sup>9</sup>

In contrast to the decrees of Hellenistic royal cults which simply, as with Antiochus III and Teos, describe the political benefactions of the king, the Augustan decrees make explicit and elaborate comparisons between actions of the emperor and those of the gods. The

<sup>6</sup> Translation adapted from *Ancient Roman Statutes* (ed. A. C. Johnson, P. R. Coleman-Norton, F. C. Bourne, 1961) 119.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also *IBM* 894 with Buckler (1935) 182-6.

<sup>8</sup> *I. Olympia* 53. For Coan provenance see Robert, *Hell.* II (1946) 146 n. 2 and *BCH* 102 (1978) 401.

<sup>9</sup> *OGIS* 456 = *IGR* IV 39.



gods had long been described as benefactors<sup>10</sup> and Augustus could, in a rhetorical manner, even be praised to their disadvantage.<sup>11</sup>

These explicit comparisons between gods and emperor are the product of a change in the dynamics of the cult. Whereas the Hellenistic royal cults were the product of specific royal interventions in the city, Augustan cults were no longer tied to such interventions. The assembly of the province of Asia was simply reacting to the very existence of Augustus and his general activities rather than requiring him for any specific benefactions. Consequently the decision that Augustus' birthday should be the start of the new year was operative not for one city but for the whole of the province of Asia. Along with this change in dynamics went the description of Augustus as a benefactor of the whole world.<sup>12</sup> The feeling that imperial rule provided a canopy for all people is also reflected in the organization of the cults. In contrast again to the Hellenistic period, when, with rare exceptions, royal cults were city cults, the Roman period saw not only a great flowering of city cults but also prestigious cults organized by the provincial assemblies. These assemblies, which were themselves to some extent the product of Roman rule, had the important task of representing local interests to Rome; they also held regular imperial festivals presided over by the high priest of the assembly.<sup>13</sup> For example, the province of Asia in 29 B.C. established, by leave of Augustus, a cult of Roma and Augustus with a temple at Pergamum, where a regular festival was celebrated.

This greater consolidation of cults in the imperial period is part of a more extensive change in the relationship between the honours and the ruler. The replacement of piecemeal and isolated cults by a new density and organization of cults helped to strengthen the idea that the cults themselves had real constitutive power. In the third century B.C., even though 'divine honours' were granted to rulers, no explicit statement was made about their status.<sup>14</sup> But in the course of the second century B.C. the latent ideas were elaborated and there developed the idea that the giving of honours deified a person. The culmination of this trend can be seen in the decree from Mytilene which not only awarded Augustus some of the mostly explicitly divine honours found anywhere, but also stated that these would deify him,

<sup>10</sup> Robert, *Sinuri* 22-4, *Hell.* v (1948) 21.

<sup>11</sup> So, too, exceptionally, the comparison was made between Demetrius Poliorcetes and the gods (ch. 2 p. 38).

<sup>12</sup> See Habicht (1973) 85-8 for Hellenistic parallels to this idea.

<sup>13</sup> Deininger (1965). The indigenous Lycian assembly was unique in the Hellenistic period in having a cult of Roma, Mellor (1975) 36-9.

<sup>14</sup> Habicht (1970) 171-9.

while leaving open the possibility of extra divine honours at a later date. In consequence the system of honours had considerable importance in conceptualizing the political actions of the emperor (ch. 9).

After the reign of Augustus there was a change in atmosphere. Later documents of the imperial cult are less ornate. For example, when the Ephesians, a hundred and fifty years later, decided to mark the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius, their decree says simply:

Since in accordance with the joint prayers of the whole world the most divine and most pious emperor Titus Aelius Antoninus by taking over the kingdom given him by his divine father preserves the whole human race and since he has particularly promoted the standing of our city, being responsible for many great benefits for us when he was governor of Asia...

it was decided to celebrate his birthday.<sup>15</sup> The language is much less elaborate than that of the Augustan period. Indeed it is rare to find such decrees at all at this period. Most of the extant civic decrees on the imperial cult date from the reign of Augustus, or from those of his immediate successors. This change has been noticed, but the implication drawn was that 'by the time of Claudius (the imperial cult) was an outward sign of loyalty which involved little sentiment'.<sup>16</sup> Rather than lay such emphasis on emotion I would argue that the change is a predictable routinization which does not imply that the later cults were devoid of meaning. As the procedures of the cults were regularized it ceased to be necessary to give elaborate explanations and instructions, or at least to inscribe them. Similarly in the Hellenistic period in the settled conditions of the Attalid kingdom, when Miletus decided in the second century B.C. to celebrate king Eumenes' birthday, there was to be a distribution, sacrifices and feast, the details being 'in accordance with the law of the chief magistrates and the regulations of the priesthood'.<sup>17</sup>

A change which accompanied this routinization was a decrease in the number of individual recipients of cults. There is a striking difference between the early and later periods in the range of members of the imperial family who were so honoured. Some eleven figures, including such relatively minor characters as Agrippa Postumus (an adopted son of Augustus) and Antonia the daughter of Claudius, received priesthoods up to the mid first century A.D., while there are only four cults for members of the imperial family in the remainder of the period from the mid first century onwards.

<sup>15</sup> *OGIS* 493 = *Forsch. in Eph.* II 19 = *I. Ephesos* 1a 21.

<sup>16</sup> A. D. Nock, *Conversion* (1933) 229.

<sup>17</sup> *Laum* 129b = *I. Didyma* 488 with P. Herrmann, *Ist. Mitt.* 15 (1965) 90-117.

This is partly because of a diminution in the number of possible honorands, but this cannot be sufficient explanation since in the second century A.D. even such important figures as Plotina and Sabina, the wives of Trajan and Hadrian, are not known to have had any priesthoods. There was in fact also a movement away from cults of the individual reigning emperor. Augustus, alone or with Roma, was the recipient of numerous civic cults, following the establishment of the provincial cults of Asia and Bithynia in 29 B.C., which are the earliest dated cults in Asia Minor.<sup>18</sup> Priests of Augustus are found in some thirty-four different cities in Asia Minor, but, in contrast, only one other emperor, Augustus' immediate successor, Tiberius, came near to this figure, with priests in eleven cities, which is probably connected with Tiberius' generous alleviation of the effects of an earthquake. Most later emperors received only three or four and even these sporadic cults of individual emperors gradually ended. Caracalla in the early third century was the last emperor known to have had either a priesthood or a temple devoted specifically to him. It became common to have generic rather than individual cults. There were priests of 'the *autokrator*', the (unspecified) emperor, in six cities and of the Sebastoi, the emperors past and present, in no less than eighty cities (and this figure excludes the frequently attested High Priest of the Sebastoi in the province of Lycia). These collective cults are almost three times as common as cults of Augustus and eight times as common as those of his successor. While it has been suggested that the imperial cult dissolves on inspection into a mosaic of cults of individual emperors,<sup>19</sup> there was actually a trend away from the individual. Individual rule was still important but it gained legitimation as a part of the collective institution.

The imperial cult succeeded brilliantly in solving the problem of Augustus' charismatic authority. The extraordinary significance accorded to the birth of Augustus was something uniquely personal and potentially evanescent. In its pure form charismatic authority is naturally unstable. It may not last the lifetime of its possessor and it certainly cannot be transmitted to his successor. The importance of rituals is that they can objectify and institutionalize this unstable form of charisma. Thus the sudden outburst of cults of Augustus helped to ensure the perpetuation of his personal authority. The formation of these cults also had consequences for his partisans. 'Since genuine charisma is based neither on enacted or traditional order nor on acquired rights, but on legitimation through heroism and

<sup>18</sup> Habicht (1973) 55-64. Also altar on Thera before 27 B.C. (*IG* XII 3, 469).

<sup>19</sup> Bickerman (1973) 3.

revelation, it is radically opposed to this motive [the need of privileged strata to legitimize their social and economic conditions]. But after its routinization...it is advantageous to all those whose power and property are guaranteed by this authority, that is, dependent upon its perpetuation.' The routinization of charisma through the development of cults also aided the transmission of this charisma to the less exalted successors. This is particularly clear with the gradual replacement of individual cults by the collective cult of the Sebastoi. 'After the routinization of charisma its very quality as an extraordinary, supernatural and divine force makes it a suitable source of legitimate authority for the successors of the charismatic hero.'<sup>20</sup>

The imperial cult continued strongly through the first two centuries of the empire. This continuing vitality can be illustrated by the chronological distribution of imperial temples and sanctuaries.

50 B.C.-0	0-A.D.50	50-100	100-150	150-200	200-250	undated
13	10	7	15	9	2	21

Temples and sanctuaries did not cease to be built after the reign of Augustus. Indeed, as the table shows, the period from 100 to 150 has the highest rate of temple building, which is explicable by the high level of public building in those years. There was, however, a sharp fall-off in temple building in the early third century, though the figures are difficult to interpret. The temples known to have been built in the third century both date from its early years; after this there are no new epigraphically attested imperial temples. But seven of the undated temples are first attested later in the third century and some may have been built then.

The imperial cult certainly continued into the mid third century. Imperial festivals, for example, only faltered, like Greek religion in general,<sup>21</sup> towards its end. Festivals in honour of Valerian (253-60) and Gallienus (253-68) are known, and a final solitary festival of Tacitus (275-6).<sup>22</sup> They then disappear from the record. Similarly the last third-century attestations of the high priest of the province of Asia are found under Valerian and Gallienus. It is notoriously difficult to make statements about this period of Roman history with any degree of confidence. All types of evidence practically disappear. The festivals which I have just mentioned are ones which happen to

<sup>20</sup> M. Weber, *Economy and Society* III (1968) 1146-7. Cf. also, 'The three types of legitimate rule', *Berkeley Publications in Society and Institutions* 4 (1958) 1-11.

<sup>21</sup> Geffcken (1920) chs. 1-2.

<sup>22</sup> Karl (1975) 27-8, 106, 130.

be mentioned on local civic coinages, but such coinages cease, for ever, precisely in the reign of Tacitus. As for Greek inscriptions, there is a black hole of several decades between, say, 260 and 290.

The world that emerges from the disastrous dislocation caused in these years by civil wars, barbarian invasion, plague and famine with the restoration of central authority by Diocletian in the 280s seems very different from that which had gone before. The changes may, however, be over-emphasized by the types of evidence that are available; such inscriptions as were erected in the fourth century are not as talkative of local affairs as those of the high empire. At the provincial level there do seem to be familiar features in the fourth century.<sup>23</sup> The province of Lycia-Pamphylia appealed to the emperors against the Christians (ch. 5 n. 137), provincial games and provincial high priests are attested in the provinces of Asia and Bithynia respectively in the 370s, but the conversion of Constantine to Christianity had led him to ban pagan elements in the imperial cult (ch. 8 p. 227), and these provincial bodies lost their close connection with the emperor.<sup>24</sup> They had also lost their roots in the competitive forces of cities and local élites. Rituals still occurred in the provinces on the occasion of the arrival of the imperial image or of the emperor himself, but the cities of Asia Minor no longer sustained the regular apparatus of even a secularized imperial cult. It is quite exceptional to find any civic imperial cult from the late third century onwards.<sup>25</sup> A diminution in the role of cities, which were now fully subordinated to the ever-increasing imperial bureaucracy, meant that the imperial cult in the provinces never really recovered from the crisis of the third century. The vigour of the Greek city, which had been responsible for the rise of ruler cult, had finally been sapped.

Permanency was the goal of individual cults within the first three centuries of the empire. The arrangements for the imperial cult at Gytheum, a town in the Peloponnese, were made in a document

<sup>23</sup> E. Beurlier, *Essai sur le culte rendu aux empereurs romains* (1890) 283–300 esp. 290–7, Kornemann (1901) 136–42 and Jones (1964) 763–5. See also Bréhier, Batiffol (1920) and MacCormack (1972).

<sup>24</sup> *Milet* 19, 339 (possibly tetrarchic Asiarch). *AJ* 158 = *I. Ephesos* 1a 43, *Conc. Chalc. Actio* xiv 27 (*Acta Conc. Oecum.*, ed. E. Schwartz, II 1, 420) (370s). Also *CTh* xv 9, 2 (409). 'Those living in Asia' acclaimed a Theodosian governor (*JÖAI* 44 (1959) Beib. 283–4 with *BE* (1961) 537) and in the fifth century Sardis still clung to her old provincial title of 'Twice temple warden' (*Sardis* VII 1, 18).

<sup>25</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 900 = *I. Stratonikeia* 1 310 with Laumonier (1958) 288 (305–313). Cf. North Africa: A. Chastagnol, N. Duval, 'Les survivances du culte impérial dans l'Afrique du Nord à l'époque vandale', in *Mél. W. Seston* (1974) 87; F. M. Clover, 'Emperor worship in Vandal Africa', in *Fest. J. Straub* (1982) 661–74.

calling itself a 'sacred law',<sup>26</sup> a category of civic regulation which of itself implies permanency. Penalties were laid down for failure to inscribe and erect the document, while if someone actually attempted to act against the regulations he could be killed with impunity. These provisions may be unusually severe<sup>27</sup> but it was in fact common to take some steps to ensure that the cults did endure. The complex calendar reform naturally aimed at permanency, and the governor who proposed it specified that the document be inscribed 'so that what we have devised to honour Augustus shall last for ever', but the same was true of other cults which we might have classified as more transient. For example, the decree for the celebration of the birthday of Antoninus Pius at Ephesus was to be inscribed and was to be valid for all time 'so that the nature of the city may be clear to present and future generations and that, so far as it is humanly possible to repay the benefactions of the gods, we shall continue repaying them zealously'.<sup>28</sup> Such claims for the eternal duration of the cults are related to the fact that dedications and sacrifices were regularly made 'on behalf of the eternal existence' of the emperor.<sup>29</sup> The cults of an eternally ruling emperor naturally were to last for ever.

In fact, neither the emperor nor his individual cults endured in perpetuity. The imperial cult was far from being a static, monolithic structure, erected once and for all. Cults were constantly being invented and revised. When the focus was on the rule of the living emperor, changes were necessary. Thus cults of individual emperors did not long endure the death of that emperor.<sup>30</sup> It is true that Augustus' and Livia's birthdays were still celebrated by the imperial choir at Pergamum in the early second century.<sup>31</sup> The continuing celebration of Augustus' annual birthday was aided by the fact that the Asian calendar had itself been changed to begin on this date. The choir also celebrated his birthday in a lesser fashion each month, and it is significant for the general pattern that the annual birthdays of

<sup>26</sup> *SEG* xi 922-3. Compare the use of the 'sacred book' at Teos for the cult of Antiochus III (above, p. 31), and the inscription of Attalid cults in the 'sacred laws', *OGIS* 331, 3 & 60, 332, 52.

<sup>27</sup> Compare also *IGR* iv 40 (Mytilene), *Forsch. in Eph.* II 20 = *I. Ephesos* Ia 26, 23 and *I. Ephesos* iv 1404.

<sup>28</sup> See n. 15. Also *Ath. Mitt.* 75 (1960) 70, no. 1 = P. Herrmann, *Der römische Kaisereid* (1968) 125, no. 6 (Samos) A line 9.

<sup>29</sup> H. U. Instinsky, 'Kaiser und Ewigkeit', *Hermes* 77 (1942) 313. Robert, *Hell.* x (1955) 103 n. 3, notes that the phrase is very rare in other contexts.

<sup>30</sup> A striking exception is a third-century priest of Tiberius in the Lycian assembly, *IGR* III 474.

<sup>31</sup> *I. Pergamon* 374 = *IGR* iv 353.

other emperors were only celebrated in the same manner as Augustus' monthly birthday. To some extent the imperial cult, which was a creation of the reign of Augustus, preserved his privileged position, but in general there is notable a silent supersession of old cults. Even with the priesthoods of Augustus, which one might have expected to endure, only two are known from later reigns. The position is similar with the priests of Claudius; although dating is not always certain, none need be placed much (if any) later than his reign. The process by which these cults disappeared is lost to us. It would surely have been imprudent to pass an official decree abolishing a cult; if such were passed, it would not be inscribed for public contemplation. The whole complex process of negotiation between the ideology of the cult, the demands of political tact and the pull of practicality was carried out successfully in silence.

## II LOCAL ROOTS

The reasons for the long-term vitality of this fluid and elaborate system of cults lie in its capacity to exploit the competitive values of the urban élite. Within the framework of collective decision-making by the council and people,<sup>32</sup> there was naturally room for initiatives by prominent individuals. Under a regular procedure, a wealthy individual could give the city a sum of money for the purpose of the cult which formed a special fund administered by the city. For example, at Chios an imperial festival, the Caesarea, was celebrated every four years on the income from one such gift.<sup>33</sup> The income was administered by eight officials, elected immediately after the organizer of the imperial games, according to strictly defined rules. The donor himself seems to have been assured of continuing prestige by the inclusion of his descendants in the procession at the festival. Cities also invited individuals to contribute to the cost of building imperial temples.<sup>34</sup> Individual initiatives and resources were thereby incorporated into the service of the city.

Imperial priests played an important role in fostering a dynamic element in the cult. They came from the local élite and were generally

<sup>32</sup> For additional documents see J. H. Oliver, 'Julia Domna as Athena Polias', in *Athenian Studies Ferguson* (HSCP Supp. 1, 1940) 521 (with *Hesperia* (1941) 84, no. 36 and (1971) 200, no. 53); *TAM* II 549 = *SEG* xxviii 1227 (Tloan decree referring to Lycian decision); Charitonides no. 14 with *BE* (1970) 422 (Mytilene).

<sup>33</sup> *IGR* IV 947 + 948 with Robert, *BCH* 57 (1933) 518-33 = *Op. Min. Sel.* I 486-501 (Chios). See also *SEG* XIII 442 (Cos), *I. Didyma* 331 and Laum I pp. 65-7.

<sup>34</sup> Cat. nos. 53, 67, 74, 126; *Milet* I 2, 4. Cf. *ESAR* IV 804-5.

among the most prominent figures in the city,<sup>35</sup> a status recognized by their privileged position in the assembly,<sup>36</sup> and as eponymous officials.<sup>37</sup> Like priests of traditional cults they were not specialists and the duration of their period of office varied. While some periods were quite short, there are numerous cases of priesthoods being held for life,<sup>38</sup> or even, occasionally, inherited within one family.<sup>39</sup> An Ephesian family actually succeeded in maintaining an inherited priesthood over five generations.<sup>40</sup> Lengthy tenure of office obviously helped to maintain the existence of individual cults and was thus an element favouring stability in the system, but it is not to be taken as evidence for ossification. Life-long or hereditary priesthoods could actually arise from extreme competition when one person or family succeeded in performing an extraordinary act of generosity, temporarily outstripping other members of the élite. Thus a citizen of Megalopolis in the Peloponnese, during the reign of Augustus, promised to rebuild a temple of 'The Mistress' which was in disrepair, and actually built a temple of the emperors and repaired another temple, in addition to other services in the city. In response the city put up images of him in various temples, erected honorific inscriptions at the temples and made him hereditary high priest of the emperors for life.<sup>41</sup> But even in such circumstances this was not the end of the matter; other members of the élite could always respond with further acts of liberality.

Individual priests also had an important role in the elaboration of existing cults. At Cyzicus one distinguished lady 'displaying piety in all matters to the eternal house of Tiberius Sebastos Caesar the greatest of the gods and to his immortal rule, dedicated to Polias Athena a cult statue of his mother Sebaste Victorious (*sc.* Livia) and, receiving her priesthood from the city, she herself at the recent festival of the Panathenaea for the emperors satisfied everything relating to piety towards the gods in a distinguished manner according to her custom, offering many sacrifices'; she also displayed munificence

<sup>35</sup> Geiger (1913) on civic priests; A. Stein, 'Zur sozialen Stellung der provinziellen Oberpriester', in *Epitymbion H. Swoboda dargebracht* (1927) 300, and J. M. I. West, 'Asiarchs' (unpublished B. Litt. Oxford, 1975), on provincial priests as the cream of society. Also M. Rossner, 'Asiarchen und Archiereis Asias', *Studii clasice* 16 (1974) 101-42.

<sup>36</sup> *IGR* III 582 = *TAM* II 175 (Sidyma); *SEG* xxvii 938 (Tlos). Cf. Cos (n. 8).

<sup>37</sup> *IGR* IV 1302 = *I. Kyme* 19; *BGU* III 913 (Myra); *I. Priene* 222; *P. Turner* 22 (Side). Cf. Epictetus I 19, 26-9 and ch. 4 p. 84 on villages, and Mellor (1975) 182-7 on priests of Roma.

<sup>38</sup> E.g. Geiger (1913) 45-6.

<sup>39</sup> Geiger (1913) 58-9.

<sup>40</sup> *I. Ephesos* III 710.

<sup>41</sup> *IG* v 2, 515. Similarly the founder of the Caesarea at Epidaurus became their first agonothete, *IG* IV 1<sup>2</sup> 652.



towards those present.<sup>42</sup> In return she naturally received the thanks of the city. To hold the office of high priest, and to do so lavishly,<sup>43</sup> was expected of members of the élite. The extent of the pressures may be judged by those exceptional cases in which people tried to evade their responsibilities of office. The diaries of Aelius Aristides reveal his lengthy attempts to avoid the office of high priest of the provincial cult, and to maintain his health, with the help of Asclepius.<sup>44</sup> His city of Smyrna proposed him as candidate, but Aristides declined the honour. However, two months later the delegates of Smyrna succeeded in getting him elected, despite his attempts to prevent it. Aristides had to appeal to the governor, which resulted in his exemption from the election on grounds of ill health. The fact that Aristides had to fight off two more attempts to force him to hold other public offices demonstrates the strength of the public expectation of service.

While these rivalries within the élite and pressures of the cities on their élites operated within the confines of individual cities, there were also major pressures between cities. The cities were very jealous of their status and titles, and the imperial cult was absorbed into their competitiveness, whose scope it greatly increased.<sup>45</sup> With civic cults the pressures could operate only at the level of very conscious advertisement of their cults, either by the erection of inscriptions in appropriate places or by the invitation of participants to their festivals (ch. 5 pp. 127–8). With the provincial cults the rivalry between cities was almost unbounded. The decision as to which city should be the site for an imperial temple, and hence for a regular imperial festival, naturally involved the elaborate ranking of the claims of individual cities. The difficulty of the process is illustrated by the case under Tiberius, when the assembly of Asia decided to erect a temple to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate following two judicial decisions in its favour.<sup>46</sup> Permission was granted in Rome but three years later the cities were still squabbling as to where the temple should be located; the Senate eventually had to adjudicate between the claims of eleven cities. From the end of the first century *neokoros*, or ‘temple warden’, became the regular title to indicate that a city

<sup>42</sup> *IGR* IV 144 = *SEG* IV 707. Cf. *IGR* IV 584 (Aezani, restored). For the dedication of statues see *SEG* XXVIII 1217 (Balbura) and Cat. no. 108 (Ancyra).

<sup>43</sup> Ch. 5 pp. 113, 122–3 elaborates these points.

<sup>44</sup> C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (1968) 61–86. See also Reynolds (1982) no. 14 for civic pressure.

<sup>45</sup> Robert (1977). See ch. 5 for the other side of the coin.

<sup>46</sup> Cat. no. 45.

had been successful in this selection process and it was vaunted widely.<sup>47</sup>

### III A SYSTEM OF EXCHANGE

The establishment of imperial cults formed a system linking not only Greek to Greek but also the Greeks to Rome, as the case of the temple to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate shows. The investigation of the dynamics and external pressures of this system linking subject and ruler invites two lines of approach. The first examines the intentions of the actors. The Greek diplomatic advances to Rome with offers of cult are seen as elaborate ploys intended to gain Roman favour; the fact that the emperor might decline the honours did not discourage the Greeks and shows that there were no Roman pressures on the cults. The opposite extreme would be to present a mechanistic account of the system linking Greeks and Rome in which there is no place for individual strategies and all the actions and decisions are smoothly programmed. The model which I wish to propose is inspired by the account of gift-exchange given by Bourdieu (1977).<sup>48</sup>

With gift-exchange, too, there are two obvious, and inadequate, approaches: the objective and the subjective. To take the giving of Christmas presents as an example, the first, objective, approach might draw diagrams showing the exchange of presents; it would discover a large and complex system linking countless individuals which is quite predictable. Alternatively, feeling that this is too abstract a model, one might produce a subjective account which laid heaviest emphasis on the intentions and feelings of the actors in choosing and giving their presents. The limitation of the second approach is that it ignores the pressures and constraints inherent in the system which shape the intentions and feelings of the individuals. A middle path between the two approaches is clearly essential. An analysis of the objective significance of the exchanges with their

<sup>47</sup> The term *neokoros*, 'temple warden', originally referred to a temple official or to a city, such as Ephesus, in connection with a prestigious cult. It was also soon applied informally to a city in connection with the imperial cult (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 799, 9-10, Cyzicus). At Ephesus the provincial temple of Domitian acquired a *neokoros* as an official and the city began to call itself 'twice *neokoros*'. But it was only in the reign of Hadrian that the term was taken up more widely and became a regular civic title indicating the possession of an imperial temple at which a provincial festival was celebrated (J. Keil, 'Die erste Kaiserneokorie von Ephesos', *Num. Zeit.* 52 (1919) 115-20; Robert (1967) 46-57, *Laodicée* 281-9).

<sup>48</sup> I am indebted to Mary Beard for suggesting this analogy.

inherent pressures and constraints must allow for individual strategies and subjective uncertainties as to the outcomes of particular exchanges.

If we start by considering the system objectively, there was diplomatic interaction between Greeks and Rome over the establishment of cults. Individual cities often chose to inform the emperor of their proposals for a cult. Thus the city of Sardis, in commemoration of the coming of age of Gaius Caesar, Augustus' son, decreed a festival and the consecration of a cult statue of Gaius Caesar in Augustus' temple.<sup>49</sup> The decree was conveyed to Augustus by an embassy. Similarly a Mytilenean decision to establish cult, early in the reign of Augustus, was presented to the emperor by an embassy, which asked him to allow copies of the document to be put in his house and on the Capitol in Rome.<sup>50</sup> Augustus replied favourably to the Sardians (and one assumes from the fact that the Mytileneans inscribed their decree that they also were not rebuffed). The significance of the imperial acceptance of these explicitly divine honours will become clear shortly. Offers of cult were often made in association with requests concerning privileges or other matters<sup>51</sup> and, to put the matter at its weakest, the cities clearly did not feel that such offers would be held against them. Indeed for a city to fail to fulfil such a proposal could be a major political disaster. The Cyzicenes had their freedom removed by Tiberius partly for their disrespect to his father Augustus in not finishing a temple to him.<sup>52</sup> The general imperial acceptance of civic cults and the possibility of penalties for non-fulfilment of promised cults combined to create considerable, covert central pressure for the establishment and continuation of cults.

The procedure for the setting up of imperial cults at the provincial level shows even closer links with the institutions of Rome. From the beginning of Augustus' reign, permission for the establishment of provincial cults was sought in Rome. Typically both emperor and Senate were involved in the decision. Permission for the Asian temple to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate was given by the Senate, Tiberius tacitly assenting; when the decision was finally taken as to where the temple should be sited, the Senate was concerned that the temple should actually be built and selected a special official to supervise the construction (Cat. no. 45). At the end of the first century the title

<sup>49</sup> *IGR* IV 1756 = *Sardis* VII 1, 8 §1.

<sup>50</sup> See n. 9. See also Samian decree (n. 28) and notification of the celebration of imperial victories and accessions, Millar (1977) 410–20.

<sup>51</sup> Millar (1977) 420–34.

<sup>52</sup> Cat. no. 16. See ch. 2 pp. 50–1 for pressure to discontinue other cults.

of *neokoros*, 'temple warden', appeared and in all some fifty-two imperial neocorates are attested in Asia Minor for thirty-five different cities. As these figures show, some important cities were 'twice (or more times) temple warden' of the emperors; that is, they had more than one imperial temple which was granted provincial status and associated with the celebration of provincial festivals. The procedure for gaining the title became quite regular. The final decision lay in the hands of the Senate; the titulature of the cities proclaims that the title was given by decree(s) of the Senate.<sup>53</sup> But the emperor's approval was the crucial factor. Thus one orator is recorded as having obtained from Hadrian a second title of 'temple warden' for Smyrna, permission for the accompanying ritual, money and building columns, all of which were granted by decree of the Senate.<sup>54</sup> Similarly Nicomedia gained games and a temple of Commodus from the Senate through an intermediary at court (Cat. no. 102). The decision could in fact be represented as the emperor's alone. An Ephesian is said to have been responsible for getting permission from Hadrian for a provincial temple to him at Ephesus (Cat. no. 33). The importance of the emperor in the decision is reflected in the clusters of cities which were granted the status 'temple warden' when the emperor went on one of his rare journeys through the country. The increased ease of access to the emperor in person, and an upsurge of enthusiasm, resulted in the grant of the title to four cities which Caracalla probably visited.<sup>55</sup> The use of the Senate for a final decision clearly helped to dissipate any awkwardness in the emperor accepting his own honours. When Marcus Aurelius and Commodus were approached by Miletus for permission for a new contest, which may have been the addition of new honours for Commodus to the old festival, Marcus considered it proper for the Senate to ratify the decision.<sup>56</sup>

The consequence of the central decision was sometimes that central regulations were issued. Thus Trajan and the Senate specified that the status of the games of Trajan and Zeus Philios at Pergamum was to be the same as that of the games of Augustus there.<sup>57</sup> Hadrian seems to have issued a directive setting up the Olympia Hadrianea at Smyrna on the model of the Athenian games; the extensive

<sup>53</sup> Robert (1967) 48–9, *Laodicée* 284–5. For the traditional role of the Senate in 'constituting' temples see D. Fishwick, *Britannia* 3 (1972) 171–81.

<sup>54</sup> *IGR* iv 1431. Hadrian also gave permission for a mystical competition in honour of Dionysus and himself, *IGR* iii 209 = *SEG* vi 59 = Bosch no. 128.

<sup>55</sup> Similarly three neocorates under Hadrian.

<sup>56</sup> *Ist. Mitt.* 25 (1975) 150.

<sup>57</sup> *I. Pergamon* 269 = *IGR* iv 336 = *AJ* 73. Cf. Millar (1966) 159.

regulations covered all the items for which Hadrian gave permission, including the cult officials.<sup>58</sup> Though part of the concern of the emperor was with local expenditure on the imperial cult, as with such expenditure on other games and civic amenities, irrespective of the objectives of the cult, he did not give merely tacit, or reluctant assent. The emperor was deeply involved in the establishment and running of the imperial cult.

This stress on imperial involvement makes it easier to understand cases in which the initiative actually came from the emperor. He sometimes promoted the cults of relatives or associates. Marcus Aurelius, for instance, built a temple of his wife Faustina at the town in Cappadocia where she died (Cat. no. 118). Hadrian was responsible for promoting the cult of his deceased favourite, Antinous. Some sources assert that Hadrian set up statues, or rather, cult statues of Antinous all over the world; this is an exaggeration but at least one cult of Antinous (at Mantinea) is known to have been established by Hadrian.<sup>59</sup> This central initiative is reflected in the sudden efflorescence of coins with portraits of Antinous, whose relative uniformity cannot be explained simply as local responses to central practice but suggests some degree of central organization. There are in addition a number of Greek commemorative medallions which are of such a high standard that foreign, Roman craftsmen were probably used.<sup>60</sup>

In some cases, the emperor seems to be personally encouraging his own cult in the provinces. A later historian reports that Gaius ordered the province of Asia to establish a temple for him at Miletus. Though the idea that he wanted to take over the temple of Apollo there may be a malicious addition to the story, the basic historicity of the account is supported by a Milesian inscription and by the emperor's well-attested attempt to install a statue of himself in the Temple at Jerusalem (Cat. no. 40). While Gaius' actions were certainly eccentric, and are sometimes seen as the product of madness, evidence concerning Hadrian provides a useful comparison, which cannot be dismissed in this manner. A literary source claims that Hadrian dedicated the temple of Zeus Olympios and also an altar to himself at Athens and in the same fashion, while travelling through Asia, consecrated temples of himself, which could be the

<sup>58</sup> *IGR* IV 1397.

<sup>59</sup> Dio LXIX 13, 4; *Scriptores Historiae Augustae Hadr.* 14, 7; Pausanias VIII 9, 7. See Beaujeu (1955) 242–57; A. Hermann, 'Antinous Infelix', in *Mullus. Fest. T. Klauser* (1964) 155, and W. D. Lebek, 'Ein Hymnus auf Antinoos', *ZPE* 12 (1973) 101.

<sup>60</sup> Blum (1914); J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Greek imperial medallions', *JRS* 34 (1944) 65.

temples at Smyrna, Ephesus and Cyzicus, for which he is otherwise known to have given permission or funds.<sup>61</sup> The activity of Hadrian in consecrating temples helps to show that imperial involvement was not limited simply to the authorization of cults offered him by the Greeks.

The emperor's personal involvement is also reflected in the numerous small altars dedicated to Hadrian, which are widespread in the Greek world and which exceed in number the altars of any other emperor including Augustus.<sup>62</sup> Scholars have disagreed on the explanation of these altars. Some see them as the products of Hadrian's policy of promoting Panhellenic unity; others argue that the altars are simply part of the Greek response to the appearance of the emperor in person on his travels. In the light of what I have said so far, it should be clear that in fact both positions contain a measure of truth. Only if one is determined to analyse simply at the level of conscious intentions and initiatives will one be forced to choose between them. The personal presence and involvement of Hadrian merely added a new twist to the system which was normally regulated by exchanges at a distance. The system was flexible and delicate. The crude and despotic demands of a Gaius distorted it. But, leaving that extreme aside, imperial encouragement, acceptance and (as I shall go on to discuss) refusal were all possible and legitimate strategies within the system of exchange.

A focus on the Senate and the emperor himself as the main Roman elements of the system neglects the role of the Roman provincial governor, who was the most immediate source of Roman authority. The first known intervention from this source probably dates from the years immediately after Augustus' seizure of power. Vedius Pollio, a friend of Augustus', acting, in an irregular manner, as governor of Asia is known to have made a regulation about the imperial cult at Ephesus, which seems to have been a judgement ratifying a Greek proposal which was also confirmed by Augustus himself.<sup>63</sup> Later governors certainly had to ratify local decisions on

<sup>61</sup> *SHA Hadr.* 13, 6 (and *Alex.* 43, 6). The passage seems reliable, the reference to the Olympieum at Athens fitting other information (ch. 6 p. 147). For 'founding' meaning imperial permission for a neorate see Cat. no. 55 (Philadelphia).

<sup>62</sup> Benjamin (1963), Le Glay (1976) esp. 364-5.

<sup>63</sup> *I. Ephesos* 1A 18c 10-11, 19 vi 2. K. M. T. Atkinson, *RIDA* 9 (1962) 261-89, argued that Pollio was simply an *amicus* of Augustus making a personal endowment for the imperial cult, but the coins and dedications to Pollio make it clear that he held an official position and it is more economical to retain the traditional translation of *constitutio* as 'regulation'. (See R. Syme, 'Who was Vedius Pollio?', *JRS* 51 (1961) 23 = *Roman Papers* II (1979) 518; P. Herrmann in *Fest. F. Vittinghoff* (1980) 347-8. Cf. Sherk 61 = *I. Kyme* 17 for a contemporary anomaly.)

the imperial cult, such as the celebration of the birthday of Antoninus Pius.<sup>64</sup> The regulation of finances of other cults by the governor sometimes involved decisions concerning the imperial cult. When a Claudian governor attempted to restrict expenditure on the singing of hymns for Artemis at Ephesus, for the sake of clarity he specifically exempted the provincial choir of Augustus. He then went on to declare that the choir of Livia, Augustus' wife, 'who has been given the long due divine honours' by Claudius, should be given the same status as that of Augustus 'since the Senate and the god Augustus thought that she, who had been honoured with sacred law before she became immortal, was worthy of deification and deified her' (n. 63). Such cases were sometimes passed on to the emperor for his adjudication. Pliny, when governor of Bithynia-Pontus, had to consult Trajan on a legal point arising from a bequest of money for a public building to be consecrated in honour of Trajan and for games named after him (Cat. no. 96). The imperial cult thus fell under the regular processes of Roman administration.

The governor also took a more active role. It was the Roman governor who made the successful proposal to the Asian assembly that the year should begin on Augustus' birthday; the terminology of his proposal shifted significantly between suggestion and instruction. He might also step outside a framework laid down by the Greeks. Another Augustan official, in the Peloponnese, energetically promoted the imperial cult. In carrying out the imperial festival he failed in nothing with respect to expense and display, particularly in connection with the imperial sacrifices.<sup>65</sup> While that is no more than many local citizens did, he also made arrangements so that most of the cities of the province carried out the same actions with him. In joy at the good news concerning Gaius Caesar, Augustus' son, he also instructed all to wear crowns and to sacrifice. 'He himself, sacrificing for the safety of Gaius, put on a lavish and varied show so that these events should rival past achievements and that his majestic nature should be preserved on a par with them.' Further instructions followed concerning the annual celebration of the day on which Gaius was appointed consul. Though this is the best documented case of such initiative by the governor, we also find a governor of the late first century A.D. reorganizing the annual festival at the Letoum near

<sup>64</sup> See n. 15. Similarly *IGR* iv 1513 = *Sardis* vii 1, 15. Cf. authorization of local titles by the governor, *IGR* iii 739 = *TAM* ii 905 x 32ff. See generally Millar (1973) 151-5.

<sup>65</sup> *SEG* xxiii 206. Cf. J. E. G. Zetzel, 'New light on Gaius Caesar's eastern campaign', *GRBS* 11 (1970) 259.

Xanthos in Lycia.<sup>66</sup> Most vividly of all we have the record kept by the historian Arrian when he was governor of Cappadocia and addressed to Hadrian. Following in the footsteps of the peripatetic emperor he reached the place where Xenophon's men had uttered their famous cry 'the Sea, the Sea', and reported that he had seen to the replacement of altars there which had been of poor stone and badly engraved (though it is unclear to whom these altars were dedicated).

Your statue stands there, pleasing in design, for it points out the sea, but in execution not a likeness nor at all attractive. So send a statue worthy to bear your name of this same design. For the place is entirely appropriate for an eternal memorial.<sup>67</sup>

The role of the Roman governor as regulator and sometimes even as initiator of the imperial cult further demonstrates the complexity of the system that constituted the cult.

While this system with its pressures and balances might seem relatively stable and straightforward, it is important not to over-emphasize the objective structures of the system and I turn now to the subjective point of view of individual strategies, firstly of the Greeks and then of the emperor. The intentions and motivations of those offering the cults, which have in the past themselves been over-emphasized in most writing on the subject, can be accorded their rightful place in the picture I have sketched. While, no doubt, a city which sent an imperial priest as an ambassador to Rome to offer Augustus cult hoped to find favour with the emperor, it is quite wrong to reduce the imperial cult to a pawn in a game of diplomacy.<sup>68</sup> The cult was conceivable in diplomatic contexts only because of its intrinsic significance to the Greeks. It was not dreamed up simply in order to flatter the emperor. The language of the cult and its local prestige existed independently of specific diplomatic moves. Those local politicians who hoped to gain benefits for their city and prestige for themselves by proposing to the emperor that the city establish a cult to him may have imagined that they were acting freely and

<sup>66</sup> *Fouilles de Xanthos* VII 132, no. 50. This may be connected with the grant by Nerva to Xanthos of the status of 'mother city' of the province of Lycia.

<sup>67</sup> Arrian, *Periplus* 1. Epigraphical texts also show that imperial statues were put up by a city through the agency of the governor (*TAM* II 275, 557, 1188) and the governor also seems to have been active in the creation of imperial temples (C. P. Jones, *Ist. Mitt.* 27-8 (1977-8) 291 (Bubon); Cat. no. 151 (Lamus); cf. also the dedication of a temple at Anazarbus, Cat. no. 144).

<sup>68</sup> As Bowersock (1965) 112-21 does.



without constraints, but the system of the cult had its own objective force. We should not 'reduce the objective intentions and constituted significations of actions and works to the conscious and deliberate intentions of their authors'.<sup>69</sup>

The strategy of imperial responses to the Greek offers of cult, whose motivation has again been given much attention, also now falls into place. The system objectively depended on imperial acceptance of the imperial cult.<sup>70</sup> It was crucial that Augustus did not in any way discourage the offers of cult made by the Sardians and the Mytileneans (p. 66); display of serious imperial hostility to the Greek offers of cult would have aborted the institution. Instead there were complex processes of careful negotiation and control. There was, however, also a standard imperial strategy of refusal of the offers of cult, from Augustus onwards. This is traditionally over-emphasized and held to represent the entire role of the emperor in the establishment of cults in the Greek provinces.<sup>71</sup> This is not the case but the strategy does have importance when considered from the subjective viewpoint of the emperor. As an example of this type of response, when the lengthy sacred law passed by Gytheum (n. 26) was transmitted to Tiberius by an ambassador, the emperor responded rather negatively. He commended the city and said that he considered it fitting

that all men in general and your city in particular should reserve special honours befitting the gods in keeping with the greatness of my father's services to the whole world; but I myself am content with the more modest honours appropriate to men.

However, such a response was not taken to indicate general imperial disapproval of the imperial cult. Indeed one city, whose divine honours Claudius had likewise refused, nevertheless had a priest of Claudius.<sup>72</sup>

Imperial refusals are very rarely found at the level of provincial cults; there the crucial role of the Senate, which we have already examined, allowed the emperor to evade the burdens of decision. An exception which proves the rule is the approach by the Asian assembly, on behalf of Ephesus, to Caracalla.<sup>73</sup> The emperor replied that he agreed to grant Ephesus its third title of 'temple warden' (*neokoros*)

<sup>69</sup> Bourdieu (1977) 73.

<sup>70</sup> Millar (1973) 155-7. Note that Claudius happily gave permission to the professional actors to offer cult to his images (*P. Oxy.* 2476, 2-3).

<sup>71</sup> Charlesworth (1939) has been influential on imperial refusals.

<sup>72</sup> *Thasos* II 179-80. Cf. Veyne (1962) 62.

<sup>73</sup> *I. Ephesos* II 212 with Robert (1967) 44-64.

but the title of 'temple warden' bearing my name in my modesty I offer to the goddess most powerful in her appearances, so that it may not be from me that you enjoy the honour of a temple, but from your respect to the goddess.

The city was thus able to boast of being twice 'temple warden' of the emperor and once of Artemis.<sup>74</sup> The Senate seems to have played no part in the procedure on this occasion, which helps to explain Caracalla's embarrassment.<sup>75</sup>

The reasons for these imperial refusals have traditionally been sought exclusively in the mind of the emperor. At its simplest the refusals are seen as the product of the 'sensible' imperial attitude of disbelief in the whole cult.<sup>76</sup> This is unsatisfactory and a fuller explanation can be formulated in terms of the conflict between the imperial cult and Roman traditions. In Rome the emperor's position was legally defined and he was supposed to play the role of a citizen. The contradiction with this ideal was certainly important at a subjective level. Caracalla might well deflect the title 'temple warden' to Artemis 'in my modesty'.<sup>77</sup>

The possibility of imperial refusals must, however, also be interpreted at the objective level of the system. Hellenistic kings had not adopted the strategy of refusals,<sup>78</sup> which should weaken the tendency to project our disbelief onto the Roman emperor.<sup>79</sup> The offer of divine cult cannot be seen as something which any reasonable being would reject. In place of an *a priori* psychology specific historical reasons must be sought. Unlike the Roman emperor, the Hellenistic king was not confined by a tradition of acting like a citizen, his position lacked legal definition and at the subjective level, therefore, there was no tension. But the two systems themselves were also quite different. The network of administrative ties linking ruler and city was much looser in the Hellenistic period than under the Roman empire and

<sup>74</sup> Similar deflections of proffered honours may lie behind the neocorate of Zeus at Aezani and of Artemis at Magnesia on the Maeander.

<sup>75</sup> The Senate did continue to grant titles of 'temple warden' (n. 53), though in general provincial embassies to the Senate are not attested after the 160s (Millar (1977) 343).

<sup>76</sup> Ch. 1 p. 17. Thus Habicht (1973) 76–85 discusses the refusal of divine honours as evidence for the *Selbstverständnis* of the emperor.

<sup>77</sup> On imperial 'modesty' and the 'refusal of power' see J. Béranger, *Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du principat* (1953) 137–69.

<sup>78</sup> It is attributed by Plutarch (*Apoph. Lac. Ages.* 25, *Moralia* 210D) to Agesilaus of Sparta in the fourth century and there seems no reason to reject this, with Habicht (1970) 179–84. The late reference to Alexander the Great (*Hist. Alex. Magni*, ed. W. Kroll, 1 22, 12) is, however, not historical.

<sup>79</sup> Or the Republican governor. Cicero was against the governor accepting cult (*ad Qu. fr.* 1 1, 26; *ad Att.* v 21, 7).

the notification of cult to a Hellenistic king was much less regulated. The greater tightness of organization of the Roman system made the exchanges crucially different. It is necessary for gift-exchange to contain an element of uncertainty; an automatic exchange transforms gifts into purchases. The range of central, Roman decisions, from authorization to deflection, served to prevent the counter-gift of favour from seeming automatic. The gap between this explanation and one relying on the calculations of the Greeks or the mental processes of the emperor is crucial to the success of the system. For the actors to have perceived the nature of the objective system would have made it impossible to maintain their own positions, as is true of gift-exchange in general. The basis of exchange which is designed to transform, 'by the sincere fiction of a disinterested exchange' inevitably interested relations into elective relations of reciprocity is 'institutionally organized and guaranteed misrecognition'.<sup>80</sup>

This model of exchange between Greeks and Rome clearly has implications for our picture of the differences between the Eastern and Western parts of the empire. Conventionally, a sharp contrast is drawn between the Greek areas, where local initiative was the norm and where the emperor displayed a *laissez-faire* attitude, and the Western provinces where central initiative and control is found. There is indeed a strong central interest in the foundation of provincial cults in the West.<sup>81</sup> It can hardly be coincidental that it was at the start of the new Flavian dynasty (A.D. 69-96) that provincial cults appear for the first time in three, or possibly five, new areas. It is often held that these cults were simply imposed by Rome; the classic example is the establishment, under Augustus, of the provincial sanctuary of the Three Gauls which was dedicated to Rome and Augustus. But we do not know for certain that the initiative came from Rome (all the text tells us is that Drusus, Augustus' son, dedicated the altar). Clearly Rome approved, and it may be that Rome had learned a trick from the Greeks. But others, too, could learn from the Greeks; it seems likely that the establishment of the cult of Augustus at Tarraco in Spain was stimulated by the arrival of the embassy from Mytilene to Augustus, who happened to be there, bearing the decree on divine honours which we have already noticed.<sup>82</sup> Certainly there is no reason to believe that the cult of the Three Gauls was in any way unwelcome to the local élite. It helped to enhance the status of Gaius Julius Vercondaridubnus, a

<sup>80</sup> Bourdieu (1977) 171.

<sup>81</sup> Fishwick (1978) 1219-33. Cf. Livy, Book 139 (epitome) on Three Gauls.

<sup>82</sup> Étienne (1958) 365-7.

Gallic noble with Roman citizenship, who was the first priest of the cult. In other words, if one moves away from intentions and initiatives, the contrast between East and West no longer looks as great. The system was differently organized but in both cases the pressures linking centre and provinces were inextricably intertwined.

The nature of the systematic relationships linking the Greeks and the institutions of Rome had significant consequences for the forms of the cult in the Greek world. In Rome itself the official position was clear: the apotheosis of the emperor took place only after his death; this had to be officially recognized by the Senate, and only then did the emperor become a *divus* with an official cult. In the Greek world, on the other hand, the initial thrust of the cult was on the figure of the reigning emperor, who could be called *theos*, god, in his lifetime. There was no public ritual in the Greek world to mark the funeral of an emperor, which was a major ritual in Rome, and in consequence there was considerable mismatch between the official Roman list of *divi* and the recipients of cults in the Greek East.

This contrast between the two systems was, however, qualified in various ways. There was nothing to prevent a Greek city from taking note of official developments in Rome; Samos, for example, decided to start a new dating system from the apotheosis of Augustus.<sup>83</sup> Recognizably Roman influence was also felt. At Perge a series of bases was dedicated in the early second century for the set of contemporary *divi*, but the dedicator was of Italian stock and the bases are all, unusually, bilingual in Latin and Greek.<sup>84</sup> It is important that there was no readily available translation of *divus* into Greek and the bases have to employ the term *theos*. It was only in heavily Romanized contexts, such as direct translations from Latin<sup>85</sup> or in other official contexts,<sup>86</sup> that various periphrases were invented. Roman influence could also be mediated through the Roman governor, as when the governor at Ephesus modified the status of the choir of Livia in accordance with her recent apotheosis (p. 70).<sup>87</sup>

Given that the provincial assembly was closely meshed into the institutions of Rome it is entirely predictable that the relationship of

<sup>83</sup> *IGR* IV 1704, 1726, 1732 (= *SEG* I 395) with *Ath. Mitt.* 68 (1953) 20-1 and 75 (1960) 102. On this contrast see further *JHS* 104 (1984).

<sup>84</sup> Mansel, *AA* (1956) 117-19; S. Jameson, 'Cornutus Tertullus and the Plancii of Perge', *JRS* 55 (1965) 54.

<sup>85</sup> *IGR* III 83 = *ILS* 5883 = *JÖAI* 27 (1933) Beib. 64, no. 13 (Amastris); *JRS* 59 (1969) 56-8 line 6 (Aphrodisias).

<sup>86</sup> *SEG* XI 492-3 (career inscription, Laconia); *IGR* IV 1150 = *Annuario* 27-9 (1949-51) 285, no. 38 (Camirus).

<sup>87</sup> Note also scenes of apotheosis on the Antonine altar at Ephesus (Cat. no. 34).

the provincial cults to the Roman ones was closer than that of the civic cults.<sup>88</sup> The study of the titles of the high priests of the province of Asia shows that originally they were called 'high priests of the goddess Roma and of Emperor Sebastos son of god'; only after Augustus' death was he described as a god in the provincial titulature. This suggests that the assembly was sensitive to the situation in Rome; it is also possible that a decree was passed in response to the official apotheosis of Augustus conferring on him the title of Ancestral Zeus.<sup>89</sup>

The relations between the provincial cults and Roman practice are further illuminated by an important document from Ephesus, which contains a more extreme strategy that was rejected by the Greeks. It is a translation into Greek of a Roman law concerning the cult of Julius Caesar.<sup>90</sup> Previous interpretations have assumed that the document lays down regulations for the provincial cult of Asia, which would demonstrate a very striking dependence on official Roman practice. The key term is *hieromnemonia*. This abstract noun has been taken to refer to the office of delegate (*hieromnemon*) of the Asian assembly, but this cannot be right. The delegates of this assembly are never called by this name<sup>91</sup> and in the context of this document the term must be a translation of the Latin word. The fact that the abstract noun *hieromnemonia* appears only here in Greek supports the idea that it is a translation of a much more common Latin abstract noun, *pontificatus* or, rather, *flaminatus*, nouns which refer to two of the orders of Roman priests.<sup>92</sup> In this case the text contains no explicit reference to Asia and is simply a translation of a Roman law. The

<sup>88</sup> For provincial ritual see ch. 8 p. 226.

<sup>89</sup> Buckler (1935), Habicht (1973) 83-4. There are difficulties with the argument that *IBM* 894 is the provincial decree. While *Monumenti antichi* 38 (1939) col. 85-96 = *PCPhS* 26 (1980) 77, no. 6, is further evidence for an official identification of Augustus with Zeus Patroos, the lapse of time that has to be posited between the date of Augustus' apotheosis and the arrival of the news in Asia Minor (69 days) is exceptionally long for travel in this direction and the decree could date from the lifetime of Augustus (S. Weinstock, *Ath. Mitt.* 77 (1962) 309 n. 10; Laffi (1967) 58; in particular line 5 is compatible with an expectation of later ascent to heaven).

<sup>90</sup> *Forsch. in Eph.* iv 3, 24 = *I. Ephesos* vii 2, 4324. Weinstock (1971) 402 with corrections of J. A. North, *JRS* 65 (1975) 176.

<sup>91</sup> Hepding, *RE* viii (1913) 1490-6, though the term is employed for delegates elsewhere in Greece.

<sup>92</sup> *Hieromnemon* was used as a translation of *pontifex* (H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (1974) 55, 116, and D. Magie, *De romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis...* (1905) 142, 144) but the cult of Caesar is known to have had a *flamen* rather than a *pontifex* as priest. The translation of Latin terms was fluid and I suggest that *hieromnemonia* is here an (unparalleled) version of *flaminatus*. The *hieromnemones* of the Caesarea at Corinth, a Roman colony, might also be the translation of a Latin term rather than a heritage from the Greek past (*Corinth* viii 2, 81 + 3, 156).

explanation for its inscription at Ephesus must be related to the cult of Roma and Julius Caesar which Augustus established there in 29 B.C. for the Roman citizens of the province of Asia. It was only in this uniquely Romanized context of Roman citizens, who anyway ceased to exist as a separate category during the first century A.D., that the imperial cult was actually modelled on Rome.

The Greek cults were largely independent of Roman practice, being rooted in Greek traditions,<sup>93</sup> but they were elements in the system linking Greeks and Rome. The success of this system was dependent on the fact that in the end the Greek cults were expressed in an idiom that was not incomprehensible to the Romans. There was to some extent a shared cultural vocabulary which both Greeks and Romans could employ. Thus, the governor who proposed the calendar reform with which this chapter opened, operating in accordance with a standing Greek request for suggestions, employed language that is just as elevated as that of the assembly. Parallels for the language of the governor and that of the assembly can be found both in earlier Greek thought and in contemporary writings in Rome.<sup>94</sup> It is entirely appropriate that the complex series of differences between the Latin and Greek versions of the governor's proposals leave it impossible to determine an original language of composition. The ideas formed part of a currency whose validity was recognized by both Greeks and Romans. This mutual recognition of the currency guaranteed the success of the system of exchange; its complex circulation served to unite Greeks and Rome. But the cults were also an element in the cultural system that united the Greek communities of Asia Minor. The distribution and the significant absences of these cults must now be examined as an aspect of Greek culture.

<sup>93</sup> See further ch. 4 pp. 87-9, ch. 6 pp. 167-9.

<sup>94</sup> Taeger (1960) 192 saw the governor expressing characteristic Roman scepticism, but see Laffi (1967) 36-9, 47-8, 52.

# 4

## DISTRIBUTION AND CULTURE

The imperial cult was extremely widespread throughout the Roman empire. The general phenomenon was, for example, observed by a contemporary biographer of Augustus who noted that people 'revere (Augustus) with temples and sacrifices over islands and continents' (p. 1) and modern scholars have long recognized that it was particularly common in Asia Minor. They have indeed tended to take its distribution for granted. In fact the extent of the imperial cult is very peculiar in comparison with the distribution of royal cults in other societies (ch. 1 p. 1). These fall into two main types. There are, firstly, the cults based on the royal capital and centrally controlled, such as the theatrical rites of nineteenth-century Bali, or the great edifices of the Cambodian kings.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, where royal cults exist outside the capital, they tend to consist of irregular and transient displays, like the royal progresses of Renaissance Italy or of nineteenth-century Morocco.<sup>2</sup> In contrast with these two types the cults of the Roman emperor in the Greek provinces were both widespread and established on a regular basis.

Understanding of the distribution of the imperial cult can only be reached through analysis of the culture of which it formed a part. After discussion of the evidence for the distribution of the cult, I analyse the cultures of Asia Minor by setting up three pairs of overlapping polarities in the three sections of this chapter: communal organization as against dispersed populations; Greek as against non-Greek culture; urban against rural life. Through the application of these three oppositions it will become clear that the imperial cult is found in a wide range of settlements which were communally organized, but not in places where communal organization was lacking. The culture of these communities was Greek, rather than

<sup>1</sup> Geertz (1980); ch. 9 n. 13 on Cambodia.

<sup>2</sup> A. Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (1979) 47-74; Geertz (1977) 161-7. See also L. Marin, *Le récit est un piège* (1978) 69-115, for an analysis of Racine's account of an entry of Louis XIV.

Roman or indigenous, and the cult's basic characteristics were Greek rather than non-Greek. Fortunately there is sufficient evidence to permit us to be confident that the cult although widespread was not ubiquitous and to build up a picture in the third section of those areas where the cult did not penetrate. The life of the countryside, and especially rural cults, formed a different world from that of the communally organized, Greek urban settlements. Many scholars are captivated by the evidence for Greek culture and imagine that it represents the whole cultural picture of the imperial period, but this is to be duped by Greek cultural hegemony. There was another world of local culture, especially in the countryside, to which the imperial cult remained alien.

I

Two Augustan texts present a vivid picture of the extent of the imperial cult. From one document it is evident that the provincial assembly of Asia in 9 B.C. could assume the existence of imperial sanctuaries in all the assize centres and of imperial games in all the cities of the province (ch. 3 n. 4). A second document reveals that in Paphlagonia when the oath of loyalty was taken in 3 B.C., three years after the annexation of the area, the locations specified for the oath-taking were Gangra, the old royal capital, and the imperial sanctuaries in the subsidiary districts, probably at Neapolis, Pompeiopolis and Caesarea (Cat. no. 105). The existence of imperial sanctuaries in this remote area so soon after annexation is probably best explained by the assumption that a central decision to create them was taken in Paphlagonia at annexation.<sup>3</sup> Certainly the authorities responsible for the oath could rely without question upon their existence. The picture that these two texts happen to present of widespread imperial sanctuaries and festivals illustrates the difficulty of handling the other fragmentary evidence. Without these texts we would know of imperial sanctuaries in only half of the ten Augustan assize centres in Asia,<sup>4</sup> while in Paphlagonia there is no other evidence for imperial sanctuaries and barely any indication of other aspects of the imperial cult (below p. 94). This highlights the fragmentary nature of our sources and should make us wary of

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *Studia Pontica* III 66, suggested that they were founded by the kings before annexation. Certainly cults are found in client kingdoms (e.g. W. Blawatsky, 'Le culte des empereurs romains au Bosphore', in *Mél. Piganiol* III (1966) 1541) but it seems unlikely that they would have been established outside the capital.

<sup>4</sup> Habicht (1975) 70 lists the assize centres.



careless arguments from silence, especially in areas which are in general badly documented.

Despite its haphazard nature it is worth presenting what evidence there is for the distribution of all aspects of the imperial cult, not only temples but also priests and imperial altars (maps II–V).<sup>5</sup> The greatest concentration of evidence extends from the west coast through the inland area of Asia down in a great arc to the south coast, with much thinner evidence from the north and east. Some areas are poorly documented, as we shall see in more detail below, but enough surveys have now been carried out for the general picture not simply to reflect the routes traversed by epigraphists. Two initial points emerge from the maps. Firstly, all three elements of the cult (temples, priests and altars) have a similar pattern of distribution. This is perhaps not surprising as they formed a closely related nexus of honours, but it does give a first indication of the relative uniformity of the cult and the general absence of particular local variants. The second point is essentially negative and relates to the composition of the maps. They are presented synchronically as no significant trends emerged from a diachronic analysis. This negative finding is of great importance for our understanding of the area under consideration. Although the imperial cult did not often appear in areas such as Lycia and Rough Cilicia before they were reduced to provinces,<sup>6</sup> it was widespread in the empire itself from the start of direct Roman rule. There is no question of a time-lag caused by the slow diffusion of the practice through inaccessible valleys to remote cities. The cities reacted simultaneously and uniformly to external stimuli. Geographical variations were no barrier to cultural unity.

How then are we to make sense of the distribution of the imperial cult? As we have already begun to see in the previous chapter, the imperial cult was intimately connected with the communal life of Asia Minor and it is therefore sensible to attempt to correlate the extent of the imperial cult with that of organized communities. A simple comparison of map V with any detailed map of settlements in this area will show that the two are roughly congruent. But such a comparison is likely to be too crude because it cannot detect which communities on the general map were active in this period. Some will have stagnated or even disappeared. There are two obvious ways of remedying this defect. Firstly, there are maps showing which cities

<sup>5</sup> Much of the evidence for civic priests is in Geiger (1913) and Magie (1950) 1356 n. 17, 1360 n. 28, 1392 n. 62, 1401–3, 1427 n. 9, 1467 n. 39, 1482 nn. 38–9, 1523 n. 57, 1535 n. 11, 1613–14. The evidence for the cult of Hadrian is in Benjamin (1963) and Le Glay (1976), with maps

<sup>6</sup> See, however, Magie (1950) 529, 534.

issued bronze coins in the imperial period. Issuing coins was one of the things in which cities took pride; the coins had a ceremonial importance and also served as the main source of small change in the Greek East. Though issues might be highly sporadic and their absence not significant for the prosperity of any given place, nevertheless they do give some indication of the general pattern of civic activity.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, map vi shows such evidence as I have collected for new (non-imperial) temples and new or rebuilt theatres under the empire,<sup>8</sup> which are a more specific measurement of communal activity. The maps of coin issues and of building projects show much the same pattern of distribution as that of the imperial cult.

This correlation between the imperial cult and active communities seems immediately plausible, but we need to consider what type of communities supported the imperial cult. In particular, was the cult found in all communities, or did technical distinctions of status matter? Two technical distinctions were important at the time, that between subject and free cities and that between cities and villages, and they might be relevant to the imperial cult. Free cities, which were exempt from Roman jurisdiction, might have eschewed participation in the imperial cult, while villages might either not have been in a position to support such cults or might have done so only as part of a claim to civic status.

There are two difficulties with asking such a question about the imperial cult. Firstly, there is an empirical difficulty about studying the smaller communities in this area. Though villages in the Hellenistic period have been interestingly studied,<sup>9</sup> the epigraphical evidence for them only becomes abundant in the Roman period. Much of it has been gathered together,<sup>10</sup> but it needs more analysis than it has so far received.<sup>11</sup> Moreover almost no archaeological surveying of particular regions to look for traces of rural settlements has so far

<sup>7</sup> T. B. Jones, 'A numismatic riddle: the so-called Greek Imperials', *PAPhS* 107 (1963) 308. His maps show the changes over time, particularly the explosion of issues in the third century. The issues of each city are plotted in *Sammlung von Aulock Index* (ed. P. R. Franke *et al.*, 1981).

<sup>8</sup> I selected these two types of project because I could build on pre-existing catalogues. See further ch. 6 pp. 163–5 on temple-building.

<sup>9</sup> Briant (1975); M. P. Debord, 'Populations rurales de l'Anatolie gréco-romaine', *Atti (Centro studi e documentazione sull'Italia romana)* VIII (1976–7) 43.

<sup>10</sup> *ESAR* IV 627–48; Magie (1950) 143–6, 1022–7; *JHS* 74 (1954), 87–8 = *SEG* XIV 656; Herrmann (1962); Pleket (1970); Habicht (1975).

<sup>11</sup> See, however, Rostovtzeff (1957) 255–8; A. H. M. Jones (1940) 272–4, 286–7; D. Nörr, *Imperium und Polis in der hohen Prinzipatszeit* (1966) 50–2, on attribution to cities; MacMullen (1974a), (1974b); P. Garnsey, 'Peasants in ancient Roman society', *J. Peasant Studies* 3 (1977) 221; I. S. Svencickaja, 'Some problems of agrarian relations in the Province of Asia', *Eirene* 15 (1977) 27.

been carried out; in fact detailed work has been done on only one city territory, that of Miletus.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, there is the conceptual problem of categorizing these communities. Modern scholars tend to use an over-schematic distinction between city and countryside. In the countryside they then discover 'villages' which are inhabited by 'peasants' and which are interpreted as entirely different from the 'civilized' community of the 'city'.<sup>13</sup> This is too crude a distinction; we must in fact be dealing with a whole spectrum of communities ranging from the most complex of cities down to the simplest of hamlets. Within this spectrum there are no doubt recognizable contrasts but no simple polarities.

It is true that the theoretical distinction between city (*polis*) and village (*katoikia* or *kome*) was deeply rooted in the Greek tradition. Yet travellers through Asia Minor often produced incompatible accounts of the status of particular places. This is hardly surprising as the diagnostic features of a city, such as official buildings, gymnasia, theatre or agora, might be lacking in particular cities but present in villages.<sup>14</sup> In the Hellenistic period there are many examples of kings founding new cities, but the conceptual distinction became of practical importance to communities only under the Roman empire. The general Roman desire to create clear status categories within the empire resulted in the emergence of 'official' civic status as a status which could be sought from Rome. There was constant pressure on the boundary between village and city: villages sought civic status from the emperor and cities were deprived of that status as a punishment for disloyalty or through the efforts of a rival community.<sup>15</sup> But despite this Roman categorization it is clear that under the empire many villages were fully urban communities, locally organized with magistrates and assemblies, equipped with public buildings and celebrating public festivals.<sup>16</sup> Villages were even sufficiently integrated into the empire to appeal to the emperor for his aid.<sup>17</sup> I shall argue that it is communal organization which is the

<sup>12</sup> J. Pečírka, 'Homestead farms in Classical and Hellenistic Hellas', *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (ed. M. I. Finley, 1973) 113ff., esp. 130-3.

<sup>13</sup> As MacMullen (1974a). Note also the criticism of other polarities by Y. Thébert, 'Romanisation et déromanisation en Afrique: histoire décolonisée ou histoire inversée?', *Annales (ESC)* (1978) 64.

<sup>14</sup> Briant (1975) 170-1. Pausanias x 4, 1.

<sup>15</sup> Millar (1977) 394-7, 409-10, who does however neglect the difference from the Hellenistic period; the evidence in fact only starts in the third century A.D. For deprivation of civic status see Robert (1977) 25.

<sup>16</sup> On village festivals see Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1943) 189-95 (on TAM IV 1, 16-18), *Noms indigènes* 291-7 (on Thionta in Phrygia), *Hell.* xi-xii (1960) 584 (on village near Cyzicus); Pleket (1970) 61-74. See also M. D. Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee A.D. 132-212* (1983), for the lively and autonomous villages of Upper Galilee.

<sup>17</sup> Millar (1977) 181, 541-4.

crucial factor in accounting for the existence of the imperial cult, rather than the technical status of the community.

Most of the free cities, to take them first, are known to have had an imperial priest or an imperial temple, despite their independence from direct Roman control. The city of Termessus, proud of its autonomy, never placed the emperor's head on its coins,<sup>18</sup> but one of these coins displayed an imperial shrine (Cat. no. 136). Similarly Aphrodisias had full exemption from the control of the governor but there was in the city an imperial temple, probably of considerable grandeur (Cat. no. 64). Cyzicus actually had its freedom removed by Tiberius partly because the inhabitants had shown neglect of the worship of Augustus by failing to finish a temple to him (ch. 3 p. 66; Cat. no. 16). The only difference that freedom made to the cities in this context is that they were not members of the provincial assembly and their citizens could not be forced to serve as high priests of that assembly.<sup>19</sup> Freedom was a significant but slippery privilege; granted by the ruling power, sometimes with other rights, it was held on sufferance.<sup>20</sup> Free cities were still very much part of the Roman world and it was entirely appropriate that they should engage in the imperial cult.

The place of the imperial cult in villages, which has been almost entirely neglected by modern scholars,<sup>21</sup> demands a fuller investigation because it offers an insight into the nature of the local roots of the imperial cult. If we look firstly at the relations between these villages and other communities, villages were a part of the assembly of the province of Asia, which is often described as consisting of both peoples (*demoi*) of towns and also tribes (*ethne*) of less urbanized areas.<sup>22</sup> The sub-civic communities seem to have contributed towards the finances of the assembly<sup>23</sup> and one inscription shows the 'cities' (*polesis*), 'peoples' and 'tribes' combining to erect a statue of Julius Caesar (though the distinction between 'cities' and 'peoples' is unique).<sup>24</sup> It is not known whether the villages participated directly in the meetings of the assembly, but statues of high priests of the province erected by villages are further evidence for their awareness of the wider scene.<sup>25</sup> When, as often, villages were subordinate to a

<sup>18</sup> Von Aulock (1979) 46-7.

<sup>19</sup> Reynolds (1982) no. 14.

<sup>20</sup> A. H. M. Jones, 'Civitates liberae et immunes in the East', in *Anatolian Studies* W. H. Buckler (1939) 103; R. Bernhardt, *Imperium und Eleutheria* (Diss. Hamburg, 1971).

<sup>21</sup> See, however, Keil (1923) 246-8.

<sup>22</sup> T. Drew-Bear, *BCH* 96 (1972) 448-9.

<sup>23</sup> Habicht (1975) 67, 90.

<sup>24</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 760 = *I. Ephesos* II 251.

<sup>25</sup> *IGR* IV 1635 with Robert, *Hell.* IX (1950) 33 (Muleiton katoikia, Lydia); *IGR* IV 1245 (Tabeirenoi, Lydia).

neighbouring city, their relation to the imperial cult naturally reflects this power relationship. At the most extreme, the revenues of one village were used to finance the cult at the neighbouring city of Aezani.<sup>26</sup> Villages can also be shown to have been aware of the cults of cities. Decrees of the local city which refer to imperial priests have been found in villages,<sup>27</sup> while the name of a civic priest of Roma was employed for dating purposes in a neighbouring village.<sup>28</sup> This last example shows that even an external cult could be integrated into village life.

Many villages also had their own imperial cults independently of city or province. They are, however, distributed very unevenly. No imperial priests or even imperial statues have been found in villages in Rough Cilicia, and hardly any in Pisidia.<sup>29</sup> The bulk of the evidence comes from Phrygia<sup>30</sup> and especially Lydia.<sup>31</sup> In these villages the cult had its own separate organization with priests (Gorgoromeis, Sandaina), an association devoted to the emperor (Caesariastae at Gökkaya), perhaps independent architectural provision of an imperial shrine (Jussuf Deressi) and a special public area in commemoration of Caligula's German campaign (Kula). There were imperial sacrifices (Chorianon katoikia, Gökkaya, near Philadelphia, Sanaos), and feasting to celebrate the emperor's birthday (Apateira). Statues of the emperor were erected, which termed him a god (Orcistus),<sup>32</sup> and public buildings were dedicated to him.<sup>33</sup>

These cults were often the products of local resources, as in larger

<sup>26</sup> *IGR* iv 582.

<sup>27</sup> Bean, *Mitford* II 43, no. 21 (near Casae), 107, no. 93 (near Syedra).

<sup>28</sup> P. Herrmann, *Denk. Ak. Wien* 77, 1 (1959) 8, no. 6 = *SEG* xix 710 with Robert, *REA* 62 (1960) 344 n. 1 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 860 n. 1; also Mellor (1975) 72.

<sup>29</sup> Gorgoromeis: *IGR* III 280, with A. S. Hall, 'The Gorgoromeis', *Anat. Stud.* 21 (1971) 125 (note also 151, no. 10 = *AE* (1972) 664 where the high priest for life, perhaps in the imperial cult, is a veteran). For an example from Thessaly see *IG* ix 2, 93.

<sup>30</sup> Near Acmonia: *IGR* iv 641 = *MAMA* vi 240; Orcistus: *IGR* iv 550 (with *RE* xviii (1942) 1090-7); Sanaos: *IGR* iv 872 with Robert, *Anatolia* 4 (1959) 7 = *Op. Min. Sel.* III 1429 n. 1, though this may have been an independent city (cf. Drew-Bear (1978) 27, no. 15, on site).

<sup>31</sup> Apateira?: *IGR* iv 1666 = *I. Ephesos* VII 1, 3245; Asar Tepe: Cat. no. 49; Chorianon katoikia, Selendi (near ancient Silandus): *BCH* 10 (1886) 419, no. 28; Gökkaya: *IGR* iv 1348 (? = Tmolus, cf. Cat. no. 49); near Hypaepa: *I. Ephesos* VII 2, 3817; Jussuf Deressi, west of Hypaepa: Cat. no. 53; Kaualenon katoikia, Maeonia: *IGR* iv 624 (cf. *RE* VIIA (1937) 2085-7, Habicht (1975) 76); Kula near Philadelphia: *IGR* iv 1379 with Keil (1923) 246 (cf. Robert, *Hell.* x 98); near Philadelphia: *IGR* iv 1615 (cf. Habicht (1975) 74); Sandaina: *IGR* iv 1155; Tateikome: *IGR* iv 1492.

<sup>32</sup> Dareiourke, Lydia: *IGR* iv 1353; Meri, Phrygia: *IGR* iv 593; Orcistus, Phrygia: *IGR* iv 550, *MAMA* VII 304; Tyanollus, Lydia: *IGR* iv 1332.

<sup>33</sup> Astra, Isauria: Bean, *Mitford* II 132, no. 126; Dareiourke: Cat. no. 52; Dioskome, Phrygia: Cat. no. 83; Selinda near Trocetta, Lydia: Keil, von Premerstein I 20; Tateikome, Lydia: *IGR* iv 1491-2.

communities. Local inhabitants made financial contributions to the cults while the community itself took responsibility for the erection of imperial statues. But, as we have seen, many of the villages were dependent on neighbouring cities and it is therefore not surprising to find in one case in the mid first century A.D. that a family whose Roman citizenship went back over seventy years were the benefactors of a village near Philadelphia and lavishly enhanced its imperial sacrifices. Such people presumably lived in Philadelphia and were certainly not bound by the limits of the village. But even they are said merely to have enhanced and not to have instituted the imperial sacrifices.

Cults of the emperor related naturally to different areas of the life of these small communities. Fines for the violation of tombs were paid in villages to the honours or sacrifices of the emperors (Chorianon katoikia, Sanaos). There were also important areas of contact between the emperors and village cults. There was probably a sanctuary of Men, Zeus, another god and 'the ruling divine Sebastoi' at Asar Tepe, and elsewhere (near Hypaepa) a joint dedication was made to the ancestral gods and the Sebastoi gods. An association centred on the cult of Eros even set up a stone with a bust of the emperor Commodus in the pediment and a dedication on behalf of his fortune and continual rule.<sup>34</sup> There are no actual attestations of festivals honouring both emperor and god, such as are found in the big cities, but the emperor clearly found his place in relation to the other institutions of the village.

These characteristics of the imperial cult in small communities seem to be largely self-generated and not simply taken over from the large cities. While the overall picture is similar to that in the cities many of the features are not exactly paralleled elsewhere. The civic area dedicated to Gaius at Kula, the altar dedicated near Acmonia and the formula 'the ruling divine Sebastoi' (Asar Tepe) are not known in the cities, but are fairly predictable variations on well-known themes. Similarly we know of several associations devoted to the emperor in cities, but the Caesariastae at Gökkaya chose a name for themselves which was not, to our knowledge, employed elsewhere. It certainly does not appear that these communities adopted the imperial cult simply as part of a claim to official civic status. A community appealing to the emperor for this status could adduce the fact that the forum was adorned with statues of former emperors

<sup>34</sup> *JÖAI* 14 (1911) Beib. 46 = Keil, von Premerstein III 19 from site NE of Mendechora (cf. Robert, *Hell.* ix (1950) 35-8, *Noms indigènes* 266-7). Cf. votive on behalf of emperor (Orcistus) and assimilation of empress to god (Tateikome). Also honorific dedication of altar to Dionysus and the emperor (near Acmonia) and of temple (Cat. no. 52).

(*MAMA* VII 305, i 26-7), but such a feature is simply mentioned among the whole range of facts about the public amenities and institutions of the community and is not crucially important.

The cult in these smaller communities might better be seen not as a product of their aspirations to civic status but of their urban development and local organization. A connection between cults and urban organization is confirmed, negatively, by the evidence of the Gorgoromeis (n. 29). We know of no communal organization here and the priest of the imperial cult who happens to be attested is, significantly, not a local but a soldier stationed in the village. Similarly on the imperial estates of Choria Considiana in Galatia, where communal organization had probably not advanced far, the imperial cult was promoted by two imperial officials; an imperial bailiff erected a temple to the emperors while his superior, the imperial steward, served as priest (Cat. no. 110).<sup>35</sup> The significant features of the villages of the imperial period are also emphasized by the absence of ruler cult in Hellenistic villages. We hear of only one Hellenistic royal cult in a village; two villages in Lydia, which were part of the Seleucid kingdom of Syria, established a cult of Achaeus, 'master of the area', and two of his agents (267 B.C.; ch. 2 n. 67). Though the epigraphic record of villages in the Hellenistic period is thin, the abundance of evidence under the Roman empire is not just an accident of survival but surely marks a real increase in the levels of urbanism and community consciousness. This development did not take place evenly and it is no accident that village cults of the emperor are concentrated in the broad and fertile valleys and plains of Lydia and western Phrygia where fully urban village communities were most concentrated.<sup>36</sup> Villages, like cities proper, came to feel the need to define their position. The position of the Lydian villages which established the cult of Achaeus was indeed very unclear. They could not determine the extent of their dependence on the 'master of the area', whose very title was anomalous. In the Roman period the self-consciousness of villages increased and they employed the same means as the cities to negotiate their relationship to the external power.

<sup>35</sup> Most imperial estates have produced no evidence for the imperial cult, but note the role of imperial officials in *MAMA* I 23, a vow (Laodicea Combusta; cf. ? Cat. no. 115) and *IGR* IV 679, statue base (east of Prymnessus; cf. Robert, *Hell.* x (1955) 66-72, and Strubbe, *AncSoc* 6 (1975) 245-8).

<sup>36</sup> A. H. M. Jones (1971) 80. Cf. Robert, *Noms indigènes* 321-2, on Hellenization of Lydian names.

If the imperial cult is rightly seen as a product of organized communities, we need to turn now to the culture of those communities of which the imperial cult formed a part and to investigate the second of my polarities, Greek/non-Greek. The dominant cultural system of this area was Greek and the imperial cult will provide an interesting illustration of the coherence of Greek culture and its relation to other cultures, both Roman and indigenous. The spread of Greek culture in Asia Minor has a long history. The cities on the west coast had always been Greek, since, it was believed, their foundation soon after the Trojan War. Greek culture spread to Lycia in the late fifth century B.C. and to Caria in the fourth century.<sup>37</sup> Thus by the second century B.C. a remote town in northern Lycia could compose a diplomatic document in the best Greek style.<sup>38</sup> Hellenism and urbanism came late to other parts of Asia Minor, as we shall see in due course, but even if its arrival was late the influence could be profound. For example, the cities of Lycaonia display a Greek literary culture in the second and third centuries A.D.,<sup>39</sup> while the use of the Greek language was not limited to upper-class urban contexts but is found even in the most humble monuments or in dedications by farmers and shepherds.<sup>40</sup>

The Greek idiom of the imperial cult, which is symbolized by the standard designation of the assembly of the province of Asia as 'the association of the Greeks in Asia' is the explanation of the lack of significant local or regional variations in the forms of the cult. The imperial cult was not modelled on quaint local customs but on the dominant Greek culture.<sup>41</sup> Such variations as are found are variations on a theme. At the local level, the cult of the *homobomioi theoi Sebastoi*, or 'divine emperors of the same altar', is found only in four neighbouring cities on the edge of Phrygia.<sup>42</sup> This seems to be a local

<sup>37</sup> J. Bousquet, 'Arbinas, fils de Gergis, dynaste de Xanthos', *CRAI* (1975) 138; L. Robert, 'Le sanctuaire d'Artémis à Amyzon', *CRAI* (1953) 403 = *Op. Min. Sel.* III 1525; S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (1982) 120-1, 332-51. See in general A. H. M. Jones (1940) part I. <sup>38</sup> *BE* (1950) 183 p. 187 (Araxa).

<sup>39</sup> Robert, *Hell.* XIII (1965) 52-4.

<sup>40</sup> E. Gibson, *The 'Christians for Christians' Inscriptions of Phrygia* (1978) 96.

<sup>41</sup> Ch. 3 pp. 75-7, ch. 6 pp. 167-9, ch. 8 pp. 227-31; ch. 2 pp. 44-5 for Hellenistic cults. So already Rostovtzeff (1930).

<sup>42</sup> Ramsay, *HG* 147, no. 89 (Tiberiopolis); *IGR* IV 592-4 (Aezani); *IGR* IV 555-6 (Ancyra); *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 17 (1890) 19, *Coll. Waddington* 5789 (= Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 668, Karl (1975) 105) (Cadi). See Nock (1930) 45 n. 1 = (1972) 237 n. 194 on p. 238 on *synbomos*. There is no evidence for influence of local cults.



variant on the common Greek term *synbomoi*, 'altar-sharing'. Similarly at the provincial level, imperial choirs are only known, in this area, in the provincial cult of Asia,<sup>43</sup> but choirs appear in other cults and imperial choirs are found outside Asia Minor. Variations of this type were variations within one language as a result of local initiatives and decisions.

This view of the Greek nature of the cult is strengthened by an examination of attitudes to Roman culture. On the island of Rhodes there was a certain degree of resistance to Roman culture. There were few Roman citizens and the style of the funerary monuments displays no Roman influence.<sup>44</sup> There were also no gladiatorial shows, a distinctive feature of Roman culture, a fact which a first-century speech praised and which is confirmed by the archaeological record.<sup>45</sup> But, in spite of the negative attitudes to Roman culture, imperial priests are found at Camirus and Lindos,<sup>46</sup> and at Rhodes itself there was a priest of Roma and festivals of the Romaea and Caesarea.<sup>47</sup> It is important that the cult in the cities was not simply Roman or even a synthesis of Greek and Roman but pure Greek, in contrast to the Hellenistic ruler cult of Commagene which was a blend of the two dominant cultures of Greece and Persia (ch. 2 n. 56).<sup>48</sup>

It was only in Roman colonies, which were 'offshoots of Rome, with their laws and customs dependent on the Roman people, not of their own choosing',<sup>49</sup> that specifically Roman practices were institutionalized. These are the only places in Asia Minor where there were *augustales*, the associations of ex-slaves devoted to the imperial cult and common in the West.<sup>50</sup> Similarly *flamines*, priests on the Roman model, are found only in Roman colonies;<sup>51</sup> the relief of the *flamen* of Divus Julius from Alexandria Troas shows that he actually

<sup>43</sup> See Poland (1926), L. Ziehen, *RE Supp.* vii (1940) 279-81, Robert, *BE* (1941) 9 and *Rev. Phil.* (1959) 214, for most of the sources.

<sup>44</sup> P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (1977) 51-2, 74-5.

<sup>45</sup> Dio, *Or.* xxxi 121-2; Robert, *Gladiateurs* 248.

<sup>46</sup> *IGR* iv 1139 = *Annuario* 27-9 (1952) 218, no. 80; *Clara Rhodos* 6-7 (1932-3) 433, no. 53 = *Annuario* 27-9 (1952) 225, no. 89 (Camirus); *Lindos* ii 2, 449, 454.

<sup>47</sup> Cult of Roma: Mellor (1975) 215; Caesarea: *Annuario* 30-2 (1952-4) 253, no. 4.

<sup>48</sup> There were still recognizably Persian cults in the Roman period in western Asia Minor (Robert, 'Une nouvelle inscription grecque de Sardes', *CRAI* (1975) 306, and *RN* (1976) 25-48 on Hypaepa) but they did not offer a serious alternative.

<sup>49</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* xvi 13.

<sup>50</sup> R. Duthoy, *Epigraphische Studien* 11 (1976) 143-214 (for *CIL* iii 6069 read 6062; iii 740 is not certainly from Parium). The term also appears in Greek at Laodicea Combusta (*MAMA* i 169, 216, 283) but not until the fourth century when its significance must be different.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. B. Levick, S. Jameson, *JRS* 54 (1964) 99 n. 8, on augurs.

wore the special Roman hat (the *apex*).<sup>52</sup> However, the colonies were not bound by the official Roman pantheon. At Pisidian Antioch cults of Vespasian and Antoninus are attested, both seemingly in their lifetimes, contrary to Roman practice,<sup>53</sup> and at four colonies the cult of the Sebastoi or Caesares is found, which is probably modelled on the Greek cults of the Sebastoi.<sup>54</sup> Specifically Roman culture in fact receded in these colonies; the Latin language declined in the face of Greek, except for official documents,<sup>55</sup> and the colonies became partly assimilated to the dominant Greek culture, even to the extent of being referred to as *poleis*, or Greek cities.<sup>56</sup>

The imperial cult in Greek cities was strongly Greek with respect to its ritual, but some of its peripheral elements were indeed of Roman origin. The gladiatorial games and animal fights, which spread from Rome and became very popular in the Greek world under the empire, were put on almost exclusively in connection with the imperial cult.<sup>57</sup> But it would be wrong to imagine that this fact shows that imperial festivals were strongly Roman in flavour and out of keeping with traditional festivals. These bloody combats were indeed an innovation, but it is not surprising that an innovation of this scale came about through the new imperial festivals. Similarly pantomimes and mimes, which had long existed on the fringes of Greek festivals, first became part of Greek competitions within imperial festivals.<sup>58</sup> The gladiatorial and animal fights were secondary to the actual ritual and, in any case, their origin seems to lose importance. Certainly those who attacked the fights did so not on the grounds that they were Roman but that they were morally objectionable.

However, Roman practices were sometimes deliberately adopted by individual members of the élite, which may best be seen as a strategy in the competition for status within the élite. Thus an inhabitant of Acmonia who had become a Roman citizen, one Titus Flavius Praxias, in making arrangements for his posthumous commemoration, employed not only the local Macedonian calendar but also the Roman one, and officials whose name (dogmatographs)

<sup>52</sup> Weinstock (1971) pl. 31, 2 with p. 405. However, one cannot conclude that he also had the privileges of the Roman *flamen*.

<sup>53</sup> *JRS* 2 (1912) 102, no. 34; *CIL* III 6820.

<sup>54</sup> Alexandria Troas: J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (1973) 412, no. 51 = *AE* (1973) 502; Comama?: *Anat. Stud.* 10 (1960) 51, no. 100 = *SEG* XIX 830; Iconium: *IGR* III 261, 1474; Sinope: *Belleken* 17 (1953) 176, no. 13 = *AE* (1969/70) 592.

<sup>55</sup> E. L. Bowie, *JRS* 60 (1970) 206, reviewing Levick (1967).

<sup>56</sup> Robert, *Hell.* XI–XII (1960) 294.

<sup>57</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs* 240, 267–75.

<sup>58</sup> Robert, 'Pantomimen im griechischen Orient', *Hermes* 65 (1930) 106 = *Op. Min. Sel.* I 654; 'Archaiologos', *REG* 49 (1936) 235 = *Op. Min. Sel.* I 671. Later evidence has not altered the picture.

was probably modelled on the Roman senatorial procedure for the drafting of documents.<sup>59</sup> One of the provisions of the foundation was for a rose ceremony (*rhodismos*), which is an imitation, indeed a translation, of the Roman *rosalia*, a Roman ritual in honour of the dead. It is then not surprising to find that the arrangements were to be preserved for the eternity of Roman rule and that the first of the divine witnesses were the *theoi Sebastoi*, the divine emperors. The association of choristers of Rome and Augustus adopted a similar strategy. This provincial association which had been set up 'to sing hymns to Augustus in the sanctuary dedicated by Asia' in Pergamum<sup>60</sup> and which also had its own building was made up of members of the élite. Thirty-two of the thirty-six members held Roman citizenship in the early second century, a ratio which was characteristic of the Pergamene upper class by this time.<sup>61</sup> The entry fee for new members was a very large sum (702½ denarii), seven times higher than the entry fee known for any other association.<sup>62</sup> The fee was much less for the sons of old members and it is clear that the association was hereditary as far as possible. It is interesting to find that the ritual of this association contained some peculiarly Roman traits.<sup>63</sup> The alien date of 1 January, the start not of the Greek but of the Roman New Year, was celebrated, and, as at Acmonia, a rose ceremony was held for the members of the association. Another telling detail of their private arrangements is that the successor of a dead member was to provide incense for the funeral. The use of incense at funerals was a Roman custom which is otherwise found in the Greek East only at the funeral of a Roman lady at the Roman colony of Corinth.

The Roman origin of these customs was highly significant to these members of the Greek élite. While it was once believed that the legal forms adopted by Titus Flavius Praxias were necessary consequences of his acquisition of Roman citizenship, such a legalistic approach to Roman history is no longer tenable and it is better to stress the way that members of the élite attempted to gain status by public insistence on their familiarity with Roman procedures. The adoption of Roman practices by individuals or by groups within the élite was a strategy in the constant struggles within the élite for prestige. Individuals or groups sought to differentiate themselves from the rest

<sup>59</sup> IGR IV 661 = F. Cumont, *Catalogue des sculptures et inscriptions antiques des musées royaux du cinquantenaire*<sup>2</sup> (1913) 150, no. 133 (= SEG XIII 542, in part). Cf. F. de Visscher, *RIDA* 12 (1965) 247–55.

<sup>60</sup> *I. Ephesos* 1a 18d 12–16, the hereditary nature being confirmed by Augustus.

<sup>61</sup> Habicht, *Alt. von Perg.* VIII 3, pp. 163–4.

<sup>62</sup> Poland (1909) 493.

<sup>63</sup> *I. Perg.* 374 = IGR IV 353 with Robert (1960) 340–2 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 856–8.

of the élite and to gain standing in the city by borrowing from the culture of the ruling power. This strategy, however, only made sense because the community as a whole expressed its identity through the maintenance of Greek traditions.

III

We have begun to see the place of the imperial cult within the communal, urban Greek culture; too much that is written about Asia Minor adopts unreflectively the confident perspective of the urban élite and scarcely pauses to consider the world outside the cities. In particular the nature of the sources for the imperial period has led some scholars to over-emphasize the prevalence of Greek language and culture. This simple picture of pervasive Hellenism is too dependent on the testimony of Greek inscriptions and neglects the dynamics of Greek culture.<sup>64</sup> In order to show the limits to this culture, and the imperial cult, it is essential to explore the other sides of my three polarities. The relationship between non-Greek languages, rural culture and the lack of communal organization needs to be approached with some care. The three factors reinforced one another but they could exist independently and I want to discuss them in turn.

The Greek language was used over all of Asia Minor by the Roman period, both in remote areas like Lycaonia and in the countryside. But there were still a number of non-Greek languages in existence, whose importance it is difficult to judge. The main sources for the Graeco-Roman period as a whole are very uninformative about these languages and it is something of a shock to discover that it is precisely in Lycaonia, though at a slightly earlier date than the main inscriptional evidence, that the crowd used the local language, Lycaonian, in hailing Saints Paul and Barnabas as gods.<sup>65</sup> There are, however, inscribed texts from the pre-Roman period in Old Phrygian, Mysian, Lydian, Carian, Lycian and Sidetan, and Strabo (xiii 631c).

<sup>64</sup> For a popular misconception see E. Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (1980) 16, 'Considerable evidence suggests in the educated élite of Roman Africa a conscious suppression of the non-Latin heritage, a practice in marked contrast with that of the Hellenised East.' For the limits of Hellenism see A. H. M. Jones (1940) 288-95, (1964) 991-7; F. Millar, 'Paul of Samosata, Zenobia and Aurelian: the Church, local culture and political allegiance in third-century Syria', *JRS* 61 (1971) 1; L. Zgusta, 'Die Rolle des Griechischen im römischen Kaiserreich', *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit* (ed. G. Neumann, J. Untermann, 1980) 121-45. On the dynamics of civic and theocratic sanctuaries see now P. Debord, *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'Anatolie gréco-romaine* (1982) esp. chs. 3-4.

<sup>65</sup> *Acts of Apostles* xiv 11-12.

records that Cibyra used to employ four languages, Pisidian, Solymian, Greek and Lydian.<sup>66</sup> It is significant that Strabo, writing at the beginning of the imperial period, implies that the linguistic situation at Cibyra was different in his day and he explicitly states that there was no trace left of Lydian in Lydia itself. The written evidence for Lydian is indeed largely confined to the fourth century B.C. and the other languages also ceased to be inscribed in the course of the Hellenistic period. But in the imperial period there suddenly appear inscribed texts of neo-Phrygian<sup>67</sup> and of Pisidian,<sup>68</sup> which is otherwise only attested by the passage of Strabo. These are exclusively fairly brief funerary texts, but they are not entirely stereotyped and there are signs that they were living languages. One Greek epitaph certainly seems to have been composed by someone more at home in Phrygian than in Greek,<sup>69</sup> and it is not surprising to find that in the fifth century A.D., a period when ecclesiastical sources cast new light on non-Greek languages, a bishop could preach in Phrygian.<sup>70</sup> Bilingualism will long have been standard in some areas of Asia Minor. The story about Paul and Barnabas shows that a non-Greek language could be found even in towns, but it is significant that the inscribed texts of Phrygian and Pisidian come almost exclusively from remote rural areas.

This linguistic map is significant, but studies of local cultures in the Roman empire have concentrated too much on languages without consideration of the substantive aspects of the cultures. Language is only one aspect of culture and it is essential also to examine the more general remains of the rural cultures, that is the cults of the countryside, which were the most important part of the collective experience of the inhabitants of those areas. We are fortunate to have written documents produced by the participants in these cults and not to be dependent solely on the testimony of members of the élite.<sup>71</sup> The relationship between élite and non-élite

<sup>66</sup> A. Heubeck, *Archaeologia Homerica* III ch. X (1979) 100–5; also G. Neumann, 'Kleinasien', in *Die Sprachen* (n. 64) 167–85.

<sup>67</sup> *MAMA* VII xxvii–xxxii; O. Haas, *Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler* (1966) with distribution map on p. 70; C. Brixhe, T. Drew-Bear, 'Un nouveau document néo-Phrygien', *Kadmos* 17 (1978) 50; C. Brixhe, M. Waelkens, *Kadmos* 20 (1981) 68–75.

<sup>68</sup> C. J. Hemer, 'The Pisidian texts: a problem of language and history', *Kadmos* 19 (1980) 54. Further possible texts are reported in *Kadmos* 18 (1979) 182 and note *BE* (1959) 438 on the original find spot.

<sup>69</sup> *MAMA* VII 347.  
<sup>70</sup> K. Holl, 'Das Fortleben der Volkssprachen in Kleinasien in nachchristlicher Zeit', *Hermes* 43 (1908) 240–54 at p. 248.

<sup>71</sup> For the importance of iconographic evidence, which I shall not exploit here, see F. Dunand, *Religion populaire en Égypte romaine. Les terres cuites isiaques du Musée du Caire* (1979).

cultures will vary widely depending on the particular structures of the given society.<sup>72</sup> Even within the ancient world the picture varies<sup>73</sup> but in order to clarify the problem of the relationship of the culture of the urban élite to this rural culture it may be useful as a preliminary step to suggest an analogy with Christianity. Studies of this religion in Europe have manifested two tendencies. Many have concentrated on orthodox official positions while, in reaction, others have sought to examine, sympathetically, non-élite, 'deviant' religious practices such as local festivals or 'heretical' sects.<sup>74</sup> These latter practices must not be isolated but seen as part of a culture dominated by official Christianity and supported by an elaborate network of institutions. In the ancient world, of course, there was no unitary religion imposed by the élite and supported by a monopoly of power. It is quite wrong, however, either to focus solely on 'orthodox' Greek culture or to ignore the relation between rural culture and urban Greek culture. I suggest that the role of Greek culture may be seen as analogous to the later role of Christianity as a hegemonial force, even if it was not supported by the overt exercise of power.

There was a clear divide between the élite and rural cultures. The élite felt that to penetrate beyond the security of urban culture was fraught with risk. Those who travelled from city to city had to pass through countless hazards and attempted to traverse swiftly the dangers of nature to reach the safety of culture.<sup>75</sup> This negative attitude to the countryside included an exclusion of rural culture. Thus intellectuals in general, whether Apuleius in North Africa or Aelius Aristides in Asia Minor, display almost no interest in non-urban cultures. This intellectual disdain for the parochial is reflected in North Africa in the religious dedications made by magistrates, the

<sup>72</sup> Cf. P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978) esp. 24-9. Further ch. 5 pp. 107-17.

<sup>73</sup> Thus in Hellenistic Egypt there was a very close relationship between Greek and Egyptian culture, J. Yoyotte, 'Bakthis: religion égyptienne et culture grecque à Edfou', in *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (1969) 127.

<sup>74</sup> N. Z. Davis, 'Some tasks and themes in the study of popular religion', in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (ed. C. Trinkaus, H. A. Oberman, 1974) 307. Cf. F. Gearing, 'Preliminary notes on ritual in village Greece', in *Contributions to Mediterranean Sociology* (ed. J. G. Peristiany, 1968) 65, for a study of a village borrowing from the Orthodox Church. Also R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (1977).

<sup>75</sup> E. L. Bowie, 'The novels and the real world', in *Erotica Antiqua* (ed. B. P. Reardon, 1977) 91ff., esp. 94-5 (with reference to an unpublished paper by S. Mitchell); A. M. Scarcella, 'Les structures socio-économiques du roman de Xénophon d'Éphèse', *REG* 90 (1977) 249-62, esp. 259-60 on countryside as 'la terre de la misère et de la mort'.

leading members of the social and political élite.<sup>76</sup> They totally exclude the local gods in favour of the emperor, divinized abstractions and the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. We shall see that a similar gap existed in Asia Minor between rural cults and the imperial cult, which was part of the prestigious Greek culture.

We must escape from the lure of Greek culture and penetrate the areas where the imperial cult did not reach (map v). Most of the blank spaces on the map are due to the absence of towns. Thus in inland Mysia there were few cities and they did not develop until the second century A.D.<sup>77</sup> Further east, in Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, there were again few cities, only eight in total, though within them one can trace the development of Greek culture from the Hellenistic period onwards.<sup>78</sup> Outside these cities we find only a temple in the centre of the Troad dedicated to Artemis Sebaste Baiiane (Cat. no. 15). This was an obscure area with a few scattered villages<sup>79</sup> and the anomalous location of the temple may be explained by the fact that it was dedicated by imperial freedmen; their presence here is unexplained, though their responsibility for the temple is strongly reminiscent of the situation on imperial estates (p. 86).

This is an essentially negative picture because of the paucity of evidence, but for other rural areas a more positive account can be given. The great Anatolian plateau south of Ancyra had an essentially agricultural economy with scattered villages and farmsteads, unaffected for the most part by Roman rule.<sup>80</sup> The cities, which were far apart and indeed entirely non-existent on the plain between Ancyra and Laodicea Combusta, had little impact on the countryside. None of the rural cults, many of which can be precisely located, had any contact with the emperor. To take one example, Meter Zizimmene, the most important deity of the area, had a sanctuary in the countryside between Laodicea and Iconium; none of the dozen or so dedications to her mentions the emperor.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>76</sup> P. A. Février, 'Religion et domination dans l'Afrique romaine', *DHA* 2 (1976) 305, which is more sophisticated than M. Bénabou, *La résistance africaine à la romanisation* (1976).

<sup>77</sup> Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 194, *Villes*<sup>2</sup> 266-7 (and *La Carie* 333-4); Magie (1950) 616-17, 1476-7; A. H. M. Jones (1971) 37, 88-9.

<sup>78</sup> Ruge, Bittel, *RE* xviii 4 (1949) 2486-2550; W. E. Gwatkin, *Cappadocia as a Roman Procuratorial Province* (1930) esp. 26-9, and E. Kirsten, *RAC* II (1954) 861-91; Robert, *Noms indigènes* 457-523, on Hellenization.

<sup>79</sup> On the Troad see W. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923); W. Ruge, *RE* vii A (1948) 525-84 with map on 573-4; J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (1973). On the centre see esp. LBW 1745 with A. H. M. Jones (1971) 85-8.

<sup>80</sup> S. Mitchell, 'Population and the land in Roman Galatia', *ANRW* II 7, 2 (1980) 1053. Also Ruge, *RE* xiii (1927) 2253-65 with map on 2261-2, on Lycaonia.

<sup>81</sup> *AJA* 31 (1927) 26-50 with list of inscriptions 27 n. 1; add *MAMA* vii 515, viii 363.

To the west one moves into the different geographical and religious area of Phrygia. The epigraphical evidence is rich and its exploitation is long overdue, though it is now possible to evoke the life of the highlands of Phrygia, the area bounded by Dorylaeum, Cotiaem and Acroenus.<sup>82</sup> The area seems to have regained some prosperity under the empire after a period in the last centuries B.C. when our evidence entirely ceases, but it remained very much outside the mainstream and evidence for any kind of urbanism is very slight. We know of only one building put up under the empire, at a place which was uniquely prosperous for the area. Greek influence on religious architecture seems to be found only on the fringes of the area. Temples were built at, for example, Prymnessus, Amorium and Midiaem,<sup>83</sup> but the sanctuary of Agdistis on the Midas Kale, the only documented sanctuary within the area, did not have a Greek-style temple.<sup>84</sup> Apart from the cult at this sanctuary the main gods of the area were the Mother of the Gods (*Meter theon*), Zeus Bronton and other local gods. There are very few examples of non-Phrygian gods, and these occur in the outer parts of the highlands. The emperor is not associated with them in any way and in general has little prominence in the surviving evidence. There is only one loyal inscription, 'on behalf of the emperors', dedicated by an imperial slave<sup>85</sup> and only one imperial statue in the area.<sup>86</sup> The inscription on the statue base does call Marcus Aurelius and Commodus 'the most prominent of the gods' but there is no sign of any organized imperial cult.

This non-urbanized, remote area reveals something about the contexts to which the emperor remained alien. Elsewhere, in Phrygia and eastern Lydia, it is also possible to depict the rural cults. The Maeonian countryside of eastern Lydia seems to have been dotted with little rural sanctuaries of local gods.<sup>87</sup> For example, a dedication to the Mother was made in a Lydian cave,<sup>88</sup> and a sanctuary of the Great Mother is found on a hilltop.<sup>89</sup> This sanctuary yielded some of the expiation texts which are such a characteristic feature of the unique religious atmosphere of Maeonia and Phrygia;<sup>90</sup> many of the

<sup>82</sup> Haspels (1971).

<sup>83</sup> Price, Trell (1977) 267, no. 480; 259, nos. 327-9; 265, no. 439.

<sup>84</sup> A. Gabriel, *Phrygie* iv 46, fig. 27; Haspels (1971) 188-9. This was probably the chief sanctuary of Metropolis which lies some ten kilometres distant, Robert, *BE* (1972) 463, *À travers l'Asie Mineure* (1980) 293-9.

<sup>85</sup> Haspels (1971) no. 51. <sup>86</sup> Haspels (1971) no. 93.

<sup>87</sup> Robert, *Anatolia* 3 (1958) 122 = *Op. Min. Sel.* 1 421.

<sup>88</sup> *ΣPE* 34 (1979) 294-5.

<sup>89</sup> Robert, *Anatolia* 3 (1958) 127 = *Op. Min. Sel.* 1 426.

<sup>90</sup> Robert, *CRAI* (1978) 267-9.



other expiation texts come from another hilltop sanctuary, of Apollo Lermenos.<sup>91</sup> We can also now locate, for the first time, a sanctuary of Hosion kai Dikaion, 'the Holy and Just', another characteristic Phrygian power, which again proves to be a rural sanctuary, near Cotiaeum.<sup>92</sup> There are also other rural shrines, on hillsides<sup>93</sup> or at the side of streams,<sup>94</sup> of which the richest is a sanctuary of Zeus Alsenos and Petarenos in the region of Amorium.<sup>95</sup> Illicit excavations turned up over 350 votive plaques at a site on the slopes of a hill. It hardly needs to be said that the emperor features in none of these sanctuaries.

Two related features of these cults mark them off from the standard civic cults, and help to explain the undoubted gap between them and the emperor. Firstly, these rural gods were not part of the Greek Olympian pantheon. Some, like Meter Zizimmene or Hosion kai Dikaion, were entirely alien to that pantheon, while others, such as Zeus Alsenos, were only partially modelled on it. This distancing between indigenous, non-Greek cults and the emperor is true of other parts of Asia Minor, whether one considers a restricted local cult of the twelve gods whose sanctuary was in the hills of Lycia<sup>96</sup> or deities whose cult was widespread. The emperor is never associated with or assimilated to Men,<sup>97</sup> nor were emperors and empresses ever associated with the Mother Goddess or Cybele.<sup>98</sup> This is in striking

<sup>91</sup> *MAMA* iv xiv-xv and nos. 270-93; Oppermann, *RE Supp.* v (1931) 521-35; Robert, *Villes*<sup>2</sup> 127-49, 356, though, as Robert shows, Motella was perfectly Greek in its constitution as early as the second century B.C.

<sup>92</sup> T. Drew-Bear, *Actes VII Cong. int. épig. grecque et latine 1977* (ed. D. M. Pippidi, 1979) 359.

<sup>93</sup> Drew-Bear (1976) 252-4, nos. 9-10 (near Appia).

<sup>94</sup> Drew-Bear (1976) 249-51, nos. 3-7 (near Acmonia). Cf. Drew-Bear (1978) 43-7, nos. 11-12 (near Nacoleia).

<sup>95</sup> L. Tuğrul, 'Votive steles found at Emirdağ', *İst. Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* 13-14 (1966) 175; Robert, *ACF* (1965) 399 = *Op. Min. Sel.* iv 278; cf. Drew-Bear (1976) 249-51.

<sup>96</sup> *TAM* II 3, 724-33 with H. Metzger, *Catalogue des monuments votifs du Musée d'Adalia* (1952) 34-8, and C. Brixhe, *REG* 78 (1965) 61-5, who agree with Robert, *Hell.* x 8-9, that the interpretation by Weinreich ('Lykische Zwölfgötterreliefs', *SHAW* 4 (1917) 5) of the thirteenth, central, figure as the emperor is erroneous.

<sup>97</sup> If one rejects the misinterpretations of the temples at Pisidian Antioch and Ancyra (Cat. nos. 123, 108) and of coins of Ancyra (Lane, *CMRDM* II 154, 160 with III 46 n. 18 and Riewald (1912) 325-6) there remains only one exception (Cat. no. 99).

<sup>98</sup> E.g. E. Schwertheim, 'Denkmäler zur Meterverehrung in Bithynien und Mysien', in *Fest. F. K. Dörner* II (1978) 791. H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain* (1912) 347, 392-3, claimed that such an association was regular but his instances are better explained in different terms; Riewald (1912) 324 saw the truth.

contrast to the relatively frequent assimilations of empresses to the Greek goddesses Demeter and Hera on coins.<sup>99</sup>

The reality of this cultural barrier between Greek and non-Greek, town and country is illustrated by the cult of Meter Zizimmene. When this cult came into the city of Iconium from the rural sanctuary it shed part of its indigenous nomenclature; a dedication was made, in Latin and Greek, to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Minerva Zizimmene and the Fortune of the Emperor. It is highly significant that only when Meter Zizimmene was changed to Minerva Zizimmene was it possible to associate the emperor with such a deity.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, when a native god was hellenized as Ares and became the chief deity of a city, it again was possible to assimilate the emperor to him.<sup>101</sup> Another partly hellenized cult, that of Zeus Bennios, which is found in the area between Prusa and Pisidian Antioch, also gave a place to the emperor.<sup>102</sup> Two of the nine dedications to Zeus Bennios are on behalf of the emperor and it is notable that these are communal dedications, by a village association. Where indigenous cults achieved official standing in an association or city they were upgraded and broke through the cultural barrier.

Thus the second factor which reinforced the gap between rural cults and the emperor was their organization. In general the cults in the highlands of Phrygia or in other parts of the countryside of Lydia and Phrygia were not highly organized. For instance, a random sample of the extensive evidence for the cult of Zeus Bronton reveals only dedications by individuals, not by communities, and in a third of these cases the dedication is combined with an epitaph. These are generally on behalf of the individual and his family, and only in a few cases do the horizons widen to include the village. There are few mentions of priests or organization of the cult and, not surprisingly, the emperor is never mentioned. Similarly, the confessions of guilt which were made to a variety of gods in Maeonia and south-west Phrygia were essentially individual and not social matters.<sup>103</sup> Only the exceptional association of the Xenoï Tekmoreioi

<sup>99</sup> About 20 to Demeter, about 7 to Hera. *Fitzwilliam* 4914 (Poppaea, Acmonia) might be an exception but inspection of the coin shows the reading to be at best doubtful.

<sup>100</sup> *IGR* III 1471 with *JHS* 38 (1918) 170-2.

<sup>101</sup> Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 892; von Aulock (1977) 61, nos. 141-2 (Amblada). Cf. the holding of priesthoods of the emperors and Ares at Savatra (*IGR* III 1481 with Robert, *Hell.* x (1955) 72-8).

<sup>102</sup> S. Şahin, 'Zeus Bennios', in *Fest. F. K. Dörner* II (1978) 771.

<sup>103</sup> Robert, *Inscr. Sardes* 23-36, *Noms indigènes* 321-2, and Nilsson (1961) 579 n. 1 give the references. The only priest of Hosion kai Dikaion known so far is *SEG* xxviii 929.

granted a place to the emperor.<sup>104</sup> This large association, which was centred about twenty kilometres north of Pisidian Antioch, drew its membership from about two hundred different places, mainly obscure villages. The society, whose peculiar name was probably drawn from a ritual act (which is found also in the neighbouring cult of Men at Pisidian Antioch<sup>105</sup>), was devoted to the worship of Artemis, but four of the extant documents of the society start with a dedication on behalf of the emperor.<sup>106</sup> This highly organized society, with its Greek flavour, formed a plausible context for the emperor. But in general rural cults lacked strong autonomous organization and also failed to come into the orbit of urban élites. As in North Africa, these élites did not display their generosity by lavish donations and dedications to rural sanctuaries.

Finally, we may survey the terrain that we have traversed. At one extreme of remoteness from the emperor and the empire there are shepherds.<sup>107</sup> These solitary individuals, whose narrow horizons are revealed by their dedications to rural gods on behalf of their masters, their animals and themselves, naturally belong in the countryside. Here there were many local cults, patronized by numerous individuals but with minimal organization and contacts with the life of communities. Only when cults acquired a communal organization and borrowed sufficient traits from the cults of the dominant Greek culture did they give a place to the emperor. On the other hand, in the towns, large and small, the imperial cult formed an important part of their communal Greek culture.

The reasons for the position of the imperial cult within this culture lie both in the relationship between the organized communities and Rome and also in local forces. We have already examined in chapter 3 the system of pressures linking the Greek cities and Rome which helped to generate the cults. This point can be extended from the sphere of diplomacy to the general impact of Roman administration. Under the Roman empire the Greek cities remained largely self-governing bodies with local powers; the interest of the Roman government was limited to the maintenance of order, the levying of

<sup>104</sup> Ruge, *RE* vA (1934) 158–69, who systematizes the work of Ramsay, is basic. See also Broughton (1934) 231–2, Magie (1950) 1326 n. 44 and 1573 n. 40, B. Levick, 'The Table of Mên', *JHS* 91 (1971) 80. Drew-Bear (1978) ix–x promises revised texts.

<sup>105</sup> Lane, *CMRDM* III 60–1, 66.

<sup>106</sup> Nothing remains of Ramsay's attempt to show that the emperor was given a divine position within the association.

<sup>107</sup> Robert, *Hell.* VII (1949) 152–60, *Hell.* x (1955) 31–3, *L'Antiquité classique* (1966) 383–4.

taxes and the administration of justice, and these interests were met in the early empire without the deployment by Rome of large numbers of personnel in the provinces. Taxes were levied through the cities and in Asia, for example, the annually rotating governor had only a handful of staff and could appear in the dozen or so assize centres only once a year.<sup>108</sup> Though this system of administration is often seen as admirably decentralized and light-handed, consideration of its physical limitations and the use of the bland term 'administration' plays down both the success of Roman control and the uncertain response of the Greek cities. The Greek culture of the time was largely backward-looking; it consciously derived its standards and models from what the Greeks, like us, considered the classical period of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.<sup>109</sup> One aspect of this cultural orientation was that cities were praised in speeches, not so much for their current achievements as for their role in the glorious past. This attitude to the past meant that the cities were always aware that the present arrangements of the Roman empire had no natural necessity. The present might indeed seem tawdry in comparison with the privileged past. Plutarch, in a handbook addressed to an aspiring local politician of Sardis, drew his examples largely from the classical past but warned his audience that the sphere of the city had been narrowed; it was no longer possible to lead campaigns, overthrow tyrants or make alliances for fear of the wrath of the Roman governor.<sup>110</sup> This warning was timely. There was considerable uncertainty about the limits to the cities' freedom of action, and they kept attempting to solve local problems by appealing to the emperor or the governor for adjudication or ratification.<sup>111</sup> Modern historians often treat these appeals patronizingly as the foolish referral to Rome of matters in which the Romans were reluctant to become involved; in fact they are excellent evidence of the degree to which the Greek cities were unsure of their relation to Rome. Despite the thinness of Roman administration, power lay with Rome and the cities had constantly to negotiate their position in the world.

The explanation of the extraordinarily dense distribution of the imperial cult has also to be sought in the local interests which the

<sup>108</sup> G. P. Burton, 'Proconsuls, assizes and the administration of justice under the Empire', *JRS* 65 (1975) 92.

<sup>109</sup> Aristides, *Panathenaikos* (ed. J. H. Oliver, *The Civilising Power* (1968)). Cf. E. L. Bowie, 'Greeks and their past in the Second Sophistic', *Past and Present* 46 (1970) 3 = *Studies in Ancient Society* (ed. M. I. Finley, 1974) 166.

<sup>110</sup> *Moralia* esp. 813 DE with C. P. Jones (1971) 133. Cf. Dio, *Or.* xxxi 102-6.

<sup>111</sup> Millar (1977) 363-463.

cult served. It was the outgrowth of a complex, urban culture, and was constantly sustained by a variety of local forces, which we will investigate further in the following chapter. The cult became one of the major contexts in which the competitive spirit of the local élites was worked out; it formed one of a range of civic provisions by which the prestige of the city was measured; it shared in the dominance of Greek culture as a whole. The hegemonial role of this culture over local culture was a product of the power of the cities. Access to this culture was the crucial path for advancement both for individuals and for communities. Individuals could aspire to greater wealth and social standing, communities could hope to be freed from their position of financial and social dependence on a neighbouring city. The existence of Roman rule intensified this dominance of Greek culture. Through the important role of Greek literature, rhetoric and even philosophy in the education of the Roman élite, individual Greeks could advance themselves in the Roman world, while in the provinces Roman administration operated through urban élites and Greek cities, whose standing it tended to enhance. The cults of Roman power formed an element of the Greek culture whose standing was itself in part dependent on Rome and which served to articulate the relations of dominance among the subjects of Rome.

# 5

## FESTIVALS AND CITIES

The imperial cult in the Greek provinces has often been judged with scepticism; as the creation of the local élites in their desire to flatter Rome it had no popular resonances or local importance.<sup>1</sup> I want here to argue for the significance of the cult for the Greek cities by looking in particular at imperial festivals, the key manifestation of the cult in action. These festivals, which consisted like other Greek festivals of processions, sacrifices, feasts and games, were organized by the cities on regular cycles. They were an established feature of civic life and a matter for considerable local pride. For example, a third-century guide for orators gives the advice that one can praise the festivals of a city in terms of their honorands, 'the festival held in honour of a god – the Olympian festival, in honour of Zeus; of a hero – the Isthmian for Palaemon and the Nemean for Archemorus; or of a monarch – the Sebasteia in many places'.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas the last chapter employed a number of dichotomies in order to show the limitations of the imperial cult, here I argue for the importance of the cult within communal, urban life by questioning the validity of two other dichotomies sometimes applied to the imperial cult, élite-popular and public-private. The organization, duration and celebrations of the festivals demonstrate their importance for the whole city and not merely for the élite (i-ii). I also argue that the cults did not have a different meaning for the élite as against the populace and in particular that the élite was not generally sceptical (iii). In addition the cult was not merely a public formality, but an institution whose significance extended to many areas of civic life (iv). The imperial cult involved civic co-operation, but there were also conflicts, both within the value system of the civic cults and

<sup>1</sup> As J. Bayet, *Histoire politique et psychologique de la religion romaine* (1957) 190-1, noted.

<sup>2</sup> Menander Rhetor §366 (ed. and tr. D. A. Russell, N. G. Wilson, 1981). On festivals see Chapot (1904) 490-506; Stengel (1920) 190-258; A. H. M. Jones (1940) 227-35, 279-80; Nilsson (1967) 826-31; Robert, *Monnaies antiques* 18-46; *RAC* vii (1969) 749-53; Dunand (1978); *La fête, pratique et discours* (Annales litt., Univ. de Besançon no. 262, 1981).

between the cults and Christianity (v). Provincial festivals involved a further type of conflict, between cities, but they also created new bonds (vi).

# I ORGANIZATION AND DURATION

Imperial festivals are of a type which falls outside our everyday experience and may indeed meet with resistance from Anglo-Saxons whose expectations of a religious occasion are nourished by Protestantism. It is the Low Church Victorian Sunday which is now felt to be the norm.<sup>3</sup> As evoked by *Little Dorrit* (ch. 3) or *Father and Son* (ch. 10) it was a sombre occasion. All normal forms of enjoyment were prohibited and the weary hours were given over to improving books and Sunday School. Boredom hung heavily. In church and chapel the black dress of the men set the tone. One might contrast the carnival atmosphere of the procession of Artemis at Ephesus, as described in a second-century A.D. novel.<sup>4</sup> Typical features of a Greek religious festival were not stained glass and pews but the sun and the open air, not black suits but white robes.<sup>5</sup> It seems entirely appropriate that St John is said to have made a dramatic protest against this very cult of Artemis by attending a festival dressed in black.<sup>6</sup>

Imperial festivals, despite their failure to conform to our expectations of piety, formed the essential framework of the imperial cult. It was at festivals and in their ritual that the vague and elusive ideas concerning the emperor, the 'collective representations', were focussed in action and made powerful. As Geertz puts it, 'For it is in ritual... that this conviction that religious conceptions are veridical and that religious directives are sound is somehow generated. It is in some sort of ceremonial form... that the moods and motivations which sacred symbols induce in men and the general conceptions of the order of existence which they formulate for men meet and reinforce one another.'<sup>7</sup> Here the conceptual systems of temple, image and sacrifice (chs. 6-8) had their living embodiment.

The city as a whole was involved in establishing and running the imperial cult. Cults were generally the product of a joint decision of

<sup>3</sup> For the debates see O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* i<sup>3</sup> (1971) 455-68, and J. Wigley, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday* (1980).

<sup>4</sup> Xenophon of Ephesus I 2, 2-5. See also Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* II 34-III 6 (Delphic procession in honour of Neoptolemus), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus VII 70-3 (ludi Romani).

<sup>5</sup> Robert, *BCH* 57 (1933) 523-4 = *Op. Min. Sel.* I 491-2; *RE* XXI (1952) 1911 for white dress.

<sup>6</sup> Acts of John, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* II 1 (ed. M. Bonnet, 1898) §38. Cf. J. Quasten, *Patrology* I (1950) 134-6, and Foss (1979) 34-5.

<sup>7</sup> Geertz (1966) 28 = (1973) 112.

both the council and the people, whatever the significance of individuals in providing the initial impetus. While sometimes the finances of the cults were provided on an *ad hoc* basis by individuals (ch. 3 p. 62), the city held the overall responsibility. Thus a civic official was responsible for the finances of the imperial festival on behalf of the city of Gytheum in the Peloponnese,<sup>8</sup> and at Mytilene money was given from public funds to meet the costs of rearing the sacrificial animals.<sup>9</sup> The imperial cult might also be separately endowed, with a special fund for shows on imperial birthdays,<sup>10</sup> or with its own land and treasurer.<sup>11</sup>

Imperial celebrations were organized both irregularly and regularly. The accession of a new emperor or the receipt of good news about the emperor in the course of his reign were met with rejoicings (ch. 8 pp. 212-14). Indeed this became so common that a governor of Asia was moved to check the abuses to which the practice led.

For as often as more cheerful news comes in from Rome, people use this for their own private gain, and, making the outward form of the imperial house a cover, they sell the priesthoods, as if at public auction, and invite men of any type to purchase them.<sup>12</sup>

There was also a regular cycle of celebrations. One way in which the emperor was brought into the life of the community was by adapting a traditional festival in honour of the chief local deity. The emperor was often brought into close relationship with the traditional gods of the city, in joint dedications, in assimilations and in identifications.<sup>13</sup> In particular, traditional festivals often had an imperial title added to them; the Heraea of Samos, for example, became the Sebastia Heraea. The significance of such double titles is at first sight unclear. Some are very transient<sup>14</sup> and do not

<sup>8</sup> *SEG* xi 923 with Rostovtzeff (1930). Cf. *RE* xxi (1952) 1902-6 on participants.

<sup>9</sup> *OGIS* 456 = *IGR* iv 39. See ch. 3 n. 15 for civic funds for sacrifices, ch. 4 n. 26 for use of village revenues and Cat. no. 1 for revenues of a god.

<sup>10</sup> *I. Cret.* i 195, no. 23 (Lytto). Cf. *I. Ephesos* vii 1, 3420 (Metropolis) and ch. 3 p. 62 on foundations.

<sup>11</sup> Cat. no. 72; *IGR* iii 714 (treasurer (of the temple) of the Sebastoi, Sura); *IGR* iv 1608 (distributor of the imperial money, Hypaepa). Cf. land belonging to Hellenistic temple, A. Fontrier, 'Le site du temple d'Aphrodite Stratonice', *REA* 4 (1902) 191.

<sup>12</sup> *I. Ephesos* ia 18b, 11-17 (tr. adapted from *Ancient Roman Statutes* (A. C. Johnson *et al.*, 1961) no. 171).

<sup>13</sup> Riewald (1912), and Nock, *JHS* 45 (1925) 92-3 = Nock (1972) 42-3 on Sebastan gods. Cf. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 34, 63-4, and *JHS* 104 (1984) 85-6.

<sup>14</sup> Robert, *Hell.* vi (1948) 43-8, 73-4; *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1969) 49-58; Mellor (1975) 176-80 on Romaea. Cf. ch. 8 p. 212. For the transience of imperial civic titles see Robert, *Hell.* ii (1946) 76-9 and *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1977) 217.



necessarily entail a close relationship between the emperor and the traditional cult;<sup>15</sup> others refer to two distinct festivals celebrated at the same time,<sup>16</sup> but double titles usually referred to one festival<sup>17</sup> and represented genuinely joint cults which showed piety to both god and emperor.<sup>18</sup> A foundation at Ephesus gives an idea of the way that the emperor was added to the traditional cult of Artemis.<sup>19</sup> Images of Artemis and busts of the imperial family and various personifications were provided for carrying from the temple of Artemis, where they were kept, to the theatre. Here they were put on special bases at various occasions: the new moon sacrifice of the high priestly year, the regular meetings of the assembly, and the festivals of the Sebastia, the Soteria and the quadrennial Great Ephesia.

There were also regular festivals in honour of the emperor alone. The most prominent of these are the major imperial festivals with their associated competitions in athletics or music. The names for these vary, but Sebasteia, Caesarea, Hadrianea, Antoninea and Severeia are particularly common.<sup>20</sup> These civic festivals were generally held once every four years,<sup>21</sup> though a two-year cycle is also found.<sup>22</sup> Provincial festivals and games in Asia were also based on a regular cycle, but the picture is complicated by the number of different cities which celebrated provincial games.<sup>23</sup> At the beginning, the Pergamene games of Rome and Augustus, the only provincial games for over fifty years, were probably annual,<sup>24</sup> but the gradual addition of seven more cities changed the system. It seems that the practice of annual games was retained, with games held in different cities on different cycles. Similarly the Lycian assembly, whose

<sup>15</sup> Imperial authorization of expenditure or of a change in rank may explain some, Robert, *Hell.* xi-xii (1960) 350-68 on Asclepieia Antoninea at Ancyra and *Castabala* 92 on Peraseia Sebasta.

<sup>16</sup> Caesarea and Isthmia at Corinth, Robert, *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1969) 49-58.

<sup>17</sup> Robert, *Laodicée* 286, and *Ét. Anat.* 35 on Dionysia Caesarea at Teos.

<sup>18</sup> *Milet* i 3, 134 = *LSAM* 53; *IGR* iv 98 (Mytilene). For the Hellenistic practice see Habicht (1970) 149-50.

<sup>19</sup> *Forsch. in Eph.* ii 27 = Oliver (1941) 3 = *I. Ephesos* ia 27, lines 48-56, 202-14, 554-60.

<sup>20</sup> For competitions see L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (1953) 131-268. The nomenclature of imperial festivals is complex and shifting (e.g. Lämmer (1967); also Follet (1976) 317-50 on Athens), but no worse than that of other festivals (Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 467-70 on festival of Kore at Cyzicus).

<sup>21</sup> *IGR* iv 654 = *MAMA* vi 265 (Acmonia); *IGR* iv 579, 584 (Aezani); *IGR* iii 778 = *OGIS* 567, *IGR* iii 780 = *SEG* xvii 579 (Attalea); ch. 3 n. 33 (Chios); *IGR* iii 382 (Selge). See also *IGR* iii pp. 659-60.

<sup>22</sup> *IGR* iv 850 with Robert, *Laodicée* 285.

<sup>23</sup> L. Moretti, 'Koina Asias', *RFIC* 82 (1954) 276, at Cyzicus, Ephesus, Laodicea, Pergamum, Philadelphia, Sardis, Smyrna and Tralles.

<sup>24</sup> Habicht, *Alt. von Perg.* viii 3, 165.

structure was much simpler, held an annual festival in the provincial sanctuary, the Letoum.<sup>25</sup>

Annual celebrations were regular too in cities, even if there the special celebrations with games were held only every four years. Mytilene, for example, held competitions with prizes every four years, and also annual sacrifices in the temples of Zeus and Augustus; these annual celebrations were often held on the emperor's birthday.<sup>26</sup> There were also in some places more frequent celebrations. Mytilene actually decided also to sacrifice on the birthday of Augustus each month, in accordance with Hellenistic practice,<sup>27</sup> while Gortyn on Crete accepted a bequest which involved celebrating the birthday of Rome, the accession of Marcus Aurelius and the birthdays of three members of his family, in addition to the birthdays of the testator and his relatives.<sup>28</sup> These days, on which distributions and feasts were given by rich benefactors of the city, were known collectively as 'the imperial days'.<sup>29</sup>

While a special event, such as the arrival of the emperor, could be commemorated by the designation of the day as sacred,<sup>30</sup> it is the regularity of the standard imperial festivals that reflects the Greek perception of the permanence and stability of the Roman empire. The importance of these regular imperial festivals is summed up in a decree of the Asian assembly:

Since one should each year make clear display of one's piety and of all holy, fitting intentions towards the imperial house, the choir of all Asia, gathering at Pergamum on the most holy birthday of Sebastos Tiberius Caesar god, performs a task that contributes greatly to the glory of Sebastos in hymning the imperial house and performing sacrifices to the Sebastan gods and conducting festivals and feasts...<sup>31</sup>

Festival followed festival in a predictable manner, with but minor adjustments for the play of events and the passage of emperors.

<sup>25</sup> *IGR* III 603.

<sup>26</sup> *I. Ephesos* IV 1393; ch. 3 n. 15; *IGR* IV 1666 = *I. Ephesos* VII 1, 3245 (near Tire); *Forsch. in Eph.* II 20 = *I. Ephesos* 1A 26.

<sup>27</sup> E. Schürer, 'Zu II Macc. 6, 7 (monatliche Geburtstagfeier)', *ZNTW* 2 (1901) 48; Habicht (1970) 156. Also, rarely, daily cult, ch. 8 p. 228.

<sup>28</sup> *IGR* I 1509 = *I. Cret.* IV 333, no. 300. Cf. *I. Cret.* I 38, no. 10 (Chersonesus).

<sup>29</sup> *SEG* XIII 258, 39-40 (Gytheum); *IGR* III 739 = *TAM* II 905 ix 95ff. (Rhodiapolis); *OGIS* 524 = *IGR* IV 1257 (Thyatira); Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 549-50 (Lagina, Panamara). The Pergamene choir had a series of celebrations throughout the year (*IGR* IV 353).

<sup>30</sup> Robert, *Hell.* II (1946) 59. Add *F. Delphes* III 4, 3, 307. Aristides (*Or.* LI (Keil) I 1 and 16) refers to a sacred month of the temple at Cyzicus, which could be the imperial temple there.

<sup>31</sup> *IGR* IV 1608c = *I. Ephesos* VII 2, 3801, restored.

Indeed time itself was changed by the imperial cult. The years were distinguished in some cities no longer by the holders of the old magistracies but by the names of the annual imperial priests (ch. 3 p. 63). Within the year time was divided by months, some of which acquired imperial names such as 'Kaisarios' or 'Tiberios', perhaps to mark the celebration of an imperial festival.<sup>32</sup> A more radical change was the transformation of the calendar of the province of Asia under Augustus (ch. 3 pp. 54-5). The old luni-solar Macedonian calendar was replaced by a more convenient calendar based on the new Julian system, but the motivation for the change was not so much efficiency as to provide a way of honouring Augustus. Whereas the old year had begun at a point determined by the sun, the autumnal equinox, the new calendar was to commence on Augustus' birthday, 23 September, which 'we could justly hold to be equivalent to the beginning of all things'. There was also a variety of local, civic calendars operating in the province of Asia, sometimes based on a lunar cycle; some continued, but many were replaced by a calendar beginning on Augustus' birthday.<sup>33</sup> There is a natural tendency for people to conceive of the calendar not as arbitrary divisions of a continuum, but as actually regulating time itself. The riots in eighteenth-century England against the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar are well known. Even in this century, admittedly in the House of Lords, one can find a protest that the change to summer time resulted in a drought and floods by tampering with the natural order of things.<sup>34</sup> In Asia there was no such feeling that the change was unnatural or artificial. Augustus was honoured by marking his birthday in perpetuity as a part of the natural order.

The festivals were not just passing ceremonies but sometimes lasted for several days. Thus the birthday of Antoninus Pius was celebrated at Ephesus for five days; on each day there were shows and a distribution of money to the citizens for sacrifices (ch. 3 n. 15).<sup>35</sup> The festival at Gytheum (n. 8) lasted for six days with each day designated in honour of a different member of the imperial house, and with two additional days in honour of two distinguished Spartans. The gladiatorial displays, which often formed part of the festivals, ranged

<sup>32</sup> K. Scott, 'Greek and Roman honorific months', *YCS* 2 (1931) 201-78. Cf. R. Merkelbach, 'Die ephesischen Monate in der Kaiserzeit', *ZPE* 36 (1979) 157-62.

<sup>33</sup> A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (1972) 174-6, 181-2, 186-7.

<sup>34</sup> Hocart (1936) 147. Cf. also O. Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (1981) 28-32, for popular reactions to attempts to reform Saints' days.

<sup>35</sup> Three days at Termessus Minor (*BCH* 24 (1900) 339-41).

in length from two to thirteen days, with an exceptional fifty-one days on one occasion.<sup>36</sup>

At the festivals the towns would be crowded, perhaps with visitors from neighbouring villages, perhaps from further afield. Dio of Prusa, in a speech addressed to Apamea Celaenae (xxxv 15) gives some idea of the hustle and bustle in a centre used by the Roman governor for his annual assizes, which

bring together a huge throng of people, litigants, jurors, orators, governors, attendants, slaves, pimps, muleteers, tinkers, prostitutes and craftsmen. Consequently those who have goods to sell get the highest price and there is no lack of work in the city, either for the transport, or houses or women.

Dio is consoling Apamea Celaenae for being only an assize centre and not a centre for the provincial imperial cult. Even greater numbers gathered at provincial festivals. Provincial delegates mingled with traders who were attracted from Asia and other parts of the Mediterranean by the tax exemptions granted to some of the major imperial festivals.<sup>37</sup> The number of visitors made it an expensive and prestigious task to care for them. It was a mark of special pride for a man to have been responsible at his own expense for all six gymnasia at Pergamum during a provincial festival.<sup>38</sup> The control of the proceedings was the duty of a special official, the panegyriarch, who is found at both local and provincial festivals,<sup>39</sup> and it was sometimes even necessary for there to be attendants with whips or staves to keep order.<sup>40</sup> Imperial festivals were certainly not casual, half-hearted affairs. Some celebrations were attached to festivals of local deities, others were carefully organized on a regular basis; they lasted a significant period of time and at the provincial festivals the city would be thronged with visitors. The imperial cult was clearly part of the life of the city.

## II COMMUNAL CELEBRATIONS

Modern scholars have often claimed that ruler cult concerned only the élite; while the upper class naturally had an interest in securing their position by displaying their loyalty to the ruler, the lower class

<sup>36</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs* 280-1.

<sup>37</sup> *IGR* iv 336 = *AJ* 73, 30; *IGR* iv 1431 (Smyrna). For comparison see *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 736 = *LSCG* 65, 99ff., Robert, *Hell.* xi-xii (1960) 470 n. 3 and *Monnaies antiques* 24-5. *IGR* iv 144 = *SEG* iv 707 (Cyzicus) for traders.

<sup>38</sup> *Alt. von Perg.* viii 3 pp. 164-5. See in general Robert, *Monnaies antiques* 25-30.

<sup>39</sup> *IGR* iv 584 (Aezani), 993 (Samos), 1248 (Thyatira). *BCH* 10 (1886) 416, no. 25, and *I. Ephesos* iii 724. Cf. Robert, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 68-9.

<sup>40</sup> Robert, *AJPh* 100 (1979) 161-2.

had little reason to be involved.<sup>41</sup> Such a conception is an application of the conventional view of civic cults in general.<sup>42</sup> These cults were the preserve of the rich who served as priests and used them as an outlet for their conspicuous consumption; the poor turned elsewhere to meet their religious needs. This is an unacceptable model for civic cults generally and for the imperial cult in particular. It implies a distinction between élite and popular religion which, despite its frequent use in studies of early modern Europe,<sup>43</sup> is very misleading. At first sight the distinction seems to imply two separate entities, but 'popular' is in fact definable only negatively, as what is non-élite, and therefore, like all residual categories, runs the risk of being a rag-bag with no internal characteristics in common. Ginzburg (1980) has argued that in early modern Europe non-élite ideas did in fact form a conscious peasant counter-culture, but his case relies more on faith than on historical evidence. Even in the more complex society of nineteenth-century England members of the working classes, to the annoyance of Marxists, tended to conform to the ideology of the ruling class.<sup>44</sup> Thus the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in Cambridge can be seen as an event in which, despite arguments over organization and detail, the whole city participated.<sup>45</sup> Certainly in the ancient world the old two-tier model is highly questionable,<sup>46</sup> and I shall avoid using it. Instead of assuming that the common people were alienated from the imperial cult, I argue that the cult involved the whole city.<sup>47</sup> Imperial celebrations might simply have been imperial sacrifices offered by members of the élite acting as imperial priests. This was not the case. The celebrations did not merely involve one section of the community, nor were they limited to one location.

Imperial temples and sanctuaries played an important role. The temples were adorned with garlands;<sup>48</sup> before them animals were

<sup>41</sup> Nilsson (1961) 186.

<sup>42</sup> So even R. L. Gordon, 'Fear of freedom? Selective continuity in religion during the Hellenistic period', *Didaskalos* 4 (1972) 48.

<sup>43</sup> P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978), defends the terms.

<sup>44</sup> H. F. Moorhouse, 'The Marxist theory of the labour aristocracy', *Social History* 3 (1978) 61, and A. Reid, 'Politics and economics in the formation of the British working class...', *ibid.* 347.

<sup>45</sup> E. Hammerton, D. N. Cannadine, 'Conflict and consensus on a ceremonial occasion: the Diamond Jubilee in Cambridge in 1897', *The Historical Journal* 24 (1981) 111-46.

<sup>46</sup> A. Momigliano, 'Popular religious beliefs and the late Roman historians', *Studies in Church History* 8 (1971) 1-18 = *Quinto contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (1975) 73-92, argues this for the later empire. For the practical application of élite religions see *Dialectic in Practical Religion* (ed. E. R. Leach, 1968).

<sup>47</sup> Veyne (1961) 266-8 notes this point.

<sup>48</sup> *I. Ephesos* III 814 (restored). See in general Robert (1966) 195 n. 120 and R. Turcan, *JbAC* 14 (1971) 100-4.

sacrificed at altars.<sup>49</sup> The festival at Pergamum was so closely associated with the temples that the official in charge of the festival was described as being 'of the temples in Pergamum',<sup>50</sup> and the festival at Ancyra is explicitly stated to have been held at the imperial temple; horse races were run there and the other spectacles, gladiatorial and animal fights, competitions, sacrifices and feasts, may also have taken place nearby.<sup>51</sup> Imperial festivals were also held in the sanctuaries of other gods when this was appropriate. The provincial festival of Lycia was held in the sanctuary of Leto (Cat. no. 81) and the local festival of the Saviour Sebastoi in the sanctuary of Asclepius at Pergamum.<sup>52</sup>

The imperial cult was, however, celebrated not just in sanctuaries but in all the major civic centres. The central square was the scene of sacrifices.<sup>53</sup> The council house sometimes, as at Miletus and Ephesus, included an imperial altar or temple, where sacrifices may have been performed by officials and which may have served as the starting point of processions.<sup>54</sup> Theatres, which served a variety of important functions, sometimes contained permanent imperial decoration, whether imperial statues<sup>55</sup> or friezes.<sup>56</sup> There ritual was performed, as in the Hellenistic period.<sup>57</sup> Thus at Gytheum images of Augustus, Livia and Tiberius were placed in the theatre for the imperial festival; in the middle of the theatre was set an incense burner on a table where officials sacrificed incense before the start of the competitions, which were, as often, held in the theatre.<sup>58</sup>

Stadia were the setting for major athletic games and also for animal

<sup>49</sup> Cf. below p. 111 and ch. 8 p. 209.

<sup>50</sup> *BCH* 10 (1886) 416, no. 25. Cf. further Merkelbach (1978) 289.

<sup>51</sup> Cat. no. 108. In general, however, the details of the use of imperial sanctuaries are obscure. If feasts were given there, there was no provision of the permanent banqueting rooms known in other sanctuaries, but tents, of course, would leave no trace in the archaeological record.

<sup>52</sup> *Alt. von Perg.* VIII 3, 36. See ch. 6 pp. 146–56 on the architectural provisions in sanctuaries.

<sup>53</sup> *SEG* XI 923. Benjamin, Raubitschek (1959) 84–5 and Benjamin (1963) 71 on Athens. See Habicht (1970) 141 and *OGIS* 332, 9–11 for Hellenistic parallels.

<sup>54</sup> Ch. 6 pp. 138–40. Cf. *SEG* XII 511 = *LSAM* 81 (Antioch ad Pyramum) with Robert, *Hell.* XI–XII (1960) 529.

<sup>55</sup> *Thera* III 249ff., 258–9 (and *IG* XII 3, 1392–4).

<sup>56</sup> Frieze at Hierapolis depicting, *inter alia*, Septimius Severus as Zeus (*Annuario* 39–40 (1961–2) 637, fig. 9; de Bernardi Ferrero I 59–60 (fig. 97), IV 17; *BE* (1970) 586).

<sup>57</sup> Diodorus XVI 92, 5 with *RE* XXI (1952) 1908; n. 54, vows and libations to gods and kings. Religious ritual in the theatre was common, but for theatre-temples see ch. 6 p. 168 n. 93.

<sup>58</sup> *SEG* XI 923. The professional artists celebrated a mystic *agon* in honour of Dionysus and Hadrian in the theatre at Ancyra (*IGR* III 209 = *SEG* VI 59 = Bosch 128).

fighths; this was where some Christians faced their final test.<sup>59</sup> Stadia contained cult statues and temples,<sup>60</sup> and may also have been the scene for further ritual. Gymnasia were used in the Hellenistic period for local athletic competitions in honour of Hellenistic kings and Roma.<sup>61</sup> The gymnasium was in fact a major public centre of the city<sup>62</sup> and similar competitions in honour of Roman emperors were presumably held there.<sup>63</sup> Gymnasia were certainly the location for imperial sacrifices and banquets<sup>64</sup> and some even contained special rooms for the imperial cult.<sup>65</sup>

These disparate public centres of the city were linked by the processions which were a standard part of imperial as of other festivals.<sup>66</sup> The colourful and lively atmosphere of a procession escorting the garlanded sacrificial animals, or following the bearers of the imperial image,<sup>67</sup> is better evoked by the account of a festival of Artemis in an ancient novel (n. 4) than by many an inscription.

It was the time when the local festival of Artemis was being celebrated and the procession was going from the city to the sanctuary, a distance of three kilometres. All the local girls had to process, richly adorned, and the young men... A great crowd both of locals and of foreigners gathered for the spectacle. For it was the custom at that festival to find husbands for the girls and wives for the young men. The members of the procession filed past, first the carriers of sacred objects, torches, baskets and incense burners, then horses, dogs and hunting equipment for war and especially for peace [lacuna]... At the head of the maidens walked Anthia [the heroine], daughter of two local citizens Megamedes and Euhippe. She was amazingly beautiful and far surpassed the other girls.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. generally *EAA* VII 456–8, H. A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (1964) 136–44, Robert, *Gladiateurs* 35–6. On martyrdoms see below pp. 123–6.

<sup>60</sup> *I. Ephesos* IV 1139; Price, Trell (1977) fig. 473 (Heraclea Pontica); Pausanias II 32, 3; 34, 10; VIII 32, 3; 47, 3. Temple of Hadrian alleged to be near circus at Aegae (Cat. no. 142).

<sup>61</sup> Delorme (1960) 340–8. Cf. Th. Klee, *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen* (1918) 40–1. Follet (1976) 317 distinguishes clearly between international and local games.

<sup>62</sup> Robert, *BE* (1956) 36.

<sup>63</sup> The difficulty is that the gymnasium was changed by the addition of baths, under Roman influence (Delorme (1960) 243–50; R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* (1962) 147–50), and that its functions may have changed too (C. A. Forbes, 'Expanded uses of the Greek gymnasium', *CPh* 40 (1945) 32).

<sup>64</sup> *SEG* xv 330 with Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935) 442–4 = *Op. Min. Sel.* I 283–5; *IG* VII 2712, 23ff., 30ff., 67ff., with Oliver (1971).

<sup>65</sup> Ch. 6 pp. 143–4.

<sup>66</sup> M. P. Nilsson, 'Die Prozessionstypen im griechischen Kult', *JDAI* 31 (1916) 309 = *Op. Sel.* I 166; Eitrem (1920) esp. 73; F. Bömer, 'Pompa', *RE* XXI (1952) 1878; Robert, *Hell.* XI–XII (1960) 120–3; Burkert (1977) 163–6.

<sup>67</sup> Ch. 7 p. 189 and, for Rome, A. L. Abaecherli, 'Imperial symbols on certain Flavian coins', *CPh* 30 (1935) 131, and L. R. Taylor, 'The "sellisternium" and the theatrical "pompa"', *CPh* 30 (1935) 122.

The inscriptional evidence for imperial processions is more austere, but it does reveal the formal arrangements. The procession of a major international festival, such as the *Romaea Sebasta* at Naples, made its way to the imperial sanctuary where a sacrifice was made to Augustus.<sup>68</sup> Local festivals also had their processions. At Gytheum it is clear how the procession linked the key points of the city (n. 8). At the beginning of each day of the festival the procession started from the temple of Asclepius and Hygeia, the deities of health, probably to stress that the significance of the festival lay in the preservation of the emperor.<sup>69</sup> A bull was sacrificed when the procession reached the imperial sanctuary, and the clubs and colleges of magistrates sacrificed in the central square. Finally the procession ended in the theatre where, as we have seen, further ritual took place and where the competitions were held.

The image of a procession threading its way through the city suggests an important way of understanding the topography of the city. Scholars produce bird's-eye maps of cities and argue that the way that space is shaped is symbolic of a particular culture, but it is necessary not only to analyse this space from the outside but also to examine how it takes on significance for the inhabitants.<sup>70</sup> To discover how the topography of the city was experienced one could investigate the procession with its creation of a privileged mental map of the city. There were often choices to be made; in the French Revolution festivals tended to be held not in public squares but in open spaces outside the towns where political and social differences were abolished, and in the towns the processional route carefully avoided the churches.<sup>71</sup> So far as we can see, processions of the imperial cult expressed a relationship between the key religious and political centres of the city.

The careful regulations for participation in the processions are also important expressions of civic ideology.<sup>72</sup> At Gytheum, in addition to the specification of sacrifices by magistrates in main square and theatre, the youths, the young men and the rest of the citizen body were to process, clad in white clothes, with garlands of laurel on their heads. They were accompanied by the sacred maidens and women, who were probably priestesses, in their ritual clothing. The long line

<sup>68</sup> *I. Olympia* 56, 48–52 with Merkelbach, *ZPE* 15 (1974) 192–3. The text is too fragmentary to permit a reconstruction of the whole route.

<sup>69</sup> The starting point of Greek processions is often obscure, *RE* xxi (1952) 1907–8.

<sup>70</sup> Harvey (1973) ch. 1 is suggestive.

<sup>71</sup> M. Ozouf, 'Space and time in the festivals of the French Revolution', *CSSH* 17 (1975) 372–84; *La fête révolutionnaire 1789–1799* (1976) 149–87.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (1981) 185–211.



was probably headed by the chief magistrates of the city. While at Naples the procession at the international festival consisted of competitors and officials, the procession at a civic festival expressed the involvement of the different groups of the city, divided by age, sex and status.<sup>73</sup>

The involvement of the whole community was also expressed by the regulation that householders should sacrifice on altars outside their houses as the procession passed.<sup>74</sup> This practice, which was followed in the Hellenistic period for cults both of gods and of rulers, may also be detected in the imperial cult. Long series of small imperial altars have been found at Athens, Sparta, Miletus, Mytilene and Pergamum. In any given city the series of altars is relatively uniform in its dedication, but diverse in its actual details of design and execution, and this is only explicable on the assumption that the city passed a decree instructing all citizens to provide their own altars. One such altar was actually found by archaeologists standing in the street by the main entrance to a house in Ptolemais in North Africa<sup>75</sup> and it is likely that these altars were used by householders in association with a procession.

Sacrifices were certainly offered by the inhabitants of the city, perhaps with special libation bowls containing an imperial image.<sup>76</sup> At Messene in the Peloponnese a Roman official 'instructed all to wear crowns and to sacrifice, keeping themselves free from work'.<sup>77</sup> These general sacrifices were sometimes paid for by the city or by a rich benefactor. On each of the five days of the celebration of Antoninus Pius' birthday at Ephesus there was a distribution of money to each citizen from public funds for sacrifices.<sup>78</sup> Similarly at Lagina in Caria a distribution was made for the sacrifices on behalf of the imperial house and on behalf of Hecate in varying amounts

<sup>73</sup> Cf. the arrangements for the Caesarea at Chios (ch. 3 n. 33) which instructed all to wear bright clothing, even the household slaves being free from work; sacrifices were performed by the priestesses and other officials of the city along with the young under their care.

<sup>74</sup> Benjamin, Raubitschek (1959); Veyne (1962) 71-5; Benjamin (1963); Robert (1966); Le Glay (1976) esp. 359-64. For Miletus see Magie (1950) 1480 n. 31 (with *Ist. Mitt.* 15 (1965) 120, no. 3, 121, no. 4). Cf. small altar 'of Alexander', *ZPE* 42 (1981) 213-14, and note also Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* x 3.

<sup>75</sup> C. H. Kraeling, *Ptolemais* (1962) 209, no. 1. Altars were also found in houses at Pergamum (*Ath. Mitt.* (1907) 308, no. 28) and Ephesus (*JÖAI* 53 (1981-2) 135, no. 143).

<sup>76</sup> V. von Gonzenbach, 'Genius Augusti - Theos Sebastos', *Opuscula Carolo Kerenyi dedicata* (1968) 81-117.

<sup>77</sup> *SEG* xxiii 206, 14-15.

<sup>78</sup> Ch. 3 n. 15. Also *Forsch. in Eph.* II 20 = Oliver (1941) no. 12 = *I. Ephesos* 1a 26. Cf. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 180.

to each of the citizens, the six hundred councillors and to others living in the city and its territory.<sup>79</sup>

The whole community was also the direct beneficiary of the munificence of the imperial priests. The priests often boasted of the meals and donations that they had made during their term of office, sometimes giving details of the groups on which they lavished their wealth. The standard group who were given feasts was all the citizens of the city, large or small.<sup>80</sup> This category might be broken down into different groups for the purpose of donations. Thus at Termessus Minor different amounts were distributed to the 500 (councillors), to the populace and to the officials responsible for carrying the imperial images and for keeping order.<sup>81</sup> Non-citizens were also sometimes included in the invitations to the feasts, whether Romans and other inhabitants (Cat. no. 5) or simply foreigners.<sup>82</sup> The inscriptions conjure up an atmosphere of everyone wearing special clothes and crowns and being free from work, which might remind one of the tea parties which formed part of civic celebrations of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. The reality is likely to have been rather different. Tertullian, observing such celebrations in North Africa, contrasted the behaviour of the Christians with that of the pagans at imperial festivals (*Apology* 35). The Christians

as men believing in the true religion, prefer to celebrate the Emperors' festivals with a good conscience, instead of with riotous behaviour. It is, obviously, a splendid mark of respect to bring fires and couches out into the open air, to have feasting from street to street, to turn the city into one great tavern, to make mud with wine, to rush about in groups to acts of violence, to deeds of shamelessness, to the incitements of lust.

Participation in imperial festivals by the whole populace was a product of the nature of the Greek city; elsewhere in the empire other distinctions within the city existed. A city the size of Rome, estimated to have a population of between 800,000 to 1,000,000 under Augustus,<sup>83</sup> had geographical subdivisions, or *vici*, which were employed by Augustus as the basis for cults of his Genius.<sup>84</sup> A Greek city, even one the size of Ephesus or Pergamum, was not divided into

<sup>79</sup> *I. Stratonikeia* II 1, 662 with Laumonier (1958) 396-7. Cf. also *IG* VII 2711 = *ILS* 8792, 25-6.

<sup>80</sup> *Forsch. in Eph.* II 61 = *I. Ephesos* VI 2061; *SEG* xxviii 1217 (Balbura); *I. Stratonikeia* II 1, 704.

<sup>81</sup> *BCH* 24 (1900) 339-41.

<sup>82</sup> *IGR* III 407 (Pogla).

<sup>83</sup> Hopkins (1978) 96-8.

<sup>84</sup> Taylor (1931) 185-91; G. Niebling, 'Laribus Augustis Magistri Primi', *Historia* 5 (1956) 303.

wards in this fashion. The city as a whole was the basic unit without significant local subdivisions.<sup>85</sup> Those that ran the ward cults in Rome were freedmen, that is ex-slaves, and the class of ex-slaves was prominent in the imperial cult in the Latin-speaking parts of the empire.<sup>86</sup> It was common for ex-slaves to form associations of Augustales which sometimes had their own premises and which held their own imperial celebrations. Augustales are unknown in the Greek East, with the exception of Roman colonies. Rome was unusual in allowing its ex-slaves Roman citizenship; the laws of the Greek cities were more restrictive and such ex-slaves as there were did not possess citizenship of the city.<sup>87</sup> The Greek city operated on a simpler, and more exclusive basis. Membership of the community was clear-cut and there was no ambiguous category of ex-slaves, though it was possible for citizenship to be granted by the city to individuals or groups outside the city. All citizens had a share in the city, and in the imperial cult.

### III THE ISSUE OF ÉLITE SCEPTICISM

Although all members of the community were expected to participate in the imperial cult, scholars have commonly assumed that the rituals had different significance for the élite and for the man-in-the-street. While lower classes, especially in the East, might really have believed in the ruler cult, intellectuals were disapproving. 'No thinking man ever believed in the divinity of a living emperor.'<sup>88</sup> Indeed some of the educated class, including the rulers themselves, are said to have taken the cult 'as a huge joke'.<sup>89</sup> This two-tier model of society, which I have already criticized, claims that the élite had as little belief 'in the apotheosis of a ruler as the same educated class would have today'.<sup>90</sup> It is entirely anachronistic.

This view of scepticism on the part of the élite, which conforms to the conventional view of the élite attitudes to traditional religion in general, has various foundations. There is the stock reference to jokes. The emperor Vespasian on his deathbed quipped, 'Alas, I think

<sup>85</sup> Tribes seem to have had little significance in the Roman period (for a tribal cult of Antiochus III see ch. 2 n. 26) but there were some local organizations, Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 529-38, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* (1980) 154-5.

<sup>86</sup> R. Duthoy, 'Les \*Augustales', *ANRW* II 16, 2 (1978) 1254.

<sup>87</sup> A. Calderini, *La manomissione e la condizione dei liberti in Grecia* (1908) esp. 303-12, 344-9; P. Gauthier, "'Générosité" romaine et "avarice" grecque: sur l'octroi du droit de cité', in *Mél. W. Seston* (1974) 207-15.

<sup>88</sup> Bowersock (1973) 206.

<sup>89</sup> Scott (1932) 317.

<sup>90</sup> Scott (1932) 328.

I'm becoming a god',<sup>91</sup> while Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* is held to mock the whole institution of imperial apotheosis.<sup>92</sup> Such jokes are often taken as evidence for the total rejection of the imperial cult on the part of the élite, but this rests on a naive view of the significance of jokes and satire. A preferable theory of joking is that jokes are made precisely about those things that matter most.<sup>93</sup> They may be a challenge to the established controls which offers an opportunity for perceiving that the established pattern has no necessity, but which does not, however, overthrow the orthodoxy. Thus the *Apocolocyntosis* is better seen as directed specifically against the apotheosis of the wholly implausible figure of Claudius, rather than against apotheosis in general, and Seneca himself shows in his other works that he supported the deification of those with the appropriate qualities.<sup>94</sup>

Scepticism of the élite has also been discovered in the silence of its members on the imperial cult,<sup>95</sup> but such silence can better be explained in other ways. There are firstly the emperors themselves. Marcus Aurelius warned himself in his *Meditations* not to be Caesarized, or corrupted by high office, and shows no hope of entering among the gods.<sup>96</sup> It would indeed have been unacceptable for him to have said anything else in public. The actions of a Gaius, acting out the presuppositions of the cult, were condemned as folly or madness (ch. 3). Similarly in the fourth century Ammianus (xv 1, 2-4) attacked the emperor Constantius for failing to live up to his own ideal of the 'civil' emperor and signing himself 'my eternity' or 'master of the whole world'. We should not be surprised that Marcus Aurelius, that most dutiful of emperors, made the same point in his private diaries.

Secondly, there is the silence of members of the élite. The élite did not produce treatises elaborating the significance of the imperial cult, but this does not imply that these writers failed to take the cult seriously, rather that intellectuals are a very partial guide to the social and religious life of their times. To write a literary work is to engage in a different type of discourse from that involved in the ritual itself. Silence does not show alienation. In any case, this alleged silence has been exaggerated. To take one example, Plutarch has several discussions of ruler cult at various points in his biographies and in

<sup>91</sup> Suetonius, *Vespasian* 23, 4.

<sup>92</sup> For Senecan authorship see M. T. Griffin, *Seneca* (1976) 129 n. 1.

<sup>93</sup> S. Freud, *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious* (Standard Edition VIII, 1960); M. Douglas, 'Jokes', in *Implicit Meanings* (1975) 90.

<sup>94</sup> M. Altman, 'Ruler cult in Seneca', *CPh* 33 (1938) 198.

<sup>95</sup> Bowersock (1973).

<sup>96</sup> Bowersock (1973) 186, 190.

his philosophical treatises. It is quite proper to draw a distinction between references to Hellenistic ruler cults and to the imperial cult, and to raise the question of how far Plutarch saw his comments on the former as applicable to his own day, but it is quite wrong to imply that Plutarch 'lived with the cult all around (him) and simply did not worry about it'.<sup>97</sup> In several passages Plutarch moves freely between the Hellenistic and Roman periods when criticizing the role of flattery in ruler cult and the personal assumption of divinity by the ruler.<sup>98</sup> Such criticisms, which would have been widely accepted, are not the same as silence, and do not show general scepticism.<sup>99</sup> Indeed, Herodian, a Greek historian writing in the early third century, in giving a full account of the ritual of Roman apotheosis for the benefit of his Greek audience, reports the ceremonial and the Roman beliefs about it with complete seriousness (iv 2).

Even if the old contrast between scepticism of the élite and popular credulity is rejected one might still wish to employ a two-tier model of society. The local élites who organized the cults had access to complex philosophical ideas about the gods which were not available to the masses, and one might argue, as has been done for Renaissance Venice,<sup>100</sup> that the ceremonial therefore could not be understood in the same fashion by the two groups. But it is a mistake to suggest that only the official view held by the élite is significant, and that others with a 'false' view were alienated from the rituals. Ritual can be the basis for various evocations for different groups, which can all be 'valid'. Within the Greek city the ceremonies were appreciated by all. Thus when a high priest organized gladiatorial games, he was acclaimed by the crowd and responded by further munificence; 'the spectacle, especially of the gladiators, caused the greatest astonishment and even incredulity as roses and gifts were thrown into the amphitheatre where the variety of the gladiators' arms was wondered at'.<sup>101</sup> A similar picture of a reciprocal relationship between popular enthusiasm and élite activity appears in Apuleius' novel 'The Golden Ass' (*Metamorphoses* x 18–35). A chief magistrate of Corinth wished to enliven his obligatory gladiatorial display and intended to show the hero, Lucius, in the shape of an ass, 'performing' with a woman in the arena. Preceding this final spectacle of the show, there was a

<sup>97</sup> Bowersock (1973) 189.

<sup>98</sup> *Moralia* 56EF, 170EF, 543DE. Cf. Epictetus I 19, 26–9.

<sup>99</sup> For other criticisms see ch. 7 p. 199, Pausanias viii 2, 5 and A. D. Nock, *Sallustius* (1926) lxxxix with n. 210. Also perhaps Caecilius Balbus (ch. 1 p. 12).

<sup>100</sup> E. Muir, 'Images of power: art and pageantry in Renaissance Venice', *Am. Hist. Rev.* 84 (1979) 16.

<sup>101</sup> *BCH* 12 (1888) 11, no. 2 = Robert, *Gladiateurs* 174, no. 171 (Mylasa).

### *A public formality?*

representation of the judgement of Paris. Naturally the appearance of Venus, rather scantily clad, was greeted by a roar from the crowd, though they were foiled in their hopes for the final consummation by the escape of Lucius. This story may stand as an image of the way that displays and symbols appealed to all elements of the city. The evidence does not permit us to determine whether the evocations of the imperial cult varied directly according to the class of the participants, but these symbols did not require arcane knowledge for them to be meaningful, drawing as they did on a religious heritage common to all.

#### IV A PUBLIC FORMALITY?

Even so, the imperial cult operated primarily in the public gaze; was it then a formality which did not touch the truly significant area of personal religion? In other words, the imperial cults might seem to fall on the wrong side of a number of overlapping dichotomies, public-private, formal-personal, communal-individual. There are a number of conceptual pitfalls which must be avoided here. There is a danger of analysing religious activities with categories drawn from Christianity. An anachronistic tendency is evident in studies of religion which adopt William James' definition of religion as 'the feelings, acts and experiences of individual men in their solitude'.<sup>102</sup> For example, the Dominican scholar A. J. Festugière at the start of his book on 'Personal religion among the Greeks' offered the following definition: 'There is no true religion except that which is personal. True religion is, first of all, closeness to God. Every religious ceremony is but empty make-believe if the faithful who participate in it do not feel that thirst for the Absolute, that anxious desire to enter into personal contact with the mysterious Being who is hidden behind appearances.'

A second and related danger is the imposition of our modern value-laden distinction of public and private on the ancient world.<sup>103</sup> Too easily we tend to assume that the balance of power and interest between the Greek city and the individual was similar to that in the modern Western world. Such an assumption is false and it is mistaken to assume at the outset that there was an autonomous sphere of privacy which the state was not to violate. To privilege the private in this way blocks further enquiry.

<sup>102</sup> *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) 31.

<sup>103</sup> S. C. Humphreys, 'Public and private interests in Classical Athens', *Classical Journal* 73 (1977-8) 97-104 (= *The Family, Women and Death* (1983) ch. 2), is interesting.

With these caveats in mind we need to see whether the imperial cult was a public, formal exercise lacking real roots in the life of the community. The performance of public ceremonial was indeed the core, but the cult of the emperor took place not only in public festivals but also in private associations. There are firstly the associations devoted to the worship of another deity. For example, the worshippers of Eros set up a dedicatory text on behalf of the emperor's fortune and long rule; it was inscribed on a marble pediment in the centre of which is a small portrait bust of the emperor Commodus.<sup>104</sup> The initiates of Dionysus at Ephesus even set up a statue of Hadrian 'sharing the throne' with their god.<sup>105</sup> There were secondly associations, known as Philosebastoi or Caesariastae, which were devoted especially to the emperor and existed both in cities and in villages.<sup>106</sup> Their activities are largely unknown but one such village association certainly performed imperial sacrifices which were followed by a feast.<sup>107</sup> A much grander association was established with the blessing of Augustus at Pergamum to sing hymns in honour of Roma and Augustus on behalf of the province of Asia.<sup>108</sup> This association whose membership was largely hereditary and drawn from the élite, is known at the beginning of the second century A.D. to have celebrated four major festivals each year, which included a three-day festival of Livia and Augustus' birthdays, in addition to monthly celebrations of Augustus' birthday and annual celebrations of the birthday of other emperors.<sup>109</sup>

The cult of the emperor also had functions that extended beyond the collective celebration of ritual. As we have already noted, time was marked by the imperial cult (p. 106). Imperial temples served as important locations for the erection of honorific statues. For example, gilded images and statues of a benefactor of the association of performing artists were set up 'in the holy temples of the emperors in Asia and in Nysa, his loyal native city'.<sup>110</sup> The imperial image itself was a significant landmark by which an honorific inscription could be erected<sup>111</sup> and an imperial temple was used as a topographical

<sup>104</sup> Keil, von Premerstein III 19 with Robert, *Noms indigènes* 266-7 (near Philadelphia). Cf. *BCH* 57 (1933) 308 = *Ist. Forsch.* 17 (1950) 57, no. 9 (Smyrna).

<sup>105</sup> *SEG* xxvi 1272 = *I. Ephesos* II 275. Cf. *Alt. von Perg.* VIII 3, 85.

<sup>106</sup> Robert, *Hell.* XI-XII (1960) 220-8. Cf. the Hellenistic associations, Poland (1909) 230-2.

<sup>107</sup> *IGR* IV 1348.

<sup>108</sup> *I. Ephesos* Ia 18d 11-19. See ch. 4 n. 43.

<sup>109</sup> For the cults of the professional artists see F. Poland, 'Technitai', *RE* vA (1934) 2473, with *P. Oxy.* 2476.

<sup>110</sup> *I. Ephesos* Ia 22, 45-8. Cf. Mellor (1975) 21, 216 (Samos), and J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par les dieux...* (1972) 309-16 = M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre* VI (1973) 26.

<sup>111</sup> *IGR* IV 1087 (Cos).

marker to indicate the location of a tomb (Cat. no. 64). Magistrates performed their inaugural sacrifices not to the traditional gods but to the emperor or empress,<sup>112</sup> and in various parts of the empire sacrifices were made to the emperor by those entering upon marriage.<sup>113</sup>

The cult extended directly or indirectly into other areas. Graves were guarded against violation by threats of fines payable 'for imperial honours', 'to the imperial temple' or to the imperial treasury.<sup>114</sup> Oaths sworn by the 'fortune' of the emperor again served to protect graves,<sup>115</sup> and to guarantee the perpetuity of financial endowments,<sup>116</sup> while the penalties for violation of moneys devoted to the imperial cult were sufficiently standard for a person to be able to protect his family grave by assimilating any potential violator to 'one who transgresses the provisions dedicated for the emperors'.<sup>117</sup> A slave might be set free not just in the sight of the gods but also in front of an imperial statue<sup>118</sup> and, more dramatically, imperial statues served as places of asylum (ch. 7 p. 192-3). One could even invoke the emperor verbally. The asinine Lucius in Apuleius' story (*Metamorphoses* III 29), who was being led by brigands through the market of a town, attempted to appeal to the emperor for assistance:

I tried to invoke the august name of Caesar; and I did actually keep crying out 'O' clearly and loudly, but I could not utter the rest of the name of Caesar.

Naturally the braying simply got Lucius a beating from the brigands, but 'that Jupiter', that is the emperor, eventually gave him salvation.

The alleged absence of representations of the emperor from private houses has been adduced as support for the view that the significance of the imperial cult was essentially limited to the public sphere.<sup>119</sup> In fact it is very rarely known where any of the extant statues of the

<sup>112</sup> *HSCP* Supp. 1 (1940) 528-9, lines 15-18.

<sup>113</sup> Dio LXXI 31, 1; *CIL* xiv 5326 (Ostia); U. Wilcken, *ZRG* 30 (1909) 504, and C. Kunderewicz, *JJP* 13 (1961) 126-7 (Egypt). Cf. cults of Laodice at Iasos and Teos (ch. 2 pp. 30-2).

<sup>114</sup> Keil, von Premerstein III 75 (Coloe); Cat. no. 46 (Smyrna); *IGR* iv 1581 (Teos); *Thasos* II 185; *I. Ephesos* VII 1, 3214; *CIG* 2843, *REG* 19 (1906) 261, no. 155, LBW 1641 (Aphrodisias). In general W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreichs* (1900) 34-54. Further ch. 7 p. 193.

<sup>115</sup> *I. Klazomenae* 527; *IGR* iv 1285 (Thyatira); *IG* ix 1, 643 (Cephalonia); *IG* x 2 (1) 609 (Thessalonica).

<sup>116</sup> *IGR* iv 915 (Cibyra); *IG* v 1, 1208 = *SEG* XIII 258, 50-1 (Gythium). In Roman contexts see ch. 4 p. 90 and *IGR* iv 1376 = *TAM* v 1, 423 (Collyda).

<sup>117</sup> *REG* 6 (1893) 188, no. 36 (Iasos) with Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1929) 142-3 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 1108-9.

<sup>118</sup> *IG* ix 1, 86 (Hyampolis).

<sup>119</sup> Bickerman (1973) 5-6 with discussion 29-33; Hopkins (1978) 220 n. 33.



emperor were discovered, but a combination of literary and archaeological evidence shows that the original observation was ill-founded. The younger Pliny had a private collection of imperial statues, which he wished to display in a temple (*Letter* x 8), while in Rome imperial images, painted and sculpted, were on display in almost every shop.<sup>120</sup> Pliny also reveals (*Letter* x 70-1) that a house in Prusa had had a temple to Claudius built in its courtyard under the terms of a will (though it had been neglected and had fallen down). This picture of imperial images and even shrines in some houses is confirmed by scattered archaeological evidence. In Rome a cache of imperial bronze heads of the Julio-Claudians was found in the foundations of a villa,<sup>121</sup> and at Pompeii a statue of Livia, which may have been the object of cult, was discovered in the Villa of the Mysteries.<sup>122</sup> The recent excavations of the rich houses in the centre of Ephesus have also revealed imperial images.<sup>123</sup> In the elaborate hall of one such house in a vaulted niche were found busts of Tiberius and of Livia; it was presumably in domestic contexts such as this that terracotta lamps with imperial images were employed.<sup>124</sup> One of the houses at Ephesus actually contains a graffito, 'Rome, the ruler of all, your power will never die.'<sup>125</sup> The imperial image, held in such respect in an individual's lifetime, was even taken to the most personal place of all, the grave.<sup>126</sup>

It should by now be clear that the imperial cult was not simply a game to be played in public and that private imperial images were not out of keeping with the significance of the imperial cult, but I do not wish to invert the traditional argument and suggest that the mainsprings of the cult lay in the private sphere. This would presuppose the modern valuation of the private. Ancient religions were primarily public religions. It was in the public arena that cities decided to establish cults and that individuals manifested their civic

<sup>120</sup> Fronto, *Ep. ad M. Caes.* iv 12, 4 (p. 206 Haines).

<sup>121</sup> D. K. Hill, 'A cache of bronze portraits of the Julio-Claudians', *AJA* 43 (1939) 401.

<sup>122</sup> A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri* (1931) 223-34, with further evidence. Cf. D. M. Brinkerhoff, *A Collection of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch* (1970), for imperial portraits in a villa.

<sup>123</sup> *Anz. Wien.* (1981) 149-50 = *Anat. Stud.* 31 (1981) 185 with Robert, *CRAI* (1982) 126-32. Also *JÖAI* 50 (1972-5) Beib. 438-9. (fig. 17, Commodus) and an ivory relief of an imperial triumph (ch. 7 n. 63).

<sup>124</sup> H. G. Buchholz, 'Kaiserporträts auf Tonlampen', *JDAI* 76 (1961) 173-87. For the emperor on popular ceramics in the West see Veyne (1958-9) 74-7 and A. Balil, 'Representación de la dea Roma en la decoración de la terra sigillata Hispánica', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 69 (1961) 286-94.

<sup>125</sup> *I. Ephesos* II 599.

<sup>126</sup> Vermeule (1965) 363-5 (Mysia) and Veyne (1958-9) 76 (North Africa).

virtues by serving as priests. The city also expected participation in festivals by its members and made prescriptions for their attendance. Similarly the home was brought into this public activity by prescriptions for sacrifices at imperial altars outside the houses as the procession passed. There was no conceptual barrier to prevent private associations or the domestic location of imperial images without overt instructions, but the house on its own came a poor second to the public sphere. It is highly significant of the Greek valuation of public cults that the regulations for the cult of Antiochus III at Teos (ch. 2 p. 31) excluded non-citizens from the public cults but instructed 'all the other inhabitants of our city to sacrifice and celebrate each in their own homes as best they can'. Similarly Pliny wanted to display his collection of imperial statues in a public temple.

A reasonable question does, however, remain about the range of evocations which the cult had for individuals. It would obviously be very misleading to present a monolithic picture of the Greek city in which everyone at all levels of society thought the same thing. One must allow for the existence of individuals like the sixteenth-century Italian miller who developed an idiosyncratic view of the universe, even believing that the world was created from chaos, 'just as cheese is made out of milk – and worms appeared in it, and these were the angels' (Ginzburg (1980) 6). These ideas are allegedly 'derived from a seemingly ancient oral tradition' (p. xxii). It is clearly right that one should not simply assume a flow of ideas from high to low, but the existence of this oral, peasant tradition is quite unproven (p. 155). On the face of it, the miller's ideas seem to be his personal borrowings and adaptations of élite notions. We know of him only because he had to stand trial twice at the hands of the Church, but it is most striking that he has answers to all the questions put to him by his interrogators. He had read quite widely and his ideas, unacceptable though they were to the Church, seem to be responses to the preoccupations of élite culture. Unfortunately we have no comparable documents from the ancient world showing how such people reacted to élite culture. However, our ignorance on this subject is not disastrous. There was no public alternative to rituals of the imperial cult. These formed a nucleus permitting, as we have already noted (pp. 116–17), a range of possible evocations. There were no doubt also individuals whose ideas fell outside what was acceptable, but such ideas could only be sporadic and insignificant in the overall picture.

V CONFLICT AND DISSENT

I have argued so far for the importance of civic co-operation and participation. But I do not wish to imply that in rituals 'society reaffirms the moral values which constitute it as a society and renews its devotion to those values by an act of communion'.<sup>127</sup> This type of view carefully selects its data and presents a naive (and deeply conservative) account of how societies are integrated: rituals simply function to promote social solidarity. It allows no place for conflict and dissent. I want now to show that these did exist within the accepted framework of the imperial cult.

The imperial cult was the product of a competitive world, as we have already observed in a different context (ch. 3 pp. 62-5). Within the games that formed an important part of the cult, typically administered by the imperial high priest,<sup>128</sup> competition was obviously fundamental. The prestige of winning a major event was enormous and the strains correspondingly great. There is a revealing story in the dream book of Artemidorus, who gathered his material at first hand in cities and festivals, of how a lyre player had a bad dream when about to compete in the sacred games of Hadrian at Smyrna; he was fined and disqualified for bribing a judge.<sup>129</sup>

Such competitive values, and malpractices, were also a crucial part of the value system of the élite that organized the games. To be an imperial priest was a mark of distinction, as was true of priesthoods in general, according to Artemidorus (II 30), while to be a provincial high priest was the pinnacle of achievement. A Roman astrologer, Firmicus Maternus (*Matthesis* IV 21, 5), counts such dignitaries of the province of Asia among those famed throughout the world. The priests constantly record their gifts of banquets and largesses to the city, and their generosity was quite largely responsible for making the imperial cult possible.<sup>130</sup> This world of competition and display,

<sup>127</sup> E. Shils, M. Young, 'The meaning of the coronation', *The Sociological Review* n.s. I 2 (1953) 63-81 at p. 67.

<sup>128</sup> Magie (1950) 1523 n. 57, local; Deininger (1965) index s.v. Agonothet, and Robert, *Gladiateurs* 269-75. See also *IGR* IV 584 (Aezani); *Alt. von Perg.* VIII 3, 36; *IG* IV 1<sup>2</sup> 652 (Ephesus).

<sup>129</sup> *Oneyrocritica* I 64 (and I 26 for Eusebeia at Naples). Cf. Robert, *Laodicée* 312 n. 1, and Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 25 (pp. 106, 114, 130 Loeb). See H. W. Pleket, 'Games, prizes, athletes and ideology', *Stadion* I 1 (1975) 49, for the best general analysis.

<sup>130</sup> Cat. no. 108 (Ancyra); *CIG* 2778, *MAMA* VIII 492b (Aphrodisias); *IGR* III 422 with Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 378-82 (Ariassus); *IGR* IV 914 = *SEG* VI 276 with *BE* (1956) 69 (Cibyra); *IGR* III 796 (Perge). Cf. the consultation of an oracle about an embassy to the emperor for permission for expenditure, probably as imperial priest (Robert,

which is summed up in the term *philotimia*, 'love of honour',<sup>131</sup> also had its darker side, though we barely hear of it from the honorific world of inscriptions. Literary sources are needed. Thus Plutarch's *Political Precepts* reveal that Sardis had been torn by internal strife because of the rivalry between two of its citizens,<sup>132</sup> and a letter of Pliny shows us that Claudius Aristio, known simply on Ephesian inscriptions as a distinguished figure who was three times provincial high priest and who dedicated a fountain to Artemis, Trajan and the city, appeared before Trajan's council because of the envy he had aroused.<sup>133</sup>

The conflicts that arose within the competitive system of the imperial cult are also found in the clash between the imperial cult and Christianity. Though I would not wish to return to the old picture of a clash between Christ and the Caesars (ch. 1 n. 44), the imperial cult was clearly one of the features of the contemporary world that troubled the Christians. Their responses during the first three centuries of the empire consisted essentially of passive resistance. Tertullian in the mid second century devotes much attention to the need to withdraw from pagan spectacles and festivals, including imperial ones.<sup>134</sup> He recounts that a Christian was rebuked in a dream because his slaves had, without his knowledge, put wreaths on his gates at the sudden announcement of public rejoicings concerning the emperor. The removal of the wreaths by the master will have earned reproaches and accusations for him, and other Christians who adopted this and other forms of withdrawal.

These marks of non-participation by Christians, whose communities were already very widespread in Asia Minor before Constantine,<sup>135</sup> were deeply worrying to the rest of the population. Indeed the problem was already pressing to the assembly of the province of Asia under Hadrian.<sup>136</sup> The assembly petitioned the

*CRAI* (1968) 580-2). On feasts see Robert, *Hell.* x 199 n. 7, 298 and *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1969) 12-14; also p. 113 and ch. 8 pp. 229-30.

<sup>131</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs* 276-80 (p. 279 'libéralité coûteuse d'un magistrat ou d'un citoyen envers sa patrie') and *Hell.* iii 125-6. See further A. Wardman, *Plutarch's Lives* (1974) 115-24, C. Panagopoulos, 'Vocabulaire et mentalité dans les *Moralia* de Plutarque', *DHA* 3 (1977) 197, esp. 207-9, and Brown (1978) ch. 2.

<sup>132</sup> C. P. Jones (1971) 117.

<sup>133</sup> *Ep.* vi 31, 3 with C. P. Jones (1978) 104 and *I. Ephesos* II 424.

<sup>134</sup> *De spectaculis; de idololatreia* 13-16 esp. 15. Cf. T. D. Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971) 98, and Brown (1978) 106 n. 14. Some Christians (in Spain) did, however, serve as imperial priests (L. Duchesne, *Mél. Renier* (1886) 159-74).

<sup>135</sup> *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte* (ed. J. Martin et al., 1970) map 5; *Atlas of the Greek and Roman World in Antiquity* (ed. N. G. L. Hammond, 1981) map 28.

<sup>136</sup> Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iv 8-9, with E. J. Bickerman, 'Trajan, Hadrian and the Christians', *RFIC* 96 (1968) 290.

governor against the Christians, accusing them of illegal acts, though the precise charges are unfortunately unknown; his response that 'it was not right to put the Christians to death without any charge or trial in order to gratify popular outcries' was ratified by Hadrian. Almost two hundred years later the provincial assembly of Lycia-Pamphylia petitioned the emperors Maximinus Daia, Constantine and Licinius in 312 during Maximinus' attempt to support the traditional cults.<sup>137</sup>

Since the gods, your kinsmen, have demonstrated in actions their love of mankind, we, O most divine kings, who are concerned with their worship, always taking pains on behalf of the safety of you, the all-conquering masters, we considered it was well to take refuge with your immortal kingship and to make petition that the Christians, who have long been mad and even now maintaining the same sickness, should at length be made to cease and not to overthrow the honours due to the gods for some sinister novelty. This could be achieved if by your divine and eternal will it should be established that the lawlessness of the hateful practices of the godless should be forbidden and prevented and that all should take part in the worship of the gods your kinsmen on behalf of your eternal and imperishable kingship. Such an action will be most beneficial to all your people, as is obvious.

The conflict, which centred upon attitudes to sacrifice (ch. 8), often came into the open at festivals. A minor incident, such as the repulsing of the unwelcome advances of an imperial priest by the Christian Thecla, and the consequent damage to the imperial image on the priest's crown, was magnified by the occasion and resulted in the condemnation of Thecla to the beasts at the show put on by the imperial priest (ch. 7 p. 170). Other Christians also met their ends at imperial festivals. For example, Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, was brought before the governor in the stadium and, when he steadfastly confessed himself a Christian, the crowd called on Philip, the provincial high priest, to set lions on Polycarp.<sup>138</sup> When Philip refused, on the grounds that he had ended the fights of wild beasts, the crowd decided to burn Polycarp alive, the ultimate resolution of conflict.

The difficulties which the Christians posed for their contemporaries

<sup>137</sup> *CIL* III 12132 = *TAM* II 3, 785. Cf. R. M. Grant, 'The religion of Maximin Daia', in *Studies... Morton Smith* IV (ed. J. Neusner, 1975) 143. Celsus made a similar attack: Origen, *contra Celsum* VIII 64-8. Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* IX 7, 3-14.

<sup>138</sup> Deininger (1965) 44, 59. For other cases see W. Seston, *Historia* I (1950) 257-66, and Deininger (1965) 104, 132. The martyrdom of Tarachus at Anazarbus (*Acta Sanctorum* Oct. v pp. 560-84 and F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (1963) 20-2, 211-52) may be largely a 'passion épique' (Halkin 211) but M. Gough, 'Anazarbus', *Anat. Stud.* 2 (1952) 85ff. at p. 97, argues for local colour.

lay firstly with their threat to traditional cults in general and only secondarily with an allegedly subversive attitude to the emperor. However, after Christianity received official imperial support in the early fourth century, a more rigorous position was developed by the Christians, both towards the traditional pagan cults and towards the former imperial cult. A little known martyr act, probably largely composed in the fourth century, illustrates how the relationship of the imperial cult to civic values was contrasted with the subversive nature of Christianity (Cat. no. 89). A servant girl Areadne, in the town of Prymnessus in Phrygia, was revealed as a Christian by her refusal to celebrate her master's birthday. Later her master, Tertullus, was brought to trial before the governor in the local imperial temple for harbouring a Christian. The writer used the opportunity of a non-Christian standing trial to marshal all the dominant civic values in his support. The speech for the defence stressed the offices that Tertullus had held, which included the high priesthood of the emperors, and the benefactions he had conferred on the city. He had performed sacrifices to the ancestral gods, Artemis and the emperors, and had given feasts to the different groups in the city. As high priest of the emperors and organizer of the great and sacred quadrennial Caesarea he had provided spectacles and sacred festivals, including gladiatorial and animal fights. Naturally after this speech, which is probably composed on the basis of two or more honorific decrees from different towns, Tertullus was saved by his rank and his piety towards the gods and the emperors. Areadne was condemned.

In this case there is simply a dramatic contrast between the two worlds, but another martyr act, dating to the fourth century or later, assumes a dramatic conflict between Christianity and the divinity of the emperor. A dialogue is created between St Phocas and Africanus, allegedly an early second-century governor of Pontus:<sup>139</sup>

Africanus the governor said, 'Is this the Phocas who denies the existence of the gods and that the emperor Trajan is a god? Come now, has not every bellicose race been destroyed by his hands? Who then can he be but god?' But Phocas remained silent. Africanus the governor said, 'What do you say to this? Do you have no answer? Do you not know where you have come?' Phocas said, 'If you speak of my God who is in heaven, well and good; but if you say of a man that he is God, then you cannot expect to hear anything from me.' Africanus said, 'Are then the emperors not gods?' Phocas said, 'Is it not enough for Trajan to be called king, without you also giving him the incomparable name?'

<sup>139</sup> *Acta Sanctorum* July III 629-45. Armenian text tr. by F. C. Conybeare, *The Armenian Apology and acts of Apollonius...*<sup>2</sup> (1896) 103-21 at p. 105.

There is no parallel, so far as I know, for such an expression of conflict between the imperial cult and Christianity in any pre-Constantinian document. The early Church had existed in a world whose central feature was the traditional cults of the gods, but by the fourth century pagan cults were on the defensive and were indeed now subjected to acts of violence, as idealized in the Acts of St John (p. 102). The main problem now for the Church was in the relationship between the Church and the emperor; we have, for example, earlier noted the development by writers of the period of a conceptual distinction between religious and secular honours (ch. 1 p. 15). This preoccupation, I would suggest, was projected back onto the past by the creation of a polar opposition between Christianity and the imperial cult.

## VI INTER-CITY RIVALRY

The picture of consensus and conflict centring on imperial festivals which we have been tracing within the city can also be seen in the relationships between cities, which were of major importance in the life of the period. Much has been written on the breakdown of orderliness in rivalry over titles and status, which are often unfortunately denigrated as petty bickerings.<sup>140</sup> But the correlate of the rivalry, which has been less stressed, is the frequent proclamation of harmonious relationships; a hundred different issues of *homonoia* ('concord') coinages, recording concord between two or more cities, were made by over seventy cities under the empire.<sup>141</sup> One interpretation is that the coinage reflects the making of genuine treaties between the cities. However, no such treaties are found in the epigraphical record of the empire, whose richness makes this a strong argument from silence, but merely further records of *homonoia* between cities.<sup>142</sup> Plutarch actually says that under the empire cities could no longer make treaties and that one of the duties of the local politician was to negotiate with another city on friendship and concord (*Moralia* 805A, 808C).

<sup>140</sup> On rivalry, Robert, *Laodicée* 286–8 and (1977); Merkelbach (1978); C. P. Jones (1978) 83–94, on Concord. Note also Habicht, *Alt. von Perg.* VIII 3, 34 with p. 78, P. Weiss, 'Die Abkürzungen ΓΒ and ΓΓ auf den spätkaiserlichen Münzen von Tarsos und Anazarbos', *Chiron* 9 (1979) 545, and *I. Ephesos* II 217.

<sup>141</sup> D. Kienast, 'Die Homonoiaverträge in der römischen Kaiserzeit', *JNG* 14 (1964) 51; J. P. Callu, *La politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238 à 311* (1969) 29–33.

<sup>142</sup> Robert, *Studii clasice* 16 (1974) 68–9, and *IG* V 1, 452 = *SEG* XI 771. Cf. Drew-Bear (1978) 50, no. 26. Dio, *Or.* xxxviii 41–2, is far from showing that treaties were still made.

The change in inter-city relationships from the position of free interplay in the classical and early Hellenistic period can be traced in various ways. Block grants of citizenship to other cities, which had developed in the late fifth century, ended and the appointment of special representatives overseas almost vanished in the late Hellenistic period.<sup>143</sup> More specifically, the change that took place in treaties away from the simple bilateral relationships of the classical period is caught mid-way on a second-century B.C. document from Aphrodisias.<sup>144</sup> This records the making of a treaty between the neighbouring cities of Aphrodisias, Cibyra and Tabae on behalf of their mutual alliance, eternal harmony and kinship. One notices that the language of harmony and kinship is already beginning to emerge. The changed world in which these allegedly independent cities were living is marked by the fact that they went on to specify that no actions should be taken against the Romans. This is all reflected perfectly in the gods associated with the treaty, Zeus Philios (Friendly Zeus) and Homonoia, who are not otherwise found in the context of treaties, and the goddess Roma. The depoliticized relationships that emerged from this development were of course still very important to the cities and did have serious content. One of the standard representations on 'concord' coinages is of the gods of the two cities with their hands linked over an altar. This divine harmony was probably marked by the sending of representatives to each other's festivals.

The establishment of a new imperial festival was often drawn to the attention of other cities. In the Hellenistic period the founding of a new festival had entailed the sending out of ambassadors to other cities to publicize the festival and to ensure that its status would be recognized.<sup>145</sup> The need to seek recognition of status for a festival from other cities was ended by the existence of Rome as the adjudicating authority, but the publicizing of new festivals continued, at both the civic and the provincial levels. Mytilene made announcement of its decision to establish games in honour of Augustus 'to the most illustrious cities' and copies of the decree were to be set up all over the Mediterranean, at Pergamum, Actium, Brundisium, Tarraco,

<sup>143</sup> W. Gawantka, *Isopolitie* (1975) 198-9; F. Gschnitzer, *RE Supp.* XIII (1973) 638-40, 661-3 on proxenia.

<sup>144</sup> Reynolds (1982) no. 1. Treaties with Hellenistic kings were rare (ch. 2, pp. 28-9), though some cities were able to claim an alliance with Rome, Sherk p. 97 and Robert, *J. Savants* (1973) 203.

<sup>145</sup> P. Boesch, *Θεωρός, Untersuchung zur Epangelie griechischer Feste* (1908) and 'Zu einigen Theorodokeninschriften', *Hermes* 52 (1917) 136; P. Foucart, 'La fête des Eleusinia', *REG* 32 (1919) 190; Magie (1950) 102-3, 941 n. 38; *RAC* VII (1969) 771-2.



Massilia, Syrian Antioch and other cities whose names are now lost.<sup>146</sup> Similarly Ephesus probably issued invitations to numerous cities to celebrate their new provincial festival, which followed the granting of a third title 'temple warden'; we happen to know of the participation of three cities in Asia Minor, as well as Carthage in North Africa.<sup>147</sup>

The sending of participants (*synthytai* or *theoroi*) to festivals was the corollary of the announcement of a new festival.<sup>148</sup> Thus Cos is specifically stated to have taken part in the festival at Ephesus 'decorously and lavishly'. Distant cities are also known to have sent representatives to established festivals. Men went from as far as Laconia and Lindos to the Sebasta Olympia at Naples, one at least incurring considerable personal expense,<sup>149</sup> while coins of Anazarbus proclaim, rather optimistically, a joint sacrifice of the whole world (*synthysia oikoumenes*), perhaps at a provincial festival there.<sup>150</sup> It is difficult to judge how often cities sent delegates to other civic cults. A small Lycian city, Termessus Minor, did send invitations for an imperial festival to all the other Lycian cities, as well as to two other important cities,<sup>151</sup> but Lycia lacked some of the intense rivalries of other parts of Asia Minor, because of the stability long provided by the Lycian assembly. It was probably not expected elsewhere that a civic festival would receive participants from many other cities.

Participation in the provincial festivals by representatives of cities large and small was regular. Thus a man from the minor town of Colossae took part in the joint sacrifice at the second temple of one of the cities with provincial temples,<sup>152</sup> though further specific attestations seem to be lacking. The only figure for the size of any provincial assembly is 150 for the Asian assembly of 4 B.C., which must serve as an indication of the rough order of magnitude. The problem is that large cities sent more than one delegate, which makes it impossible to judge how many cities were represented.<sup>153</sup>

The procession of the numerous delegates, probably to the scene

<sup>146</sup> *OGIS* 456 = *IGR* IV 39.

<sup>147</sup> *Forsch in Eph.* II 53-6 = *I. Ephesos* VI 2053-6. Cf. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1967) 50 n. 3 and *BE* (1978) 424. Similarly *I. Olympia* 56, 8 on Romaea Sebasta at Naples.

<sup>148</sup> Ch. Michel, *Daremberg-Saglio* V 208-11; Liermann 165-6; Poland, *RE* IVA (1932) 1462-3; Robert, *Laodicée* 278.

<sup>149</sup> *SEG* XI 500-1 with Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1934) 283 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 1182; *Lindos* II 2 384 with *BE* (1942) 115.

<sup>150</sup> Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 717, lxxix; Karl (1975) 128. <sup>151</sup> *BCH* 10 (1886) 219, no. 3.

<sup>152</sup> *IGR* IV 870 with Robert, *Laodicée* 278. Cf. *SEG* XVIII 570 for a *theoros* to the Lycian festival of Roma in the second century B.C.

<sup>153</sup> *IGR* IV 1756 = *Sardis* VII 1, 8 lines 76-7, with Deininger (1965) 51, 143. I assume that the *synedroi* were also *theoroi* or *synthytai*.

of sacrifice, was a major event at the provincial festival, and allowed great scope for pride and rivalry. The picture of a provincial high priest in the procession is caught splendidly by Dio (*Oration* xxxv 10). He is considered to be one of fortune's favourites for his crown and purple clothes, and accompaniment of long-haired boys bearing incense. Other evidence also illustrates the pride that provincial high priests took in the procession and in their right to wear purple, which could be granted by the emperor.<sup>154</sup> There was also much pride at stake in the order followed by the delegates, which obviously involved public ranking of the cities. Intense rivalry was therefore evoked, especially for the right to head the procession (*propompēia*).<sup>155</sup> It seems that the impossibility of deciding between the claims of the major three cities of Pergamum, Ephesus and Smyrna resulted in their sharing the head of the procession. The relatively minor cities of Nysa and Magnesia on the Maeander were, on the other hand, proud to be able to proclaim themselves on their coins to be 'sixth' and 'seventh cities of Asia', a claim which probably reflects their position in the procession.<sup>156</sup>

Participation at provincial festivals was accompanied by a regular financial levy on all the cities of the province, the assembly having its own financial officials to administer the funds.<sup>157</sup> Thus the choir of Rome and Augustus was supported by contributions from the whole province.<sup>158</sup> For the building of temples huge sums sometimes came from the emperor, but part at least of the temple at Cyzicus was financed by the province of Asia.<sup>159</sup> The precise ways in which the money was raised seems to have varied. Numerous small cities were involved in the dedication of the temple of Domitian at Ephesus, and may have contributed directly,<sup>160</sup> but the assize organization was employed for the publication of the calendar decree<sup>161</sup> and for the building of the temple of Gaius at Miletus (Cat. no. 40). Financial

<sup>154</sup> *I. Ephesos* iv 1391, *Forsch. in Eph.* iii 70 = *I. Ephesos* vii 1, 3070; *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (ed. E. Schwartz) ii 1, 420, Bithyniarchs. *IGR* iii 66 = *I. Prusias* 20, *I. Prusias* 72 and *I. Nikaia* 160 = *SEG* xxix 1281. Cf. Merkelbach (1978) 290-2.

<sup>155</sup> *RE* xxi (1952) 1908-9. Cf. Dio, *Or.* xxxviii 38, with *RE* xx 2 (1950) 2327 and Robert, *Op. Min. Sel.* iv 93-4.

<sup>156</sup> Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1967) 51-4, *Monnaies grecques* 116-18, *BCH* 101 (1977) 64-77.

<sup>157</sup> Deininger (1965) 70, 96, 155-7. Also Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* iv 31, with R. Pack, *TAPhA* 88 (1957) 192-4 (collector of royal temple, ? Ephesus). Documents such as Habicht (1975) aided the collection of money.

<sup>158</sup> *I. Ephesos* 1a 18d 9-19.

<sup>159</sup> Schol. Lucian, *Icar.* 24, and *IGR* iv 140 (Cat. no. 17); *IGR* iv 1431 (Smyrna: 1.5 million drachmae, ten times more than the cost of the most expensive temple in Africa, R. P. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (1974) 90; Cat. no. 46).

<sup>160</sup> *I. Ephesos* ii 231-42, v 1498, vi 2048.

<sup>161</sup> Ch. 3 pp. 54-5, ch. 4 p. 79.

arrangements raised problems similar to the problem of precedence in processions. While Dio (*Oration* xxxv 17) makes it a boast of Apamea Celaenae that it contributed to the finances of the provincial cult, it was also possible for cities to protest against a demeaning structure. Philadelphia objected in the third century against having to pay money to 'mother cities' for the expenses of high priesthoods and the official posts of festivals on the grounds that she herself had once been a 'mother city'.<sup>162</sup>

The organization of the provincial sacrifices roused similar feelings of injured pride. The subordination implied by taking part in the sacrifices of a superior city was found objectionable by Mallos, who was forced to sacrifice and litigate at Tarsus.<sup>163</sup> The ideal harmony of joint sacrifices easily broke down as cities exploited the situation to assert their status. The touchiness of the cities is made clear by the incident when the Smyrnaeans omitted 'by inadvertence' the titles of Ephesus from the decree about joint sacrifice which was sent by the city holding the imperial festival to invite other cities to attend.<sup>164</sup> The resulting dispute had to be settled by the emperor. 'Joint sacrifice' (*synthysia*), which was proclaimed on a contemporary coin from Ephesus,<sup>165</sup> was an ideal not always attained. Aelius Aristides, in a speech on 'concord' actually addressed to the assembly of Asia, was amazed that the members were totally disrespectful of the temples and games which they alleged were common to all, and that divisions were rampant.<sup>166</sup>

The imperial cult, which created both unity and divisions, was probably the most important cult in the province of Asia. In one area, Lydia, it is among the most commonly attested cults.<sup>167</sup> The cults of other gods, such as Apollo and Dionysus,<sup>168</sup> were of course widespread in Asia Minor, but they were piecemeal and lacked a focal point. Some cults did have privileged standing, perhaps most notably the cult of Artemis at Ephesus. In the eyes of the Ephesians

The deity over our city, Artemis, is honoured not only in her own city which she has made more famous than all other cities through her own divinity,

<sup>162</sup> *SEG* xvii 528. Cf. Deininger (1965) 52, 59, 96, 147; Millar (1977) 390. The assize system of Asia is last attested in 215 (G. P. Burton, *JRS* 65 (1975) 94); the system of organizing the imperial cult seems to have changed by the time of this document.

<sup>163</sup> Dio, *Or.* xxxiv 47, with C. P. Jones (1978) 77-8. Cf. also *SEG* xxviii 1566, 81-4.

<sup>164</sup> *IBM* 489 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 849 = *I. Ephesos* v 1489.

<sup>165</sup> *NC* (1968) 28, no. 4. For sacrifice by the thirteen delegates of the Ionian League see e.g. von Aulock 2024.

<sup>166</sup> *Or.* xxiii (Keil) 65 with Boulanger (1923) 376-81.

<sup>167</sup> Keil (1923).

<sup>168</sup> Taşlıkloğlu (1963); Quandt (1913).

but also by Greeks and foreigners; everywhere shrines and sanctuaries of her have been dedicated, temples founded and altars erected to her because of her vivid manifestations.<sup>169</sup>

Not only were there cults of Ephesian Artemis in other cities, the cult statue served as a model for the representation of other deities and, through increasing elaboration of the decoration, made claims to cosmic powers.<sup>170</sup> But the significance of the cult was not backed by a unifying religious organization. There is no sign of the representation of other cities at the Ephesian festivals.<sup>171</sup> Except in the ancient Lycian provincial cults, there is no evidence for the social and economic ramifications of the provincial imperial cults.<sup>172</sup>

Stress on the socio-political significance of the imperial cult might seem to lay it open to the criticisms sometimes made of Greek civic cults. Scholars have felt that civic festivals were doubly degraded from the ideal festival. 'On the one hand the festival is excluded from the sphere of the sacred and is confined to that of civic life: the religious act is merely a pretext for political practice; on the other hand, the festival is reduced from a display of corporate feeling, entailing ecstasy and rule-breaking, to a confined ritual, from which all "dangerous" elements were carefully eliminated.'<sup>173</sup>

The first criticism, that festivals were exploited by individuals and communities for their own advantage, mistakes the nature of Greek cults. Political relationships between cities were often expressed in terms of cults<sup>174</sup> and appeal to the gods could always be made when these relationships were in danger. For example, Dio of Prusa (*Or.* xxxviii 22 and 46) argues in favour of harmony between Nicomedia and Nicaea on the grounds that they worshipped the same gods. One might imagine that in earlier periods, when belief in the gods was allegedly stronger, such religious ties were sufficient to ensure peace. In fact this idealized form of simple piety is a mirage and dissensions could always arise. Sacred ambassadors used to go from Ephesus to the temple of Artemis at Sardis but a disturbance took place, in the fourth century B.C., and 45 Sardians were sentenced to death for

<sup>169</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 867 = *I. Ephesos* 1a 24. Cf. *I. Ephesos* 1a 18b 1-6. See Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 473-6, for Ephesian claims that the festival went back to the nineteenth century B.C., and, in general, R. Oster, 'The Ephesian Artemis as an opponent of early Christianity', *JbAC* 19 (1976) 24.

<sup>170</sup> R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien* (1973), with supplement in *Fest. F. K. Dörner* 1 (1978) 324-58.

<sup>171</sup> See below n. 175 for the only document referring to Ephesian *theoroi*.

<sup>172</sup> Many cities sent delegations to the oracle of Apollo at Claros (Robert, *Laodicée* 286-9), but the oracle stood largely outside the rivalry of civic prestige.

<sup>173</sup> Dunand (1978); also in *La fête* (n. 2) 13-40 on a Ptolemaic festival.

<sup>174</sup> W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (1972) 46.

maltreating the sacred animals and ambassadors.<sup>175</sup> To argue from such cases of disruption or rivalry that festivals had become 'a pure and simple pretext for a political and diplomatic manoeuvre' (Dunand (1978) 207) is to confuse two distinct levels of analysis. Rivalry and competition between Greeks in imperial festivals can, like the system linking Greeks and Rome (ch. 3), be analysed objectively, in terms of its consequences. But this objective account does not entail that, subjectively, the actors were operating the cults simply for these consequences. Like the rivalries over village festivals in Malta or Taiwan,<sup>176</sup> disputes for precedence at imperial festivals took place within an institution whose roots ran deep and which was accepted by all.

The second criticism, that Hellenistic festivals were stripped of their liberating aspects, is based upon a curious premiss, derived from Caillois, that originally festivals were marked by moments of excess and the breaking of rules.<sup>177</sup> In comparison with a hypothetical primitive Dionysism at whose festivals all norms were transgressed, the festivals of a traditional deity or of the emperor would seem rather tame. Such a privileging of rule-breaking appears also, though in a more subtle form, in studies of festivals in early modern Europe.<sup>178</sup> But absence of rule-breaking and the operation of careful civic control are no support for the thesis of the impoverishment of Hellenistic cults. The imperial cult, like other civic cults, was tied up with the political, social and economic structures of the contemporary world, whose ideals and conflicts were articulated through it. Except for the resistance of Christians to festivals in honour of the emperor, the conflicts within the cities and between cities took place within a framework that was shared by all. The struggles of competitors to win at the imperial games, the fighting for honorific positions by the local élites and the concern for the standing of one's own city against other cities of the province all presupposed (and enhanced) the importance of the imperial cult. The cult thus helped to ensure that the energies of the subjects of Rome were not directed towards subversive activities. It was a force for order rather than disorder, and consolidated the social and political hierarchies from which it arose.

<sup>175</sup> I. Ephesos 1a 2 with Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1967) 32-6.

<sup>176</sup> J. Boissevain, *Saints and Fireworks* (1965); D. K. Jordan, *Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors. The Folk Religion of a Taiwanese Village* (1972) 42-53, and 60-86 on divination.

<sup>177</sup> R. Caillois, *L'homme et le sacré* (1939, 1950<sup>2</sup>) ch. 4.

<sup>178</sup> N. Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (1975) ch. 4-6 (for example, on abbeyes of misrule); E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Carnival: A People's Uprising at Romans 1579-1580* (1980).

## ARCHITECTURE

Telephus, a Pergamene scholar of the second century A.D., wrote a work in two volumes on the local Sebasteion, or temple of Rome and Augustus, which was the first imperial temple in the province of Asia.<sup>1</sup> The fact that there is barely any parallel for the composition of a treatise on a building by someone other than its architect alerts us to the importance of imperial temples.<sup>2</sup> The work of Telephus is lost, but it presumably consisted of an historical account of the circumstances surrounding the foundation of the temple with an elaborate description of its architecture. The treatment of the building in the local scholarly tradition allows us to divine something of the importance of the building for the history and architecture of Pergamum.

The significance of imperial religious architecture as an articulation of the ideology of the imperial cult is the subject of this chapter.<sup>3</sup> After some scene-setting the discussion falls into four sections. The first section examines the impact of imperial architecture on civic centres; at its most extreme there was a complete transformation of the civic

<sup>1</sup> *FGH* 505 T 1 (*Suda*).

<sup>2</sup> Excluding the treatises of architects on their own buildings, the only known parallels are the works of Democritus on the temple of Artemis at Ephesus (Tresp (1914) fr. 111 = *FGH* 267 F 1), but the only fragment deals with the luxury of Ephesian clothing, and of Menodotus of Samos (Tresp (1914) fr. 109-10 = *FGH* 541), who may have dealt with the marvels of the island rather than just with the sanctuary of Hera.

<sup>3</sup> See Smadja (1978) on Leptis Magna. P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum. Das Bildprogramm* (1969), Bammer (1974a) and 'Zur soziologischen Deutung ephesischer Architektur', *Ist. Mitt.* 25 (1975) 319, and R. L. Gordon, 'The sacred geography of a *mithraeum*: the example of Sette Sfere', *J. Mithraic Studies* 1 (1976) 119, are stimulating on ancient architecture. See generally R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*<sup>3</sup> (1962), M. Trachtenberg, *The Statue of Liberty* (1976), R. Mace, *Trafalgar Square. Emblem of Empire* (1976), H. Raymond, 'Commuter et transmuter: la sémiologie de l'architecture', *Communications* (Paris, Hautes Études) 27 (1977) 103-11, L. Craig *et al.*, *The Federal Presence: Architecture, Politics, and Symbols in United States Government Building* (n.d., ?1978), *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics* (ed. H. A. Millon, L. Nochlin, 1978).

space. Secondly, there is the representation of the relationship of the emperor to the gods through the construction of buildings in traditional sanctuaries or the use of traditional temples for the emperor; this first statement of a theme which will recur in later chapters stresses the complex strategies adopted to subordinate the emperor to the gods. Thirdly, there is the design and decoration of temples and altars dedicated solely to the emperor, which make important statements about the emperor and the empire. Finally, this architecture has to be located in the context of contemporary architecture. The uses made of the Hellenistic architectural tradition of temples for the gods illustrates the flexibility and vitality of Greek religious architecture and demonstrates the concern to accommodate the emperor within a Greek framework.

My concern is primarily with the religious architecture which formed the physical setting of imperial rituals, uncertain though the precise function of some of the architecture is.<sup>4</sup> These special imperial sites, often known as *Kaisareion* or *Sebasteion*, varied in appearance. Some were sanctuaries (*temene*) with imperial statues on a large base (Cat. no. 124) and with an altar (Cat. no. 105), but probably no special buildings. Where the *Kaisareion* did include a building, it was known as a *naos* of the emperor (Cat. no. 46). *Naos* is generally translated as 'temple', but it can also mean 'shrine'. Small cult rooms within a larger structure, such as merchants' headquarters or a council house, were also called *naoi*.<sup>5</sup> Even where *naoi* were free-standing structures it is wrong to imagine that they were all miniature Parthenons; the *naos* to Mithridates on Delos, for example, was quite untraditional in ground plan and decoration.<sup>6</sup> Such variation raises the question of the conditions for the application of the term. We hear of no rites for the dedication of an imperial temple<sup>7</sup> and it does not seem to have been common in Greek religion to perform foundation or dedication sacrifices for a temple.<sup>8</sup> It is

<sup>4</sup> Temples at least had altars (Cat. nos. 20, 23, 31, 108) where sacrifices were performed (ch. 8 n. 9), but other architecture demands our attention, though we do not know how it was classified or used.

<sup>5</sup> Merchants: *I. Délos* 1520, 25 with Bruneau (1978) and Tuchelt (1979) 29-33, who has further discussion; council house: *I. Stratonikeia* 1 289, 10-12 and 293, 27-9 and *I. Ephesos* 1a 10. Cf. also Poland (1909) 459.

<sup>6</sup> *I. Délos* 1562. F. Chapouthier, *Délos* xvi (1935), *Le sanctuaire des dieux de Samothrace* 15-43; S. Risom, 'Le monument de Mithridate à Délos, *A. Arch.* 19 (1949) 204; *Guide de Délos* (1965) 140.

<sup>7</sup> Dedications of statues were, however, important, *Forsch. in Eph.* iv 3, 54 = *I. Ephesos* vii 2, 4354, and Cat. no. 29.

<sup>8</sup> G. Hock, *Griechische Weihegebräuche* (Diss. Munich, 1905) 73-83, can cite little material.

important that the imperial buildings were classified by the Greeks as *naoi*, but the conditions for the application of the term seem to have been broad. The word denotes function (the sacred shelter of a god) and not the physical appearance of the building.

Imperial temples and sanctuaries were extremely common (map III). More than eighty happen to be attested in over sixty cities in Asia Minor, though it is not possible to give a precise figure even for the surviving evidence because of the problems of identification.<sup>9</sup> The emperor also received statues in special rooms off the main square of half a dozen cities and buildings or other honours in various sanctuaries of the traditional gods.

This architecture formed only a part of the range of civic architecture honouring the emperor. Sketches of two very different cities may suffice to give an impression of the enormous amount of architecture which kept the emperor ever present in the eyes of his subjects. The first city, Laertes, lies on the shoulder of a mountain on the south coast of Asia Minor some 1,500 metres above the modern town of Alânya.<sup>10</sup> When it was first explored in the 1960s a series of seven imperial statue bases were found, dating from the first to the third centuries, most of which lined the sides of one street. The city also boasted imperial architecture. There was a semi-circular monument in honour of the Severans and a Caesareum, though their precise appearance is uncertain. This totally insignificant city, which also had an imperial priest and perhaps entered into diplomatic relations with at least one emperor, possessed a remarkable imperial presence in stone.

While it might seem tempting to argue that it was the isolation of the city that necessitated such an expression of allegiance to the emperor, the architecture of the major city of Ephesus, my second example, shows the same characteristics writ large.<sup>11</sup> Ephesus was adorned with four imperial temples, a monumental Antonine altar, an imperial portico and four gymnasia associated with the emperor. In addition to these buildings, to which we shall return, there were also a large number of imperial statues, some of which were found in public buildings, such as the theatre and the council house, while

<sup>9</sup> An imperial statue base near a temple is insufficient evidence that a temple was dedicated to the emperor (Sarapeion, Ephesus, Cat. no. 35; Olympus, Cat. no. 75; Letoum, Cat. no. 80). The temple at Cestrus (Cat. no. 147) was, however, probably imperial.

<sup>10</sup> Bean, Mitford, *Anat. Stud.* 12 (1962) 194–206; Bean, Mitford II 94–105 (Cat. no. 150).

<sup>11</sup> See briefly J. Keil, *Ephesos*<sup>5</sup> (1964), Vermeule (1968) 463–5, Akurgal (1978) 142–71.



others stood in the streets. A monumental nymphaeum, or fountain, contained as its centre-piece an over life-sized statue of Trajan, and three other similar buildings also featured imperial statues. A building on the lower square was dedicated to the emperor and three monumental gates, in honour of Augustus, Trajan and the Severi, displayed statues of them and their families. While there is probably no connection between these arches and imperial ritual,<sup>12</sup> they are a further element in the long-term monumentalization of the civic space. The emperor, whose name or image met the eye at every turn, received a striking position in this process of transformation.

# I THE TRANSFORMATION OF CIVIC SPACE

The transformation of civic space by the architecture of the imperial cult forms the theme of this section. Rather than simply study individual monuments, I examine how the location of imperial architecture in the civic centre affected the spatial organization of the city. Space is an important subject, not as a Kantian universal category but because of the significance of the way that it was structured by the Greeks. As anthropologists have long been aware, the ordering of space can be seen both as a representation of social ideas and as a part of the fabric of reality.<sup>13</sup> Political and social changes are likely to consist in part in the reordering of space. For example, the transformation of Athenian political and social organization in the late sixth and first half of the fifth centuries B.C. was accompanied by important changes in the organization of civic space of the main square.<sup>14</sup> There were comparable changes in the Greek city in the imperial period.

Imperial temples and sanctuaries were generally located in the most prominent and prestigious positions available within the city.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> As suggested by E. B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (1956) 19–44. While some arches may be connected with an imperial visit (Hadrian at Attalea, Phaselis, and Isaura), others were dedicated to emperors who never visited Asia Minor (Claudius at Cyzicus and Perge; Domitian at Hierapolis). For evidence see *RE* VIIA (1939) 452–60 and Akurgal (1978) 177.

<sup>13</sup> See generally H. Kuper, 'The language of sites in the politics of space', *American Anthropologist* 74 (1972) 411–15; e.g. on the Berber house: P. Bourdieu, *Algeria 1960* (1969) 133–53.

<sup>14</sup> J. P. Vernant, 'Espace et organisation politique en Grèce ancienne', *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*<sup>2</sup> (1966) 159–81 (= *Myth and Thought among the Greeks* (1983) 212–34).

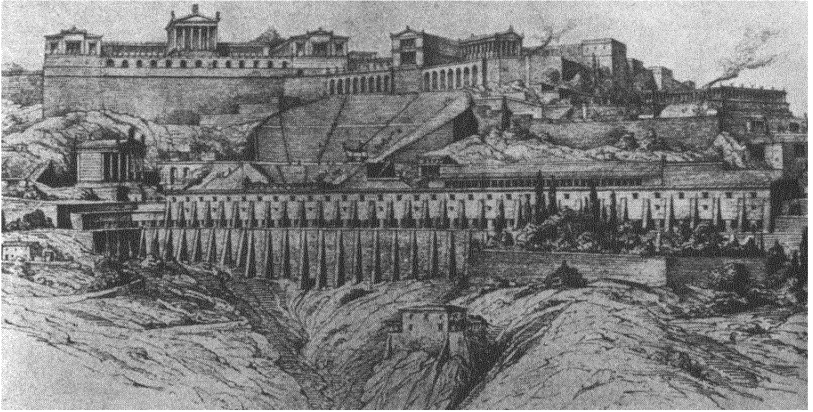
<sup>15</sup> The temple outside Laodicea Combusta (Cat. no. 115) may have been on an imperial estate, but the town itself seems not to have been strongly nucleated. There is also an anomalous temple a few minutes outside Hyllarima (Cat. no. 67), as well as other non-imperial sanctuaries.

The notable Eresian benefactor founded an imperial temple and sanctuary 'in the most prominent part of the main square', and another on his own land 'in the most prominent position', and yet a third, to Augustus, at the commercial harbour 'so that no place should lack mark of his goodwill and piety towards the god' (Cat. no. 5). It is clear from this text alone that, within the general need to find a position of prominence and honour, there was a variety of possible locations. Like Greek sanctuaries in general,<sup>16</sup> imperial sanctuaries could be found scattered throughout the city. In small cities, when there was room, the temples were often placed in the civic centre. At Cibyra Minor a Caesareum lies on the top of the east summit overlooking the centre (Cat. no. 139); the imperial temple at Sidyma was in the centre (Cat. no. 78), while at Cestrus two imperial temples face each other across the main square (Cat. nos. 146-7). A range of other important locations are also found: facing the city gate (Cat. no. 150, Laertes), at one end of the main civic area (Cat. no. 129, Sagalassus), or on a terrace over the theatre (Cat. no. 73, Stratonicea). The terrain was often difficult and a small city did not have the ability to create extra space. Thus at Iotape the civic centre is cramped on one arm of the central bay and the temple of Trajan had to be built near the end of the other arm, but it is still clearly visible from the centre (Cat. no. 149).<sup>17</sup>

The larger cities were able to place their imperial temples in pre-eminent positions. At Pergamum a special substructure was built out to enable the temple of Trajan and Zeus Philios to be placed almost at the highest point of the acropolis (Fig. 1; Cat. no. 20). The substructures alone are still visible from miles away. While this formed part of the major religious area of the city, we are ignorant about the civic centre at the foot of the acropolis, where the temple of Rome and Augustus about which Telephus wrote probably stood. Excavations have, however, uncovered the centres of some of the other major cities of Asia. At Aphrodisias, where the imperial temple was a local landmark, excavations have revealed two facing porticoes of the first century A.D., three storeys high, 14 metres apart and 60 metres long (Cat. no. 64). One was adorned with scenes of Republican and Augustan military conquests, the other with panels illustrating mythological figures relating in part to the foundation of Aphrodisias and the imperial family. The porticoes seem to form a monumental

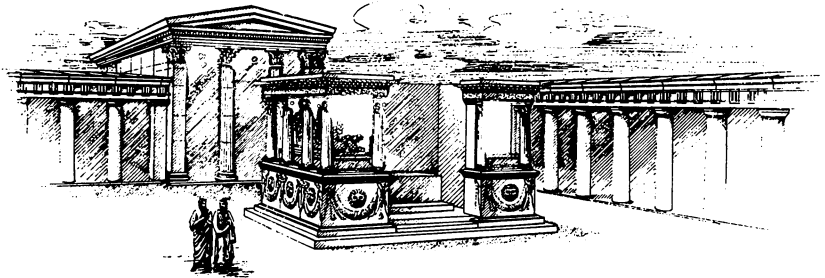
<sup>16</sup> Martin (1974) 253-66.

<sup>17</sup> The material of the building is poor stone, but that was the standard material for the whole town. Note also the altar to Gaius and Lucius Caesar in the agora at Thasos (*Guide de Thasos* (1967) 31).



**Fig. 1 View of the Acropolis of Pergamum from the west**

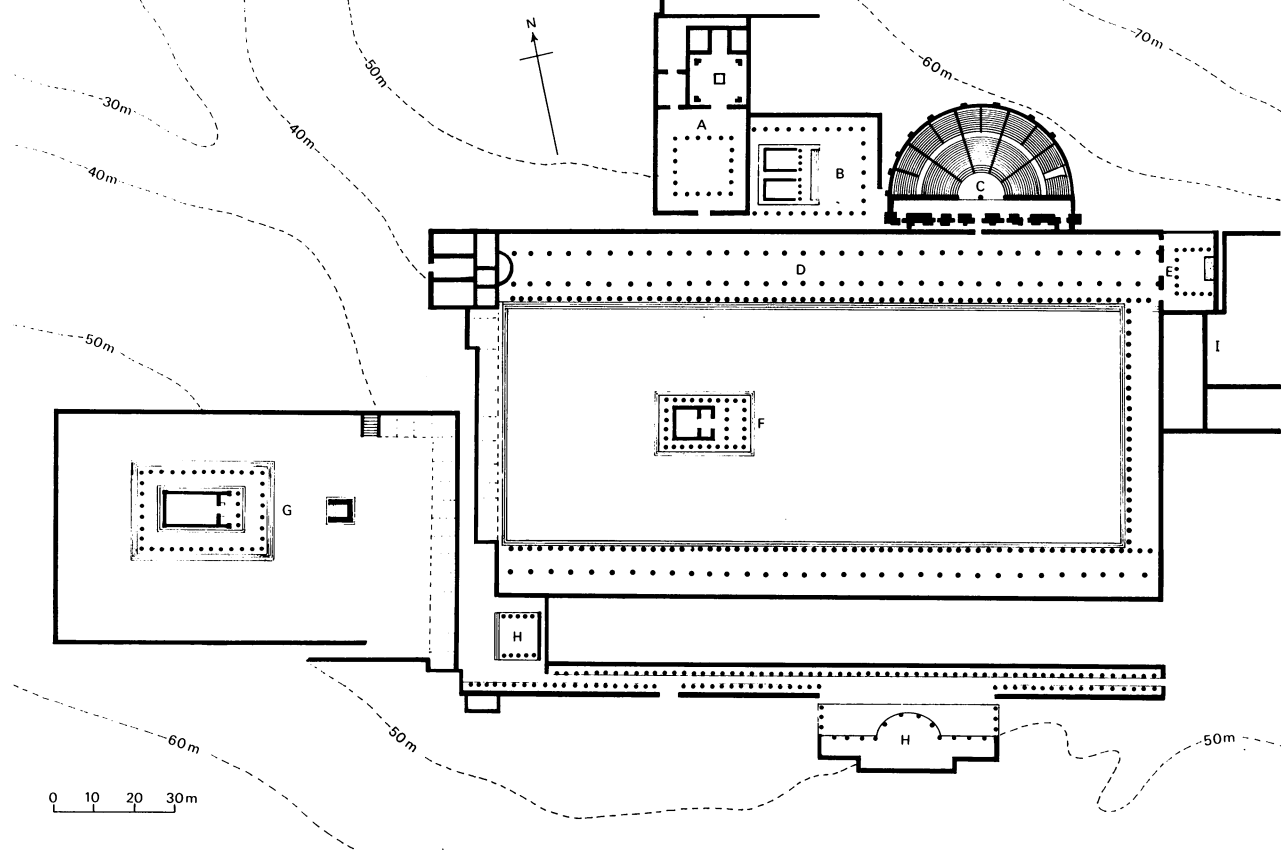
At the top left the Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan surrounded by porticoes. Immediately below it the 'Ionic temple' standing at the end of the theatre terrace. (DAI Rome)



**Fig. 2 Altar of Augustus in the courtyard of the council house, Miletus**

The reconstruction, looking east towards the entrance to the courtyard shows clearly the scale of the monument. (*Ist. Mitt.* 25 (1975) 138)

processional way, leading to the actual imperial temple. At Miletus there was a temple of Augustus, though its location is not known (Cat. no. 38), and in the centre of the courtyard of the council house was built in the Augustan period a large and magnificent imperial altar (Fig. 2; Cat. no. 39). One could not ask for a more vivid picture of the incorporation of the imperial cult within the institutions of the city.



**Fig. 3 The upper square, Ephesus**

A Magistrates' building B Double temple of Roma and Julius Caesar (?) C Council chamber  
 D 'Royal portico' E Statues of Augustus and Livia F Temple of Augustus  
 G Temple of Domitian H Fountain houses I Baths

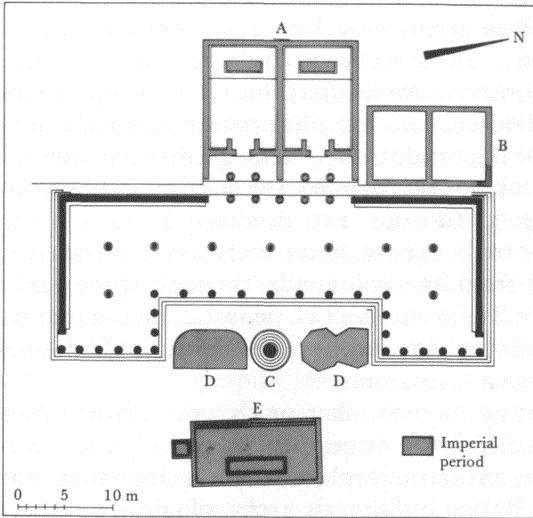
The impact on the civic space is even more marked at Ephesus, perhaps the richest city of the province. There the whole upper square was redesigned during the reign of Augustus (Fig. 3). Just between the prytaneum (A), the magistrate's building which contained the sacred hearth of the city, and the council house (C) lie the remains of what has been identified as a pair of small imperial temples (B; Cat. no. 27). In front of these key civic buildings there was built in the latter part of Augustus' reign a 'royal portico' (*stoa basilike*) dedicated to Artemis, Augustus and Tiberius (D); at one end of this there was a room containing over life-sized statues of Augustus and his wife Livia (E; Cat. no. 30). In the centre of the square there is a free-standing temple which may be a temple of Augustus (F); a head of Augustus found in the area may have come from this temple and an inscription refers to 'the foundation of Augustus and the dedication of the sanctuary', probably in 27 B.C. (Cat. no. 29). Towards the end of the first century A.D. a further imperial temple, to Domitian, was built in the centre of a huge precinct off one side of the same main square (G). This involved the construction of a platform, which was given a fine façade onto the main street; a contemporary civic decree refers to 'the new grandeurs of the imperial works' which were matched by the renovation of old buildings (Cat. no. 31).<sup>18</sup>

The impact of the emperor on the city is marked not only by temples and altars, but also by the provision of special imperial space in the porticoes on the main squares of the cities.<sup>19</sup> There is a tendency to assume that Greek porticoes were purely secular buildings, like shopping centres or bus shelters, but they did in fact sometimes contain shrines and could be used for cult purposes.<sup>20</sup> It was within this tradition that porticoes were built or adapted for the imperial cult. A portico (*stoa*) and Sebasteion are mentioned together in one city, perhaps as a joint building (Cat. no. 74, Choma), and we have already noted the room in the portico at Ephesus. At Priene the Hellenistic sacred portico which ran along one side of the main square included a series of small rooms, in one of which was found a copy of the provincial decree changing the calendar of Asia. Assize centres were to inscribe the decree in their Caesarea, and it is likely

<sup>18</sup> The well-known 'temple of Hadrian' at Ephesus (Cat. no. 32), which is tucked away on one side of the main street, its ground plan ignominiously determined by the baths behind, is not a counter-example; see below pp. 149-50.

<sup>19</sup> They were also dedicated to the emperor, e.g. *SEG* xv 454 = *IGBulg* iv 2057 (Pautalia).

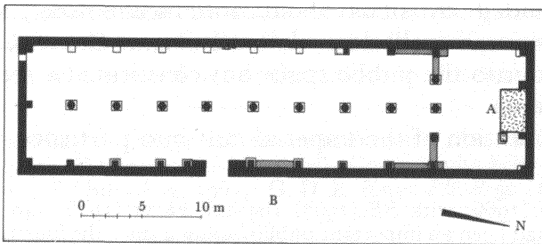
<sup>20</sup> *SEG* xiv 702 = *LSCG* Supp. 111 (Tymnus) and *OGIS* 511 = *IGR* iv 580 (Aezani). Cf. R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (1951) 497-8.



**Fig. 4 Portico of Zeus in the main square, Athens**

(After *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 173)

- A Extension. Twin rooms for statues of Augustus and Roma  
 B Obscure building, entered from the north, rebuilt to the east to make room for the extension  
 C Base of classical statue of Zeus D Statue bases of the imperial period  
 E Altar, considerably enlarged when the extension was built



**Fig. 5 'Royal portico', Thera**

(After *Thera* I (1899) 218)

- A Base for imperial statues B Main square

that Priene, though not an assize centre, erected the text in a room sacred to Augustus (Cat. no. 44). The modification of pre-existing architecture is clearer at Athens where the portico of Zeus on the main square was altered, probably in the Augustan age, by the addition of a double room built out through the rear wall of the portico (Fig. 4). It is very likely that this was an imperial shrine, to

Augustus and perhaps to Roma; an altar was located outside for sacrifices.<sup>21</sup> The architectural type of a portico with a room at one end, which we saw at Ephesus, appears elsewhere. At Thera, when the 'royal portico' (*stoa basilike*) on the main square was restored in the mid second century A.D., a separate room was allocated at the north end for imperial statues. Though no altar was found there the provision of a separate room for the statues probably implies a cultic purpose (Fig. 5; Cat. no. 11). Similarly at Iasos, at the south-east corner of the main square, there was a large rectangular hall which was entered from the colonnade through three arched doorways (Cat. no. 68). There survive two pedestals on the rear wall for statues and the building has been plausibly identified on the basis of inscriptions as a Caesareum.<sup>22</sup>

A different option was taken at Cyrene in North Africa where the Caesareum consists of a large open area surrounded by porticoes, one of which was probably replaced by a colonnaded hall in the first century A.D.<sup>23</sup> The building is archaeologically rather obscure and it is difficult to see where the cult was performed. There is a temple in the centre of the square which has been taken to be the imperial temple, but the sculpture found there suggests rather a dedication to Dionysus. There remains only the colonnaded hall, one end of which was modified to form an apse, perhaps as the setting for an imperial statue. Whatever the right answer, it is clearly different from the other porticoes we have examined. Like the square sanctuary (*temenos*) bounded by stoas about 200 metres long, which the Rhodians dedicated to Ptolemy I,<sup>24</sup> the Caesareum at Cyrene was not integrated into the public space but constituted a separate and autonomous area.

The incorporation of the imperial cult into porticoes, which was

<sup>21</sup> Thompson (1966) with *BE* (1967) 194 and Fayer (1976) 148-9. A winged portico, which had been an important public building since the fourth century B.C., stood on the north side of the agora at Thasos and there are some slight indications that this contained imperial *naoi* (Thompson (1966) 183-4 with references; also *Guide de Thasos* (1967) 25-7). There was, however, certainly a room with a statue of Hadrian in another portico running along the side of the agora (*BCH* 87 (1963) 548-78).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. also Cremna (Cat. no. 127), and Thyatira (Cat. no. 59). Aspendus (Cat. no. 138) and Smyrna (Cat. no. 47) do not provide special imperial architecture. Nothing is known of the room off one side of the basilica at Palmyra (Ward-Perkins (1958) 181-2).

<sup>23</sup> Ward-Perkins (1958) and (1970) 409, 459-61; E. Sjöqvist, 'Kaisareion', *ORom* 1 (1954) 86; R. G. Goodchild, *Kyrene und Apollonia* (1971) 69-75; S. Walker, *JRS* 68 (1978) 222-3.

<sup>24</sup> Diodorus xx 100, 3-4 with Habicht (1970) 109.

widespread in the Greek world, is also found elsewhere. Excavations in Italy<sup>25</sup> and North Africa<sup>26</sup> have revealed Augustea in close connection with colonnaded halls. Similarly Vitruvius, in the description of the hall he designed for an Italian town, says that it contained a shrine (*aedes*) of Augustus in the middle of the rear wall (v 1, 7–8).<sup>27</sup> If this type is found throughout the empire, one might think that my insistence on the need for a local perspective on imperial architecture was misguided. In fact, local roots are important not only in the financing and construction of these buildings but also in their design. The classic western colonnaded hall was entered through one of the short sides, while it was the long side of Greek porticoes which opened onto the square. This is true even of the ‘royal portico’ at Ephesus (Fig. 3, D; Cat. no. 30). Despite its name and the fact that the dedicatory inscription was, very unusually, in both Latin and Greek, in design it was simply an extended Greek portico. East and West shared the common strategy of incorporating the emperor into the public space; the applications naturally varied with local conditions.<sup>28</sup>

A further tactic of this type was the creation of special rooms for the imperial cult in gymnasia, the ‘second agora’ of the city (ch. 5 p. 110). In the Hellenistic period the gymnasium had been used for cults of kings and benefactors. Cult statues were erected in special rooms opening off the central area. For example, at Pergamum one room, probably in the middle of the north side of the upper gymnasium, sheltered a cult statue of the first Pergamene king, while a cult statue of Diodorus Paspáros, the local dignitary of the first century B.C., was erected in another room in the same gymnasium.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> R. Bartoccini, ‘Colonia Julia Felix Lucus Feroniae’, *Atti VII Cong. int. arch. class.* II (1961) 249–56; ‘Il rifornimento idrico della Colonia Julia Felix Lucus Feroniae’, *Autostrade* no. 7–8 (July–Aug. 1963); G. D. B. Jones, *PBSR* 30 (1962) 191–5 at p. 193.

<sup>26</sup> Haynes (1955) 112–13 (Sabratha).

<sup>27</sup> This account should not be dismissed as spurious on the *a priori* grounds that there should be no cults of Augustus in Italy at this early date, or in his lifetime at all, L. R. Taylor, ‘The worship of Augustus in Italy during his lifetime’, *TAPhA* 51 (1920) 116–33 at p. 120. Cf. Mellor (1981) 983–4.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also the Julian Basilica at Corinth with its imperial statues: F. P. Johnson, *Corinth IX 1* (1931) 70–85, S. S. Weinberg, *Corinth I 5* (1960) 35–57. Also C. de Grazia, *Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Corinth: The Roman Portrait Sculpture* (Diss. Columbia, 1973) esp. 43–8.

<sup>29</sup> *IGR* IV 294, 36 with Delorme (1960) 188–9; *IGR* IV 293, col. 1 34–5 and II 64–6, with Delorme (1960) 186–7. Also *IG XII Supp.* 250 (Andros) with Delorme (1960) 160, 348; *IGR* IV 1302 = *I. Kyme* 19, 5–6; *IGR* IV 1703 (Chios) with J. Keil, *JÖAI* 35 (1943) Beib. 120–6; *Guide de Délos* (1965) 127 and J. Audiat, *Délos XXVIII* (1970) *Le gymnase* 50–9.



There are signs that the Roman emperor too was given a place in the gymnasium. Indeed archaeologists have identified a room opening off one side of the gymnasium courtyard as an 'imperial room' in some ten gymnasia in Asia Minor, but most of the identifications are inadequately based and the designs are much more varied than is generally realized. Imperial rooms in gymnasia can best be seen at Pergamum. In the middle gymnasium one of a series of small rooms, towards the east end of the north side of the gymnasium (no. 57 on the official plan), contained a podium of the Roman period along its rear wall and an inscription records the building of a *bema*, or base for cult statues, to the Divine Emperors, Hermes and Heracles (the gods of the gymnasium), whose statues probably stood there.<sup>30</sup> This is a small room but on the upper gymnasium, adjacent to the room with the statue of the Pergamene king, there is another room which has an apse at each end. This is dedicated to the Sebastoi and the city and presumably had some imperial function.<sup>31</sup> Small imperial altars have been discovered in gymnasia<sup>32</sup> and imperial statues were displayed in various locations in gymnasia and baths.<sup>33</sup> But it should be emphasized that there is no case where an extant imperial statue can be certainly attributed to one of the archaeologists' 'imperial rooms'.<sup>34</sup> Though it is a mistake to force all the fragments of evidence into a single pattern, enough evidence survives to make it clear that the imperial cult was fitted into gymnasia in various ways as into the other civic centres of the Greek city.

If the imperial cult was an attempt by the city to find a position for the ruler, it is perfectly fitting that the physical expression of this position should be within the civic space rather than in some separate

<sup>30</sup> Ohlmutz (1940) 235-6. On *bema* see R. Mouterde, *CRAI* (1931) 143, and Robert, *RA* (1933) II 138 = *Op. Min. Sel.* III 1593. Also a temple in the gymnasium at Lapethus, *IGR* III 933 = *OGIS* 583.

<sup>31</sup> P. Schazmann, *Alt. von Perg.* VI 56-8, Delorme (1960) 186. The beginning of the dedication is, however, lost and a deity may have preceded the Sebastoi.

<sup>32</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* (1907) 309, no. 29 (Pergamum); *ABSA* 42 (1947) 222, no. 9 (Salamis); *IG XII* 3, 471 with *Thera* III 123.

<sup>33</sup> H. Manderscheid, *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen* (1981) 35-8; *I. Stratonikeia* II 1, 1007-8, 1026; *I. Priene* 229.

<sup>34</sup> The head from the east gymnasium at Ephesus is probably not of an emperor, Manderscheid (n. 33) 93, no. 206. Note, however, *I. Ephesos* II 252. The baths of Vedius at Ephesus (*RE Supp.* XII (1970) 1615-17) are often adduced in this connection. An altar, without inscription, was found in front of the central niche of a room, but there is no good reason for imagining that a statue of Antoninus Pius stood in the niche; the dedication of the baths was not primarily to him but to Artemis. F. K. Yegül, 'A study in architectural iconography: *Kaisersaal* and the imperial cult', *The Art Bulletin* 64 (1982) 7-31 is over-optimistic in his use of the evidence.

area outside the city. Thus the siting of the imperial temple at Ephesus between the prytaneum and the council house put a permanent expression of the emperor at the heart of the city. The aim of the strategy was to accommodate the rulers within the old framework and juxtaposition of this sort or the use of a room in a portico on the main square or in the gymnasium was partially successful. But the desire to give the greatest possible prominence to the emperor meant that not all of the architecture of the imperial cult fitted within the limits of the traditional city.

Again at Ephesus, the Augustan imperial buildings which we have already examined, the double temple, the 'royal portico' and the free-standing temple, along with the Augustan rebuilding of the prytaneum, constituted a transformation of the central civic space of Ephesus. Later in the first century A.D. this central area was changed still further by the addition of the temple of Domitian to the western side of the square. The accommodation of the ruler within the city could bring about a restructuring of the city. The new civic square is characterized by a high degree of formalization and regularity. The rectangular space enclosed by porticoes on three sides, with a carefully positioned temple in the centre, contrasts very strikingly with the main square of a city in the classical period, such as Athens, where buildings and monuments were much more casually disposed. The Ephesian square in fact is an example of a tendency of the Hellenistic and Roman periods towards greater regularization and formalization of public space.<sup>35</sup> For example, porticoes were increasingly employed to regulate the boundaries of squares, and streets in cities such as Ephesus and Pergamum were transformed by the addition of colonnades.<sup>36</sup> The existence of this change in the cities has long been recognized; its significance is less clear. It has been argued that the growing regularity should be seen as compensation for the loss of security in a greatly expanded universe.<sup>37</sup> But this explanation rests on a now outdated view of the Greek city in the Hellenistic and Roman periods as being a meaningless entity in the context of the new monarchies. If, as I have already argued (ch. 2), this view is unacceptable, it is preferable to interpret the architectural changes more positively as changes parallel to the gradual regularization and restriction of the freedom of action

<sup>35</sup> Martin (1974) 266-75.

<sup>36</sup> For similar changes in Athens see T. L. Shear, 'Athens: from city-state to provincial town', *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 356-77.

<sup>37</sup> R. Scranton, 'Group design in Greek architecture', *The Art Bulletin* 31 (1949) 247-68.

of the Greek city. The formalization of civic space would seem increasingly appropriate in a monarchical world. Within this overall architectural development of the Greek city was embedded the architecture of the imperial cult.<sup>38</sup>

## II SANCTUARIES OF THE TRADITIONAL GODS

If imperial architecture expressed something of the relationship between emperor and city, it could also be used to articulate the relationship between the emperor and the third partner, the gods. In this section I want to consider the place of the emperor in the sanctuaries and temples of the traditional gods. Greek sanctuaries were often complex areas which included not only a temple to the chief deity of the sanctuary, but also a variety of buildings and monuments to other deities. The temples themselves were also complex, containing a variety of statuary and offerings, which had traditionally permitted different gods and mortals to share the temple with the main deity. This may be illustrated by considering a poem of the third century B.C. which describes a visit by two women to a sanctuary of Asclepius.<sup>39</sup> It was common in the cult of Asclepius to make offerings to the god in gratitude for past help; the women in this poem place a plaque beside the statue of Hygeia ('Health'). There were also a number of statues and paintings on a variety of themes in the sanctuary. The women admire four such statues, including one of a girl looking longingly up at an apple and another of a boy strangling a goose. These subjects were not directly relevant to the cult of Asclepius, but the statues were of fashionable themes and were probably dedicated in gratitude to the god. Within the innermost part of the temple the women were also able to admire other pieces, including a painting of a sacrificial scene. Another type of statue represented specific living people. In this sanctuary there was a statue of a woman, who had probably been cured by Asclepius. Other statues or paintings of living people were placed in temples. It was common in the Hellenistic and Roman periods to honour priests or priestesses and other local dignitaries in this way. Finally, there were the deities themselves. In the poem one woman prays to Asclepius, his mother, Apollo and Hygeia, who were represented in

<sup>38</sup> See on later transformations G. Dagron, 'Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine', *DOP* 31 (1977) 3.

<sup>39</sup> Herodas IV. Cf. Daremberg & Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* II 1, 371-82, and W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (1902), esp. 263-72, on honorific statues. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 26, distinguishes clearly between cult and honorific statues.

statues. She then prays to three lesser deities whose altars stood nearby and finally to other deities both named and unnamed. In other words, the temple did not simply include Asclepius. He was the central deity, but the erection of statues and altars permitted other deities to be associated with him in various degrees of proximity.

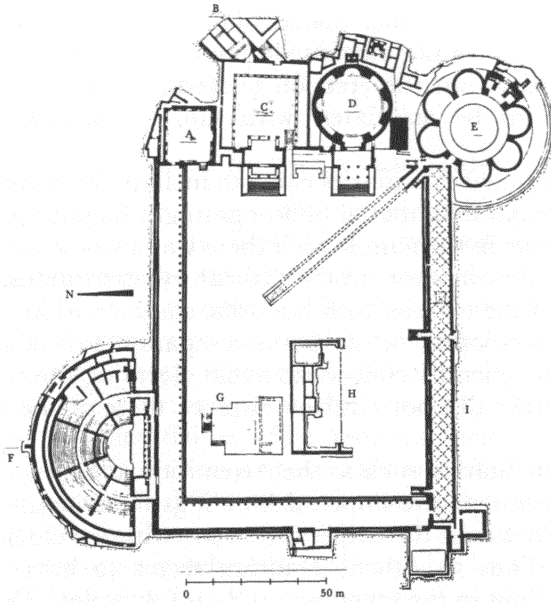
These traditional sanctuaries came to include the emperor in two main ways. Separate imperial buildings might be put up within the sanctuary, while in the temple itself there was a whole range of ways of honouring the emperor: in the dedicatory inscriptions, in part of the exterior of the temple, with honorific statues within the temple, and even with colossal cult statues in a separate part of the temple. But there was generally concern to avoid elevating the emperor too high. His statues did not rival or displace those of the traditional deities.

In some sanctuaries, such as the Artemision at Ephesus (Cat. no. 28), there were separate imperial buildings or monuments, which certainly did not raise the emperor to a par with the chief god of the sanctuary.<sup>40</sup> Thus at Athens Hadrian seems to have been subordinated to Zeus in the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, which he was responsible for finishing.<sup>41</sup> A colossal statue of Hadrian stood behind the temple and a life of Hadrian notes that he dedicated the temple to Zeus and an altar to himself, which should probably be connected with the statue. Hadrian is often closely associated with Zeus Olympios in dedications and had great prominence in the sanctuary (there was also a series of statues of Hadrian along the walls of the sanctuary, erected by various Greek cities), but he was clearly differentiated from Zeus himself.

This subordination was maintained by the avoidance of the full-blown temple, which might have competed with the original temple in the sanctuary. The sanctuary of Leto contained three temples to the gods, but the imperial architecture was very different (Cat. no. 81). There was a sumptuous fountain house with a statue of Hadrian in the central niche and also a large room at the end of a portico facing the temples. It is likely that the room, which

<sup>40</sup> Also the Asclepieum on Cos (Cat. no. 4), the Delphinion at Miletus (Cat. no. 42) and the Acropolis at Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3173) with W. Binder, *Der Roma-Augustus Monopteros auf der Akropolis in Athen und sein typologischer Ort* (Diss. Karlsruhe, 1969).

<sup>41</sup> R. E. Wycherley, *GRBS* 4 (1963) 163 and *The Stones of Athens* (1978) 162-4, cites most of the evidence. See also A. Kokkou, 'Αδριάνεια έργα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας', *AD* 25 A (1970) 150-73, esp. 154-7. Nock (1930) 32-3 = (1972) 227-8 cites *IG* III 9 to show that a cult image of Hadrian was put beside Zeus somewhere in Athens but the re-edition of the text in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1081/5 excludes a reference to Hadrian.



**Fig. 6 Sanctuary of Asclepius, Pergamum. Mid second century A.D.**  
(J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (1981) fig. 182 on p. 284)

A Imperial room    B End of colonnaded avenue    C Vestibule    D Temple  
E Curative building    F Theatre    G Sacred spring    H Building for sacred dreams  
I Vaulted undercroft

contained imperial statues, should be identified with the provincial Caesareum known from a mid second-century inscription. Similarly in the sanctuary of Asclepius at Pergamum the emperor had only a room, which lay off one side of the large colonnaded court that formed the sanctuary (Fig. 6, A; Cat. no. 21). It was a well-decorated room, whose most prominent feature was a niche at the centre of the rear wall where there stood a statue of Hadrian, which is still extant, and identified by the inscription on its base as a god (Pl. 4a; ch. 7 p. 185). Nothing is known of how the room was used, though we do know that an imperial festival was celebrated in the sanctuary. The contrast between the imperial room and the god's temple is not as great as in the sanctuary of Leto. The temple of Asclepius itself (D), which is modelled on the Pantheon in Rome, lies off one side of the court but it is still architecturally much more prominent.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> In the sanctuary of Asclepius at Messene, where there was a full temple of Asclepius in the centre, inscriptions (*IG* v 1, 1444 = 1462; *SEG* xxiii 207) show that

If the provision of a special building or room in the sanctuary could express subordination of the emperor to the gods, one must also consider whether this is true when the emperor actually shared the god's temple. Though this sharing in theory offered opportunities for the equalization of the emperor to the gods, in fact a whole range of different techniques was employed to make the emperor only a partial participant in the temple. To start from the lower end of the scale, temples were dedicated to the emperor without any implication that he shared in the cult. A temple at Adada (Cat. no. 120) was dedicated to the Divine Emperors and the city but the temple belonged to the deity, Aphrodite, whose cult statue is mentioned. More clearly, a dedication was made to the Divine Emperors, the holy Senate and the Roman People by a village in Lydia of a temple to Demeter Carpophorus, who was obviously the real owner of the temple (Cat. no. 52).<sup>43</sup> Similarly, part of the temple itself could be used to honour the emperor without any implication of temple sharing. A monumental inscription honouring Nero, probably the summary of an honorary decree passed in connection with his Parthian Wars, was placed on the front of the Parthenon at Athens. He was accorded secular honours in a segment of sacred space.<sup>44</sup>

Even in cases where god and emperor seem to be closely collocated in dedications, there could still be important differences, though these are not all easy to detect. Thus at Rhodiapolis one inscription says that a temple and cult statues were dedicated to Asclepius, Hygeia, the Sebastoi and the city, seemingly implying that all shared equally in the temple. But another inscription refers only to Asclepius and Hygeia, and in fact the cult statues probably represented only these deities (Cat. no. 77).<sup>45</sup> The actual cult statues would always have made clear the main dedication of a temple but these two inscriptions show that at another level it was possible for there to be different ideas about the same temple. A similar gradation in the dedicatory formula, and consequent modern misunderstanding, appears with the beautiful temple at Ephesus, whose arched façade is now a striking feature of the main street (Cat. no. 32). There has been a

the *Sebasteion* or *Kaisareion* was the long hall running the length of the north side of the sanctuary (Orlandos (1976) 30-1; *PAAH* (1973) 108 for axonometric drawing). There was also a little room off the court which contained fragments of an over life-sized statue of Roman date, possibly of Augustus (Orlandos (1976) 29. I am grateful to Mr C. A. Picón for advice on the sculpture).

<sup>43</sup> See also Veyne (1962) 67, 83-4.

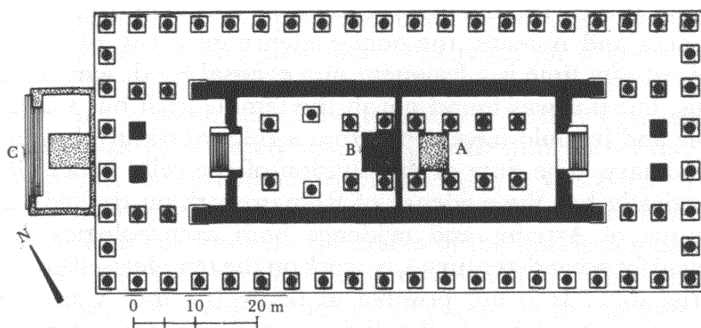
<sup>44</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3277 with *BE* (1976) 204 and K. K. Carroll, *The Parthenon Inscription* (1982). P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (1931) 12-13, had suggested cult.

<sup>45</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 756 = *LSCG* 44 clearly demonstrates the honorific addition of a body (the People) to a temple dedication.

lengthy debate as to whether this was the temple for which Hadrian is known to have granted the title of 'temple warden', but this debate has failed to observe that it is not really a temple of Hadrian at all. The dedication as extant is indeed to Hadrian and the city, but the name of Hadrian was certainly preceded by the name of a deity, probably, to judge from the external decoration, that of Artemis. There was only one cult statue in the temple, presumably of Artemis. The temple was later used to honour the emperors at the turn of the third and fourth centuries, but their statues stood outside the temple, just as Hadrian's name stood in second place to the goddess'. To insist on the primacy of Artemis helps to explain the late third- or fourth-century reliefs that were added to the temple. These have no connection with the emperor, though this was once argued, but show scenes involving Artemis and the mythical past of Ephesus. Modern scholars, who have universally misunderstood the temple, have been misled by the dedication and have failed to be sufficiently sensitive to contemporary nuances and distinctions.

Similar distinctions between the joint dedicatees are observable in other cases. At Priene the architrave, the altar and the steps leading to the temple of Athena Polias were dedicated to Athena and Augustus (Cat. no. 43), but it is very unlikely that a statue of Augustus was placed beside Athena. The old base of the cult statue was not altered and no fragments of large imperial statues were found, though parts of the statue of Athena do survive. There seems in fact to have been an arc of life-sized statues on either side of the cult statue. These included a number of statues of the imperial house; the head of a statue of Claudius was found adjacent to the cult statue and Julia and Lucius Caesar were also represented in addition to other imperial figures. Presumably Augustus himself simply received an honorific statue in the cella, a custom which we have already noted. Indeed this temple also contained earlier honorific statues. The head of a fourth-century B.C. statue, perhaps representing a priestess, and a late Republican statue were also found in the temple. Priene thus represents one way in which a traditional honorific practice could be extended to include the imperial family.

These physical arrangements of temples are extremely important for our understanding of the relationship between the emperor and the gods. Though they are often totally obscure, we find that at Claros (Cat. no. 26) Tiberius' name was inscribed (in the genitive) on the architrave of the temple of Apollo and it seems that a cult place was dedicated to him in the north part of the *pronaos* or porch. The coinage of Neocaesarea even allows us a glimpse inside a traditional



**Fig. 7 Temple of Artemis, Sardis. Mid second century A.D.**

(After G. Gruben, *Ath. Mitt.* 76 (1961) 155)

A Base for statue of Artemis    B New base for statues of Antoninus Pius and Faustina?  
C Altar

The figure represents the project, which was never completed.

sanctuary (Pl. 2d–e; Cat. no. 107). The coins issued under the Severans illustrate in great detail many aspects of the temple from its doors with their prominent handles to interior views. Within the sanctuary one can see two naked male statues, probably representing the Dioscuri. There seem also to be representations of up to three busts which may portray Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta. The physical relationship between the busts and the statues is not clear but the distinction between the full-sized statues and the busts may, as at Priene, indicate subordination.<sup>46</sup>

The details of the interior of a temple are probably recoverable from the temple of Artemis at Sardis, where fragments of the colossal statues of Antoninus Pius and Faustina were found (Fig. 7; Cat. no. 57). Unfortunately, despite intensive archaeological investigation of the temple, its architectural history and in particular the siting of these statues within the temple are not certain. The temple was originally dedicated to a female goddess, known at least by the Hellenistic period as Artemis, but at some point the interior of the temple was divided into two sections facing in opposite directions. The recent excavators favour a Hellenistic date for the division, which they believe was a partition between the cult of Artemis and of Zeus; in the second century statues of Antoninus Pius and Faustina were added alongside the old cult statues. There are, however, serious

<sup>46</sup> In other cases we hear of the dedication of an imperial cult statue to a god without the implications being clear; at Calymnus (Cat. no. 1), Cestrus (Cat. no. 148) and Cyzicus (*IGR* IV 144 = *SEG* IV 707).



objections to this thesis. Though the *sanctuary* had long been shared between Zeus and Artemis, the only evidence for a cult of Zeus in the temple at any time is a fragment of a colossal head, which may be of Zeus, but this was found not in the temple itself but south of the temple and it could have come from a colossal statue elsewhere in the sanctuary. The date of the division of the cella is not clear archaeologically but the evidence of Roman work on the old base of the statue of Artemis and evidence both archaeological and epigraphical for second-century A.D. work on the temple itself favours an imperial date. It is not possible to refute the theory that the imperial statues stood beside the divine ones but there is certainly no obvious parallel for such radical reworking of a temple for the addition of another god. If there was no cult of Zeus in the temple and the remodelling is dated to the imperial period, the most likely hypothesis is that the temple was divided specifically to permit the separation of the imperial cult from the traditional cult.<sup>47</sup> Artemis retained her own space, while the statues of Antoninus Pius and Faustina filled the other half of the temple.

From this temple we can begin to see in some detail how a temple could be used to express a complex relationship between emperor and god. Temples are often conceived as objects simply honouring the deity whose statue was within, but in fact different aspects of their design could be stressed in various ways. The subtlety is demonstrable in the case of one temple about which we happen to be particularly well informed. The Ionic temple at Pergamum is attested by a wide variety of sources, though scholars have generally failed to take them all into account and have in consequence gone astray in asserting simply that this was a temple of Caracalla (see Fig. 1; Cat. no. 23). The temple stands at one end of the terrace that runs below the theatre on the slopes of the acropolis at Pergamum. It stands imposingly at the top of a flight of steps. On the pediment was a dedicatory inscription to the emperor Caracalla; the text is difficult

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the double temple at Ephesus (Cat. no. 27) and the divided cella of the temple of Rome and Augustus at Leptis Magna (J. B. Ward-Perkins *apud* Thompson (1966) 186 n. 45; M. F. Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna* (1966) 82-3). A division has been proposed at the temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra (Cat. no. 108) on the basis of Priene but there is no direct evidence. T. B. Mitford, *PHOROS, Tribute... B. D. Meritt* (1974) 113 (and *ANRW* II 7, 2 pp. 1316-17, 1349), alleges that a building in the sanctuary of Apollo at Kourion was divided between the cult of Apollo and Trajan. But this building, which is distinct from the temple of Apollo, is of uncertain function, probably dates from the Augustan period and was always divided (R. Scranton, 'The architecture of the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion', *TAPhS* 57, 5 (1967) esp. 38-44).

to establish because only the nail holes for the original bronze letters survive, but it seems that there was room for a god's name after Caracalla's. Coins which display the first two letters of Caracalla's name in the pediment of the temple are further evidence that the temple was very closely associated with him. However, they also reveal that the cult statue within the temple was a seated Asclepius (to be distinguished from a standing Asclepius elsewhere in Pergamum). This coheres with the traces of the inscription on the shrine over the cult statue inside the temple which probably refers to Zeus Asclepius, whose cult is known in Pergamum at this time. The idea that the statue in some sense represented Caracalla, or that his statue was also inside the temple, is excluded by the fact that coins show him performing a sacrifice in front of the temple (Pl. 3e). Greek gods could perform sacrifices but never to another god, and such a sacrifice fits into a series of representations of the emperor sacrificing to a god on his arrival at a city (ch. 8 n. 36). We know that Caracalla did visit Pergamum and the coins show him sacrificing as a human in front of the god. These different pieces of evidence, which seem at first sight to conflict, stress different aspects of the temple and of the relationship between emperor and god and give a fascinating picture of the hesitations and ambiguities of this relationship.

The structural and functional complexities of temples, which allowed very different perceptions of their meanings, may also be surmised in the case of the great temple at Cyzicus, which is included in one list as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world (Cat. no. 17). The complexities have led to misperceptions on the part of later generations. Almost all modern writers refer to it as the temple of Hadrian. Yet the earliest source which actually refers to it in this fashion dates from at least the late fifth century A.D. Other sources merely say that it was founded by Hadrian, one specifying that it had long been under construction and that Hadrian paid for its completion as for that of the temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens. It has not often been noticed that our earliest and best source, a panegyric by Aelius Aristides actually delivered at the temple in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, describes the temple as a thank-offering to the gods. Aristides also says that Marcus Aurelius inscribed the name of the best of all emperors on the temple. However, this is probably not a sign of the basic dedication of the temple but a reference to the inscription 'of the divine Hadrian' which Malalas had reported on the temple.

In the pediment of the temple Malalas, writing in the sixth century, reports that Hadrian dedicated to himself a large marble

statue.<sup>48</sup> Cyriacus of Ancona, a pioneer recorder of antiquities, described the pediment on his second visit to the site in 1444. Though much had collapsed or been torn down, the front of the temple, including the pediment, was still standing. Here Cyriacus saw, in almost perfect condition, a group of splendid marble statues of the gods dominated by a central figure of Zeus.<sup>49</sup> It is not easy to assess the value of these two sources. On the one hand, Malalas, who may not actually have seen the temple himself, seems to refer to a single statue, which he implies represented Hadrian. On the other, Cyriacus, who was a careful and intelligent reporter of what he saw, describes a group of statues. It is intrinsically more likely that the huge pediment would contain a group of statues rather than a single figure, let alone a bust combined with other statues. The identification of the statues must be uncertain. Cyriacus' description of the central figure as Zeus must be guesswork, but may well be correct. The most that can be said about Hadrian is that he was honoured in some manner on the exterior of the temple.

The conventional view that the temple was actually dedicated to Hadrian has very weak foundations, despite the close association of Hadrian with the temple. The earliest assertion that this is a temple dedicated to Hadrian are in poor quality sources dating from a time when the actual cult statues within the temple would have been long destroyed<sup>50</sup> and when all that remained to identify the temple would be the pedimental decoration and perhaps a memory of an association with Hadrian. The pediment may have been as misleading as that on the Ionic temple at Pergamum. Unlike at Pergamum the true dedication of the temple remains unclear. The identity of the cult statue(s) is not known, though a fragment of a colossal statue was found on the site. We do not even know how many cult statues there were.<sup>51</sup> It would certainly be precarious to infer from the statement by the fifth-century ecclesiastical writer Socrates (*HE* III 23) that Hadrian was worshipped as the thirteenth god in Cyzicus, that there

<sup>48</sup> Many have thought that Malalas refers to a bust of Hadrian, but p. 172, 7-10, supports my translation. He certainly cannot mean a herm as Price & Trell suggest (cf. *BMCRE* I 102, nos. 628-30, Octavian). But for a bust alone in small pediments see Cat. nos. 65 and 145 (cf. Vermeule (1965) esp. 376-80).

<sup>49</sup> A copy of a drawing by Cyriacus seems to show a single standing figure, but there is no certainty that it refers to this temple.

<sup>50</sup> As early as the mid fourth century a local bishop, Eleusius, was active in destroying temples, to the wrath of Julian (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* v 15, 4-10).

<sup>51</sup> It is quite wrong to argue on the basis of the notoriously unreliable life of Severus Alexander (43, 6) in the *Historia Augusta* that there was no cult statue. The suggestion that Persephone was worshipped here is not well founded.

were thirteen statues within, or indeed that Hadrian was worshipped there at all. The games held at Cyzicus, the Hadrianea Olympia, do show that Hadrian was honoured there but the second element in the name, which was also used on its own, suggests that Zeus Olympios was involved. The name of the games and the parallel between Hadrian's financing of the temple at Cyzicus and the temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens suggest that the primary dedication may indeed have been to Zeus.

While the dedication of the temple is not certain, the basic structure of the temple is clear. A passage of the panegyric by Aelius Aristides (sect. 20) explicitly states that there were three storeys, one raised in the air, one at ground level, and a third below ground. In fact a complex of underground passages survives on the site, with a staircase down to them still traceable within the foundations. A possible parallel to them is given by the temple of Zeus at Aezani where steps lead down from the rear porch to an arched chamber below the temple which was probably used for the cult of Cybele.<sup>52</sup> The maze of tunnels under the temple at Cyzicus is quite different from the single chamber at Aezani and was there primarily for structural reasons, but the tunnels were an item for comment in the panegyric and they may also have been used for religious rites. Whatever the details of the construction of the temple, sufficient evidence survives to show the inadequacy of the traditional description of the temple as a temple dedicated simply to Hadrian. The temple was very complex. Hadrian was indeed honoured in the temple but I submit that he was subordinate to the chief deity, probably Zeus.

It was not common for the emperor to share fully in the temple of a traditional god, a point already argued by Nock (1930). While Nock seemed to hedge round the subject in a negative fashion, I have tried to show positively, and with different material, how the subordination of emperor to god was expressed in architectural terms. There were special imperial buildings in sanctuaries, either free-standing or in porticoes, but these did not approach the temple of the god in grandeur or design. The emperor did sometimes have a part in the temple itself, but in a carefully controlled manner. His name was added in the dedication to the god; he was sometimes actually allocated space at the front or rear of the temple. The pediment might even focus on the emperor in its dedication and decoration. Inside, however, the traditional god was not dethroned

<sup>52</sup> *JRS* 72 (1982) 196–7. But see Dio LXIX 4 for use of temple cellars for storage.

or threatened by the emperor. The imperial images that were placed inside the temple of the god seem to have been of different size and in a different position from the traditional cult statue. The limiting case is provided by the building of an entirely new temple to a traditional god and the emperor, which clearly permitted the relationship between god and emperor to be expressed without the constraints of pre-existing architecture. Coins reveal the interior of the temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan at Pergamum (Pl. 2c; Cat. no. 20). Zeus is enthroned in majesty, while the figure of Trajan, in military dress, is shown approaching him to do homage.

### III IMPERIAL TEMPLES AND SHRINES

If we turn now to temples and shrines devoted solely to the emperor, these range widely, as we have already begun to see. There were special rooms in porticoes and gymnasia; there were free-standing buildings in their own sanctuaries (*temenos* or *peribolos*: Ephesus, Cat. no. 29; Eresus, Cat. no. 5; Pergamum, Cat. no. 19; Xanthos, Cat. no. 79). These buildings varied from simple rectangular buildings (Iotape, Cat. no. 149), filled with imperial statues (Bubon, Cat. no. 82; Cestrus, Cat. nos. 146-7; cf. Fig. 9) to buildings with a porch (*pronaos*: Hyllarima, Cat. no. 67; Pednelissus?, Cat. no. 128) or a colonnade (Jussuf Deressi, Cat. no. 53). The most elaborate of them were large and expensive buildings with columns all the way round, which were externally identical to a standard temple of the gods (Ancyra, Cat. no. 108; Ephesus, Cat. nos. 29, 31; Mylasa, Cat. no. 70, Fig. 10; Pergamum, Cat. no. 20, Fig. 1; Sagalassus, Cat. no. 129; Sidyma, Cat. no. 78).<sup>53</sup>

Within these buildings the arrangements again varied. In some, life-sized imperial statues lined the walls (Bubon, Cat. no. 82; Cestrus, Cat. nos. 146-7), while in some of the elaborate temples one or two colossal imperial statues held pride of place (Ephesus, Cat. no. 31; Pergamum, Cat. no. 20; cf. Sardis, Cat. no. 57). The precise details of the interior disposition of the temples are obscure, but we hear of a cult table probably in a temple of Augustus which received sacrificial offerings,<sup>54</sup> while what was perhaps another imperial temple contained a gilded statue on a marble encrusted base, two incense burners, a barrier round the statue (?) and two couches.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup> See now K. Tuchelt, 'Zum Problem "Kaisareion-Sebasteion"', *Ist. Mitt.* 31 (1981) 167-86. <sup>54</sup> *OGIS* 456, 19-21 (Mytilene).

<sup>55</sup> Robert, *Hell.* ix 43-4 (= *SEG* xvii 596). The fact that the donor was a priest of the emperors and in charge of imperial games makes it likely that his gifts were for the imperial cult.

The external decoration of these buildings might have been used to elaborate a view of the emperor. Certainly in the late Hellenistic period the traditional forms were adapted to this end with a building in the sanctuary of the Samothracian gods on Delos which is described in the dedicatory inscription as a *naos* of Mithridates Dionysus (n. 6). This free-standing structure, with two columns at the front, held a statue of Mithridates and was decorated round the walls with a series of medallions of the heads of officials and friends of Mithridates. The decoration would not have been out of place on a simple honorific monument in the agora. In contrast to this, imperial temples appear very traditional and are not externally distinguishable from other temples. While Hadrian may have been given great prominence on the temple at Cyzicus, imperial temples proper simply borrow from the repertoire of religious architectural motifs. The temple of Rome and Augustus at Mylasa, for example, was decorated with a frieze of ox-heads, tripods and libation bowls, motifs which are easily paralleled from elsewhere (Fig. 10; Cat. no. 70).<sup>56</sup> Other temples have no representational features on the outside.<sup>57</sup> Imperial temples thus fit into the tradition of Greek temple design. Pedimental sculpture and sometimes other decorative features of temples were appropriate to the specific deity,<sup>58</sup> but temples offered no convenient location for documentary sculpture.

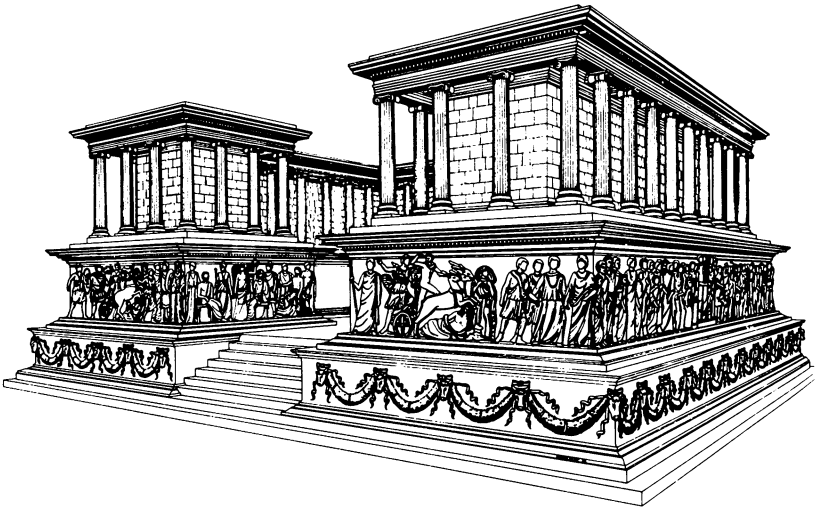
Imperial altars, on the other hand, were a much more appropriate location for elaborate relief sculpture. The reliefs on the altar in front of the temple of Domitian at Ephesus, which may date from the second century A.D., do not depict the emperor directly but their motifs are significant (Cat. no. 31). The long face and one end of the altar are covered with a medley of military motifs, shields, spears, armour, trophies and a bound captive. The iconography reflects the fundamental importance for the empire of the ideology of imperial victory (ch. 7 pp. 182–3), which is also hinted at by the winged victories standing on the corner of the Traianeum and the Ionic temple at Pergamum (Cat. nos. 20, 23). That the precondition for and response to imperial victories was sacrifice is shown by the other face of the altar, where there stands a bull ready for sacrifice at an altar.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Cf. the decoration on the Ionic temple at Pergamum (Cat. no. 23).

<sup>57</sup> Sidyma (Cat. no. 78), Sagalassus (Cat. no. 129).

<sup>58</sup> E.g. G. Roux, *L'architecture de l'Argolide* (1961) 195–6, on Tholos at Epidaurus.

<sup>59</sup> For oblique attempts to associate the emperor with local deities see Miletus (Cat. no. 39) and a monument from Ephesus dedicated to Augustus and his family (W. Oberleitner, *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake* (1978) 111, no. 152).



**Fig. 8 Antonine Altar, Ephesus (hypothetical reconstruction)**

Note the balancing scenes of apotheosis on either side of the entrance. (W. Oberleitner, *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake* (1978) 94)

The frieze of the Antonine Altar at Ephesus, which is probably the finest sculpture to survive from the Greek world in the imperial period, is also preoccupied with the emperor and the empire (Fig. 8; Cat. no. 34). Its interpretation is a matter for some dispute because it is so fragmentary and because the order of the surviving reliefs is difficult to determine, but recent work has established the basic facts. The reliefs ran round the outside of a monumental enclosure leading up to the entry to the actual sacrificial altar within. They relate to the particular historical circumstances of the life of Lucius Verus, co-emperor with Marcus Aurelius, but their implications are of wider significance. As one works round the altar, the first side is occupied by a scene of great grandeur representing the adoption of Lucius Verus by Antoninus Pius, with a sacrifice to sanctify the occasion. The gathering together of the whole Antonine family and the process of adoption itself emphasize the dynastic nature of the empire, a perception to which we shall return (pp. 159–62). The following side depicts scenes of Verus' successful conflict against the Parthians. The struggling bodies reflect the difficulty of the victories, which are in fact not explicitly represented. On the third side Lucius Verus appears among personifications of a number of important cities which had played a part in the war. If this interpretation is correct, this

is an unusual depiction of the interest of the empire in the gaining of victory, which is seen in the widespread celebrations in cities of the news of imperial victories. Finally there are the scenes on either side of the entrance to the sacrificial altar. On the left was shown the apotheosis of Lucius Verus, who died in 169. He is led by Victory into a chariot, whose horses are eager to ascend to the heavens. In front there stand Sun and Virtue, with the supine form of Earth beneath. The scene on the other side clearly balances this one, though its interpretation is far from certain. Artemis, with some attributes of Moon, is led by Evening into a chariot drawn by deer. Night precedes and Sea lies beneath the chariot. The most recent interpretation sees Artemis-Moon as a star sinking before the rising Verus-Sun, but it is implausible that there should be any dethronement of the old gods here. Artemis' chariot certainly seems to be rising rather than sinking and perhaps she, the deity of Ephesus, can be seen as leading Verus upwards, driving Night before her. These representations of apotheosis flank the entry to the altar itself where there are two regrettably fragmentary scenes, which seem to show Lucius Verus enthroned among the gods. The monument encapsulates so many themes of empire: the centrality of the emperor and his family, the importance of warfare and victory for the whole empire, and the intimacy between members of the imperial house and the gods. Enthronement in heaven was here stressed as the final destination of the emperor, after his death.

The stress upon the dynastic nature of the empire is also found if one passes from the exterior of the temples and the iconography of altars and penetrates within the buildings of the imperial cult. Leaving the actual iconography of the cult statues to the next chapter, we can examine the internal disposition of the buildings. The imperial room in the portico at Thera contained statues of the Antonines, Faustina, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus and perhaps Antoninus Pius on a single large base (Fig. 5; Cat. no. 11). A similar room in the sanctuary of Leto displayed a number of imperial bronze statues both inside and outside; the only one now identifiable represented Marciana, the sister of Trajan (Cat. no. 81). Within independent imperial buildings the same features are found. At Bubon in northern Lycia systematic but illicit digging in the 1960s uncovered a series of twenty or more superb bronze statues and their bases (Cat. no. 82). Most of these are of imperial figures which originally stood in the local Sebasteion, but at least one bronze was found elsewhere on the site attached to a statue base whose inscription praises a local citizen. The building, a room some 5 by 6 metres, had



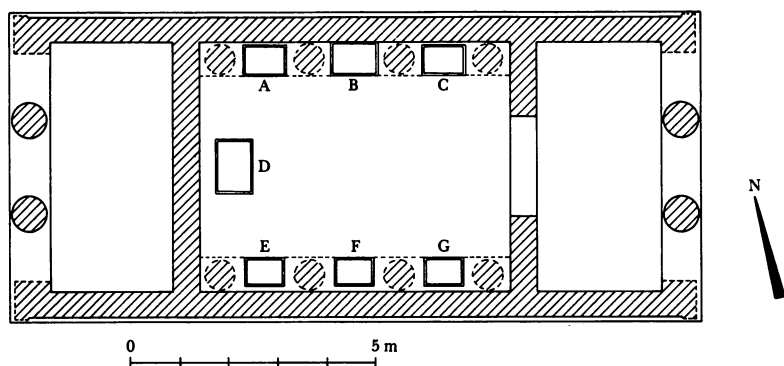


Fig. 9 Metroon, Olympia

A Domitian (?) B Claudius as Zeus C Titus D Augustus as Zeus  
 E Domitia (?) F Agrippina the Younger G Julia Titi (?)  
 (After *Olympia Ergebnisse* III (1897) 255)

This plan omits the external colonnade of the temple

elaborate decoration. The bronze head of a wind-god (?) in high relief may have been attached to the walls of the building while a large eagle, almost a metre high, the lower part of the body almost human, perhaps stood defiantly on a column beside the building. The statues themselves stood on bases round the walls of the building, grouped together chronologically, gradually filling up the room from the rear. The final sequence of statues is most impressive. They run from the middle of the first century, when the area was first added to the Roman empire and when the building may have been founded, through to the mid third century, the whole span of the high empire. Statue bases are extant of Nero, Poppaea Sabina, Nerva, Antoninus Pius (?), Lucius Verus, Commodus (?), Septimius Severus, and Julia Domna, Caracalla (twice), Gordian III, Gallienus and Cornelia Salonina, and there can be no doubt that others have been lost. The actual statues of Lucius Verus, Septimius Severus and two heads from statues of Caracalla survive, in addition to other statues whose identification is dubious.

Two other Eastern imperial temples about whose interiors we are well informed reveal similar features. The old Metroon, or temple of the mother of the gods, at Olympia in the Peloponnese was the setting for a number of imperial statues (Fig. 9).<sup>60</sup> A colossal statue

<sup>60</sup> Pausanias v 20, 9; *I. Olympia* 642; *Olympia Ergebnisse* II 37-40 on architecture, III 232-5, 243-8, 255-8 on statues. Cf. further J. Wiesner, *RE* xviii 1 (1939) 118-20; Thompson (1966) 185-6; H. V. Volkmann, *Olympia. Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte* (1972) 184.

of Augustus as Zeus formed the centre-piece, with Domitian (?), Claudius as Zeus and Titus along one wall, and Domitia (?), Agrippina II and Julia Titi (?) along the other. These statues filled the temple and later imperial statues were put in the temple of Zeus. At the minor site of Cestrus in Cilicia a statue of Vespasian stood in the centre of an imperial temple (Cat. no. 146). To either side stood statues of Titus, Nerva, Trajan, two of Hadrian, the second one perhaps being added when he visited the town, and one of his wife Sabina. The notable omission is Domitian, whose statue was presumably replaced by that of Nerva after his memory was damned. The temple was now full and this probably led to the building of a second imperial temple which had at least a statue of Antoninus Pius (Cat. no. 147).<sup>61</sup>

At Bubon, Olympia and Cestrus the series are impressively long, beginning with the first subjection to imperial rule. Greece was part of the empire from the beginning, but the other two sites were in areas that were only later turned into provinces, Bubon under Claudius and Cestrus under Vespasian. At Bubon the building may not have been built for over a decade after annexation, and one can detect the interest of a Roman governor early in the next reign behind the scheme. Thereafter the series continued, being curtailed in two of the places merely by physical limitations. Even if any given series never actually included all the emperors and their wives, it is notable that in all three places the series run over the conventional dynastic divisions between Julio-Claudian, Flavian, Antonine and later emperors. There was a significant omission at Cestrus and Bubon of an emperor whose memory was damned, but even this problem did not disrupt the continuity at Olympia. This desire for continuity and stability is a major feature of the Roman empire. On the one hand cults and dedications asserted that the rule of any given emperor would last for ever, while the successive erection of statues of new emperors implied the durability of imperial rule. From the beginning it was clear that the empire was to be passed on to the son, real or adopted, of the reigning emperor, and the heritability of the empire remained the norm.<sup>62</sup> For example, the Ephesians talked of Antoninus Pius 'taking over the kingdom given him by his divine father' (ch. 3 n. 15). Naturally the usurper Septimius Severus claimed that he had been adopted into the earlier family and had his 'brother'

<sup>61</sup> Cf. also the temple of Rome and Augustus at Leptis Magna: Haynes (1955) 89-90.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. R. M. Geer, 'Second thoughts on the imperial succession from Nerva to Commodus', *TAPA* 67 (1936) 47-54.

Commodus deified. Inscriptions respect his alleged filiation and the statues at Bubon set him among his 'ancestors'. This continuity of imperial rule is strikingly emphasized and extended by the existence of a statue of Alexander the Great at Bubon.<sup>63</sup> The first Greek conqueror of this area, whose cults are found as late as the second and third centuries A.D. (ch. 2 n. 99), extended archetypal legitimation to Roman rule. It was also particularly appropriate to place the statue of Alexander in a building with statues of Caracalla who laid great emphasis on Alexander as a model for his own rule.<sup>64</sup>

The stability of imperial rule was perceived to lie in the transmission of power within the imperial family and, in consequence, considerable importance was attached to the whole imperial house. Modern historians tend to lay too much emphasis on the emperor alone, ignoring the role of the imperial family. Some imperial women played an important part in public diplomatic activity, and not merely in the underhand intrigues of 'I, Claudius'. Thus the Ephesians tried to aid their claim for a fourth title of 'temple warden' by petitioning Julia Domna, the mother of Caracalla, and her reply, tactfully evading any decision, was inscribed by them (ch. 3 n. 73).<sup>65</sup> At Rome and elsewhere honours were given to women and other members of the imperial family. In addition to the displays of statuary that we have already examined there is the very striking Antonine group from the Artemision at Ephesus. There were statues of Marcus Aurelius, his wife, his son Commodus and five daughters (Cat. no. 28). The empire was in the hands of a family.

#### IV CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

In conclusion the context of the imperial temples demands attention. The scale and elaboration of the building of imperial temples represents a very significant change from the Hellenistic period. In contrast to the seventy imperial temples and shrines that are known, we hear of only some eleven or twelve temples or sanctuaries of Hellenistic kings in Asia Minor during the two hundred years from Alexander the Great to the end of the Attalid dynasty of Pergamum.<sup>66</sup> Republican Roman monuments are even rarer. Roma received only three or four such monuments and Roman magistrates none at all

<sup>63</sup> Cf. generally K. Gebauer, 'Alexanderbildnis und Alexandertypus', *Ath. Mitt.* 63-4 (1938-9) 1-106.

<sup>64</sup> F. G. B. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (1964) 151, 215-16.

<sup>65</sup> Livia had also been important, e.g. Millar (1977) 431-2.

<sup>66</sup> Habicht (1970) 140-1 and Hansen (1971) 453-70 give the data.

(ch. 2 n. 102). Part of the reason for the difference in scale is that ruler cult was in general much more widespread in the area under the Roman empire than in the Hellenistic period but even in areas which did have Hellenistic monuments there was an important change in the forms of the cults. In the Hellenistic period it was very uncommon to build a full temple to the ruler. Only two or three of the dozen Hellenistic examples were temples, and one of those was set up not by a city but by pious sons in memory of their mother.<sup>67</sup> The other monuments were just sanctuaries with an altar. The few monuments of Roma that are known from the Republican period present a similar picture. Some were simply sanctuaries or were additions to earlier buildings, though there were also a few temples.<sup>68</sup>

The nature of the Hellenistic sanctuaries explains why there is so little direct physical continuity between Hellenistic and Roman ruler cults. Such continuity has been alleged in a few cases, but the evidence for the nature and function of the buildings under discussion is very weak.<sup>69</sup> Continuity was not proclaimed and any actual reuse of a Hellenistic site was veiled by the impermanence and flexible nature of the Hellenistic sanctuaries. Such sanctuaries were perfectly suited to a period of political uncertainty when cities were liable to move rapidly from the sphere of one kingdom to that of another. The perception that the cults were transitory and might have to be changed was responsible for the absence of royal temples. With the accession of Augustus the tone of public life changed and greater expectations were held of the permanence of imperial rule. The increase in the provision of special architectural facilities for ruler cult, and in particular of temples rather than sanctuaries, is an important index of the consolidation of monarchical rule between the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The relationship between this massive temple-building of the Roman period and the temples of the traditional gods is important and largely misunderstood. Those following the conventional view of the decline of the traditional gods in the Hellenistic period have

<sup>67</sup> Temple of Apollonis at Cyzicus, known from *Anth. Pal.* III (which dates, however, to the sixth century A.D.; H. Meyer, *De anthologiae palatinae epigrammatis Cyzicenis* (Diss. Königsberg, 1911)).

<sup>68</sup> Mellor (1975) 134–6. Tuchelt (1979) 22–33 has denied that there were any Republican temples of Roma, but the passages of Livy and Tacitus deserve credence, and are confirmed by the coins, of imperial date, showing the temple at Smyrna.

<sup>69</sup> The so-called ‘Temenos of the Herrscherkult’ at Pergamum was certainly used from Hellenistic to Roman times, when it was partly rebuilt, but the function of the building is quite uncertain (n. 79). The alleged imperial takeover on Thera is also uncertain (Cat. no. 11).

argued that the temples of the old gods were defunct and were taken over for the imperial cult. Evidence for this from Asia Minor is almost non-existent<sup>70</sup> but the pages of Pausanias do reveal two instances from mainland Greece.<sup>71</sup> One derelict temple, lacking roof and cult statue, was, he says (vi 24, 10), dedicated to the Roman emperors. At the beginning of his account of Delphi Pausanias describes a line of temples in the Marmaria just outside the main sanctuary, the first being in ruins, the second lacking cult or other statues, the third containing a few images (*eikones*) of Roman emperors and the fourth being dedicated to Athena Pronoia (x 8, 6). Unfortunately the excavations of this area, by revealing five rather than four buildings, all of pre-imperial date, have turned this passage into a perennial problem of Delphic topography.<sup>72</sup> It is not clear which building contained the imperial images, nor whether its original function was a temple or a treasury. Pausanias did, however, believe that it was a temple and the final instance of an imperial takeover is certain. He reports that the Metroon at Olympia, though it kept its old name, contained no cult statue of the Mother of the Gods but statues of Roman emperors (n. 60). An inscription did in fact dedicate the temple to Augustus and many of the statues have actually been found. Some cults did die away in the course of antiquity, particularly in areas whose economy was uncertain, and their place in the ritual structure of society was taken by new cults. But takeovers of this sort were very rare and it is entirely wrong on the basis of them to sing a dirge over the old gods.<sup>73</sup>

A more moderate version of the same conventional argument holds that the religious energies of the period, as seen in rates of temple-building, were devoted to the emperor rather than to the traditional cults; imperial temples were the only temples, with the exception of temples to the healing gods, to be built under the empire.<sup>74</sup> The facts are otherwise. The well-known archaeological sites in Asia Minor, as covered by a recent guide book, yield a total of twenty-seven

<sup>70</sup> Gaius was said to have intended to take over the temple of Apollo at Didyma (Cat. no. 40), and, on one interpretation, Dionysus was ousted by Caracalla from the Ionic temple at Pergamum (Cat. no. 23).

<sup>71</sup> Cf. also the proposal of the client kings to finish the temple of Zeus at Athens and dedicate it to Augustus' *genius* (Suetonius *Augustus* 60).

<sup>72</sup> Ch. Le Roy, 'Pausanias à Marmaria (xxviii)', *BCH* Supp. iv (1977) 247, whose title indicates the number of attempted solutions, surveys the problem.

<sup>73</sup> G. Roux, *Delphes* (1976) 205–8, whose view of the chthonic associations of the Tholos is rightly attacked by Le Roy. Note also the dedication to *thea* Livia on the epistyle of the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, W. B. Dinsmoor, 'Rhamnountine fantasies', *Hesperia* 30 (1961) 179–204, esp. 186–94.

<sup>74</sup> H. Lietzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church* (1949) 168; Nock, *HTHR* 45 (1952) 237–8 = (1972) 778.

temples which were built to the gods, in whole or in part, under the empire, as against six involving the emperor.<sup>75</sup> The rate of temple-building, however, is not a fair index of the amount of financial resources devoted to the traditional gods because many gods had perfectly adequate temples already; one must also include the benefactions that were made to the sanctuaries for minor renovations or for running costs. A compilation of this material reveals a similar, though slightly lesser preponderance of the traditional cults over the imperial cult.<sup>76</sup> This refutation of the contention that the imperial cult was dominant gives a vivid picture of the continuing vitality of the religious traditions from which the imperial cult derived.

The nature of this religious tradition, and the significance of the imperial architecture, may be clarified by an examination of an option that was avoided by ruler cults. The architecture of the ruler cults was modelled on divine rather than heroic honours, which we have already seen to be true of the cults in general (ch. 2). There was an architectural tradition for hero cults which consisted of a courtyard, perhaps colonnaded, with a room for cult meals opening off one side and situated above the remains of the deceased.<sup>77</sup> Hellenistic ruler cults are alleged to have drawn upon this tradition because of its appropriateness for a human being, even one who was deified.<sup>78</sup> Various instances have been adduced, but in none of these cases is there any certainty about a relationship with ruler cult.<sup>79</sup> It would be wrong to build up a case upon such circumstantial arguments. For reasons we have already discussed (ch. 2), Hellenistic and Roman ruler cults eschewed the forms of hero cult.

The architectural provisions for hero cult illustrate the need to take into account the changing nature of hero cult in these periods. From at least the classical period, the status of some of the mythical figures such as Heracles had been ambiguous between hero and god; it is surely significant that it was precisely they who had temples rather than just heroic sanctuaries.<sup>80</sup> A later development, which inscriptions

<sup>75</sup> Akurgal (1978). Cf. map vi.

<sup>76</sup> *ESAR* iv 716–33, 747–94.

<sup>77</sup> O. Benndorf, G. Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaski-Trysa* (1889), with F. Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbaski-Trysa* (1950); E. Dyggve, F. Poulsen, K. Rhomaios, *Das Heroon von Kalydon* (1934).

<sup>78</sup> Hansen (1971) 463–4.

<sup>79</sup> Hansen (1971) 462–4. Aegina: the building is only identified by tile stamps, which merely show its Pergamene connections and do not prove that it was the Attaleion. Miletus: the building was thought not to be the Eumeneion by its publisher. Priene: the statuette of Alexander is insufficient ground for making the building the Alexandreion, which would also have the unwelcome consequence of providing a site with a fissure for chthonic sacrifices. Pergamum: the evidence is purely circumstantial.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. Heracles on Thasos, Amphiaraos at Oropus. Cf. ch. 2 n. 33, ch. 8 n. 58.

and iconography reveal to have been particularly common in the later second and early third centuries A.D., was the custom of treating the dead of one's own family in some manner as gods.<sup>81</sup> An interesting aspect of this process is that the forms of public funerary monuments became temple-like. The roots of this change extend back into the fourth century B.C., at least in some areas. The Nereid monument at Xanthos, excellently displayed in the British Museum, took the form of a small Ionic temple raised on a high podium.<sup>82</sup> This may be a development of the Lycian tradition of placing sarcophagi on a high column or podium, but in this case the burials were actually made in the lower chamber, while funerary couches were placed in the 'temple' itself. This early example is from a context that is only partially Greek, but it is now paralleled in part by a fourth-century grave monument found in Athens<sup>83</sup> and it does serve to illustrate the adaptation of divine forms for the dead.

Such adaptations became increasingly common in the late Hellenistic period and especially in the second and third centuries A.D., when we find large numbers of tombs modelled in different fashions upon temples, again with the coffins hidden in crypts beneath the main building. They are rare in Greece proper and are most common in south-west Asia Minor, though examples can be found in other parts of Asia Minor.<sup>84</sup> The distribution pattern may reflect local variations in attitudes to the dead (cf. ch. 2 p. 36) or it may merely be a result of the good preservation of monuments in this area of Asia Minor. Inscriptions help to elucidate the significance of these tombs. The tomb is only said to be like a temple and not to be one.<sup>85</sup> A long text concerning Regilla, the wife of a distinguished Athenian, says that 'she was not a mortal nor yet a goddess and thus did not receive either a holy temple or a tomb, the honours appropriate for mortals and gods. Her monument in Attica is like a temple, while her soul serves the sceptre of Rhadaminthys (in the underworld).'<sup>86</sup> The

<sup>81</sup> *JRS* 69 (1979) 204.

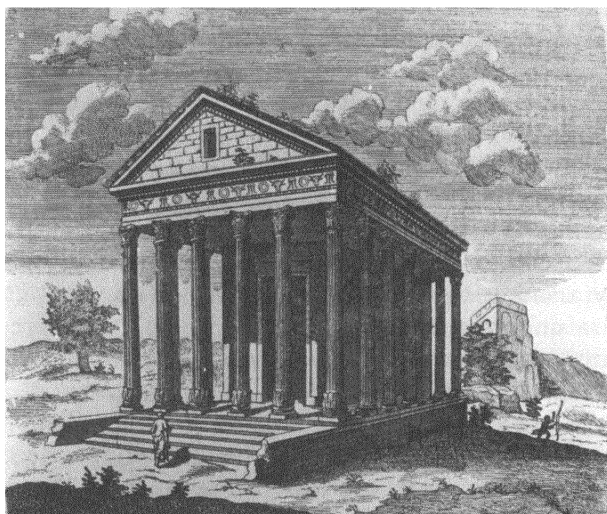
<sup>82</sup> P. Coupel, P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos* III (1969).

<sup>83</sup> E. K. Tsirivakos, *AAA* 1 (1968) 108-9. Cf. D. C. Kurtz, J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (1971) 235, for *stelai* in a shrine.

<sup>84</sup> A. Frantz, H. A. Thompson, J. Travlos, *AJA* 73 (1969) 412-17; A. Machatschek, *Die Nekropolen und Grabmäler im Gebiet von Elaiussa Sebaste...* (1967) 106-10. Add Lanckoronski II 172 (Cremna); *Investigations at Assos* (ed. F. H. Bacon, 1902-21) 109-17; G. Kleiner, *Die Ruinen von Milet* (1968) 131-2; J. Borchhardt, *Myra* (1975) 61-3; Krencker, *Schede* (1979) 59-62 (Aezani); Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* p. 134 Loeb (Smyrna).

<sup>85</sup> *SEG* xvi 666, late Hellenistic. Cf. *IGBulg* III 995.

<sup>86</sup> *IG* XIV 1389 = *IGR* I 194 = *IGUR* I 155 A 43-7 with W. Peek, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 76-84. Cf. P. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus* (1930) 81-100, Nilsson (1961) 545 n. 3, and Robert, *AJPh* 100 (1979) 160-5.



**Fig. 10 Temple of Roma and Augustus, Mylasa, as seen by an eighteenth-century traveller**

(R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other Countries* II 2 (1745), pl. 55 facing p. 61)

language of the whole (metrical) inscription is archaic and the distinctions drawn have been dismissed as outdated. In fact the text is a perfect product of a period when the language of hero cult had been extended to refer to the dead in general, but when the distinctions it had once expressed still needed to be drawn; Regilla was not just a mortal nor yet a goddess. The language of the text and the architecture of the temple tombs are ways of expressing this point. These temple tombs represent a different option from that taken by imperial temples but both are interesting, parallel adaptations of divine architecture which illustrate the flexibility and intelligibility of the architectural system.

If imperial temples must be seen in the general context of temples to the gods, we need to examine more closely how they stood in relation to the differences between Greek and other traditions of temple design. This is a complex area where it is too easy to operate with schematic distinctions between indigenous, Roman and Greek traditions. For example, the westward orientation of the temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra is said to belong to the same Anatolian tradition as the temples of Artemis at Sardis, Ephesus and Magnesia and of Cybele at Pessinus and, probably, Aezani.<sup>87</sup> But the

<sup>87</sup> Akurgal (1978) 284–7.



existence of such an indigenous tradition is highly dubious, relying for its plausibility on the obsolete dogma of the unity of the Anatolian mother-goddess. In fact temples elsewhere also faced west, but the fact that the altars were not also reoriented suggests that the western orientation lacked significance for cult purposes.<sup>88</sup>

A better case might be made out for the significance of a Roman tradition of temple design. It would be highly significant if imperial temples alone in Asia Minor drew on it, avoiding the traditions of Hellenistic architecture. While classical Greek temples were generally ringed by a small flight of steps, there was an ancient tradition in Rome of raising the temple on a high podium; there were steps only at the front, ending on each side in a small 'cheek-wall', which often served to support works of sculpture. With this design of the temple itself naturally went the creation of surrounding colonnades which emphasized the front of the temple. This design is indeed found in temples of the emperor in Asia Minor, both in a Roman colony and in Greek cities (Fig. 10).<sup>89</sup> Did then the Greeks feel it appropriate for imperial temples to be peculiarly Roman? It would seem not. There had been since the Hellenistic period a movement towards the symmetrical arrangement of sanctuaries;<sup>90</sup> temples of the 'Roman' type were rare but had been built since the classical period.<sup>91</sup> In Roman times this frontal design became more common in Asia Minor and was used both for temples probably dedicated to traditional deities and for elaborate temple tombs.<sup>92</sup> Thus the alleged distinction between Roman and Greek ceases to be of significance with the creation of architectural forms common to both Rome and the provinces.<sup>93</sup>

Other imperial temples were more closely modelled on still vital Hellenistic traditions;<sup>94</sup> indeed the temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra was once even dated to the second century B.C. (Cat. no. 108).

<sup>88</sup> H. Nissen, *Orientation. Studien zur Geschichte der Religion* (1906-10), esp. charts on 243ff.; M. Ç. Şahin, *Die Entwicklung der griechischen Monumentalaltäre* (Diss. Köln, 1972) 2 n. 3.

<sup>89</sup> Pisidian Antioch (Cat. no. 123); Rome and Augustus, Mylasa (Cat. no. 70, Fig. 10); Trajan, Pergamum (Cat. no. 20); Theoi Sebastoi, Sidyma (Cat. no. 78). Cf. Selge (Cat. no. 131).

<sup>90</sup> R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (1951) 521-9. Cf. J. Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age* (1979) 151-80.

<sup>91</sup> H. Plommer, *Ancient and Classical Architecture* (1956) 158-9.

<sup>92</sup> E.g. Lagon (*Annuario* 3 (1916-20) 135-41), Side (A. M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side* (1963) 90-4), Termessus (Lanckoronski II 88-90). Note also the temple of Zeus at Aezani and tombs (e.g. *MAMA* III pl. 17).

<sup>93</sup> The theatre-temple complex at Pessinus, which is redolent of Roman practice, is not clearly associated with the imperial cult (Cat. no. 112).

Thus at Ephesus while the double temple, perhaps of Rome and Julius Caesar, shows clear Italian influence on its design, as would be appropriate for a cult designed for the Roman citizens of the province, the 'royal portico' that ran in front of the temple, despite having a bilingual Greek-Latin dedication, is in design simply an extended Greek portico and is quite unlike the Italian colonnaded hall (Fig. 3; Cat. no. 30). So too the grand temple of Domitian at Ephesus (Cat. no. 31) is Hellenistic in its conception and fits comfortably into the Hellenistic architectural designs of the sanctuaries on Cos and Rhodes. If imperial temples form part of a contemporary architectural language, it is not surprising to find that they exercised influence in their turn on other temple-building. Thus the temples of Athena and Apollo (?) at Side bear clear sign of influence from imperial temples at Pergamum and Sagalassus.<sup>95</sup>

The impact of the emperor on the architecture of the Greek cities was considerable. The various monuments in his honour, gates, fountains, porticoes and especially temples, placed the emperor within the physical framework of the city, which they thus transformed. The sanctuaries and temples of the gods also accorded the emperor a place. Their traditionally complex arrangements were modified to honour the emperor, either with a special building in the sanctuary or with a position in the temple itself, and some of the temples dedicated to the emperor alone were externally indistinguishable from traditional temples. But the interiors of these imperial temples were often modified to represent the dynastic nature of imperial rule and the emperor was not raised to a level with the gods in traditional sanctuaries. So, too, the building of the new temples to the emperor is not a mark of the decline of the old gods. There was still considerable expenditure on the cults of the traditional gods and the architectural forms of the imperial cult belonged to contemporary trends in temple design. More particularly, these forms were not an alien Roman imposition on the Greek world. The most prestigious traditions were adopted and adapted to accommodate the emperor in a local Greek context. But how did the imperial images placed in these temples relate to Greek traditions and in particular to the images of the Olympian gods?

<sup>94</sup> Anabolu (1970) stresses the dominance of the Hellenistic style in temple design and Lyttleton (1974) 259, 271 the conventionality of imperial temples.

<sup>95</sup> Ward-Perkins (1970) 407-8.

# 7

## IMAGES

When Paul and Thecla reached Pisidian Antioch, one of the chief men of the city made improper advances towards Thecla. When she failed to discourage Alexander by more gentle means, she laid hold of him, tore his clothes and dashed to the ground the golden crown with its figure of Caesar which he was wearing on his head. Alexander was almost certainly a priest of the imperial cult in Antioch, in which capacity he wore with pride the crown with its imperial image, and he was also responsible for the animal fights in the theatre. As a result of the incident Thecla was exposed to the animals with a plaque which is said to have read 'Thecla, the sacrilegious violator of the gods, who dashed the imperial crown from the head of Alexander, who wished to treat her impurely.'<sup>1</sup>

This scene from the Acts of Saints Paul and Thecla, which go back in some form to at least the later second century A.D., vividly illuminates not only the social context of the imperial cult, but also the privileged position of the imperial image, which is the subject of this chapter.<sup>2</sup> These crowns worn by imperial priests displayed up to fifteen busts of the reigning emperor, his family and his predecessors,

<sup>1</sup> Acts of SS. Paul and Thecla 26-39. The earliest versions, which I am following here, are in Syriac (ed. Wright (1871) II 116-45, whose importance was seen by W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire* (1893) ch. 16) and in Armenian (ed. F. C. Conybeare, *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius*<sup>2</sup>... (1894)). F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*<sup>2</sup> (1974) 1049 and 1357, lists editions of other versions. For an introduction see J. Quasten, *Patrology* I (1950) 130-3, and E. Hennecke, W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* II<sup>3</sup> (1965) 322-51, who translate the Greek texts. The setting used to be given as Syrian Antioch, but Alexander is called a Syriarch only in one late Greek manuscript. The inscription on the plaque varies; I follow the Armenian version, but the Greek simply reads 'Guilty of Sacrilege' (*hierosulos*). Note *CTh* IX 35, 4 (A.D. 259) for the seriousness of an assault on a priest.

<sup>2</sup> The importance of careful geographical boundaries is illustrated by the fact that crowns of this type are found mainly in Asia Minor, with some examples in the islands and mainland Greece (cf. ch. 1 p. 20 and below pp. 189-90). For the army see R. W. Davies, *BJ* 168 (1968) 161-5, and for the Latin West see Letta (1978) and *AE* (1940) 62.

and are a token of the importance of the imperial cult.<sup>3</sup> They are prominently featured on coins of one city, presumably as part of that city's claim to special provincial status (Pl. 2f),<sup>4</sup> while leading citizens often chose to be immortalized in stone in the prestigious role of an imperial priest, wearing the special crown (Pl. 1a).<sup>5</sup> The significance of the imperial image for our purposes is, however, not exhausted by assertions of its public prominence. I hope to show the importance of the imperial image as an expression of imperial ideology, that frontier zone between art history and politics. The importance of this zone has now been demonstrated, for example, for the history of modern France; the period from 1789 saw the deliberate creation of a new imagery for the Republic after the overthrow of the monarchy.<sup>6</sup> By contrast, with the emergence of an emperor in Rome out of the death of the Republic, the imperial image served to articulate the traditional theme of the relationship between the ruler and the gods.<sup>7</sup> But it would be disingenuous to suggest that the articulation of this theme was carried out simply by the Greeks. In earlier chapters I have argued that the imperial cult was largely the creation of the Greeks. But the imperial image itself was, in some sense, the product of Rome; standardized types of individual emperors were set up throughout the empire. In this chapter I want to look more carefully at the problem of Greece's response to Rome, with special reference to the imperial image. It might seem that the images distributed from the centre are a clear instance of central propaganda which lacked local significance. I want to argue, on the contrary, that the types were incorporated within Greek religious categories (I); they served as significant objects of ritual (II), and formed the basis of evocations for Greeks, Jews and Christians (III).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Inan, Rosenbaum (1979) 38–47 have a good discussion. Add Robert, *Studii clasice* 16 (1974) 57; also W. Stegmann, 'Drei Rundwerke aus Halbedelstein in der Ermitage', *AA* (1930) 1; A. Piganiol, 'La couronne de Julien César', *Byzantion* 12 (1938) 243; P. Jacobsthal, A. H. M. Jones, 'A silver find from south-west Asia Minor', *JRS* 30 (1940) 16–31, with *BE* (1944) 172.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. von Aulock 6018, 6023, 6025, 6045 (Tarsus).

<sup>5</sup> Inan, Rosenbaum (1979) no. 186

<sup>6</sup> M. Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle. Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789–1880* (1981).

<sup>7</sup> Thus a statue from Aphrodisias (Pl. 1a) displays crowns with busts both of Aphrodite and of members of the imperial family: Inan, Rosenbaum (1979) no. 186; cf. (1966) no. 228.

<sup>8</sup> Robert (1960) is basic. For differently oriented studies see Kruse (1934), Alföldi (1934) and P. Zanker, 'Prinzipat und Herrscherbild', *Gymnasium* 86 (1979) 353–68. Gordon (1979) is highly stimulating on images in general. For background see Hanfmann (1975) ch. 4; T. Pekáry, 'Statuen in kleinasiatischen Inschriften', in *Fest. F. K. Dörner* II (1978) 727; P. Zanker, 'Zur Funktion und Bedeutung griechischer Skulptur in der Römerzeit', in *Le classicisme à Rome aux 1ers siècles avant et après J.-C.*

I THE INCORPORATION OF THE IMPERIAL IMAGE

The most striking characteristic of the statues of the Roman emperor is their standardization, both of type and of the representation of individual emperors.<sup>9</sup> Even the least expert visitors to museums of antiquities soon learn that a marble cuirassed statue is most likely to be a representation of an emperor, and they will also find it easy to recognize, for example, portraits of Augustus or Vespasian. This is true whatever part of the empire one visits, from Spain in the West to Asia Minor in the East.<sup>10</sup> The similarity between portraits of the same emperor from different places is not because they are 'realistic' portraits of the same person. Indeed portraits of Augustus are not 'realistic' at all and bear little resemblance to the description of him given by Suetonius (*Augustus* 79–82). For the last thirty-five years of his rule the portraits do not age; we have no representations of the seventy-five-year old emperor. Rather, the fact that portraits from different places are almost identical even in the details of the placing of the locks of hair on the forehead shows that they are the products of centrally chosen types. For Augustus there are in fact only three such types; one dates from the 30s B.C., and the others superseded it in the early 20s. There are about 250 surviving portraits of Augustus, from all over the empire, and all of them fit into one or other of these types.

This standardization of the imperial portrait seems to contrast with the practice of Hellenistic kingdoms. The evidence hardly permits us to compare images of the same ruler, but the very scarcity of (extant) Hellenistic ruler portraits in contrast with those of Augustus is perhaps indicative of a different situation. The coin types offer more positive evidence. Whereas in the Roman period there is clearly concordance between coin types and portraits in the round, no such relationship seems to hold in the Hellenistic period. Hellenistic kings did take an interest in the erection of their statues, which they might

(Ent. Hardt xxv, 1979) 283ff., esp. 293–9. On the social context of statues see D. Metzler, *Porträt und Gesellschaft* (1971); A. F. Stewart, *Attika* (1979), and on Byzantine iconography A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (1936) (and K. Wesel, 'Kaiserbild', in *Reallexikon zur byz. Kunst* III (1976) 722–853).

<sup>9</sup> P. Zanker, *Studien zu den Augustus-Porträts. 1: Der Actium-Typus* (Abh. Ak. Wiss. Göttingen 85 (1973)); K. Vierneisel, P. Zanker, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus* (1979); S. Walker, A. Burnett, *The Image of Augustus* (1981); M. Bergmann, *Marc Aurel* (Liebighaus Monographie (1978)); A.-K. Massner, *Bildnisangleichung. Untersuchungen zur Entstehungs- und Wirkungsgeschichte der Augustusporträts* (43 v. Chr. – 68 n. Chr.) (1982).

<sup>10</sup> See the distribution maps of portraits of Augustus in Vierneisel, Zanker pp. 58–60 (or Walker, Burnett p. 48).

even supply themselves,<sup>11</sup> but there was no systematic stereotyping of the representations of individual successors of Alexander.<sup>12</sup>

The procedures for diffusing the standardized images of the Roman emperor were complex.<sup>13</sup> From Rome there came copies of the 'official type', probably either as moulds or as plaster casts, and in the provinces the actual statues of marble or bronze were created. The success of the operation was dependent on the general sculptural skills of the period. Since the second century B.C. sculpture had turned to the production of copies of classical works and the skills thus acquired could be harnessed for the copying of imperial images. In consequence of this local production there were recognizable local styles of craftsmanship, and there is even evidence of an imperial head left unfinished by craftsmen, probably in Asia Minor.<sup>14</sup> This much is not in dispute; the amount of central organization and control over the imperial image is less clear. On the one hand it has been argued that in the early empire the distribution of the imperial image was left to 'the ordinary channels of the art trade',<sup>15</sup> while others have seen the image as 'part of an extensive imperial propaganda campaign controlled by Augustus himself'.<sup>16</sup>

The conflict between these two views can best be resolved by reference to the model of exchange which was elaborated in chapter 3. There it was argued that an excessive emphasis on Greek initiatives in the establishment of cults fails to take into account the actual interventions of Romans, whether in the provinces or in Rome itself, and also fails to allow for the constant and covert pressure exercised by Rome. The specific case of imperial images, though it might seem to be different, can be understood in the same way.<sup>17</sup> Here the dangers are either of under-estimating or of over-estimating Roman pressures and controls. The central government certainly took an interest in promoting an appropriate image of the emperor in other areas. Designs of Roman coins were certainly chosen centrally.

<sup>11</sup> Welles, *RC* 52, 56; 63.

<sup>12</sup> I am grateful for advice here to R. R. R. Smith.

<sup>13</sup> E. H. Swift, 'Imagines in imperial portraiture', *AJA* 27 (1923) 286; M. Stuart, 'How were imperial portraits distributed throughout the Roman Empire?', *AJA* 43 (1939) 601; D. M. Brinkerhoff, *A Collection of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch* (1970) 12, 43-5; K. Fittschen, *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloss Erbach* (1977) 4-8. See now Zanker in Addenda, p. 282 below.

<sup>14</sup> *Roman Portraits: Aspects of Self and Society* (K. P. Erhart et al., Cat. J. Paul Getty Museum, 1980) 46, no. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Stuart (n. 13) 616.

<sup>16</sup> Walker, Burnett (n. 9) 1.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the argument of A. Stewart, *Attika* (1979) ch. 5, that civic portrait sculpture should be seen as a system of exchange.

Contrary to the conventional view, the most plausible model is of choice by officials in Rome with a notional or even actual involvement of the emperor himself.<sup>18</sup> For example, a fourth-century treatise assumes that a new coin type will be presented to the emperor for his approval.<sup>19</sup> I assume a similar model for the central choice of imperial images. There were certainly impressive similarities between numismatic and sculptural portraits. One second-century empress was shown in nine different coin types, of which eight are also found in the extant sculpture.<sup>20</sup> Given this central interest, there will have been pressures on those who wished to erect an imperial statue to conform to the central type. Favour would hardly be gained by the display of a deviant image.

It is, however, crucial to emphasize that the role of the centre in the dissemination of the imperial image was not advertized in the early empire. Almost all imperial statues in the Greek world were actually erected by the Greeks themselves. To take as an illustration the imperial statues erected in Ephesus, many of whose bases record how they were put up, we find that, with the exception of three statues erected by Roman officials, the other fifty odd were put up by the locals.<sup>21</sup> The city itself was responsible for most of them, but some were put up by associations, such as the youth of the city or the worshippers of Dionysus, while a number were erected by private individuals. The bases also sometimes record the procedures for the erection of the statues. For civic statues there were specific motions in the assembly (the bases record the name of the proposer), and thereafter the project was left in the hands of a specific local citizen (whose name is also recorded). A Roman official is only rarely recorded as having assisted the process. The reasons for their interventions at Ephesus are unknown, but there might always be difficulties which they could solve. In a remote area there might indeed be difficulties of acquiring an adequate statue. Arrian, as governor of Cappadocia, was shocked to discover that a statue of Hadrian was neither a good likeness nor attractive, and asked the emperor to provide another one (ch. 3 n. 67).

The reason why both individuals and communities erected imperial statues was to express their gratitude to the emperor, 'their own benefactor', or 'the benefactor of his native city and his own master'.

<sup>18</sup> CR 93 (1979) 277-8 adduces some evidence.

<sup>19</sup> *De rebus bellicis* III 4 (ed. E. A. Thompson, 1952).

<sup>20</sup> K. Fittschen, *Die Bildnistypen der Faustina minor und die Fecunditas Augustae* (Abh. Ak. Wiss. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. 126 (1982)). Cf. the organization of the diffusion of royal portraits by Elizabeth I: P. Williams, *The Tudor Régime* (1979) 362.

<sup>21</sup> *I. Ephesos* II 251-304, v 1500-5.

Some statue bases even give a full account of the benefits received. An Ephesian statue of Hadrian 'their own founder and saviour' was put up

for his unsurpassed gifts to Artemis: he gave the goddess rights over inheritances and deposits and her own laws; he provided shipments of grain from Egypt, he made the harbours navigable and diverted the river Kaystros which silts up the harbours...<sup>22</sup>

The importance of the imperial image in the expression of gratitude by the provincials is emphasized by the conclusion which is recommended by a late third-century guide to the composition of 'the royal speech':

'What prayers ought cities to make to the power above, save always for the emperor? What greater blessings must one ask from the gods than the emperor's safety? Rains in season, abundance from the sea, unstinting harvests come happily to us because of the emperor's justice. In return, cities, nations, races and tribes, all of us, garland him, sing of him, write of him. Full of his images are the cities, some of painted tablets, some maybe of more precious material.' After this you must utter a prayer beseeching god that the emperor's reign may endure long, and the throne be handed down to his children and his descendants.<sup>23</sup>

For at least the first two centuries of the empire the imperial image was represented simply as an honour granted by the subjects to their ruler. Central interest remained covert. Only in the third century did the dissemination of the imperial image move into public life.<sup>24</sup> Then the reception of the imperial image at the beginning of the reign or on other imperial occasions became a major event for the community. In Termessus Minor a show was held in the amphitheatre 'on the day that the image of our Lord Valerian, new Sebastos, was brought' (253/4 A.D.).<sup>25</sup> The reception of the image by so minor a town suggests that the practice was already well established by this time. The earliest attestation of the deployment of the imperial image in a context which is not entirely military dates from 238 at the time of the struggle of the Gordiani against Maximinus Thrax. After the death of Maximinus the inhabitants of Aquileia in North Italy brought out the images of the new emperors, wreathed them with

<sup>22</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 839 = *I. Ephesos* II 274.

<sup>23</sup> Menander Rhetor §377 (ed. and tr. D. A. Russell, N. G. Wilson, 1981).

<sup>24</sup> Bréhier, *Batiffol* (1920) 59-65; Kruse (1934) chs. 1-2; O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee* (1938) 204-11, though MacCormack (1972) 747 believes that the practice goes back to the beginning of the empire.

<sup>25</sup> *IGR* III 481 = *ILS* 8870 = Robert, *Gladiateurs* no. 113b. Cf. Robert (1960) 322-3 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 838-9.



laurel crowns, acclaimed them and asked the soldiers of the defeated emperor who were outside the city to acknowledge the legitimate emperors elected by the Senate and people of Rome.<sup>26</sup> It is likely that the practice developed because of the political turmoil of the third century when there were twenty-two single or joint emperors in the fifty years between 235 and 284, and by the Byzantine period it was firmly established. When the imperial images were brought into the city the magistrates and people would go out to greet them with acclamations, carrying candles and incense.<sup>27</sup>

That the primary responsibility for the erection of imperial statues was held by the Greeks shows that the imperial image cannot be regarded simply as alien propaganda sent out and displayed by Rome. The Greeks put up the statues as an appropriate way of honouring the emperor. But this is only the beginning of the story. We need also to know how the imperial image was incorporated into Greek linguistic and iconographic categories, particularly in relation to the gods.

Greek terminology for images is complex. Indeed it can seem quite chaotic, particularly if we insist on discovering terms that refer uniquely to particular types of objects.<sup>28</sup> Scholars have long attempted to make *xoanon* refer just to archaic wooden statues, but the term was actually used right through to the imperial period of statues of various sizes, ages and substances.<sup>29</sup> The common characteristic is not the material or the age of the image but its polished surface. Therefore it was also possible to refer to a *xoanon* with another word, such as *agalma*, which, as we shall see, was used of statues in religious contexts. The terminology does not have a one-to-one relationship with particular types of statues. The observer could use different terms depending on what aspect of the object he wished to stress. Thus the terms are important not so much for the physical reconstruction of the statues but as evidence for the way that they were seen and classified.

There was a basic Greek terminological distinction between honorific and religious images. Whereas an *andrias* and an *eikon* were

<sup>26</sup> Herodian viii 6, 2.

<sup>27</sup> An elaborate Talmudic story about the transformation of a bit of wood into an imperial image when the king sent his bust into the province appears only in a seventh-century text (*Midrash Rabbah*, *Exodus* xv 17) but could be early.

<sup>28</sup> G. Roux, 'Pindare, le prétendu trésor des Crétois et l'ancienne statue d'Apollon à Delphes', *REG* 75 (1962) 366-80, esp. 373-9.

<sup>29</sup> W. H. Gross, 'Xoanon', *RE* ixA (1967) 2140; cf. also P. Perdrizet, *Corolla Numismatica... B. V. Head* (1906) 226-8, and *BE* (1965) 488. It was not used of imperial statues, except perhaps at Adada (Cat. no. 121). The *xoanon* of Ptolemy in *OGIS* 90, 41 belongs to an Egyptian context.

honorific images placed in the square or in other public places, an *agalma* was essentially an image that belonged to a sacred context.<sup>30</sup> All three terms were used of imperial images. *Andriantes* of the emperor were erected,<sup>31</sup> imperial *eikones* were common,<sup>32</sup> and imperial *agalmata* were placed in temples and shrines. The relationship between these terms is complex. The first term could refer specifically to a life-size statue, or it could subsume the category of *eikones*.<sup>33</sup> An *eikon*, whose semantic motivation was a 'likeness', had a denotation as wide as the English term implies; out of context it is impossible to determine whether it refers to a statue, a bust, a tondo or a painting. It has been claimed that *agalma* was only rarely used of imperial statues.<sup>34</sup> This is a point of some importance, which would, if true, imply a careful terminological differentiation between imperial statues and those of the gods. But imperial images were classified not only by the secular terms but also as *agalmata*, which was the normal term for the main statue of the deity in a temple. It was standard to refer to the imperial statue in a temple (*naos*) as an *agalma*. For example, a *naos* and *agalma* were dedicated to Trajan at both Kana (Cat. no. 114) and Iotape (Cat. no. 149).<sup>35</sup>

The importance of this category of imperial images placed in religious contexts is emphasized by two characteristics. There is no sign from literary or other evidence that any of the innumerable permanent imperial statues in public places, such as the main square or the theatre, received cult.<sup>36</sup> Only permanent statues in a religious setting or images temporarily set up in public for this purpose were so honoured. Cult statues of the emperor were also distinguished from other imperial statues in being more stable and immune from alteration and recycling. Though it has been assumed that the figure

<sup>30</sup> For the distinction between *agalma* and *eikon*, see H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.* (1907) 250-1; also A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge* 155 = *Akademischeschriften* 173, Robert, *Hell.* xi-xii (1960) 124 n. 2 with references, D. M. Lewis, R. Stroud, *Hesperia* 83 (1979) 193. For temple and cult statue see Burkert (1977) 148-54 and H. Funke, 'Götterbild', *RAC* xi (1981) 659-828.

<sup>31</sup> *IGR* iv 201 = *I. Ilion* 81; *IGR* iv 673 (Prymnessus); Cat. no. 108, lines 31-3 (Ancyra).

<sup>32</sup> Robert (1960).

<sup>33</sup> *I. Kyme* 13, 1-5 & 14-16.

<sup>34</sup> Robert (1960) 318 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 834 and *Hell.* xiii (1965) 129 n. 2, followed in principle by Bickerman (1973) 7.

<sup>35</sup> See also *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 814, 49-52 (Acraephia); Cat. no. 119 (Adada, likely); *IGR* iv 144 = *SEG* iv 707, 5 (Cyzicus, in temple of Athena); *IGR* iv 180 = *I. Lampsakos* 11; *IGR* iii 933 = *OGIS* 583 (Lapethus); *IG* vii 3491 (Megara); Cat. no. 112 (Pessinus); *IG* n<sup>2</sup> 3562 (Salamis); Cat. no. 56 (Sardis, in temple of Augustus); *IGR* iv 1201 (Thyatira, restoration doubtful); cf. *AAA* 3 (1970) 260-2 (Sparta).

<sup>36</sup> Blanck, *GGA* 223 (1971) 93.

shown in imperial temples is that of the reigning emperor,<sup>37</sup> the numismatic representations of imperial temples show, on the contrary, the stability of the statues. For example, the representations of the temple of Rome and Augustus at Pergamum (Cat. no. 19) are almost identical over a period of a hundred years. Similarly at Laodicea (Cat. no. 87) and Apollonia Mordiaum (Cat. no. 125) coins depict the same statue, in military dress, for at least a century. This stability was only to be expected in temples dedicated to a particular emperor, while in other cases the collective nature of the cult allowed for the addition of new statues (ch. 6 pp. 159–62). It even seems that, when the temple of Domitian at Ephesus was rededicated to Vespasian after Domitian's memory was damned, the cult statue passed as a representation of Vespasian and was allowed to stand until late antiquity (Cat. no. 31). This emphasizes the similarity to cult statues of the gods which were not altered or replaced.<sup>38</sup>

The distinction, however, between *agalma* and *eikon* is not simply one between a 'cult statue' and an honorific portrait. The semantic motivation of *agalma* is indeed to do with function and not representation, but it is not associated primarily with cult. An *agalma* was an object, particularly in a temple, which was designed to glorify (*agallo*), and to translate it as 'cult statue' misleadingly implies that all and only *agalmata* received cult. In fact, as is made clear by the honours awarded to Attalus III at Pergamum, both *eikones* and *agalmata* could be the recipients of cult.<sup>39</sup> The difference between the terms seems rather to be one of location; the *agalma* of Attalus was placed in a temple, while his *eikon* stood in the square. The standard translation of *agalma* also misleads by implying that all *agalmata* were the recipients of cult. But images of private citizens, who did not receive public cult in the imperial period, were sometimes placed in sacred locations, either in their lifetimes or after their deaths, and were called *agalmata*.<sup>40</sup> It would also be a mistake to assume that *eikones* were too secular to be placed in temples. Imperial *eikones* were placed in temples as the main images, as was sometimes the *eikon* of

<sup>37</sup> Pinder, *Abh. Berlin Ak. Wiss.* (1855) 614–15; P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts I* (1931) 151–2. *Contra* von Fritze (1910) 83 n. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Blanck (1969) 98.

<sup>39</sup> *OGIS* 332. Cf. ch. 8 pp. 221–2, and *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 998 for the association of *eikones* with an altar.

<sup>40</sup> *MAMA* VIII 412 (Aphrodisias); *REG* 6 (1893) 157, no. 3 (with Robert, *REG* 70 (1957) 361–75 = *Op. Min. Sel.* III 1478–92, Iasos); *IG* V 2, 515 (Megalopolis). Also *IGR* III 192 = Bosch no. 103 (Ancyra); *TAM* V 1, 687–8 (Julia Gordos); *I. Stratonikeia* II 1, 536; *ZPE* 29 (1978) 111, no. 12 (Tyriaion); ch. 2 n. 125.

a god (Cat. no. 148). Silver imperial *eikones* may also have been associated with the *agalma* of the main deity of a temple (Cat. no. 132, Termessus), just as a traditional deity, such as Artemis, could have an *eikon* in the porch of a temple.<sup>41</sup>

The distinction between secular and religious contexts was also weakened by the labelling of imperial statues. The series of statues in the imperial temples at Bubon and Cestrus (Cat. nos. 82 and 146) all had the name of the emperor inscribed on their bases. The names are in the accusative as was standard on Greek statue bases, though the central statue of Vespasian at Cestrus was picked out by the use of the dative case, which has a clear religious overtone in this type of context.<sup>42</sup> This labelling of statues, even if it had a practical basis in the need for identification, marks them off from divine statues, which were labelled only if they were dedicated to a god other than the one represented.<sup>43</sup> For example, there was no inscription on the base of the statue of Athena Polias in her temple at Priene, in contrast to the imperial images round it (Cat. no. 43). Imperial statues, at least when they were not placed singly in an imperial temple,<sup>44</sup> were explicitly distinguished from divine statues; the similarity lay with honorific statues elsewhere in the city. Thus the imperial statues in the Metroon at Olympia are referred to simply as honorific statues (*andriantes*) (ch. 6 n. 60). This continuity between secular and religious contexts is marked very strongly at Pergamum, where inscriptions of exactly the same type were to be placed beneath the *agalma* of Attalus III in the temple of Asclepius and beneath the *eikon* in the main square.<sup>45</sup>

The actual types of image that were employed also illustrate a continuity between the two contexts. Imperial busts were displayed widely in public contexts; they were also placed within temples or in their pediments (ch. 6 n. 48). Similarly the three main types of cult statues, the cuirassed, the naked and the civilian, were also erected in other contexts.<sup>46</sup> For example, the emperor stood in armour both in temples and on a monumental arch by a city-gate.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *IGR* III 297 (Saghir, Pisidia). Cf. *Forsch. in Eph.* II 27 = Oliver (1941) no. 3 = *I. Ephesos* II 27, lines 270–3, 281–4, 419–25. Tuchelt (1979) 68–90 founds the distinction between *eikon* and *agalma* on the difference of material (bronze or marble) and makes it too clear-cut.

<sup>42</sup> Veyne (1962) 75–84 (and *F. Xanthos* VII 56, no. 31).

<sup>43</sup> Veyne (1962) 83 n. 3.

<sup>44</sup> We do not, however, know how individual colossal statues were handled.

<sup>45</sup> *OGIS* 332, 21–3 and 24–6.

<sup>46</sup> As established by Niemeyer (1968). W. Hermann, *Gnomon* 43 (1971) 503, and H. Blanck, *GGA* 223 (1971) 96–7, show, however, that his category of figures with veiled heads represent not the Genius of the emperor but the emperor as priest.

<sup>47</sup> Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) no. 29.

So too the (largely) naked figure of the emperor appeared not only in temples but also in the central position of a fountain house at Ephesus. Even scenes of apotheosis, which might have privileged one type, could employ various categories. While a coin from Mylasa shows the naked figure of Augustus rising up in a chariot,<sup>48</sup> a panel from the Antonine Altar at Ephesus shows Lucius Verus entering the chariot clad in armour (Cat. no. 34). It is very important that the emperor was not represented in cultic contexts in a quite different manner from elsewhere. All aspects of the emperor could be shown in his temple.<sup>49</sup> Indeed it was essential for the success of the enterprise that this should be the case. In their negotiation of the power of Rome the Greeks incorporated into their own religious structures the image of the emperor found in market place and fountain house.

The different types of imperial images placed in temples do, however, demand our attention as one of the key aspects of imperial ritual. For this purpose I intend to exploit not only the actual remains of the statues but also their representations on coins. One or two words on the value of this numismatic evidence are needed. Architecture is often featured on the bronze civic coinages and the types do generally correspond to actual temples or other civic monuments.<sup>50</sup> Once the artistic conventions are properly understood, it is possible to use the coins in order to reconstruct the architecture.<sup>51</sup> Within the temples there is often revealed, through the parting or the omission of a number of the columns at the front of the temple, a figure which is a copy of the cult statue.<sup>52</sup> In general the representations are fairly consistent over time;<sup>53</sup> it is, however, not always possible, because of the size of the figure or the state of preservation of the coin, to discern how it is portrayed.

The creation of imperial images could play upon the pre-existing images of the gods. Since the archaic age the images of the gods in their temples had concentrated upon one aspect of Greek conceptions

<sup>48</sup> A. Akarca, *Les monnaies grecques de Mylasa* (1959) 20-1 (von Aulock 2624).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Veyne (1961) 274.

<sup>50</sup> 'Mints' served the needs of several cities, but the types, with the exception of some small denomination issues, were chosen by the cities. K. Kraft, *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien* (1972) 94-6; L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure* (1980) 186, 434-6.

<sup>51</sup> Drew-Bear (1974); Price, Trell (1977).

<sup>52</sup> P. Gardner, *The Types of Greek Coins* (1883) 177. Drew-Bear (1974) 29 n. 6 criticizes the view of B. L. Trell (*JC* (1964) 241 and *Fest. K. Lehmann* (1964) 344) that the figure is a symbolic representation of the epiphany of the deity. Many of the figures are clearly marked out as statues by their bases.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. pp. 177-8 and von Fritze (1910) 83-8. On classical statues see L. Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques* (1949) 16-18.

of divinity, that the gods were like people.<sup>54</sup> In this, so it was later believed, the sculptors were taking up elements of the portrayal of the gods in Homer and Hesiod, the two privileged texts for Greek ideas of the divine. There is an interesting speech by Dio of Prusa, 'On Man's First Conception of God', which he delivered at Olympia (*Oration* XII). When talking of Zeus towards the beginning of the speech Dio started by citing the opening of Hesiod's *Works and Days* on the power of Zeus. Homer plays an even more important part in the speech; Pheidias, the designer of the statue of Zeus at Olympia, is said actually to have imitated the depiction of Zeus in the *Iliad*.<sup>55</sup> This rich tradition of representations of the gods would be drawn on for imperial images.

Representations of the emperor within a temple fall into four main categories. There are first the busts which were sometimes used in preference to complete statues. These permitted two levels of divine evocation. Imperial busts are featured on coins of Neocaesarea in Pontus and were probably placed in the local sanctuary with statues of the Dioscuri (?) (Cat. no. 107; Pl. 2d-e). The use of imperial busts in temples is directly paralleled by the fact that traditional deities in Asia Minor were also represented in this form in their temples.<sup>56</sup> The depiction of imperial busts on coins also permitted a further level of evocation. Coins of Teos show an imperial head completely filling a temple (Cat. no. 48; Pl. 2a). Such an enlargement of a bust is perhaps playing upon the same idea of scale as is found with the statues of the gods: how big was a god? There is indeed a famous comment on Pheidias' statue of Zeus (by Strabo (353c)) that the statue 'is of such colossal size that, although the temple is very large, the craftsman seems to have failed to observe proportion, and has represented the god seated but almost touching the roof with his head, thus creating the impression that should he rise and stand upright he would push the temple roof off'. This point is more than an aesthetic quibble. It seems to make deliberate reference to the idea that the god can be represented within a temple but cannot be confined within it. Similarly the imperial bust seems to be straining at the confines of the temple.<sup>57</sup>

The remaining three categories consist of full statues; the largest is that of cuirassed statues, which are represented not only on coins

<sup>54</sup> Gordon (1979).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. also Gordon (1979) 31 n. 37.

<sup>56</sup> Von Fritze (1910) 90. Also Codrula, von Aulock (1977) pp. 102-8, and Sagalassus, *Coll. Waddington* 3873 = Price, Trell (1977) p. 272 and fig. 394.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Gordon (1979) 13-15. For parallels see Price, Trell (1977) figs. 394, 452, 467-9, and note Dio LXIX 4, 4-5 on the Temple of Venus and Rome.

but also in the surviving remains.<sup>58</sup> It is highly likely that the statue of Domitian at Ephesus, of which numerous fragments survive, was cuirassed (Cat. no. 31). Fragments also survive from the cult statues of Trajan and Hadrian in the Traianeum at Pergamum, which again show that both were cuirassed (Cat. no. 20). In this case it is possible to compare the numismatic evidence which shows Trajan in military uniform, without Hadrian, approaching the seated figure of Zeus Philios (Pl. 2c). There are some variations in the position of the arms and in the presence or absence of a spear, but the fragments do agree in principle with the numismatic representations of Trajan, even if the coins chose not to show Hadrian. Another temple at Pergamum, that of Rome and Augustus, which is also depicted by coins, contained a representation of Roma crowning Augustus, who wears military dress (Cat. no. 19; Pl. 2b).<sup>59</sup>

These cuirassed statues designed for use in a temple form a small proportion of the whole body of imperial cuirassed statues, which are in fact the most common representation of the emperor outside the context of a temple. It has been suggested that there was a shift in time from divine to military representations of the emperor,<sup>60</sup> but in fact the ruler had often been shown as a warrior from Alexander the Great onwards, and the practice was taken over to honour prominent Romans in the Greek world from the second century B.C. onwards, an example of the Hellenistic roots of the imperial cult. Under the empire these cuirassed statues formed part of a wider perspective of the emperor as warrior, which is reflected on coins in scenes of the emperor trampling on his foes,<sup>61</sup> on the reliefs of imperial altars (ch. 6 pp. 157–9), and on the splendid, private ivory relief found at Ephesus.<sup>62</sup> This military tone has some religious evocations. While it was only in Egypt and Syria that gods were generally shown in armour, there had always been in the Greek tradition armed warrior deities.<sup>63</sup> The military aspects of the empire had been crucially important from the beginning. Augustus had brought peace to the

<sup>58</sup> See especially Stemmer (1978). C. C. Vermeule, *Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues* (1980), gives a concordance with his own earlier work.

<sup>59</sup> For other representations of the emperor in his temple wearing armour see Apollonia Mordiaum (Cat. no. 125), Bithynium Claudiopoli (Cat. no. 94), Laodicea (Cat. nos. 87–8), Miletus (Cat. no. 41), Nicomedia (Cat. no. 100); Sardis (Cat. no. 57), Side (Cat. no. 141; Pl. 2g). Note also a cuirassed statue found at rear of temple of Apollo at Hierapolis (*Annuario* 41–2 (1963–4) 428, no. 24, fig. 36; Vermeule, *Berytus* (1966) 56, no. 187 B). <sup>60</sup> Vermeule, *Berytus* (1959) 7.

<sup>61</sup> C. Bosch, 'Die kleinasiatischen Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit', *AA* (1931) 422; von Fritze (1910) 71–2. <sup>62</sup> *JÖAI* 50 (1972–5) Beib. 541–6.

<sup>63</sup> E. H. Kantorowicz, 'Gods in uniform', *PAPhS* 105 (1961) 389 = *Selected Studies* (1965) 21; H. Seyrig, 'Les dieux armés et les Arabes en Syrie', *Syria* 47 (1970) 77, and 'Une déesse anatolienne', *Antike Kunst* 13 (1970) 76.

world by means of the sword. His successors tried to maintain their position in part by means of the prestige of victory,<sup>64</sup> whether justified or not. The emperor Domitian claimed great military victories (later condemned as shams); the inscription on his temple at Laodicea 'for victory' (*epineikios*) reflects the importance attached to these victories (Cat. no. 87). Thirty years later the emperor Hadrian pulled back from the conquests of his predecessor, Trajan, and was in fact the most unmilitary emperor up to that point. Perhaps in compensation for his actual military achievements, his statues have an unusual tendency to depict him as a general (Pl. 4d).<sup>65</sup> His iconography is a neat illustration of the major role played by imperial victory in the ideology of empire.

The second category of cult statues evokes more overtly the traditional representations of the gods. One technique was to show the emperor not in his real clothes but naked. Ephesian coins show an imperial temple on either side of the temple of Artemis, each of which contains naked statues of the emperor, resting on sceptres (Pl. 3c).<sup>66</sup> There were also the eight naked bronze statues from Bubon, which include Lucius Verus and Septimius Severus, though the others are not necessarily all imperial (Cat. no. 82; Pl. 4b). Most tellingly of all, the largely naked statue of Hadrian from the imperial room in the sanctuary of Asclepius at Pergamum is described on its base as the 'god Hadrian' (Cat. no. 21; Pl. 4a). These depictions of the emperor would also have another layer of evocation. Hellenistic kings had often been depicted in the same manner<sup>67</sup> and in some places their statues were still standing in the imperial period.<sup>68</sup> The emperor could also be shown in the guise of a particular god. Coins of Selinus in Cilicia from three different reigns in the second and third century show Trajan within his temple enthroned as Zeus holding thunderbolt and sceptre (Cat. no. 153).<sup>69</sup> Without taking over such

<sup>64</sup> J. Gagé, 'La théologie de la victoire impériale', *Revue historique* 171 (1933) 1; S. Weinstock, 'Victor and Invictus', *HTHR* 50 (1957) 211; T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (1967).

<sup>65</sup> M. Wegner, *Hadrian* (1956) 65-9.

<sup>66</sup> *BMC Ionia* 83, no. 261; Paris (no. 798), ill. in Kraft (n. 50) pl. 62, no. 4a; Trell (1945) pl. VII 1 (Vienna). Also perhaps at Eumeneia (Cat. no. 84) and Pergamum (Von Fritze (1910) 76-7, pl. 8, 15).

<sup>67</sup> M. Bieber, *The Portraits of the Greeks* III (1965) figs. 1889-90; H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (1975) pl. 9; D. Michel, *Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar und Marcus Antonius* (1967) pls. 26-7 (with Kyrieleis pp. 70-1).

<sup>68</sup> *The Athenian Agora* III pp. 207-17.

<sup>69</sup> There is also a colossal head of Agrippina the Elder (?) from Cos who seems to be represented as Demeter and which may have been a cult statue (*Annuario* 33-4 (1955-6) 124, no. 142, with Vermeule (1968) 193, Maiuri no. 468 and *IGR* IV 1062). Cf. Niemeyer (1968) 59-64 on 'ideal' portraits of the emperor, which include the emperor as Zeus. For Republican parallels see Stemmer (1978) 142.



a characteristic divine pose, where indeed this existed, imperial statues also used the attributes of the gods. To turn to representations outside the context of temples, there are numerous depictions of an emperor or empress with the attributes of a deity. Agrippina the wife of Claudius, for example, is shown on coins of various cities with the ears of corn and poppies that were characteristics of Demeter.<sup>70</sup> Attributes were important elements of flexibility in the strategy of the representation of gods as men, which can be seen as a deliberate attempt to escape from the closure of evocation involved in this strategy.<sup>71</sup> Attributes could suggest the range of non-human powers and functions that the gods possessed. Similarly the use of attributes with imperial images permitted the representations of the emperor to evoke the divine.

However, the use of divine attributes was unacceptable for the emperor in person. The only emperor to make extensive use of divine attributes was Gaius, whom our sources unite in condemning. The critique of Philo, who went on an embassy to Gaius, is particularly interesting.<sup>72</sup> He treats the assumption of 'the insignia which customarily adorn the cult statues' of the demi-gods Dionysus, Heracles and the Dioscuri, as the first step of 'his most godless assumption of godship'. This was followed by his imitation of the greater deities, Hermes, Apollo and Ares, which was made all the more inappropriate by his failure to live up to the promise of the attributes. 'Surely these trappings and adornments are set as accessories on images and statues as symbolically indicating the benefits which those thus honoured provide for the human race.' Philo goes on to give an elaborate account of Gaius' failings which divided him from the deity in question. The power of the attributes is clear. Their evocation of the gods was too strong and too unsubtle when the emperor was involved in person. In the case of a 'bad' emperor, such as Gaius, the use of attributes emphasized the discrepancy between him and the gods, and went against the principle that the emperor should not lay claim to divinity in his lifetime. But, even with a 'good' emperor, it was difficult for the assumption of divine attributes by a man of flesh and blood to be successful.<sup>73</sup> The tensions between mortality and immortality, visibility and invisibility could best be solved by the subtle collocation of attribute and image.

The third category consists of civilian statues. The official dress of

<sup>70</sup> Riewald (1912) 305-6.

<sup>71</sup> Gordon (1979) 13.

<sup>72</sup> Philo, *Legatio* 75-114. Cf. also Suetonius, *Gaius* 22 and Dio LIX, 26, 5-28, 8. Cf. Beaujeu (1955) 401-8 on Commodus as Heracles, attacked by Dio.

<sup>73</sup> O. Weinreich, *Menekrates Zeus und Salmoneus* (1933).

the emperor was the Roman toga and it was only for special reasons that he wore Greek dress.<sup>74</sup> One might have expected therefore that all statues of the emperor would show him in his official Roman clothes (Pl. 1b). In fact there are some statues from the Greek world which represent the emperor in Greek dress. Both Hadrian (?) and Marcus Aurelius (?) are shown in standard Greek clothing (Pl. 4c).<sup>75</sup> The typically Roman toga was, however, more common, as shown on one coin type of Laodicea (Cat. no. 87; Pl. 3b) or on three of the four coin types which reveal the cult statues in the provincial temple of Bithynia (Cat. no. 100); Augustus is shown in a toga along with Roma, and also the Senate and People of Rome. The temple erected at Smyrna, and similarly dedicated to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate, contained a cult statue of Tiberius in a toga, perhaps with veiled head (Cat. no. 45). The implication of the veiled head is that the emperor was shown as a priest. It might seem to break all the categories to find the emperor as the object of cult himself shown as a priest and even holding the sacrificial patera over an altar (Pl. 3b). But the gods often held their own eponymous priesthoods<sup>76</sup> and are often shown making sacrificial offerings of this kind.<sup>77</sup>

My use of the three categories, military, divine and civilian, may have given the impression that the typology of imperial statues is clear-cut and unproblematic. However, the emperor could not be neatly placed in a single compartment, and some of the statues clearly straddled categories. Thus coins of Germa show the emperor in a toga with a sacrificial bowl standing in a temple between two military standards (Cat. no. 111). Most of the actual statues are not sufficiently well preserved for us to be able to tell how common this straddling was, but the statue of Hadrian from Pergamum, which I cited as a good example of a divine statue, is in fact much more complex. Hadrian is indeed naked, but over one shoulder is his military cloak and beside him his armour (Pl. 4a).<sup>78</sup> A more famous example is the Prima Porta statue of Augustus, which combines the same

<sup>74</sup> A. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.* (1935) 150-2.

<sup>75</sup> Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) no. 35; Cat. no. 82 (Bubon). Cf. Niemeyer (1968)

40.

<sup>76</sup> Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1959) 200-4. Cf. Dio LIX 28, 5 on Gaius.

<sup>77</sup> E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter* (1953); B. Eckstein-Wolf, *Mitt. deutschen Arch. Inst.* 5 (1952) 39-75; W. Fuchs, *Röm. Mitt.* 68 (1961) 176-81; H. Metzger, 'Apollōn Spondōn', *Ét. Delphiques* (BCH Supp. iv (1977)) 421. Note also M. P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (1957) 99-106, and Lane, *CMRDM* III 104.

<sup>78</sup> One of a type. See also Inan, Rosenbaum (1979) no. 45 and Niemeyer (1968) no. 110 (from Perge and Vaison), Vollgraff, *BCH* 82 (1958) 539-55 (Argos), Niemeyer (1968) no. 107 (Trajan) and no. 116 (Antoninus Pius).

categories.<sup>79</sup> The emperor stands in magnificent confidence and self-assuredness wearing military uniform, his right hand raised in a symbol of power as if about to address the audience. The cuirass is decorated with a scene of the restoration of the standards lost by Crassus to the Parthians; Augustus' military success is located by allegorical scenes of Heaven and Earth in a cosmic context. This aspect is emphasized by two other aspects of the statue. One is that Augustus is not clad in military sandals or boots, but has bare feet, and the other that the sculptural support for the body is not a nondescript tree trunk but a dolphin and eros, an allusion to Aphrodite-Venus, the mother of the Julian race. Art historians have sometimes felt that these features show that the statue was posthumous because the emperor was deified in Rome only after his death. But the topicality of the recovery of the standards from the Parthians would be lost unless the statue dates from the early second decade B.C., and the objection based on the 'divine' iconography is based on an unnecessarily crude reading of the statue. The divine aspects of the statue are merely hints of his divinity and do not come into direct conflict with official policy; also, the statue was designed for a private context, which permitted much greater use of divine iconography. The divine elements help to relate the military face of Augustus to the divine and show how different categories were employed in an attempt to encompass the figure of the emperor.

Imperial statues were differentiated in part from statues of even the most distinguished local citizens. It was extremely rare for anyone except the emperor to be shown in armour,<sup>80</sup> nor was it common for statues of local citizens in the Greek world to evoke the gods either by nakedness or by specific divine attributes.<sup>81</sup> On the other hand, both emperors and members of the local élite could be shown wearing the Greek *himation* (Pl. 4c).<sup>82</sup> The emperor was sometimes represented in this fashion and was thus associated with the citizens of Greek cities. However, he was also distinguished from them by the more common use of the Roman toga.

The gods were the category with whom the emperor was associated, both in the material and in the scale of the imperial images. The use of gold for imperial images is surely significant. The old doctrine is

<sup>79</sup> H. Kähler, *Die Augustusstatue von Prima porta* (1959). See recently F. Brommer, 'Zur Datierung des Augustus von Prima porta', in *Eikones, Fest. H. Jucker* (1980) 78.

<sup>80</sup> Niemeyer (1968) 52-3; Stemmer (1978) 147-8.

<sup>81</sup> H. Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum. Vergöttliche Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1981) 44-54. The naked statue in Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) no. 101 is accepted by Niemeyer (1968) no. 129 as imperial.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) no. 151.

that there was a hierarchy of materials, the highest of which, gold, automatically implied deification of the honorand, and was therefore turned down by 'good' emperors.<sup>83</sup> However the case is more complicated than was originally suggested. Gilded statues were not in fact the prerogative of emperors and gods,<sup>84</sup> and their use was not limited to clearly religious contexts.<sup>85</sup> Further, the significance of an imperial image was to some extent independent of the material from which it was made; the crucial point was that it represented the emperor.<sup>86</sup> But the use of solid gold was confined to emperors and gods, and the splendid imperial bust in 24 carat gold and weighing one kilo, which was found in Thrace, surely evokes the glory and the immutability of the gods.<sup>87</sup>

Even more striking is the size of some of the colossal cult statues. Heads of statues of Antoninus Pius and Faustina which stood in the temple of Artemis at Sardis are about a metre in height (Cat. no. 57). The heads of Trajan and Hadrian from Pergamum are slightly smaller (0.80 m), but the total height of each statue would still be 4.80 m (Cat. no. 20). The statue of Domitian from Ephesus is of the same order of magnitude. Some impression of the scale is given by the fact that the lower part of an arm is the height of a man. The height of the whole, to the top of the spear which the standing figure was probably holding, was some seven to eight metres (Cat. no. 31).<sup>88</sup> Colossal cult statues are known from other parts of the empire, as earlier for Hellenistic kings and Roma,<sup>89</sup> and were on the same scale as cult statues of the gods.<sup>90</sup> At Claros, for example, there were statues of Apollo, Artemis and Leto seven to eight metres tall. A passage in Josephus explicitly relates the two types. In the temple that Herod built at Caesarea in Palestine there was a 'colossus of the emperor

<sup>83</sup> K. Scott, 'The significance of statues in precious metals in emperor worship', *TAPhA* 62 (1931) 101.

<sup>84</sup> T. Pekáry, 'Goldene Statuen der Kaiserzeit', *Röm. Mitt.* 75 (1968) 144; A. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (1973) 214-22; G. Lahusen, 'Goldene und vergoldete römische Ehrenstatuen und Bildnisse', *Röm. Mitt.* 85 (1978) 385. Cf. P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik* (1960) 143-68.

<sup>85</sup> P. Herrmann, *Ist. Mitt.* 15 (1965) 87 n. 49a.

<sup>86</sup> Robert, *ACF* (1953) 226-8 = *Op. Min. Sel.* iv 123-5 and (1960) 318 = *Op. Min. Sel.* ii 834 n. 8. Cf. below n. 170 for Methodius.

<sup>87</sup> A. Vavritsas, *AAA* 1 (1968) 194 and *Actes du 1<sup>er</sup> Cong. int. des ét. balkaniques et sud-est européennes* II (1969) 419; C. C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in Gold and Silver* (1974) 37, no. 106.

<sup>88</sup> Also Agrippina (n. 66) and Caracalla (Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) no. 60, which belongs with *All. von Perg.* VIII 3, 12).

<sup>89</sup> Polybius xviii 16, 2 with Hansen (1971) 457 and xxxi 4, 4 with Mellor (1975) 147, 153.

<sup>90</sup> Hanfmann (1975) 71-3. Also perhaps *IGR* iv 1354 (Hyrcanis).

(Augustus) not smaller in size than the Zeus at Olympia, on which it was modelled, and one of Roma of the same size as Hera at Argos'.<sup>91</sup> This is the most extreme form of the modelling of the emperor on the gods, no doubt with awesome impact on the population. For ordinary men it was felt to be inappropriate that a statue should be incongruous with the real size of the honorand, though honorific portraits were regularly slightly over life-size. Several writers, including Pliny (*Natural History* 34, 19), noted with amusement that Lucius Accius, a Republican poet, set up a large statue of himself in a temple 'although he was a very small man',<sup>92</sup> and the officials at Olympia actually ensured that the statues of victors were no more than life-size.<sup>93</sup> The rules for the representation of the emperor were different. It was right to depict the emperor, like the gods, on more than human scale.

## II IMAGES AND RITUAL

The cult which was performed in association with the imperial image is variously illuminated by inscriptions and coins. The sacrifice on behalf of the imperial images (ch. 8 n. 25) stands for many such acts, but it is very difficult in this kind of ritual to make the appropriate comparisons with the ritual of traditional cults, partly because of a deficiency of information on both sides of the comparison. We do know that painted images of Augustus, Livia and Tiberius were set up in the theatre for the imperial festival at Gytheum with a table and incense burner in front, where sacrifices were offered.<sup>94</sup> The offering of incense, and also of wine, is found in other imperial contexts and is in general common in the cult of the gods. A more prestigious sacrifice was, however, the sacrifice of a bull and this is found in the imperial cult. Such sacrifices can, for example, be seen in front of imperial statues on Pergamene coins or in front of an imperial temple on Ephesian coins (Cat. no. 36; Pl. 3a). Some tending of the imperial images may also have been needed and this is likely to have been the function of the 'sacristan (*zakoros*) of the imperial images', who is known in Athens.<sup>95</sup> We do not hear of any special tending of images in other imperial cults, but cleaning will have been needed, as is attested for the silver images of Artemis, the

<sup>91</sup> *Bellum Judaicum* 1 414; also *Antiquitates* xv 339.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Gordon (1979) 15.

<sup>93</sup> Lucian, *Pro imaginibus* 11.

<sup>94</sup> *SEG* xi 923 with Rostovtzeff (1930).

<sup>95</sup> *SEG* xviii 81 with Robert (1960).

emperor and others at Ephesus.<sup>96</sup> Robert imagines that the job of the sacristan was in part to offer daily cult to the imperial images, but this is quite uncertain. It is certainly not clear that this was a necessary function of the sacristan. In the emphasis given to the possibility of daily cult there is a danger of illicit influence from Christian assumptions. It has been argued that Greek cults were modified in the Hellenistic and Roman periods in ways that foreshadowed and paralleled features of Christian cults; one such change that is adduced is the making of daily offerings.<sup>97</sup> These are indeed found both in cults of gods and of rulers, but it is obviously misguided to assume that daily offerings had the value ascribed to them in the Christian tradition.

Imperial images were also carried in processions at imperial festivals and on other occasions. These were of course not the cult statues which adorned the temples, whether these were the colossal statues or the life-size statues of stone or bronze, but smaller images, metal busts or painted portraits, which seem to have been kept elsewhere. The imperial images at Ephesus formed part of the cult of Artemis and were accordingly kept in the porch of her temple (n. 96, lines 270–3, 283, 419–25, 557). At Athens it was the council of elders which was responsible for making the images; the images were presumably kept in the council building from which they would be carried on festivals to the assembly.<sup>98</sup> Old and damaged images, which may have fallen into disuse after the gift of new images, were also stored by the council of elders at Ephesus.<sup>99</sup> For the carrying of the images there were sometimes special officials. *Sebastophoroi* (imperial bearers) are found among the youths at Athens and Tanagra,<sup>100</sup> while at Termessus Minor there were actually two categories of *sebastophoroi*, the perpetual ones and those serving for the duration of the festival.<sup>101</sup>

In Egypt also there was an official who carried the imperial busts (*komastes ton theion protomon*).<sup>102</sup> At first sight he seems directly comparable to the Greek officials, but in fact there is a real problem

<sup>96</sup> *Forsch. in Eph.* II 27 = Oliver (1941) no. 3 = *I. Ephesos* Ia 27 lines 279–84, 540–4. Cf. also the cleaning of imperial images in the theatre and circus, attested in a text attributed to an early rabbi, Smith (1957–8) 475–6, though the work itself was not compiled until the fifth or even seventh century.

<sup>97</sup> M. P. Nilsson, 'Pagan divine service in late antiquity', *HTHR* 38 (1945) 63.

<sup>98</sup> Oliver (1941) no. 24 = *Hesperia* Supp. xiii (1970) 85, no. 4.

<sup>99</sup> *Forsch. in Eph.* II 23 = Oliver (1941) no. 11 = *I. Ephesos* Ia 25.

<sup>100</sup> Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1939) 122–8 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 1275–81; Robert (1960) 323 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 839.

<sup>101</sup> *BCH* 24 (1900) 338–41.

<sup>102</sup> Robert (1960) 320 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 836.

of comparing examples from different cultural backgrounds. In Egypt, where the temple and its rites were totally inaccessible to the laity, the practice of carrying the shrine of the god out from the temple in a procession (*komasia*) was absolutely standard and offered the basic opportunity for seeking oracular advice from the god.<sup>103</sup> In Greece processions were of course standard and sometimes involved the carrying of images (*agalmata*) of the gods,<sup>104</sup> but such carrying of divine images in procession seems to be less common than in Egypt; most of the officials found in the Greek lands whose titles indicate that they carried an image or symbol of the god in procession served not in Greek but Egyptian cults.<sup>105</sup> Certainly in Greece there was no question of oracular consultations of such an image. This difference between the two cultures clearly affects the significance of the carrying of imperial images. Against the Greek background such carrying would have divine associations, but was not invested with the same mystique as in Egypt.

Another area of comparison between the cult of the imperial image and traditional cults may be sought in the imperial mysteries.<sup>106</sup> Images were an important focus in various contexts in the ceremonial of the cities.<sup>107</sup> This is particularly true of the celebration of imperial mysteries. One of the officials responsible for them was the *sebastophantes*, whose task in the ritual, like that of the *hierophantes* of the traditional mysteries, was probably to reveal (*phaino*) an imperial object. This will have been an imperial symbol or, more likely, an imperial image or bust.<sup>108</sup> There may even be a reflection of this cult act on coins which show an imperial bust being displayed by two deities;<sup>109</sup> one could also compare the representations on coins of two cities of Fortuna and Roma respectively holding an imperial bust in their hands.<sup>110</sup> Such scenes of simple holding of the busts are taken further by other representations of people gazing in rapture at

<sup>103</sup> J. Černý, in R. A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes* (1962) 35-48; I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *DOP* 29 (1975) 242-3.

<sup>104</sup> Ch. 5 p. 110. E.g. *IG* xii 2, 503 and 527 (= xii Supp. p. 33); H. Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros* (1924) 58-62, 73-5; Robert, *RHR* 98 (1928) 57 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 1009, *BE* (1968) 462 and (1960) 323.

<sup>105</sup> Esp. *BE* (1950) 134 p. 171. Also *BE* (1954) 52; (1958) 274, 277, 413 p. 303 and *Anat. Stud.* 2 (1952) 129 no. 2.

<sup>106</sup> Robert (1960) 321-2 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 837-8; Pleket (1965).

<sup>107</sup> Cf. *SEG* I 327, 330 with D. M. Pippidi, 'Sur les gérousies d'Istros et de Callatis', *Charisterion... A. K. Orlandos* IV (1967-8) 75; Pleket (1965) 342.

<sup>108</sup> Pleket (1965) 338-41. Cf. also the ritual of the technitai (ch. 3 n. 70) and Philostorgius, *Church History* (*GCS* xxi<sup>3</sup> 28 no. 17).

<sup>109</sup> Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977) 101 (Tarsus).

<sup>110</sup> Von Aulock 5116-17 (Cremna); Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl. M.* 339, no. 19a (Side).

imperial images.<sup>111</sup> An excellent depiction on a coin shows a large bust of Caracalla over an altar being contemplated by a military figure.<sup>112</sup> Comparable attitudes of adoration are found most easily in the cult of Isis, of which Apuleius' Lucius is only the most famous example,<sup>113</sup> and the existence of this feature of the imperial cult is highly significant for the degree of attachment to the imperial cult.

Indeed some might argue that this should be seen as the crucial aspect of the imperial cult, which offered real religious experience to the individual worshipper. Mysteries manifested 'genuine devotion' to the emperor 'which came close to pious veneration' (Pleket (1965)). But the strength of the case, which even hints at a connection between the imperial cult and the afterlife, depends on privileging the significance of Greek mysteries in general. These are conventionally seen as the most significant part of Greek religion, supplying people's needs in a way that the declining civic cults could not, before Christianity with its offer of individual salvation was able to take over. In fact individual salvation from death was not the primary preoccupation of these cults and they should not be treated as a radically new departure in Greek religion.<sup>114</sup> Like the traditional cults they were collectively organized and this is true also of the imperial mysteries, which were celebrated by public bodies or by private religious organizations (cf. ch. 5 p. 118). We have the complete calendar of the imperial choir at Pergamum which lists the celebration of imperial birthdays, the remembrance of former members of the choir, the start of the New Year, and the mysteries. Nothing in the list or the ritual that is specified marks out the mysteries as being different in kind from the other rituals.

### III THE EVOCATIONS OF IMAGES

The imperial images and the ritual associated with them were part of the standard treatment of the emperor as a god. The ritual led,

<sup>111</sup> Veyne (1958-9); Pleket (1965) esp. 331-2.

<sup>112</sup> Vermeule (1968) frontispiece and p. xvii (Side).

<sup>113</sup> A. J. Festugière, *Personal Religion among the Greeks* (1954) 80-4; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* (1975) 319-20. R. MacMullen, *Roman Government's Response to Crisis* (1976) 36, believes that healing miracles were performed by the imperial tribunal, but *IGR* 1 41 was republished as *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1173 where the authorities cited interpret *bema* not as a tribunal but as the altar of Asclepius or the base of his cult statue (as in ch. 6 n. 30).

<sup>114</sup> M. Meslin, 'Réalités psychiques et valeurs religieuses dans les cultes orientaux', *Revue historique* 252 (1974) 289, though his interpretation is excessively psychological.



as we have already begun to see, into a range of attitudes and expectations focussed on the imperial image which are very important but difficult to capture.<sup>115</sup> Such attitudes may best be approached through the actions associated with them.

Imperial statues served as places of refuge, not only in Rome but also in the provinces. An anecdote in Philostratus' life of the 'holy man' Apollonius tells of a governor at Aspendus in Pamphylia who was mobbed by a crowd irate at a corn shortage and who took refuge at the imperial statues.<sup>116</sup> The crowd, calmed by Apollonius, placed the fire which they had lit to burn the governor on the adjacent altars (which were presumably there for imperial sacrifices). Asylum at imperial statues was particularly important for slaves; one slave, for example, whose case came before Pliny as governor of Bithynia-Pontus, had gained safety from his pursuers by suppliance at statues of Trajan.<sup>117</sup> This was an extraordinary development whereby slaves, the most defenceless section of society, could hope to escape from the inhumanity of their masters through the very present help of the emperor. The practice was sufficiently important to worry prospective buyers of slaves who might be reassured by the seller that the slave was 'neither a gambler, nor a thief, nor had he ever fled to (Caesar's) statue'.<sup>118</sup>

The practice of asylum was an institution with a clear religious background, especially in the Greek world where temple asylum was of immemorial antiquity.<sup>119</sup> Rome attempted to control these rights and a debate was held in the Senate under Tiberius about the rights of asylum of various Greek temples. It seemed perfectly natural in this context, when the Ephesians claimed the right of asylum for Artemis at Ephesus and the Magnesians for Artemis Leukophryene, for the Cretans to seek it for the cult statue of the deified emperor Augustus.<sup>120</sup> The same points about the prevalence of the custom and about the religious background are clear in Roman legal sources. A decision of Antoninus Pius was discussed by the jurist Gaius in the context of the extent of a master's power over his slave:<sup>121</sup>

<sup>115</sup> See Hopkins (1978) 221-6 for a sketch.

<sup>116</sup> Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* I 15.

<sup>117</sup> *Letter x* 74. See H. Bellen, *Studien zur Sklavenflucht im römischen Kaiserreich* (1971) 64-78.

<sup>118</sup> Ulpian in *Digest* XXI 1, 19, 1.

<sup>119</sup> On asylum see K. Latte, *Heiliges Recht* (1920) 106-8; E. Schlesinger, *Die griechische Asylie* (1933); F. von Woess, *Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit und die spätere Entwicklung* (1923) ch. 6; Robert, *Hell.* VI 33-42; Rostovtzeff (1941) 194-202, 844-7, 901-3; Weinstock (1971) 395-7; R. A. Bauman, *Impietas in Principem* (1974) 85-92.

<sup>120</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* III 63.

<sup>121</sup> *Institutes* I 53 (tr. F. de Zulueta).

Even excessive severity on the part of masters is restrained by a constitution of the same emperor; for, on being consulted by certain provincial governors as to slaves who take refuge at the temples of the gods or the statues of the emperors, he ordained that masters whose harshness is found to be unbearable are to be forced to sell their slaves.

This collocation of the two types of asylum, which is repeated by a slightly later jurist,<sup>122</sup> makes clear the importance of the traditional model of asylum. Asylum at imperial statues, which received the legal backing of the Roman state, entailed an important strengthening of attitudes implicit in the ritual; these attitudes were strengthened still further by such practices as the payment of fines to imperial images<sup>123</sup> and, at least in Egypt, the deposition of petitions at the feet of imperial statues.<sup>124</sup>

It is therefore all the more understandable that there were great tensions and dangers associated with the imperial image. In principle the image was permanent. Cult statues were not altered (above pp. 177–8) and it is significant that the emperors who were approached about the possibility of altering old and damaged imperial images to represent themselves turned the offer down. ‘For we who are generally not eager to accept our own honours would still less willingly put up with those of others altered to represent ourselves’ (n. 99). Against the implications of such a response there were the practical considerations which had led to the neglect of these images, and the pressure of such considerations increased in the troubled times of the third century. One can only sympathize with the craftsman, referred to in a story attributed to a late third-century rabbi, who was caught out by the death of the emperor when about to finish the face of an imperial statue. ‘When the craftsman heard he shook his head and he began to speak, “What am I to do with this sketch? Shall I complete it into the image of the first or second king?” He began to hesitate.’<sup>125</sup>

It was only in the case of emperors who had died in official disgrace that these standard constraints were lifted. In the case of Gaius, his successor Claudius prevented the Senate from passing a decree

<sup>122</sup> Callistratus, *Digest* XLVIII 19, 28, 7.

<sup>123</sup> *IGR* IV 807 = *SEG* VI 263 (Siblia); *IGR* IV 353 (Pergamum). Cf. ch. 4 p. 85 and ch. 5 n. 114.

<sup>124</sup> F. Blumenthal, *APF* 5 (1913) 335–6; C. Kunderewicz, *JJP* 13 (1961) 127–8. Cf. Versnel (1981) 36 n. 144.

<sup>125</sup> *Midrash Rabbah Leviticus* XXIII 12 (tr. H. Freedman, M. Simon IV 303). The compilation was not, however, made until the fifth or even seventh century and the story may be spurious. Note the Antonine statue at Side reworked in the tetrarchic period (Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) no. 63).

against him but he did annul his acts and had all Gaius' images removed by night.<sup>126</sup> Nero was declared a public enemy by the Senate before his death,<sup>127</sup> while after Domitian was killed the Senate pulled down his shields and images (in Rome) and 'passed a decree that his inscriptions everywhere should be erased and all record of him be obliterated'.<sup>128</sup> In these cases there were entirely new rules concerning the emperor's images, but they obviously varied from case to case, and it is quite wrong, as is conventionally done, for us to describe the condemnation of his memory with the abstract phrase *damnatio memoriae*, which never occurs in the ancient sources.<sup>129</sup> Encouragement, and in the case of Domitian actual instruction, was given for the images to be altered. With the exception of some minor members of the imperial house, it is precisely the statues of Gaius, Nero and Domitian that were reworked to represent their successors.<sup>130</sup> As Saint Jerome noted, in the late fourth or early fifth century, as an analogy for a theological problem, 'when a tyrant (i.e. a usurper) is cut down, his images too and his statues are laid aside; and, only changing the face and removing the head, the visage of the victor is placed on top, so that with the body remaining and the heads being cut off the head can be changed'.<sup>131</sup>

Such orgies of destruction had to be officially inspired or condoned; in other circumstances disrespect towards the imperial image was a very serious matter. The Rhodians were reproached by a Greek orator for constantly recycling the statues of their local benefactors; there is a clear implication that statues of the Romans and in particular of the emperor were immune from this recycling.<sup>132</sup> Indeed a man was denounced to Augustus merely for having moved some statues, including one of Augustus, from a public place.<sup>133</sup> Legal sources from the late empire show that immense care was taken by

<sup>126</sup> Dio LX 4, 5. Cf. Suetonius, *Claudius* 11.

<sup>127</sup> Suet. *Nero* 49.

<sup>128</sup> Suet. *Domitian* 23 and Pliny, *Panegyricus* 52. Cf. also Tacitus, *Hist.* III 7, Dio LXXVIII 18, 1; LXXVIII 19, 2.

<sup>129</sup> D. Daube, *Roman Law. Linguistic, Social and Philosophical Aspects* (1969) 51.

<sup>130</sup> H. Jucker, 'Iulisch-Claudische Kaiser- und Prinzenporträts als "Palimpseste"', *JDAI* 96 (1981) 236; M. Bergmann, P. Zanker, "'Damnatio Memoriae'. Umgearbeitete Nero- und Domitiansporträts', *JDAI* 96 (1981) 317. Also Blanck (1969) 108.

<sup>131</sup> In *Abacuc* III 14 (*PL* xxv 1329). Cf. the destruction of imperial images in a Jewish parable, *Mekilta de R. Ishmael* VIII 72-6 (ed. and tr. J. Z. Lauterbach II 262). This source is conventionally dated to the second century A.D. but B. Z. Wacholder, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 39 (1968) 117-44, did attempt to establish an eighth-century date for the compilation.

<sup>132</sup> Dio, *Or.* xxxi 43 & 105-8.  
<sup>133</sup> *SEG* IX 8 ii = *FIRA* I<sup>2</sup> 68 ii. Perhaps *maiestas*: R. A. Bauman, *The Crimen Maiestatis...* (1967) 290-2. Cf. Suet. *Tiberius* 58, Dio LVII 24, 7.

officials about moving imperial statues in order to repair a building,<sup>134</sup> while deliberate alteration was a very risky business<sup>135</sup> and the deliberate damage caused by Thecla to the image on Alexander's crown was classed as 'sacrilege'. Stories circulated which illuminate the widespread recognition of the dangers. An imperial biography (*Historia Augusta, Caracalla* v 7) tells of the execution of people for having urinated near imperial statues or for having replaced garlands on the statues, wanting the old ones as remedies for diseases. Panic arose after accidental damage to an imperial statue; a pleasant story was told that the statue was miraculously repaired by Saint Peter, and the panic calmed.<sup>136</sup>

The imperial image, then, had considerable importance in the provinces as a place of asylum; alterations of the image or any form of disrespect, let alone damage, was wrought with danger. Given these roots in public conventions and expectations, the imperial image was able to serve as a potent focal point for evocations of the emperor. Imperial statues could be the medium for divine portents. Thus on the day of the battle of Pharsalus at which Caesar defeated Pompey a palm tree grew in the temple of Victory at Tralles (the palm being a symbol of victory) and the goddess herself turned towards the statue of Caesar standing beside her;<sup>137</sup> more dramatically, from one of the marble statues of Antony in Italy there oozed sweat, portending his fall.<sup>138</sup> Such portents do not prove the divine status of the honorand; statues could perform portents without any such implication.<sup>139</sup> Thus, in a Christian context, a miracle performed at Edessa in Syria in 496 by a statue of Constantine is stated by the writer, a contemporary, to be a sign that the actions of the Edessenes were contrary to the will of God.<sup>140</sup> There were also stories that the images of Marcus Aurelius were kept among the household gods long after his death, and that 'there were not lacking men who stated that he had foretold many things by dreams and were themselves enabled to predict events that did come to pass'. Such prophetic dreams were perhaps related to the possession of the images of the former emperor, a phenomenon comparable to the appearance of divine statues in dreams.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>134</sup> *CTh* xv 1, 44 = *CJ* viii 11, 16.

<sup>135</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* i 74.

<sup>136</sup> Acts of Saint Peter §11 (ed. R. A. Lipsius, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* (1891) 58-9). Smith (1957-8) 476 cites a text which distinguishes between accidental and deliberate damage to imperial statues, but this comes from a work compiled about A.D. 900.

<sup>137</sup> Caesar, *BC* iii 105, 6; also Plutarch, *Caesar* 47, and Dio xli 61, 4.

<sup>138</sup> Plutarch, *Antony* 60, 2. Cf. Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5, 6 and Plutarch, *Otho* 4.

<sup>139</sup> Clerc (1915) 45-9.

<sup>140</sup> P. Martin, *Chronique de Josué le Stylite, écrite vers l'an 515* (1876) p. xxvi.

<sup>141</sup> *SHA Marcus Aurelius* 18, 6-7. Cf. O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder* (1909) 155-61.

Panegyrists took up the supernatural powers of the imperial image. One, addressing the emperor Constantius Chlorus in 297, talked of how

the fool [Allectus, a rebel] did not know that wherever he hid he would find the power of your divinity everywhere where your images or your statues are the object of adoration.<sup>142</sup>

Another panegyric, of about the same date, but composed in Greek not Latin, praised the peace that the emperor created; his statues were havens of peace for those in deepest distress. This is clearly a reference to asylum and the author went on to attribute real power to the image, though we are ignorant of the circumstances to which he refers:

Already the mere appearance of the image (*eikon*) of the king has created victory and granted calm and security to the inhabitants.<sup>143</sup>

These attributions of supernatural behaviour to imperial images may give point to a familiar passage from the Revelation of Saint John (ch. 13):

Then out of the sea I saw a beast rising. It had ten horns and seven heads. On its horns were ten diadems, and on each head a blasphemous name... The dragon conferred upon it his power and rule, and great authority. The whole world went after the beast in wondering admiration. Men worshipped the dragon because he had conferred his authority upon the beast; they worshipped the beast also, and chanted, 'Who is like the beast? Who can fight against it?'... Then I saw another beast, which came up out of the earth... It wielded all the authority of the first beast in its presence, and made the earth and its inhabitants worship the first beast... It worked great miracles, even making fire come down from heaven to earth before men's eyes. By the miracles it was allowed to perform in the presence of the beast it led astray the inhabitants of the earth, and made them erect an image in honour of the beast that had been wounded by the sword and yet lived. It was allowed to give breath to the image of the beast, so that it could speak, and could cause all who would not worship the image to be put to death. (*NEB*)

The interpretation of Revelation in general and of this passage in particular is notoriously controversial, but there is general agreement that the work refers at least in part to contemporary circumstances and has special reference to Asia (to whose Seven Churches the

<sup>142</sup> *Panegyrici Latini* iv (8) 15, 6 (Budé).

<sup>143</sup> *Corpus Hermeticum* xviii 16 (ed. A. D. Nock, A. J. Festugière II 254-5).

opening chapters of the text are addressed).<sup>144</sup> The beast from the sea clearly represents the power of Rome, and the second beast symbolizes a local authority concerned with the worship of the beast from the sea.<sup>145</sup> Disagreement over the interpretation arises when one tries to go beyond these agreed and obvious points. The significance of sea and land, for example, is not clear. Some have wanted to say that the imagery is merely an employment of traditional themes of Jewish apocalypics in which Leviathan and Behemoth are monsters of sea and land;<sup>146</sup> in particular the sea monster traditionally represented the foreign oppressor, irrespective of whether that power actually came from overseas (Daniel ch. 7). Nonetheless, there may be particular point in the adoption of this imagery to represent the foreign power of Rome, and in the fact that the second beast came from the land.

Many attempts that have been made to explain the significance of the second beast are based upon an inadequate conception of contemporary paganism. It was not pagan priesthoods in general, let alone the priesthood of Cybele in particular, that were primarily responsible for the worship of the emperor.<sup>147</sup> The obvious candidate is the priesthood of the imperial cult, particularly, in the context of this text, of the province of Asia. This would add force to the imagery of the beast coming from the land. The second beast is said to compel all to erect and worship the image of the first beast. If one accepts the conventional Domitianic date for Revelation, it is tempting to think that the establishment of the provincial cult of Domitian at Ephesus, with its colossal cult statue, is what lies behind our text (Cat. no. 31). Indeed I have seen no other interpretation which fits the known geographical and temporal contexts. John elsewhere explicitly refers to the persecution and even the killing of Christians (esp. 2, 10-13; 6, 9-10; cf. I *Peter* 1, 6-7; 3, 16; 4, 4, 12 & 16), and perhaps less than thirty years later the provincial assembly was so worried

<sup>144</sup> W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia* (1904) 94-113; commentaries by R. H. Charles (1920), E. B. Allo (1933<sup>3</sup>) and P. Prigent (1981); also A. Feuillet, *The Apocalypse* (1965), J. M. Court, *Myth and History in the Book of Revelation* (1979) ch. 6. These document the alternative readings of the text. Dr J. Day has helped to make my argument here more rigorous.

<sup>145</sup> It does not, however, follow that most of the imagery of Revelation derives from the imperial cult (E. Peterson, 'Christus als Imperator' (1937), in *Theologische Traktate* (1951) 149, and 'Von den Engeln' (1935), in *ibid.* 323 (Eng. tr. 1964)). It can be paralleled in Jewish apocalyptic (P. Beskow, *Rex Gloriam* (1962) 136-41).

<sup>146</sup> I *Enoch* 60, 7-10; IV *Ezra* 6, 49-52 (cf. II *Baruch* 29, 4).

<sup>147</sup> P. L. Couchard, *L'Apocalypse* (1930) 79; P. Touilleux, *L'Apocalypse et les cultes de Domitien et de Cybèle* (1935). *Contra*, J. de Fraine, 'Mystères', in *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supp.* (1957) 111-13.

about the Christians that it petitioned the emperor about them (ch. 5 pp. 123-4).<sup>148</sup> It is in principle quite likely that the establishment of the cult of Domitian at Ephesus, which involved the participation of the whole province, as attested by the series of dedications by numerous cities, led to unusually great pressure on the Christians for conformity.<sup>149</sup> John might well be worried about his flock. Those that did worship the beast and its image were conveyed by an angel to everlasting torment (14, 9-11; 16, 2), while 'those who had won the victory over the beast and its image and the number of its name' were 'beside the sea of glass, holding the harps which God had given them' and revering God (15, 2-4). At the judgement day 'I could see the souls of those who had been beheaded for the sake of God's word and their testimony to Jesus, those who had not worshipped the beast and its image or received its mark on forehead or hand' (20, 4).

The beast from the land, also referred to as a false prophet (16, 13; 19, 20; 20, 10), performed miracles: fire came down from heaven in the presence of the beast from the sea, while the image of the beast was actually made to speak. John gives these miracles as the reason for the cult of the image of the beast. Christian commentators at this point tend to exclaim that 'sorcery and trickery were part of the stock-in-trade of pagan priesthoods'.<sup>150</sup> But this reaction is the product of a post-miraculous age. Miraculous behaviour is often associated with statues at this date by sources both pagan and Christian,<sup>151</sup> and John clearly regards the miracles as genuine manifestations of divine, or rather demonic, power. In so doing he takes to an extreme the type of view we have already seen in the non-Christian sources. This account of a contemporary should be taken seriously as showing, through Christian eyes, the imperial cult as a reflection of contemporary religious attitudes.

These elaborations of attitudes that we have been tracing form merely one end of a spectrum of attitudes focussing on the imperial image. It is in fact clear that the visual representation of the emperor provided the crucial focus for the expression of attitudes to the imperial cult and to the emperor. Whereas the classificatory systems of temple and sacrifice are of intrinsic importance, it was the image,

<sup>148</sup> Note the citation of this text by Cyprian, *ad Fortunatum* 12 (Corpus Christianorum III 213-14), with an eye on imperial persecutions.

<sup>149</sup> Some have suggested that the Christians were blamed for the famine allegedly widespread in Asia at this time (cf. Levick (1967) 96-7), but it is not certain that the famine was widespread nor do such accusations play any part in this text.

<sup>150</sup> E.g. G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation* (1974) 217.

<sup>151</sup> Clerc (1915) 37-45, 65-82; Robert, *Et. Anat.* 522 on *LSAM* 69; F. Poulsen, 'Talking, weeping and bleeding sculptures', *AArch* 16 (1945) 178. Wright II (1871) 44-5.



1a Imperial priest from  
Aphrodisias. See p. 171.



1b The emperor as priest. See  
p. 185.

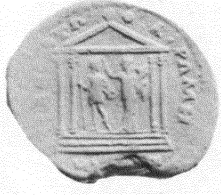


1c An early Christian sarcophagus showing the three young men of  
the Book of Daniel refusing to worship the image set up by  
Nebuchadnezzar. See pp. 199, 222.





a



b



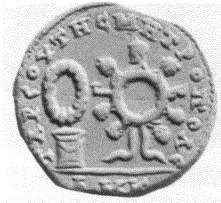
c



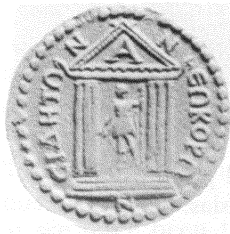
d



e



f



g

- 2a Head of Augustus in temple, Teos. See pp. 181, 259.  
 2b Temple of Roma and Augustus, Pergamum. See pp. 182, 252.  
 2c Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan, Pergamum. See pp. 156, 182, 252.  
 2d Temple at Neocaesarea. Two naked male statues and two imperial (?) busts are visible. See pp. 181, 267.  
 2e Temple at Neocaesarea. A bust is visible 'through' the door, whose handle is also shown. See pp. 181, 267.  
 2f Crown of imperial priest with its seven imperial busts; beside it is an altar and wreath. See p. 171.  
 2g Imperial temple, Side. See pp. 181-2, 272.



a



b



c



d



e



f

3a Sacrifice before imperial temple, Ephesus. See pp. 214–15, 256–7.

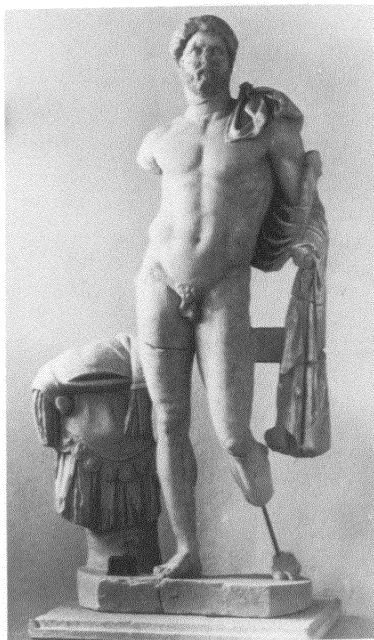
3b Imperial temple, Laodicea. See pp. 185, 264.

3c Two imperial temples flank the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. See pp. 183, 257.

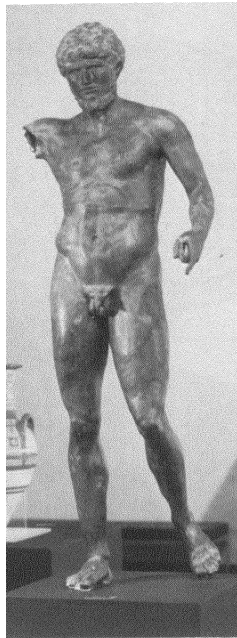
3d Smyrna displays its three neocorate temples, to Tiberius, Roma and Hadrian. See pp. 64–5, 258.

3e Caracalla sacrifices to Asclepius at Pergamum. See pp. 153, 213.

3f Pergamum rivalled Smyrna and Ephesus with its temples to Asclepius and the emperors. See pp. 252–3.



4a The god Hadrian, from Pergamum. See pp. 148, fig. 6, 183, 185, 252–3.



4b Lucius Verus, from Bubon. See pp. 159–60, 183, 263–4.



4c Hadrian (?) in Greek clothing, from Cilicia. See p. 186.



4d Hadrian as general, from Perge. See p. 183.

with its range of evocations, that received most explicit attention. At one end of the scale lies the position adopted by the historian Cassius Dio (LII 35, 3-6).<sup>152</sup> He makes Maecenas say to Augustus that Augustus should never permit gold or silver images of himself to be made; rather than such transient memorials he should create by his benefactions images in the hearts of mankind that would never tarnish or perish. If he was a good ruler the whole world would be his sanctuary, all the cities his temples and all men his cult statues, for in their thoughts he would be for ever enshrined in glory.

Different sets of perspectives on the veneration of imperial images are found if one starts from Jewish or Christian positions. As we have already seen, Saint John interpreted, and condemned, the imperial cult in religious terms; other Jewish and Christian sources also show how the imperial image was seen in the light of Biblical history. The Book of Daniel (3, 1-18) recounts the story of the three young men, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, who refused to serve the god of Nebuchadnezzar and worship the golden statue which he had made, a story which was elaborated at the time of the assault upon Judaism by Antiochus Epiphanes. The original text left ambiguous whether the image was that of Nebuchadnezzar or of his god, but the Septuagint at least came down decisively in favour of its being the image of the king,<sup>153</sup> and the three young men were protomartyrs in the eyes of the early Church.<sup>154</sup> Thus, there are three paintings in the catacombs at Rome of their ordeal in the burning fiery furnace, one of which dates to the early second century A.D.<sup>155</sup> The fusion of Biblical tradition with the contemporary experience of persecution is seen most vividly on a number of sarcophagi of early fourth-century date which show the refusal of the three to worship the image; the king has become the Roman emperor and his image a bust placed on a column (Pl. 1C).<sup>156</sup>

The location of the image of the ruler in a religious context is also

<sup>152</sup> See also Plutarch, *Cato Maior* 19, Tiberius in Tacitus, *Annals* IV 38, Pliny, *Panegyricus* 55, and an interesting parallel from a private context in *AE* (1913) 134 (Naples). The argument was also deployed casuistically by John Chrysostom (below p. 204).

<sup>153</sup> On the Greek versions see in general Pfeiffer (1949) 438-44 and S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (1968).

<sup>154</sup> E. Le Blant, *Les persécuteurs et les martyrs*... (1893) 116 n. 1, has some references.

<sup>155</sup> J. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* (1903) pls. 13; 78, 1; 172, 2.

<sup>156</sup> G. Wilpert, *I Sarcophagi Cristiani Antichi II Testo* (1932) 259-63; F. W. Deichmann, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage I* (1967) nos. 324, 338, 339, 351, 596, 718. Cf. Kruse (1934) 84-9, and for the imperial image in persecutions ch. 8 pp. 221-2 with a further example in P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Studi e testi* 19 (1908) 70 (late martyr act of Tryphon).

to be seen in the Book of Wisdom. This work, dating probably to the first century A.D.,<sup>157</sup> argues that there were two starting points to idolatry (14, 12–21, *NEB*). One source was the image of a dead child set up by its father and honoured as a god.

Or again graven images came to be worshipped at the command of despotic princes. When men could not do honour to such a prince before his face because he lived far away, they made a likeness of that distant face, and produced a visible image of the king they sought to honour, eager to pay court to the absent prince as though he were present. Then the cult grows in fervour as those to whom the king is unknown are spurred on by ambitious craftsmen. In his desire, it may be, to please the monarch, a craftsman skilfully distorts the likeness into an ideal form, and the common people, beguiled by the beauty of the workmanship, take for an object of worship him whom lately they honoured as a man. So this becomes a trap for living men: enslaved by mischance or misgovernment, men confer on sticks and stones the name that none may share.

This is a very interesting recognition of the function of the royal image as a substitute for the living presence of the ruler and the importance of the actual iconography. Our author tried to undermine the idealism that is evident, for example, in the unageing image of Augustus by stressing the gap between image and reality. But it is important that the practices of the contemporary world are set firmly in a religious argument about the origins of idolatry. The author, who was soaked in Greek thought,<sup>158</sup> is in fact drawing upon a common argument, much loved by Christian writers,<sup>159</sup> that pagan cults came from the worship of dead kings.<sup>160</sup> Looking back from the fourth century, Athanasius, who quotes this passage from the Book of Wisdom in his discussion of idolatry, treats ruler cult as the final stage in the degradation of men who have turned away from God (*contra gentes* 9, tr. R. W. Thomson).

Like those who have fallen right down and crawl on the earth as snails on the ground, these most impious of men, in their descent from the contemplation of God, then raised to divine status even men and images of men, some while still alive, and others after their death.

Criticisms of the cult of images and of traditional religious practices in general had a long history going back at least to the formation

<sup>157</sup> Pfeiffer (1949) 326–8 with Robert, *Et. épigr.* 226–35, esp. 234–5.

<sup>158</sup> C. Larcher, *Études sur le Livre de la Sagesse* (1969); J. M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and its Consequences* (1970).

<sup>159</sup> K. Thraede, *RAC* vi (1966) 883–90.

<sup>160</sup> Geffcken (1916–19) 292–4. These arguments originated in Hellenistic Euhemerism (ch. 2 p. 38).

of Greek religious thought in the sixth century B.C. For example, Xenophanes in the sixth–fifth century B.C. wrote

But if oxen, horses and lions had hands or power, or could draw with their hands and make the works of art that men make, then horses would give their gods horse-like forms and oxen oxen-like forms, each after its own kind. (fr. 13 Diehl)

The extent to which philosophical reflection and critique turned into the sort of hostility seen in the Jewish and Christian uses of such arguments varied; in fact there was an increasing rapprochement between pagan philosophers and traditional religious practices.<sup>161</sup> In general Greek religion was an iconic religion whose temples were built to shelter a representation of the god. The nexus of temple, anthropomorphic cult statue and sacrifice formed part of the Greeks' awareness of their own cultural identity in contrast with their neighbours', thus making a general rejection of the nexus very difficult.<sup>162</sup> The strategy of representing the gods in human form in fact remained the norm.

The importance of this religious background for understanding the veneration of the imperial image is made even clearer by arguments which presupposed the parallelism between imperial and divine statues. Plutarch's work 'On Superstition', which attempts to distinguish real religion from improper 'religious' practices, attacks the superstitious man for assuming that the gods are cruel and for fearing them.

And yet, though he dreads them, he worships them and sacrifices to them and besieges their shrines; and this is not surprising, for it is equally true that men give welcome to despots, and pay court to them, and erect golden statues in their honour, but in their hearts they hate them and 'shake the head'. (Sect. 11, *Moralia* 170 E; Loeb translation)

The examples that Plutarch cites are Alexander, Philip and the emperor Gaius, the last being a notable example of despotic rule. The implications of this are interesting. Both the cults of the gods and ruler cult could be perverted through the existence of a relationship based on fear. The ideal was otherwise. The emperor Julian in the fourth

<sup>161</sup> Geffcken (1916–19) and also V. Fazzo, *La giustificazione delle immagini religiose* (1977).

<sup>162</sup> Herodotus I 131 (Persians); IV 59, 62, 108 (Scythians and neighbours); Maximus of Tyre, *Oration* II. On the privileging of the strategy of human representations of the gods see K. Majewski, 'L'iconophobie et la destruction des temples, des statues des dieux et des monuments des souverains dans le monde gréco-romain', *Archaeologia* 16 (1966) 63 (in Polish with French résumé), and 'Rôle social des images de culte dans le monde antique', *Archaeologia Polona* 11 (1969) 220, and, above all, Gordon (1979).

century commented in the course of a letter on the reform of pagan religion that

just as those tending (*therapeuontes*) the images of the kings, who need nothing, nevertheless gain great good will for themselves, so those tending the statues of the gods, who need nothing, nevertheless persuade them to protect and care for them.<sup>163</sup>

Julian draws a carefully nuanced distinction between the parallel honours in terms of the expected returns.

Others too compared the two sets of honours. Philostratus comments that the imperial statues to which the governor was clinging (p. 192) were more dreaded and a securer protection at that time than the statue of Zeus at Olympia; the statues were of Tiberius, in whose reign a master was found guilty of impiety for striking a slave who was carrying a coin with the image of Tiberius. This particular comparison with divine statues, which may be intended by Philostratus to apply specifically to the time of Tiberius, was generalized by a Christian polemicist, probably Melito of Sardis, in a defence of Christianity addressed to a mid second-century emperor.<sup>164</sup> Adopting the line familiar from the Book of Wisdom, he included an excursus on the deified emperors.

Now I say that the Sibyl too spoke about them, (saying) that it is images of kings who have died that they worship. This is (something) easy to know, for even now it is images of *Kaisarianoi* that they worship and honour even more than those former ones [*sc.* dead kings]: for from their former gods there are taxes and produce (which come) to Caesar, as being someone more (important) than them. For this reason those who despise them and diminish the decree [*sc.* concerning the taxes?] of Caesar are put to death.

No pagan would have accepted the general conclusion that the imperial image was venerated more than the traditional gods; indeed it is merely a polemical device on the part of the writer to make this claim. To claim primacy for the imperial cult was a useful way of attacking his real target, the cult of the gods. Both supporters and detractors of the imperial cult set it firmly in the context of traditional religious practices.

Comparison was made with the images of the gods, but one question that was not often raised was the relationship between the

<sup>163</sup> *Epist.* 89b, 293f. (ed. Bidez, Cumont pp. 133f.).

<sup>164</sup> W. Cureton, *Spicilegium syriacum*... (1855) 43 (with dating of J.-M. Vermander, *REAug* 18 (1972) 33–6, and Beaujeu, in den Boer (1973) 113–14, 138–9). For this translation I am indebted to Dr S. P. Brock. *Kaisarianoi*, transliterated into Syriac, must be intended to refer to the emperors and not to imperial slaves.

emperor and his image. Images were of course recognized as substitutes, and a panegyrist might contrast the greeting of the emperor in person and in his image,<sup>165</sup> but in general little explicit attention was given to this issue. It is only with Christian writers, especially after Constantine, that we find elaborate positions being worked out. A precondition for this was the fact that the imperial image continued to be venerated in the Byzantine empire, having been in principle shorn of its pagan, divine connotations. There is a revealing incident in the fourth century during the reign of Julian. In an attempt to induce Christians to worship the old gods Julian was able to exploit the legitimate honours that were paid to the imperial image.<sup>166</sup> He placed pictures of the gods beside his image so that people might be led to worship them under cover of rendering due honours to him. The Christian sources represent this as a trick, but do not question the legitimacy of the imperial honours, and in general Christian writers, with the notable exception of Jerome, accept them without demur.<sup>167</sup> Indeed the imperial image and the ceremony of imperial arrival seem to have had an influence on the growth of adoration of Christian icons and relics.<sup>168</sup>

It was therefore possible to employ the honours given to the imperial image as an analogy for the solution of problems in Christian theology.<sup>169</sup> A large body of such reflections developed. One Christian, writing in fact before Constantine, says, in an attempt to prove the essential identity of the body before and after resurrection, that all imperial images are honoured equally irrespective of the material from which they are made; the blasphemer of an image is not judged on the basis of whether the image is of clay or gold but as having been impious towards the king and lord himself.<sup>170</sup> This is a simple observation of current practice, and in the Byzantine period writers were able to incorporate such analogies more and more frequently. This was particularly common in debates on the nature of the Trinity. Some writers compared the alleged identity of the Father and Son to the identity of the emperor and his image; on

<sup>165</sup> Alföldi (1934) 70-1.

<sup>166</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* iv 81 (*PG* xxxv 608). Also Sozomen, *HE* v 17.

<sup>167</sup> Setton (1941) ch. 8.

<sup>168</sup> Kitzinger (1954) and, against Brown (1973), Averil Cameron, 'Images of authority: élites and icons in late sixth-century Byzantium', *Past and Present* 84 (1979) 3. P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (1981) 98.

<sup>169</sup> Setton (1941) ch. 8 and Ladner (1953). This point refutes the argument of Brown (1973) 10-11 that Christian texts focus on disrespect to the imperial image and are therefore not evidence for the psychology of worship.

<sup>170</sup> Methodius, *De resurrectione* II 24 (*GCS* xxvii 379f.).



seeing an image of the king in the square one does not claim that because the one is the image of the king there are two kings.<sup>171</sup> Athanasius develops the point at length:

The shape and the form of the king are in the image, and the form in the image is in the king. The likeness in the image of the king is indistinguishable. So that one looking at the image sees in it the king and one looking back recognizes that it is the king who is the man in the image. As a result of the indistinguishability of the likeness, the image could say to one wanting to see the king after the image, 'I and the king are one; for I am in him and he is in me...'.<sup>172</sup>

From this the obvious conclusion was drawn that the man venerating the image venerated in it the king as well. The same argument was employed by the proponents of the use of religious icons; because the emperor was unable to be present everywhere veneration was offered to his image as a substitute, and transferred to him.<sup>173</sup>

These Christian arguments, including those that held that disrespect towards the image was equivalent to disrespect towards the emperor himself,<sup>174</sup> picked out ideas that were implicit in the practices of the imperial cult. In special circumstances the opposite line could be adopted. One of the arguments deployed on behalf of the Antiochenes, who had in 387 destroyed some imperial images in a riot, was that only the images and not the emperor himself had been damaged.<sup>175</sup> This is casuistry; without the existence of the view that honours to the image were transferred to the emperor himself the cult would have been very different. In Egypt, it seems, the statue of the pharaoh tended to have greater divinity than the pharaoh himself and in Mesopotamia, while sacrifices were made to the gods directly, they were made only to the statue of the king.<sup>176</sup> Without the existence of the argument deployed by Christian writers the cult offered to the imperial image would have been limited in significance; the image had to evoke the emperor himself. So too the standard descriptions of imperial sacrifices generally referred, in one way or

<sup>171</sup> Basil, *Homil. XXIV, contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos* (PG xxxi 607).

<sup>172</sup> *Oratio III contra Arianos* 5 (PG xxvi 332).

<sup>173</sup> Severus of Gabala, *De mundi creatione orat.* vi 5 (PG lvi 489). Cf. *In crucem sanctam* (PG xciv 1409 A, *ap.* John of Damascus). Also debates in *Mansi Concil.* ix 210 Bff.; xii 1013-14; xiii 44DE, 68E.

<sup>174</sup> R. Browning, *JRS* 42 (1952) 20.

<sup>175</sup> John Chrysostom, *PG* xlii 216. Cf. G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (1961) 426-33.

<sup>176</sup> G. Posener, *De la divinité du Pharaon* (1960) ch. 2; Frankfort (1948) 302-6. Cf. G. J. P. McEwan, *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia* (1981) 161-2.

another, solely to the emperor and not to his image; honours paid to the image and to the emperor in person were interchangeable.<sup>177</sup>

The articulation of attitudes to the imperial image by Christian writers emphasizes the extent to which the imperial image had become an accepted part of the life of the Roman empire. Images which were in some sense sent out from Rome were erected by the Greeks in order to honour the emperor. They fitted within Greek categories, particularly in relation to the gods, they were the focus of much religious ritual and they became the object of reflections by Greeks, Jews and Christians about the nature of the emperor and the empire. In saying this I have tried to avoid the pitfalls fallen into by those art historians who either treat works of art purely aesthetically or assume that they are reflections of society or ideology. While imperial statues perhaps offer little temptation to an aesthetic approach, it would be easy to say that they were reflections of imperial ideology. But this assumes that ideology is created elsewhere and has an independent existence. Imperial images are not merely illustrations of ideology, they partly constitute it. Their iconography articulated different aspects of imperial rule, the civilian, military and divine. But the images also became the focus of contemporary reflection about the emperor. They not only constituted their own discourse, they were also the objects of discourse.

This dual significance of the imperial image for the subjects of the empire has important implications for the relationship between the centre and the periphery. I have already argued in chapter 3 that the imperial cult served to routinize Augustus' potentially unstable charisma. The argument will seem implausible to those who treat charisma as a psychological characteristic. How could cults connect with personality? But charisma is better seen as an attribute of those in closest contact with the central values of society.<sup>178</sup> Thus a whole range of political leaders from African kings to American presidents may be said to possess charisma. If charisma is a feature of the centre, the question then arises as to the relationship in any large-scale society between the centre and the periphery. In some societies the mass of the population lives passively, enduring the impositions of the centre; it is in a sense hardly a part of society. By contrast, in

<sup>177</sup> Kruse (1934) 39f. n. 4; MacCormack (1972) 747.

<sup>178</sup> E. Shils, 'Centre and periphery', in *The Logic of Personal Knowledge. Essays...* M. Polanyi (1961) 117-30; 'Charisma, order and status', *Amer. Sociol. Rev.* 30 (1965) 199-213. For Weber himself see the selection by S. N. Eisenstadt, *On Charisma and Institution Building* (1968) with the editor's introduction.

the Roman empire the Greek cities with their traditions of political awareness had to respond (cf. ch. 4 pp. 98–100). To avoid feeling an inferior element of the empire they needed to create a positive relationship with the centre; the Roman emperor was the figure whose charisma the Greeks had to incorporate.<sup>179</sup>

The periphery can make contact with the charisma of the centre in various ways. In some societies royal progresses are of great importance.<sup>180</sup> Thus the visit of the Roman emperor to a town focussed the diffuse attitudes of the population and expressed through ritual the nature of his sacred power.<sup>181</sup> But such visits were infrequent and the regular institutions of the imperial cult had more significance in the provinces. The Greeks with their own traditions and institutions could not incorporate the charisma of the centre simply by taking over Roman practices; they had to relate the emperor to their own central values, that is to the gods. In this enterprise the imperial image was of particular significance. The image, which emanated from and represented the centre, was omnipresent and widely venerated. By it, above all, the charisma of the central power was diffused, transformed and incorporated into the Greek world.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. the role of the Shilluk king, Evans-Pritchard (1948).

<sup>180</sup> Geertz (1977), a stimulating article.

<sup>181</sup> MacCormack (1972) and her *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (1981) 17–89. Cf. further ch. 8 p. 213.

# 8

## SACRIFICES

The relationship between the emperor and the gods and the precise nature of the divine honours accorded him have been the theme running through this work. We have already examined the contributions of imperial architecture and images to this subject. It is time now to investigate in some detail the sacrifices offered the emperor, which formed one element in the religious system described at the outset of this work (p. 1). Sacrifice has so far received little attention in works on ancient ruler cult, though some of the evidence for Hellenistic ruler cults<sup>1</sup> and for the Latin-speaking parts of the Roman empire<sup>2</sup> has been gathered together, but not analysed in detail. Yet sacrifice was a key element in the Greek religious system, and one whose flexibility makes it particularly important for any examination of the relationship between the emperor and the gods. Sacrifices were a way of articulating a large body of thought concerning the emperor by subtly modifying the practices of divine ritual. It is quite wrong to assert that the emperor was 'long an unquestioned god in the East' and to this factual disagreement with a standard position is added a different methodological approach to the implications of the honours. I first analyse the different types of imperial sacrifices (i-iii), then discuss their role in Christian contexts (iv), the changing nature of ruler sacrifice in the Hellenistic period and under Roman influence (v), and finally locate imperial sacrifices in the context of Greek religion (vi).

It must, however, first be admitted that the evidence for these imperial sacrifices does have some shortcomings. We are not fortunate enough to possess a complete ethnographic account of any one imperial sacrifice. There is indeed only one extant prose description

<sup>1</sup> Habicht (1970) 138-9, 147 n. 34; Mellor (1975) 156-8. An earlier version of this chapter appeared in *JRS* 70 (1980); I am grateful to the Council of the Roman Society for permission to reprint it.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Hoey in R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey, W. F. Snyder, 'The *Feriale Duranum*', *YCS* 7 (1940) 1-222, esp. 173-202.

of any Graeco-Roman sacrifice.<sup>3</sup> The bulk of the evidence consists of inscribed descriptions of and prescriptions for the sacrifices, and these are patchy and fragmentary. The regulations for the privileges of a priestess at Athens show that care was taken over the division of the sacrificial animal, but they merely specify those aspects of the division which concerned the priestess (below p. 217). More informatively, regulations from Mytilene show that parts of the victims were to be placed on the cult table, presumably beside the cult statue of Augustus, but, tantalizingly, they then break off (below pp. 217–19). Thus in no case do we know the full details of the slaughtering of the animal and the division of the parts between emperor, priest and others, an aspect of the process which could have been crucial evidence for the conceptions informing the sacrifices. The problem is that such regulations specify only what was open to doubt, not what was taken for granted. What we have to work with are essentially the formulae used to describe the sacrifices. It is not possible to penetrate beyond them to the actual event to see if the actions and words were coherent with their public descriptions; but the formulae are vitally important evidence for the way that the sacrifices were conceived.

Imperial sacrifices were made on a variety of occasions, public and private, by individuals or by representatives of city or province. Sometimes libations<sup>4</sup> or ritual cakes<sup>5</sup> were offered, but the burning of incense, perhaps on special altars,<sup>6</sup> or the killing of an animal, normally a bull, were the standard offerings at public festivals.<sup>7</sup> We are fortunate to possess some representations of these scenes of sacrifice, both of libations<sup>8</sup> and of the sacrifice of a bull before an

<sup>3</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* vii 72, esp. 15–18. Nor is it clear how much more would be added if we had more of Varro's account of Roman public rites (Bk xiii). For general reconstructions of Greek sacrifices see W. Burkert, 'Greek tragedy and sacrificial ritual', *GRBS* 7 (1966) 87–121, esp. 102–13, *Homo Necans* (1972) 8–20 and (1977) 101–15.

<sup>4</sup> *Clara Rhodos* 6–7 (1932–33) 435, no. 54 = *Annuario* 27–9 (1949–51) 224, no. 87a (Camirus); below n. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *I. Pergamon* 374 = L. Ziehen, I. von Prott, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* i 27 = *IGR* iv 353 (Pergamum). *Popana* could be offered to both gods and heroes: *LSCG* 52, Ziehen, *RE* xi (1921) 2094–9, Pleket (1965) 342.

<sup>6</sup> *SEG* xi 923 (Gytheum); *IGR* iv 353 (n. 5). For altars see pp. 216–17.

<sup>7</sup> *IGR* iv 555 (Ancyra, Phrygia: twelve bulls); *SEG* xviii 491 = *ZPE* 14 (1974) 77–87 (Smyrna: up to twelve); Cat. no. 108 (Ancyra: hecatomb, not necessarily very large, Stengel, *RE* vii (1912) 2786–7, *Kultusaltertümer*<sup>3</sup> (1920) 119); *I. Cret.* i 111, no. 9 (Arcades: heifer); *IG* vii 2712 (Acraephia: taurothysia); also below nn. 9, 18, 55, p. 217.

<sup>8</sup> Keil, von Premerstein ii no. 209 (= *IGR* iv 1372 = *TAM* v i 484, Ajas Euren); *AA* (1903) Beib. 39, no. 3 (Prusa).

imperial statue or temple (Pl. 3a).<sup>9</sup> I shall try to bring out something of the nature of these public imperial festivals in the course of my discussion; a private celebration is vividly depicted by the regulations of the choir of Rome and Augustus at Pergamum.<sup>10</sup> This was an association involved in provincial imperial cult, but it also performed private ritual within the association, meeting on a variety of occasions in a special building. The various officials had to provide wine, money, bread, garlands and other accoutrements for the choir. New members who did not inherit their father's position had to pay a fixed sum 'towards sacrifices of Augustus and Roma'. Hymns were sung beside the altar during sacrifices, which perhaps consisted of wine. Ritual cakes, incense and lamps were offered to Augustus, the last perhaps for illuminating the images of Rome and the emperors. The inscription gives a very intense picture of the practice of imperial ritual and sacrifices.

But distinctions must be drawn between different types of sacrifices. It was possible to differentiate between heroic and divine sacrifices (*enhagismata* and *thysiai*), and it is of great importance that heroic sacrifices were never specified as the appropriate form of cult for Hellenistic kings or Roman emperors (ch. 2 pp. 32-6). Thus the sacrifices included in the divine honours whose propriety was allegedly debated at the court of Alexander were not heroic but divine.<sup>11</sup> However, within this category of sacrifices a crucial distinction existed between sacrifices 'to' and sacrifices 'on behalf of the emperor'. Philo, who went on an embassy of Alexandrian Jews to the emperor Gaius, says that, when they finally succeeded in gaining an audience with Gaius in connection with the troubles in Alexandria, they were greeted by an emperor who accused the Jews of being god-haters who refused to acknowledge his divinity.<sup>12</sup> The opposing embassy of Alexandrian Greeks then accused the Jews of not having offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for Gaius. The Jews denied this vehemently, pointing out that they had done so three times.

'All right', Gaius replied, 'that's as may be, you have sacrificed, but to another, even if it was on my behalf. What good is that if you have not sacrificed to me?'

The problems of the source, which is the only one to make this distinction explicitly, are obvious: the Jewish Philo may have been

<sup>9</sup> Von Fritze (1910) 76-7, pl. 8, 15; below pp. 214-15.

<sup>10</sup> Above n. 5. On choirs see ch. 4 n. 43.

<sup>11</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* IV 11, 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Legatio* 349-67, esp. 357.

more sensitive to religious nuances than the Greeks, while Gaius was hardly a typical emperor. But the distinction is in fact latent elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> Sacrifices were never made on behalf of the gods, with one exception,<sup>14</sup> and literary sources sometimes make it clear that to sacrifice to a man was to treat him as a god.<sup>15</sup> The distinction is also crucially presupposed by imperial pronouncements on sacrifices, for, according to one historian, Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius all prohibited sacrifices to themselves (or their *tyche*), though Gaius of course later reversed his policy.<sup>16</sup>

This distinction was clearly important at a very obvious level but I want to go on to argue that there was a whole range of nuances and hesitations about the closeness of the emperor to the gods, which we can approach by a careful study of the language used to describe such sacrifices. The emphasis is in general on sacrifices on behalf of the emperor. Thus a contemporary could imagine that 'the whole world sacrifices and prays on behalf of the emperor's eternal duration and unconquered rule'.<sup>17</sup> I want to explore in some detail the contexts in which these sacrifices were performed in order to prove the importance of the sacrifices and to show how they served to modify the divine honours, before moving on to other types of imperial sacrifices.

## I SACRIFICES FOR THE EMPEROR

The fullest description of, or rather prescription for, a local imperial festival is provided by an inscription from Gytheum near Sparta, which is often felt to be a perfect example of imperial divine honours.<sup>18</sup> A procession made its way from the temple of Asclepius and Hygeia, the gods of health, to the imperial shrine. A bull was sacrificed there, but this was not, as one might have expected, to the emperor but 'on behalf of the safety of the rulers and gods and the eternal duration of their rule', that is on behalf of the emperors past and present.<sup>19</sup> Another sacrifice was offered in the main square, and

<sup>13</sup> Nilsson (1961) 116-17, 141, followed by Cerfaux, Tondriau (1957) 413, denies this but his evidence is otherwise explicable (below pp. 224-5).

<sup>14</sup> Nilsson (1961) 182 and below p. 229.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. Plutarch, *Lysander* 18; Dio XLIV 51, 1; Appian, *BC* I 17; *SHA Comm. Ant.* 9, 2.

<sup>16</sup> Dio LVIII 8, 4 (cf. LVIII 7, 2; LVIII 11, 2); LIX 4, 4 (cf. LIX 26, 10); LX 5, 4.

<sup>17</sup> *IGR* IV 1398 (Smyrna).

<sup>18</sup> *SEG* XI 923 with Rostovetzeff (1930). Also S. Eitrem, *SO* 10 (1932) 43-8, but see Robert (1960) 318 n. 1. Cf. ch. 3 p. 72, ch. 5 p. 111.

<sup>19</sup> Nilsson (1961) 387-8 takes the *theoi* as the gods but line 18 rules this out.

from there, probably, the procession passed to the theatre, where sacrifices of incense were made in front of the images of Augustus, Livia and Tiberius which had been placed there. The format was comparable to the Roman *lectisternium* in which the people besought the gods for their favour; but in fact the sacrifices were again offered on behalf of the preservation of the rulers. Thus one can see that the temple of Asclepius and Hygeia may have been chosen as the starting point of the procession to symbolize the fact that the purpose of the festival was to secure the health and long rule of the emperors. It is clear that no sacrifice was actually offered to the emperor at this festival in spite of the divine framework in which it was set.

Though the officials who performed the sacrifices at Gytheum were general civic ones (the priest of Augustus not taking part in the ceremonies), priests of the emperor are very widely attested (map iv), and one might have expected that they, like priests of the gods, would have sacrificed to the emperor whom they served. Unfortunately, evidence for their religious functions is scanty, as the priests are mainly attested through honorary inscriptions which merely record their office, but when their ritual functions are revealed these are rather surprising. In only one instance is a sacrifice to the emperor known to have been performed by an imperial priest.<sup>20</sup> In all the other cases their sacrifices were on behalf of the emperor. For instance a high priest of the emperors at Aphrodisias 'sacrificed to the ancestral gods, offering prayers himself on behalf of the health, safety and eternal duration of their rule'.<sup>21</sup> In the same city a woman who held, among other offices, a priesthood of the emperors 'sacrificed throughout all the years on behalf of the health of the emperors'.<sup>22</sup> It is of course possible that these imperial priests also performed sacrifices to the emperor but the mere attestation of their sacrifices 'on behalf of' the emperor demonstrates that these were considered to be their most important duties and may have been their only ones.

This suggestion is supported by the existence of an official in the imperial cult called the *prothytes*. (The word is derived from *pro* 'for/before' and *thytes* 'sacrificer'.) In various places we hear of a *prothytes* of the emperor,<sup>23</sup> a *prothytes* 'of the divine emperor and of the priests of the city'<sup>24</sup> and a man who *prothysas* 'of the imperial

<sup>20</sup> Maiuri no. 462 (Cos).

<sup>21</sup> REG 19 (1906) 100, no. 14.

<sup>22</sup> MAMA viii 492b. Cf. also Habicht, *Alt. von Perg.* viii 3, pp. 164-5, and Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 20ff., esp. 33-5 = LSAM 28 (Teos) where the priest of Tiberius may have sacrificed on behalf of Tiberius to Dionysus.

<sup>23</sup> SEG II 717-18 (Pednelissus?).

<sup>24</sup> IG XII 2, 484 = IGR IV 116 (Lesbos).



images'.<sup>25</sup> The only other known *prothytes* may also have served the imperial cult.<sup>26</sup> The prefix *pro-* can indicate priority, the right of first sacrifice, or location, sacrifice in front of the images.<sup>27</sup> But it is difficult to see, if either of these meanings applies, why there was an official called a *prothytes* and why he appeared only in the imperial cult. A better explanation is that the *prothytes* sacrificed on behalf of the emperor, which is another standard meaning for the verb *prothyo*.<sup>28</sup> One explanation of this office is that sacrifices on behalf of the emperor were so rare and strange that a specially named official had to be devised for them, but this explanation fails to account for the fact that such sacrifices were certainly performed by standard imperial priests. It is preferable to argue that the existence of this office, though it is found only infrequently, demonstrates the importance of sacrifices on behalf of the emperor. Their power to generate this office supports the idea that some at least of the other imperial priests only performed sacrifices on behalf of the emperor.

Imperial priests then, despite the expectations which they arouse in us, prove to have a different function from priests of the gods. It is clear also that the massively attested imperial festivals, in spite of being modelled upon divine festivals, did not necessarily include sacrifices to the honorand, though our evidence makes it difficult to generalize. We have already seen the problems of interpreting the titulature of festivals which honour both god and emperor (ch. 5 pp. 103–4). Though the joint name *prima facie* implies equality between the old god and the emperor, it would be rash to assume that sacrifices were made to both. Practice may have varied even at one festival. The sacrifices at the Sebasta Tyrimnea in one case were made only to the god, that is Tyrimnus, but in another the prayers and sacrifices were offered 'to the god and the lord emperors'.<sup>29</sup> At imperial festivals proper the sacrifices were sometimes only offered on behalf of the emperor, as by the youth at Athens and, presumably, in a festival at Chios.<sup>30</sup>

An analysis of the standard imperial celebrations also indicates the predominance of sacrifices on behalf of the emperor. At the accession

<sup>25</sup> IGR iv 371. *Pro[th]ysas...ton theion eikonon* (Adada).

<sup>26</sup> BCH 24 (1900) 386 no. 41 (Nicaea). Cf. Robert (1960) 324 n. 4 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 840 n. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Casabona (1966) 103–8. Habicht, *Alt. von Perg.* VIII 3, 142 n. 1, and Pleket, *Talanta* 2 (1970) 72 n. 39, take IGR iv 371 as locational but this does not account for the other examples.

<sup>28</sup> As Casabona shows.

<sup>29</sup> IGR iv 1270, 1273 (Thyatira) with Robert, *Hell.* VI (1948) 47, 72–9, who notes that the formula differs in the two cases.

<sup>30</sup> Oliver (1971); ch. 3 n. 33. Cf. also IGR iv 1272 (Thyatira); LBW 1620c = Reynolds (1982) no. 59; Reynolds (1982) no. 17 (Aphrodisias) and pp. 210–11, 226.

of a new emperor the language that was used often assimilated the accession to the appearance of a new god: the emperor was a new sun that had risen.<sup>31</sup> This is important but the ritual seems to have been more cautious, with the sacrifices being offered in thanksgiving to the gods rather than to the emperor. Thus the emperors Decius and Herennius thanked Aphrodisias for performing sacrifices and prayers (to the gods) at the beginning of their rule.<sup>32</sup> The Ephesians decided to express their joy at the accession of Antoninus Pius by celebrating his birthday by a festival; he had received the empire in accordance with the prayers of the whole world and the Ephesians wanted as far as possible to requite the benefactions received from the gods (ch. 3 n. 15). The sacrifices which are mentioned will presumably have been to the gods. The celebrations at Athens for the accession of Geta, though they are less clear, may have included a sacrifice to the imperial house, but not to Geta himself.<sup>33</sup>

Much the same is true of the arrival of the emperor in a provincial city as of his arrival at the throne. Magistrates would recall the day of their glory on which they displayed their munificence,<sup>34</sup> while the city might decide to commemorate the day in perpetuity, perhaps with a festival.<sup>35</sup> The details of the ritual at the actual arrival of the emperor in a Greek city are slightly obscure, but such evidence as there is conforms to a pattern known from the Hellenistic period and from other parts of the Roman empire (ch. 7 n. 181). The emperor might be greeted by the citizens carrying the images of the gods and sacrifices were made to the gods themselves. Indeed the emperor himself is shown sacrificing in front of the chief civic temple on coins that were issued in celebration of an imperial visit (Pl. 3e).<sup>36</sup> While this ceremonial is a good illustration of the basic ideology of imperial power, we should note that in no case is it known that sacrifices were made to the emperor at his arrival.<sup>37</sup> Language sometimes assimilated the emperor to a god, but ritual held back.

<sup>31</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 797 = *IGR* iv 251 = *I. Assos* 26; *IG* vii 2711 = *ILS* 8792 (Acraephia); Pfister, *RE* Supp. iv (1924) 310; G. Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander* (1964) 97-9.

<sup>32</sup> *MAMA* viii 424 = Reynolds (1982) no. 25.

<sup>33</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1077 = *Hesperia* Supp. xiii (1970) 109, no. 23. Cf. also *I. Ephesos* iv 1393 (birthday of Augustus).

<sup>34</sup> *I. Ephesos* iii 728, *Forsch. in Eph.* iii 72 = *I. Ephesos* vii 1, 3072; *IGR* iii 208 (Ancyra); cf. *I. Didyma* 356.

<sup>35</sup> *F. Delphes* iii 4, 3, 307; *I. Didyma* 254. *IGR* iv 1542 = *I. Erythrae* 60.

<sup>36</sup> Such coin types, which run from Caracalla to Valerian, can all be associated with a known imperial visit to Asia Minor (e.g. Price, Trell (1977) figs. 226, 439 (Caracalla), 406-7 (Valerian)).

<sup>37</sup> The iconographical arguments to the contrary of I. S. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (1955) 134-40, 160-2, are not convincing; see Veyne (1961) 230-56 and R. Turcan, *ANRW* ii 16. 2 (1978) 1039.

The most important imperial events in the course of the reign were marked by sacrifices to the gods, whether the news was of imperial victories or other matters.<sup>38</sup> At Eresus the news of the safety and victory of Augustus led to sacrifices to all the gods and goddesses (Cat. no. 5). Our source, an inscription, also records, in a fragmentary context, sacrifices on behalf of the emperor. That these were the only sacrifices to which reference survives is surprising because they were performed by a patriotic local citizen who was responsible for establishing a whole series of imperial temples and sanctuaries. At Sardis the inhabitants decided to commemorate the coming of age of Augustus' son Gaius Caesar with sacrifices to the gods and prayers on behalf of his safety.<sup>39</sup> They also decided to dedicate a cult statue of him in his father's temple and to offer sacrifices to the gods in the future on the anniversary of the day on which the good news came and the decree was passed. There is no sign that sacrifices were offered to Gaius Caesar himself or to Augustus despite the fact that a cult statue had been dedicated and that the Sardians had noted that 'all people are pleased at the sight of prayers being raised to Augustus on behalf of his children'. There are other cases of the celebration of particular imperial events, but the interest of these two examples is the way that sacrifices on behalf of rather than to the emperor appear even in contexts which would otherwise have implied his divinity. These sacrifices perform interesting and important modifications of the ritual structure.

Another regular occasion for sacrifice in an imperial context was that of the annual vows to the gods undertaken on the emperor's behalf.<sup>40</sup> We have evidence for them both from Rome and from various provinces. But the days for prayers which are attested in Asia Minor and which have been associated with these vows may simply be the occasion of prayers for benefactors such as are well attested.<sup>41</sup> There is however some numismatic evidence. Coins of Ephesus dating from the early third century show a sacrifice in front of an imperial

<sup>38</sup> Millar (1977) 416; Robert, *Laodicée* 273-5. Cf. sacrifices on behalf of the emperor by embassies on the Capitol, *IGR* IV 33, 251, 1028, 1124.

<sup>39</sup> Cat. no. 56, lines 6-21. Cf. ch. 5 p. 112 and *Ath. Mitt.* 75 (1960) 70, no. 1 (Samos).

<sup>40</sup> J. M. Reynolds, *PBSR* 30 (1962) 33-6; 33 (1965) 52-4; L. Mărghită, C. C. Petolescu, *JRS* 66 (1976) 84-6. Note also Aelius Aristides, *Or.* I 26 (with a suggested reading by C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (1968) 63 n. 14, 104, 283 n. 79).

<sup>41</sup> *IGR* IV 915c (Cibyra); *IGR* IV 1302 = *I. Kyme* 19, 31. For benefactors see *IGR* IV 293a II 23-4 (Pergamum); *BCH* (1900) 415, no. 112 with Robert, *BCH* 52 (1928) 412-13 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 883-4 (Bithynia); *BCH* 7 (1883) 485 = *SGDI* III 3501 (Cnidus); *I. Kyme* 13.

temple (Pl. 3a; Cat. no. 36). A group of worshippers is standing in front of the temple with their right arms raised in acclamation. In their midst there is a garlanded altar with a flame burning and also an ox ready for sacrifice. But in the pediment of the temple is visible a transcription into Greek of the Latin word *vota* (vows). In Rome vows were made annually to the gods to protect the emperors for the coming year. The use of this transcription here, which does not appear again before the sixth century,<sup>42</sup> indicates that the traditional function of the temple has been modified. The temple was used for sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the emperor.

## II SOME AMBIGUITIES

So far something has been shown of the fundamental importance of sacrifices on behalf of the emperor, even in contexts where other forms of sacrifice might have been expected. This avoidance of treating the emperor exactly as a god also finds expression in the deliberate blurring of the boundaries between the types of sacrifice. Some inscriptions simply say that the sacrifices were 'of' the emperor and thus do not specify the relationship between emperor and god.<sup>43</sup> Though sacrifices involving the gods alone can be described in the same manner, the phrasing may still be significant. Certainly in many cases the formulae of sacrifices 'on behalf of' the emperor do not specify to which if any of the gods sacrifice was actually made. This might be because the particular god was too obvious to need stating in the context of a particular festival. Or the sacrifice might have been made to the gods in general, a procedure which was possible and which was again likely to drop out of the description.<sup>44</sup> But a third possibility is that this was a way of evading precision as to the relationship between the emperor and the gods. However, even where the gods are mentioned, it was still possible to make the sacrifices ambiguous. Sacrifices were made 'to' the gods and the Sebastoi 'on behalf of' the eternal perpetuation and security of their house.<sup>45</sup> As the Sebastoi, the emperors collectively, include the living emperor, this sacrifice to the Sebastoi on behalf of their house necessarily involves an ambiguity between the two types of sacrificial

<sup>42</sup> John Lydus, *de Mens.* iv 10; J. Maspero, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine* i 67057, 32. S. Karwiese, *RE* Supp. xii (1970) 247, curiously refers the term to the temple.

<sup>43</sup> *IGR* iv 1615 (Philadelphia); *BCH* 10 (1886) 420, no. 28 (Selendi); *SEG* xxiii 208 (Messene); nn. 5, 105.

<sup>44</sup> F. Jacobi, Πάντες θεοί (Diss. Halle, 1930); K. Ziegler, 'Pantheon', *RE* xviii 3 (1949) 697. Sacrifice to 'the gods' was certainly the standard profession in the Decian persecution (below, n. 96).  
<sup>45</sup> *BCH* 11 (1887) 306 (Cys).

act. The ambiguity becomes a direct contravention when annual sacrifices were made to Artemis and to Commodus 'on behalf of his eternal continuance'.<sup>46</sup> Emphasis is again given to the ambiguous status of the emperor.

### III SACRIFICES TO THE EMPEROR?

Sacrifices were also made to the emperor, but these were less common than the sacrifices already discussed and they too could be made ambiguous in certain contexts. There were occasional sacrifices to the living emperor alone,<sup>47</sup> but sacrifices, in accordance with the emphasis of the Greek system on the ruling emperor, were not instituted to the deceased emperor alone. There were, however, sacrifices to the Sebastoi, on their own or with the gods, even on an imperial birthday when one expects that the living emperor would have been the focus of attention.<sup>48</sup> The Sebastoi seem to have served as an important way of avoiding the bluntness of direct sacrifice to the emperor himself. The path could also be smoothed by the collocation of god and emperor, which permitted important nuances of gradation between the recipients.<sup>49</sup>

The number of direct sacrifices might, however, be increased by the evidence of the large number of imperial altars (ch. 5 n. 74). Most of these were dedicated to Hadrian, with Augustus and the Sebastoi coming in second and third places. It would, however, be dangerous to assume that sacrifices were made to the dedicands inscribed on the stone, any more than a building dedicated to the emperor necessarily had an imperial function. Certainly on one altar, which was dedicated jointly to the Olympian gods and the emperor, it was a sacrifice on behalf of the emperor that was recorded.<sup>50</sup> Though a joint dedication of this sort is different from a dedication to the emperor alone, it does help to cast some doubt on the use of the other imperial

<sup>46</sup> *Forsch. in Eph.* II 20 = Oliver (1941) no. 12 = *I. Ephesos* 1a 26.

<sup>47</sup> *IBM* 892, 28–32 (Halicarnassus, Augustus and Gaius (?) Caesar); ch. 3 n. 32 (Tlos, Livia); pp. 217–19 (Mytilene, Augustus); *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 10 (1982) 166, lines 40–5 (Cyme, Augustus and sons). *IGBulg* 1<sup>2</sup> 224 (Odessus, Augustus) is frustratingly fragmentary.

<sup>48</sup> *IGR* IV 1608 (Sebastoi theoi, restored); *SEG* IV 521 = *I. Ephesos* III 719 (Asclepius and Sebastoi); *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 820 = *I. Ephesos* II 213 (Demeter and divine Sebastoi); *BCH* 9 (1885) 336 no. 19 = Robert, *La Carie* 170, no. 58 (Heraclea Salbace, ancestral gods and Sebastoi); Maiuri no. 462 (Cos, Sebastoi and other gods); *IG* VII 2712 (Acraephia, Sebastoi alone or with gods) with Oliver (1971) 225–36; nn. 29, 54.

<sup>49</sup> *SEG* XV 330 (Acraephia).

<sup>50</sup> *SEG* XXV 680. For subtleties in dedications see Veyne (1962).

altars. However, if sacrifices were generally made to the dedicands the picture has to be slightly altered for the reigns of Hadrian and Augustus.

A picture of a direct imperial sacrifice emerges from the long and detailed regulations for the games in honour of Augustus at Naples, which specify that the competitors and officials were to process on the day of the games to the imperial sanctuary and were to sacrifice to Augustus.<sup>51</sup> It has been argued that the second part of the festival, which included this sacrifice along with the musical and dramatic competitions, was added only after the death of Augustus.<sup>52</sup> It is true that this part of the festival is not heard of before then, but this may be chance and little weight should be given to the traditional argument that Augustus was not worshipped in Italy in his own lifetime.<sup>53</sup> The fullest account of direct imperial sacrifices comes from Athens and dates from the late second century (ch. 3 n. 32). The inscription is fragmentary, and the alleged sacrifices to Julia Domna Athena Polias are based on an uncertain restoration which relies on the assumption that piety towards Julia Domna, with which the text is concerned, could be shown by sacrifices to Athena Polias only if the two were identified.<sup>54</sup> But there were certainly sacrifices to her as 'mother of the camps', her official title, on the first day of the Roman year. The priestess of Athena Polias was to preside over the sacrifices and was to receive part of the meat as her honorarium, which is an important indication of care for the traditional forms of sacrifice at this late date and in this context (cf. p. 229). It may, however, not be accidental that the sacrifices concerned not an emperor but an imperial woman. The power of such women as Julia Domna and Livia (n. 46) may have seemed anomalous to the Greek city and even more difficult than that of the emperor to accommodate.

The way in which the imperial cult could be very closely based upon a pre-existing cult of a god, resulting in direct sacrifices, is seen very clearly in a regrettably fragmentary text from Mytilene.<sup>55</sup> Quadrennial games in honour of Augustus were founded towards the beginning of his reign, with prizes for victors to be as laid down in the law relating to the cult of Zeus. There were to be annual sacrifices

<sup>51</sup> Ch. 5 n. 68. Cf. *REG* 17 (1904) 212-13 = *AE* (1904) 224 with *SEG* vi 837 (Cerynia).

<sup>52</sup> R. M. Geer, *TAPhA* 66 (1935) 208-21.

<sup>53</sup> Note the *immolatio Caesaris* at Cumae, *ILS* 108 = *Inscr. Italiae* xiii 2, 44 and see ch. 6 p. 143.

<sup>54</sup> See below n. 119 and also *SEG* vii 825 = *I. Gerasa* 192.

<sup>55</sup> *OGIS* 456 = *IGR* iv 39.

at the temple of Augustus and perhaps at that of Zeus. On Augustus' monthly birthday he was to be offered the same sacrifices as were offered to Zeus. The Mytileneans promised that if any more distinguished honours were later discovered their zeal and piety would not fail to carry out anything which further deified (*theopoiein*) Augustus. It would seem that here at least the conventional wisdom is correct that Augustus was 'an unquestioned god'.

There is, however, one crucial way in which the sacrificial ritual was probably adapted for Augustus. Precise regulations were laid down concerning the sacrificial animals which were to be raised by various officials, but unfortunately the text is fragmentary and difficult to interpret. The vital adjective concerning the animals, *ephēliomenous*, occurs only here but the philologists suggest that it comes from *ephēlis* and means speckled or marked in some fashion.<sup>56</sup> One has to assume a stone-cutter's error or a change of pronunciation over the second syllable. The only alternative is a derivation from *hēlikia*, youthfulness. But this raises exactly the same problem over the second syllable and further conflicts in sense with the demand that the animals should be as large as possible.

If then the word is derived from *ephēlis*, as the philologists propose, the animals were clearly characterized by their markings. It was standard practice to offer white victims to Olympian deities and dark ones to chthonic deities, heroes and the dead, and one might think that the Mytileneans were playing with these two categories.<sup>57</sup> There is certainly other evidence to show the use of sacrifice to express the complex nature of a deity. Two victims, for example, were sacrificed to Achilles, one white, one black, which relates to the ambiguous status of Achilles between human and divine.<sup>58</sup> If the victims at Mytilene were mottled it would mean that fundamental doubts were being expressed about the fully Olympian nature of Augustus. However there is no parallel for the use of mottled animals for sacrifice in the Graeco-Roman world and the public institutionalization of this uncertainty is surprising and very difficult to reconcile with the overt parallelism of the ritual and the expressed intention of the Mytileneans to deify Augustus as much as possible.

Another meaning can, however, be ascribed to *ephēliomenous*, which

<sup>56</sup> Dittenberger *ad loc.*; P. Chantraine, *Dict. étym. de la langue grecque* (1968) 390; LSJ Supp. (1968); H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* III (1972) 97.

<sup>57</sup> P. Stengel, 'Die Farbe der Opfertiere', *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (1910) 187; Stengel (1920) 151-2; K. Krause, *RE* Supp. V (1931) 244-6; Ziehen, *RE* XVIII (1939) 594; E. Kadletz, *Animal Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religion* (Diss. Univ. Washington, Seattle, 1976).

<sup>58</sup> Philostratus, *Heroikos* XIX p. 741.

is suggested by parallels for animal markings. If one goes back to the archaic sacrifices to the Grabovian triad recorded in the Iguvine tablets from Umbria one finds that the third member of the triad, Vofionus, received sacrificial bulls with a white mark on the forehead.<sup>59</sup> Because of the obscurity of the deity the purport of this is not clear except that the sacrifices served to distinguish him from the other two. Another parallel appears in an ode of Horace (IV 2) where the poet elegantly refuses to write a poem in honour of Augustus, but promises to join in the celebrations at his return and to fulfil his vow by sacrificing a dun calf with a white spot on its brow.<sup>60</sup> It is particularly interesting to find this use of colour markings in the context of imperial sacrifices, and this suggests that at Mytilene too the animals were marked on the brow to distinguish them from ordinary sacrifices to the gods.

Other means might be employed to mark off direct sacrifices from a certain range of sacrifices to the gods. There seems to be no instance where the middle rather than the active voice of the verb to sacrifice was used, and this linguistic fact is itself of interest as the middle voice stresses the possible benefits to be gained from the sacrifices.<sup>61</sup> This may, however, not be of great weight as the middle seems in general to be rare in inscriptions, which tend to stress the objective nature of the relationship centring around the sacrificial act. But it is not an accident that there are no cases of sacrifices to the emperor on behalf of anything or anyone else, with the exception of the two anomalous cases already discussed (pp. 215–16) where they are in fact ultimately in favour of the emperor himself. The point is that the sacrifices were carefully limited to one of the types of divine sacrifice whose classification is given by Porphyry in the third century A.D., drawing on Theophrastus' work 'On Piety'.<sup>62</sup> This is the only ancient classification of divine sacrifices and it should be noted that both authors hold revisionist views on the importance of animal sacrifices, but this particular passage does not seem polemical. Porphyry explains that there are three reasons for sacrificing to the gods, in order to honour them (*dia timen*), to express gratitude to them (*dia charin*), or in order to obtain some benefits (*dia chreian ton agathon*).

<sup>59</sup> I A 20, VI B 19 with J. W. Poultney, *The Bronze Tablets of Iguvium* (1959) 240, 259–60, 308.

<sup>60</sup> Krause, *RE Supp.* v (1931) 246, claims that this is merely an echo of Moschus II 84ff. but the context, the rape of Europa, does not encourage this.

<sup>61</sup> P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (1910) 9–12; Casabona (1966) 85–94.

<sup>62</sup> *De abstinencia* II 24 (Budé) = W. Pötscher, *Theophrastos Περὶ Εὐσεβείας* (1964) fr. 12, lines 42–4. On sources see also E. Forster, *Die antiken Ansichten über das Opferwesen* (Diss. Innsbruck, 1952). Cf. also Iamblichus, *De myst.* v 5ff.



In practice it is difficult to find sacrifices described on inscriptions as being offered in thanksgiving,<sup>63</sup> though there are many literary passages.<sup>64</sup> The reason is the range of ways that gratitude could be expressed to the gods. There was in practice no clear-cut distinction between honour and gratitude, though petitionary sacrifices were clearly distinct. It is from this category that sacrifices to the emperor were excluded by the fact that they were not performed on behalf of anything or 'in order to obtain some benefits'.

The omission of any such petitionary requests tended to sharpen the focus of the honours on the emperor alone and to leave unstated the relationship between subject and ruler. Similarly the types of inscription relating to sacrifice which simply said that they were 'of' or 'on behalf of' the emperor failed to specify the relationship between the emperor and the gods. These two tendencies combined to produce a largely autonomous system centred on the emperor. In the Roman world there was no problem with straightforward sacrifices to the officially deified emperor. The crucial difference from the Greek situation is that the category of *divus* emerged to distinguish emperor from gods (*deus*) and mortals, and within that category direct sacrifices were unproblematic. In the Greek world, however, the offering of such sacrifices remained a troublesome activity because of the failure to create a clear intermediate category for the emperor between human and divine. In Greece, as also in Rome, where no clear relationship was established between the categories of *deus* and *divus*, the institution of the imperial cult produced a system whose relationship to both gods and men was ambiguous.<sup>65</sup>

#### IV SACRIFICES AND THE CHRISTIANS

In the light of this evidence on the standard practices of imperial sacrifices it is of some interest to see their operation in the context of the early Christians. Their forerunners, the Jews, were, as we have seen, happy to sacrifice on behalf of the emperor as they had on behalf of earlier rulers.<sup>66</sup> The Jewish system of sacrifice easily accommodated the emperor, so long as he was not Gaius, until, that is, the start of

<sup>63</sup> *IGR* iv 292, 17 (Pergamum); *IGR* iv 566 (Aezani).

<sup>64</sup> E.g. Homer, *Odyssey* 3, 178-9; Polybius v 14, 8; Diodorus Siculus xx 76; Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* v 12-15. See Versnel (1981) 42-62 on expressions of 'gratitude'.

<sup>65</sup> See *ILS* 112 where a vow was made to the *numen* of Augustus on behalf of Augustus, thus excluding the gods.

<sup>66</sup> E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar) i 486, ii 360-2.

the great revolt from Rome in A.D. 66 was symbolized by the cessation of such sacrifices. For Christians, however, the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross had in principle totally superseded the Jewish sacrifices and the only possible sacrifice was the repetition of this ultimate sacrifice in the form of the eucharist. This resulted in real problems for Christians in their contacts with pagan sacrifices. They were happy to pray for the state but not to sacrifice for, let alone to, the emperor.<sup>67</sup> It was this rejection of the contemporary sacrificial system which was one of the major reasons behind the persecution of the Christians, which I propose to examine briefly.

In the persecutions of the Christians the cult of the emperor was less important than the cult of the gods.<sup>68</sup> Emperors and others were mostly concerned to enforce sacrifices to the gods. These sacrifices might be made on behalf of the emperor, but it was only exceptionally that sacrifices to the emperor were demanded. There are in fact among the genuine martyr acts only four references to such demands. In two of these cases the imperial sacrifice is required as a lesser alternative after the Christian had refused to sacrifice to the gods.<sup>69</sup> It is recognized as different in kind. One of these Christians gave as his reason for refusing to sacrifice even to the emperor that the emperor was merely a man; the Christian was aware that to sacrifice to the emperor was to imply that he was a god and he refused to let the conflict with the humanity of the emperor remain latent. His persecutor, however, had carefully avoided the problem by offering the sacrifice to the emperor as a lesser alternative, thus attempting to draw a distinction between two types of direct sacrifices. The other sacrifices involving the emperor are either on his behalf (*pro salute*) or involve an imperial acclamation, or are directed towards his image. The use of the image is very interesting as it allowed a distinction between sacrifice to the gods and to the emperor. This is visible in the earliest evidence, the letter of a provincial governor, Pliny, to Trajan, where Pliny says that he ordered the accused to call on the gods and to supplicate Trajan's image with incense and wine, the image (*imago*) having been brought in specially and placed among the cult statues (*simulacra*) of the gods.<sup>70</sup> The differentiation of

<sup>67</sup> Schürer II 362 n. 83. Cf. L. Biehl, 'Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich', *Veröff. der Görres-Gesellschaft, Rechts- und Staatwiss. Abt.* 75 (1937).

<sup>68</sup> Millar (1973). Texts in R. Knopf, G. Krüger, G. Ruhbach, *Ausgewählte Martyrerakten*<sup>4</sup> (1965), and, less reliably, H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (1972).

<sup>69</sup> *Acta Pionii* 8; Eusebius, *Mart. Pal.* I 1 (Syriac). The other cases are Eusebius, *Mart. Pal.* I 54 (Syriac) and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VII 15.

<sup>70</sup> Pliny, *Letters* X 96, 5-6.

terminology is here vitally important. Similarly Apollonius was told to sacrifice to the gods and to the image (*eikon*) of the emperor (§7). Pionius drew the same distinction when he stated that 'we do not worship your gods and we do not venerate the image of gold' (§5). This 'image of gold' is a reference to the story in the Book of Daniel of the three youths who refused to venerate the image set up by Nebuchadnezzar, which was, later at least, taken to be an image of the king (Pl. 1c; cf. ch. 7 p. 199). The imperial image, perceived in biblical terms, is clearly distinguished from that of the gods, and seems to take on some importance independent of the emperor himself.

So in the context of the persecutions there were again various ways of distinguishing the emperor from the gods, by sacrificing to the gods on his behalf, by sacrificing to his image or by maintaining a difference in significance between sacrifices to the gods and sacrifices to the emperor. The difficulty with using the Christian martyr acts as an historical source has always been to know what degree of warp has taken place in the shift to a Christian context. The implication of my brief reconsideration of this aspect of the martyr acts is that very little has been changed. In this interaction between the two sacrificial systems it is interesting to see that the supporters of the old system were perfectly aware of the importance of drawing distinctions between the emperor and the gods, but it took the Christians whose understanding had been sharpened by their transvaluation of sacrifice to insist on some degree of logical systematization.

## V HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

I have so far treated these imperial sacrifices in the Greek world in isolation from their historical context. I wish now to locate them at the end of a development which may be discerned in the course of the Hellenistic period and then to discuss the possible influence of Rome on Greek practice. When ruler cult began, there were considerable uncertainties about the propriety of treating humans as gods. General accusations of impiety were levelled against promoters of cults (ch. 2 n. 23) and this hostility might be focussed in particular on the offering of sacrifices to mortals.<sup>71</sup> These objections to ruler cult are hardly surprising. Not only was the efflorescence of divine ruler cult at the end of the fourth century largely unprecedented, but the

<sup>71</sup> Hypereides, *Epitaphios* col. viii, with Bickerman (1963). Note the accusation levelled against Aristotle that he had divinized one Hermias and offered divine sacrifices to him (E. Derenne, *Les procès d'impiété...* (1930) 188-98).

cults themselves at the outset went further than they did later. Ambassadors to the king could initially be called *theoroi*, the technical term for envoys to a god, though this was not formalized and is never found in epigraphical sources.<sup>72</sup> The cult of King Demetrius at Athens was extremely elaborate, and a hymn sung to him even included a denigration of the gods, which is again not found later in the ruler cult (ch. 2 p. 38). In the sphere of sacrifice the number of references to direct sacrifice to specific, living Hellenistic kings is very striking in comparison with the Roman material. I have noted a dozen or more epigraphical examples, in addition to passages from literature, which extend from the late fourth century B.C. through to the early second and even, for the Attalids of Pergamum, to the first century B.C.<sup>73</sup> Great care could be given to the forms of the sacrifices, as with the sacrifices to Arsinoe Philadelphus at Alexandria in which the assimilation of Arsinoe to Aphrodite of the Sea was articulated through the injunction of altars of sand, while an identification with Aphrodite Pandemos, a goddess associated with sexual intercourse, was excluded by the prohibition of the sacrifice of goats, male or female.<sup>74</sup> Not only are there more direct sacrifices in the Hellenistic period, but some of the sacrifices, unlike the imperial ones, were directed towards the king on behalf of the city or other institution.<sup>75</sup> One does not want to exaggerate the contrast because it is clear that direct sacrifices were compatible with an awareness that the king was being thanked for the political and economic benefits he had bestowed on the city.<sup>76</sup> But it is important that changes in royal sacrifices seem to have taken place in the course of the Hellenistic period.

This is traceable in the context of a single city, Athens, where the initial sacrifices at the end of the fourth century to the Macedonian

<sup>72</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* vii 23, 2; Plutarch, *Demetrius* 11, who also claims that the Athenians passed a decree to consult Demetrius as an oracle on the restoration of dedicatory offerings (§13).

<sup>73</sup> Refs. in Habicht (1970) 138–9. Add *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 390 (Nesiotai); Durrbach, *Choix* 21 (Delos); *SEG* I 366 (Samos); *F. Delphes* III 4, 4, 357 and *Hesperia* Supp. xvii (1978) lines 55–64 and pp. 33–5 (Athens) for cult of Ptolemy I at Alexandria; *P. Oxy.* 2465 for Arsinoe (below n. 74); *Chiron* 5 (1975) 59 (near Denizli); *IG* XII Supp. 122 (Eresus); Antiochus III at Teos (ch. 2 n. 27) and Iasos (*Annuario* 45–6 (1967–8) 445, no. 2, with esp. *BE* (1971) 621; *OGIS* 305; *IGR* iv 293b, 7–9 and 294, 19–20, 39, 47–8 (Pergamum, with C. P. Jones (1974)); *I. Cos* 35 (Nicomedes I?); Polybius xviii 16, 1 (Attalus, Sicyon).

<sup>74</sup> Robert (1966) esp. 196–202.

<sup>75</sup> *SEG* xxv 141 (Athens); *SEG* ix 5 (Cyrene). However Plutarch, *Aristides* 19, 8 and *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 398, 20 show, against Kirchner ad *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2086, that such sacrifices could be retrospective rather than petitionary.

<sup>76</sup> Ch. 2 n. 27 esp. II 9–63.

rulers were to them as saviours (*Soteres*).<sup>77</sup> These continued through into the 230s, but later sacrifices that were instituted for the Macedonian king Antigonos were all on his behalf.<sup>78</sup> When the final break with Macedon came, this second class of inscriptions was erased and in place of sacrifices on behalf of Antigonos curses were called down on him, a perfect inversion.<sup>79</sup>

This shift can be detected more generally, firstly in the emergence of ambiguities. One of the late fourth-century Athenian inscriptions seems to prescribe sacrifices both on behalf of the Macedonians Antigonos and Demetrius and to Demetrius Saviour.<sup>80</sup> The restoration is not secure, but it is presumably significant that the direct sacrifices characterized Demetrius with a title often applied to the gods. But apart from this and one case in the 260s,<sup>81</sup> the next cases of ambiguity do not come until the second century B.C. Thus at Cyrene, in North Africa a Ptolemaic festival in the late second or early first century B.C. included two separate sets of sacrifices.<sup>82</sup> One set was on behalf of Ptolemy and his family giving thanks for benefits received. The other was to the king and his family, to each the customary sacrifices, on behalf of the city. By the second century festivals named after the ruler need not include sacrifices to him. Festivals at Delphi in honour of two kings of Pergamum, the Attaleia and the Eumeneia, had sacrifices only on behalf of the kings.<sup>83</sup> Similarly festivals of Roma had sacrifices not to Roma but on behalf of the Romans, and there were other important sacrifices on behalf of the Romans.<sup>84</sup> Two further cases of careful modification of cult appear in the same century. The artists of Dionysus honoured a king of Cappadocia at Athens by erecting his cult statue beside that of Dionysus and by honouring it with crows and incense, but the sacrifices associated with this cult were on behalf of the king though others were made to him.<sup>85</sup> A deliberate ambiguity within the sphere

<sup>77</sup> *SEG* xxv 141 (c. 305) with A. G. Woodhead, in *Ancient Macedonian Studies...* Charles F. Edson (1981) 357–67; *The Athenian Agora* xv 108, no. 111 (c. 240), and 109, no. 115 (235/4); *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1291 (mid third century). Cf. Habicht (1970) 44–8 and 189–90.

<sup>78</sup> *Agora* xv 97, no. 89 (254/3); *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 780 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 466 (c. 246/5); *SEG* xviii 19 (244/3); *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 776 (240); *Agora* xv 107, no. 110 (c. 243–237); *Agora* xv 112, no. 119 (230s). Also *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1299 (236/5).

<sup>79</sup> *Livy* xxxi 44, 4–8.

<sup>80</sup> *JÖAI* 35 (1943) 160 with *BE* (1948) 47 = *SEG* xxv 149.

<sup>81</sup> *OGIS* 222 = *I. Priene* 507 = *I. Erythrae* 504.

<sup>82</sup> *SEG* ix 5 (cf. xiii 606, xvi 865).

<sup>83</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 671–2 = *F. Delphes* iii 3, 238–9 = *LSCG* 80 and *LSCG* Supp. 44. Cf. G. Daux, *REG* 48 (1935) 53–61, and Nilsson, above n. 13.

<sup>84</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 611 = *Sherk* 38 (cf. *F. Delphes* iii 1, 152; *SGDI* 2680); *IG* vii 413 = *Sherk* 23, 47ff. Cf. p. 42 n. 83.

<sup>85</sup> *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1330 with Robert, *Ét. épigr.* 38–45 and *Hell.* xi–xii 121–2, 129.

of sacrifice itself may be seen in the honours given to Attalus III at Pergamum.<sup>86</sup> An equestrian statue of him was set up beside the altar of Zeus Saviour in the main square, and each day various civic officials were to sacrifice on the altar of Zeus Saviour *toi basilei*, that is either *to* the king or *for* the king. The dative seems, as Nock saw, to have been used in this context to create fundamental unclarity as to the status of the king and the purpose of the sacrifices.

Parallel to the increase in ambiguities there may also be seen an increase in the number of sacrifices on behalf of the king.<sup>87</sup> The earliest of these dates from between 280 and 260, the next from the 240s and they become numerous in the second century B.C. It is true that there are not many relevant inscriptions from before the 290s, but the change which is demonstrable in Athens is significant and supports the idea of a shift of emphasis in the course of the third and second centuries. It is obviously difficult to generalize about long-term changes of this sort over such a wide area and such a long time span, and of course local variations and political changes affecting one part of the area are important. But it does seem that there were changes, and that these changes took place quite widely, even though in places the old forms could continue.

The reasons for this shift may be sought in the changing nature of the relationship between ruler and city in the course of the Hellenistic period. Ruler cult arose in the Greek world, as we have seen (ch. 2), with the imposition of monarchy over the flourishing and proudly autonomous Greek city. It was part of the complex process of negotiation between city and king; or, more precisely, the cities attempted to come to terms with royal power by representing it to themselves in the forms long used for the gods. At first the cults were closely parallel to divine cults, but as the relationship between city and king gradually settled down the initial pressures which had led to the establishment of the cults lessened. In general by the second century B.C. cities had begun to accept their reduced sphere of activity towards other cities and towards the ruler, as is visible, for example, in some of the second-century treaties between cities (ch.

<sup>86</sup> *OGIS* 332. Cf. Nock (1930) 23 = (1972) I 219-20 and H. S. Versnel, *Lampas* 7 (1974) 148-50.

<sup>87</sup> *OGIS* 219 = *I. Ilion* 32 (c. 280-260); *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 502 = Fraser in *Samothrace* II 1 pp. 39-40 (c. 240-230?); *SEG* XII 375 with Habicht (1970) 122-3 (242, Ainos); *OGIS* 55 = *TAM* II 1 (c. 240, Telmessus); *I. Labraunda* I 6A (220s); *I. Stratonikeia* I 3 (201); *Annuario* 39-40 (1961-2) 578 with Robert, *Op. Min. Sel.* III 1503 and *BE* (1973) 439 (190s, Iasos); *RFIC* 60 (1932) 446-52 (184/3, Telmessus); *PP* 27 (1972) 182 (180s, Cos); *I. Magnesia* 86, 15-17 and *IG* XII Supp. 250 with Robert, *Hell.* XI-XII 116-25 (Andros, before 160/59); *OGIS* 315 v = Welles, *RC* 59 (Pessinus, 163-159); *SEG* XVIII 727 (Cyrene, between 140 and 116); *OGIS* 332 (Pergamum, 138-133).

5 p. 127). There was therefore less need to elevate the ruler among the gods.

A new factor entered the situation with the arrival of the Romans. While Hellenistic kings had promoted the cults of their relatives and had supported the cults established by the cities,<sup>88</sup> the Romans, at least by the first century B.C., characteristically declined divine honours whether they were offered in Rome or the Greek East,<sup>89</sup> and this continued as a typical response of Roman emperors from Augustus onwards. Roman permission was at first always sought for provincial cult, and cities often informed the emperor of their intention of offering him cult, which clearly allowed a considerable degree of Roman influence on Greek practice. The difficulty is to see at what level modifications were effected. None of the letters of imperial refusal specifically rejects sacrifices, but there was, as we have seen, attempted imperial control of sacrifices and in general the official attitude will have been clear. It was obvious when Nero refused a high priest and a temple that this rejection *a fortiori* included sacrifices.<sup>90</sup> It is significant that the ritual of provincial assemblies, which were under closer Roman control than the cities, shows none of the occasional sacrifices to the emperor found elsewhere. All the imperial sacrifices of which we hear were on his behalf.<sup>91</sup> At the civic level the response to a letter such as that from Tiberius to Gytheum which refused divine honours in general terms is difficult to judge. It has been suspected that the nomenclature of Tiberius in the sacred law was modified as a result of contact with Rome<sup>92</sup> and it is also possible that the forms of the sacrifices have been changed.

The Roman attitude in fact provides a partial confirmation of the original hypothesis about the relationship between cult and monarchy. In contrast with the untraditional and innovatory nature of the Hellenistic monarchies the Roman emperor emerged as the ruler of a pre-existent empire. The stabilization which this alone tended to create was increased in Rome by the enormous success of Augustus in cloaking his position in a variety of constitutional forms. It is thus understandable that for the most part the emperors did not feel the need to promote their own cults and indeed tended to discourage offers made to them. The Greek perception of monarchical rule had

<sup>88</sup> See ch. 2 pp. 36–7, ch. 3 p. 73.

<sup>89</sup> Cic. *ad Qu. fr.* I 1, 26; *ad Att.* V 21, 7, who may be taken as normative.

<sup>90</sup> O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 5–33.

<sup>91</sup> E.g. *I. Olympia* 57. The other evidence I have collected conforms.

<sup>92</sup> Rostovtzeff (1930) 24. It might have been possible to present to the emperor the preliminary view of the city (the *gnome*) before an actual decree was passed (D. J. Geagan, *Hesperia* Supp. XII (1967) 161–2).

independently been moving in the same direction and coincided with this Roman development, though it was not greatly affected by the constitutional legitimization of Augustus' position, which was performed in terms of specifically Roman institutions.

The thesis is further supported by the evidence from Egypt. With one minor exception the only imperial sacrifices which appear in the Greek evidence from that country were on behalf of the emperor.<sup>93</sup> That this is no accident of survival is suggested by the fact that some of the evidence comes from a calendar of imperial sacrifices. In this respect there seems to have been no change from the Ptolemaic period, when also sacrifices were only performed on behalf of the king, at least outside Alexandria. It is particularly interesting that the reliefs of the Egyptian temples show no sacrifices to the living Ptolemy but only offerings by the king to his ancestors who became minor deities.<sup>94</sup> But it is very fitting to find that in Alexandria itself, which had pretensions to being a proper Greek city, sacrifices were made to the king or members of his family (n. 74). Egypt offers a good illustration of the fact that an essentially unproblematic monarchy has no need of full divinization of the ruler.

The final stage of this process came under Constantine, the first Christian emperor. Towards the end of his reign he was asked by a group of towns in Umbria to allow them to set up their own imperial cult.<sup>95</sup> He permitted them to celebrate games and to have a temple to his family, but he stipulated that this building 'should not be polluted by the deceits of any contagious superstition'; that is he entirely abolished sacrifices. This represents the final stage in the interaction between the Christian tradition which we have already looked at and the fully established imperial institutions.

## VI SACRIFICES AND GREEK RELIGION

The further context in which imperial sacrifices must be set is the traditional sacrificial system of Greek religion. Animal sacrifice, which had occupied a central place in Greek religion from the

<sup>93</sup> F. Blumenthal, 'Der ägyptische Kaiserkult', *APF* 5 (1913) 317ff. at pp. 328, 336-7; C. Kunderewicz, *JJP* 13 (1961) 128. *BGU* II 362 IV 6, 11-13; II 646 = Wilcken, *Chrest.* 490 = *Sel. Pap.* II 222; IV 1197; IV 1200; *P. Bad.* IV 89; *P. Oslo* III 77; *P. Oxy.* 2553, 2782, 3164.

<sup>94</sup> *BGU* VIII 1768; *P. Amh.* II 35; *SB* IV 7457 = *SEG* VIII 529; *SEG* VIII 531; Wilcken, *Chrest.* 70. For the reliefs see E. Winter, 'Der Herrscherkult in den ägyptischen Ptolemäertempeln', *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten* (ed. H. Maehler, V. M. Strocka, 1978)

<sup>147</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> *ILS* 705 with J. Gascou, 'Le rescrit d'HisPELLUM', *MEFR* 79 (1967) 609-59, esp. 647-56.



beginning, continued to maintain its importance. Thus in the third century A.D. coins feature the sacrifice of a bull in front of the temple at Claros (ch. 5 n. 165) and the documents of a third-century persecution show that animal sacrifices were demanded of the Christians.<sup>96</sup> In the fourth century Christian emperors from Constantine to Theodosius had to issue repeated prohibitions of sacrifices, perhaps with little success, for animal sacrifices long continued in Christian contexts.<sup>97</sup>

Greek philosophers had long been engaged in a complex attempt to articulate their relationship to popular religious traditions.<sup>98</sup> Their criticisms of these traditions included criticisms of animal sacrifices, but on the whole the philosophers supported traditional institutions. Critique and apologetics went hand in hand. The influential Stoic school was particularly conservative in its tendencies. Thus Dio of Prusa could argue that images and sacrifices might not be strictly necessary, but that they had point as manifestations of man's goodwill and disposition towards the gods.<sup>99</sup> The crucial point is that the criticisms of the philosophers, though searching, were not innovative in the field of ritual and that as a result traditions were upheld.

There were, however, modifications in sacrificial practice in the course of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It became more common to offer daily cult to the gods, and the use of incense increased.<sup>100</sup> Ruler cult shared in these innovations but the difficulty is that previous work on the subject has treated them simply as significant precursors and parallels to Christian cult. However, it is a failure of perspective to see the offering of incense as of totally different significance from animal sacrifice. Incense generally played a part in animal sacrifices and was offered in isolation on occasions of lesser importance. Further, the fact that the same type of formula could be used of sacrifices both of animals and of incense at the same festival, as at Gytheum, shows that the lack of uniformity of the formulae of animal sacrifice cannot be explained as the product of negligence. Nor can one write off the formulae of both types as a manifestation of decline. Sacrifices to the gods, as recorded in

<sup>96</sup> J. R. Knipfing, 'The Libelli of the Decian persecution', *HTHR* 16 (1923) 345.

<sup>97</sup> *CTh* xvi 10. For sacrifices in Christian contexts see Robert, *Hell.* x 197–200 (by St Nicholas), and S. Georgoudi, 'L'égorgement sanctifié en Grèce moderne', in *La cuisine du sacrifice* (ed. M. Detienne, J.-P. Vernant, 1979) 271.

<sup>98</sup> D. Babut, *La religion des philosophes grecs* (1974); also Burkert (1977) 452–95 and H. W. Attridge, 'The philosophical critique of religion under the early empire', *ANRW* II 16, 1 (1978) 45.

<sup>99</sup> *Or.* xxxi 15.

<sup>100</sup> M. P. Nilsson, 'Pagan divine service in Late Antiquity', *HTHR* 38 (1945) 63.

inscriptions, do not betray the same difficulties as imperial sacrifices. The only exception known to me are the sacrifices performed in the course of a year 'on behalf of the imperial house and on behalf of Hekate' (ch. 5 n. 79). The parallel formulation may be explained as resulting from influence from the imperial sacrifices, whether merely at a stylistic or at a deeper level.

It is true that there are in general fewer inscribed sacrificial regulations from the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, but this does not mean that the cults and sacrifices were in decline.<sup>101</sup> The main function of many cult regulations had been not to give all the details of the cult but to specify the privileges of the priests.<sup>102</sup> This continued in the imperial cult, but as the role of private munificence increased in the Hellenistic period it became less important to inscribe the prerogatives of such officials.

But it is argued that there was a shift in attention during this period from the heart to the stomach; a decline in the religious significance of sacrifices from the mid third century B.C. is marked by an increase in the importance of the accompanying feasts.<sup>103</sup> Sacrifices became merely an excuse for a good dinner. It is certainly true that many of the inscriptions of this period do lay great stress on the feasts<sup>104</sup> and even allow those absent to receive money in place of food. The class of beneficiaries was also enlarged to include women and non-citizens. These general points apply equally to imperial sacrifices. Sometimes the feast alone is mentioned, as for an imperial birthday in a village or at provincial celebrations;<sup>105</sup> this might include a special combination of bread and meat, the meat presumably being obtained from the 'sacrifice of the emperors' which is mentioned.<sup>106</sup> Elsewhere the sacrifice of a bull to the gods and the emperors was followed by the distribution of the meat but the text goes on to specify other types of food as being of equal importance.<sup>107</sup> Feasts for the whole population after sacrifices are also given great prominence by the Eresian who sacrificed on behalf of the emperor (p. 214).

However, despite this stress on feasts, it would be a mistake to think that all banquets at this period were secular in tone. The series of

<sup>101</sup> As Nilsson (1961) 372.

<sup>102</sup> Puttkammer (1912) 28-9.

<sup>103</sup> Puttkammer (1912) 51-6; L. Ziehen, *RE* xviii (1939) 623; Veyne (1976) 286, 363 n. 299, 364 n. 306.

<sup>104</sup> E.g. *I. Kyme* 13 lines 47, 73; *TAM* II 54b (Tlos).

<sup>105</sup> *IGR* IV 1666 = *I. Ephesos* VII 1, 3245 (Apateira?); Cat. no. 108.

<sup>106</sup> *IGR* IV 1348 (?Tmolus) with Robert, *Hell.* XI-XII 480-1.

<sup>107</sup> *IG* VII 2712, 66 (Acraephia) with Oliver (1971) 225-36. Cf. ch. 5 nn. 80, 82 for other references.

invitations from Zeus at Panamara to a variety of communities to share in his feasts proves that they were not.<sup>108</sup> In fact to argue that sacrifices receded in importance in comparison with feasts is to create a false problem. Modern scholars wrongly tend to divide what was a single Greek semantic field into two, and to distinguish between religious and secular aspects.<sup>109</sup> The Greeks did not do this, though an imperial priest might stress that he had fulfilled the dual aspects of his office, having displayed piety towards the emperor and munificence towards the people. The idea of decline is inappropriate in this context; it is in fact possible to show that as early as Homer the name of the deity need not be expressed and that emphasis could be placed on the banquet. A rich benefactor might stress the feasts he had given the city, but this emphasis on feasts in that context is perfectly compatible with the idea that sacrifices formed a system in which the relationship with the god remained important and was stressed at certain stages. The changes in sacrifice that did take place show the way in which the institution reflected changes in society, such as the widening definition of membership of the community and the increasing sphere of public action allowed to individuals vis-à-vis the city. Sacrifice, rather than being moribund, was integrated into the life of the city.

Imperial sacrifices were extremely important, but to privilege them above other elements of the ritual system would be ethnocentric. Scholars in a number of disciplines have indeed devoted much attention to sacrifice in a variety of cultures,<sup>110</sup> but to focus on sacrifice in this way, even producing comparative studies of sacrifice, is to abstract sacrifice from its social and religious context.<sup>111</sup> It was in fact only the emergence of Christianity from its pagan and Jewish environment that made sacrifice a particularly problematic phenomenon. Thus in the mid fourth century A.D. there was no conceptual difficulty about a rapprochement between the emperor Julian, who wanted to strengthen traditional cults against Christianity, and the Jews, who succeeded in gaining permission from him

<sup>108</sup> P. Roussel, 'Les mystères de Panamara', *BCH* 51 (1927) 123-37.

<sup>109</sup> Casabona (1966) esp. 22, 30, 32, 80-1, 129-34.

<sup>110</sup> Notably W. Outram, *De sacrificiis libri duo* (1677; Eng. tr. 1817, 1828<sup>2</sup>); W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (1889, 1894<sup>2</sup>); H. Hubert, M. Mauss, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function* (1898; Eng. tr. 1964); R. Money-Kyrle, *The Meaning of Sacrifice* (1930); R. de Vaux, *Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice* (1964); R. Girard, *Violence and the Sacred* (1972; Eng. tr. 1978); E. R. Leach, *Culture and Communication* (1976) 81-93.

<sup>111</sup> E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion* (1956) chs. 10-11; M. Detienne, 'Pratiques culinaires et esprit de sacrifice', in *La cuisine du sacrifice* (n. 97) 7. Cf. *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité* (Entretiens Hardt xxvii, 1981, eds. J. Rudhardt, O. Reverdin).

to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem.<sup>112</sup> On the other hand, the status of sacrifice in Christianity is still a real issue and has led to the production of a recent book on sacrifice written by theologians and anthropologists.<sup>113</sup> Sacrifices can, however, be studied without the adoption of a Christianizing perspective, and did form an important part of the divine honours which is particularly interesting because of its complexity and variability.

Sacrifice can be seen as one of the ways of articulating the relationship between human and divine, as Vernant has shown of Hesiod's works and Vidal-Naquet in a brilliant discussion of the *Odyssey*.<sup>114</sup> The orthodoxy of the Greek city represented in these texts also led to reactions by dissident groups. Pythagoreans, at their most extreme, rejected the system outright, while Orphics can, most interestingly for our purposes, be seen to have combined outright rejection with a subtle inverted parody of sacrificial procedure.<sup>115</sup> The importance of modifications of ritual in the imperial cult has been noted by some historians of religion. Nock (1957), for example, pointed to the general absence of prayers to the emperor and Nilsson ((1961) 182) to the fact that dedications were not made to one deity on behalf of another but were made to gods on behalf of the emperor.<sup>116</sup> Such nuances might seem at first sight to be niggling, but in fact they provide an important way of approaching the Greek view of the world. My account of imperial sacrifices aims to show how the standard system was modified to accommodate the figure of the emperor within the traditional division between divine and human.

Other elements of the ritual system which we have examined earlier present a similar picture. Some parts treated the emperor like a god. The ceremonial of the imperial cult was closely modelled on divine ceremonial. Imperial temples and their images were called by the same names, *naoi* and *agalmata*, as those of the traditional gods. They also looked identical. Thus the temple of Rome and Augustus at Mylasa (Fig. 10) was indistinguishable in design from temples of

<sup>112</sup> Julian, *Against the Galileans*, reproaches the Christians for falling away from the practices of Jewish sacrifice. On the temple see S. P. Brock, 'A letter attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem on the rebuilding of the Temple', *Bull. School Oriental and African Studies* 40 (1977) 267.

<sup>113</sup> *Sacrifice* (ed. M. F. C. Bourdillon, M. Fortes, 1980). For the background see the material in E. Ferguson, 'Spiritual sacrifice in early Christianity and its environment', *ANRW* II 23, 2 (1980) 1151.

<sup>114</sup> See *Myth, Religion and Society* (ed. R. L. Gordon, 1981) chs. 3-5.

<sup>115</sup> W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (1972) 180-3; M. Detienne, *Dionysos Slain* (1979).

<sup>116</sup> See further *JHS* 104 (1984) 79-95.

the traditional gods. The image of the emperor, despite being partially controlled by Rome, was largely comprehensible within divine categories. Sacrifices were sometimes offered to the emperor as to a god. So too the emperor was called *theos* (god) and the main aim of the cult was to display piety (*eusebeia*) towards him.<sup>117</sup>

But much of the rituals and the language of the imperial cult did not go this far in assimilating the emperor to the gods. As we have seen, when the emperor shared a sanctuary with a traditional god, he was carefully subordinated to that deity in various ways. For example, the colossal cult statue of Athena in her temple at Priene was ringed by a group of smaller imperial statues. *Eusebeia*, which bracketed the emperor with the gods, was in fact compatible with honours that were not strictly divine.<sup>118</sup> The city of Cyzicus passed a decree in praise of three client kings and their mother Tryphaena; at their entry to the city the priests and priestesses were to open the sanctuaries, adorn the images of the gods and pray on behalf of the eternal duration of Gaius Caesar and the safety of the kings.<sup>119</sup> Though the prayers offered for both were almost identical, the concluding formula of the text summarized the decree as 'concerning piety (*eusebeia*) towards the emperor and honours towards the kings'. The emperor was clearly separated from his subordinate client kings, but this *eusebeia* did not impute divinity to him. The prayers were merely on his behalf.

This coexistence of different ways of classifying the emperor is emphasized in a passage from a panegyric on Rome. The speaker talks in elevated terms about how everyone, at the mere mention of the ruler's name, stands up and

praises and worships him and utters a twofold prayer, one on the ruler's behalf to the gods and one to the ruler himself about his own matters.<sup>120</sup>

The idea of a twofold prayer, to the gods on behalf of the emperor and to the emperor himself, well expresses the ambivalence of the imperial cult. Thus the scope of such prayers as were offered to the emperor was generally qualified. The citizens of Sardis noted that 'all people were pleased at the sight of prayers being raised to Augustus on behalf of his children', but they themselves performed

<sup>117</sup> *JHS* 104 (1984) 88–9.

<sup>118</sup> *Eusebeia* was also shown to family and friends: Dio *Or.* xxxi 12–15; *Ath. Mitt.* 75 (1960) 162, no. 60; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1107; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1275 = *LSCG* Supp. 126.

<sup>119</sup> *IGR* IV 145 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 798.

<sup>120</sup> Aristides, *Or.* xxvi (Keil) 32 (with comments of J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (1953) 918). Despite Bowersock (1973) 200–1, I assume the double prayer to be more significant than the change of preposition in the two limbs.

rituals which involved not prayers to the emperor but sacrifices to the gods (Cat. no. 56). Most imperial sacrifices were offered to the gods on behalf of the emperor. Some were indeed offered to the emperor himself, but none of these was unambiguously petitionary, and the markings on the skin of the sacrificial animals might distinguish them from standard sacrifices to the gods.

This range of ritual practices and language expressed a picture of the emperor between human and divine. This intermediate position is in no way indicative of a breakdown of the old divide between people and gods. There was still a clear distinction between human and divine honours (ch. 2) and the traditional civic cults of the gods were not threatened or superseded by the new ruler cults. Indeed the feeling of dependence upon deities whose power and lordship was increasingly emphasized was enhanced in part by the experience of contemporary monarchies and their religious ritual.<sup>121</sup> The emperor might have been slotted into the intermediate category of hero, but this was not appropriate. The emperor's overwhelming and intrusive power had to be represented not in terms of a local hero but of a universal god. Standing at the apex of the hierarchy of the Roman empire the emperor offered the hope of order and stability and was assimilated to the traditional Olympian deities. But he also needed the divine protection which came from sacrifices made to the gods on his behalf. The emperor stood at the focal point between human and divine.

What though of the wider importance of this cult? Its social and cultural significance was considerable. Woven into the life of the Greek cities, it formed one of the ways in which the local élites expressed their position of superiority within the cities; it became the main medium by which cities attempted to assert themselves over other communities; it shared in the general cultural prestige of Hellenism (chs. 4-5). In other words, the imperial cult helped to articulate the power relationships of the Greek communities. What of the relationship between the Greeks and Rome? Rome was deeply involved in the establishment of these cults (ch. 3), but how, more generally, should we see the relationship between the imperial cult and political power?

<sup>121</sup> Nock (1925); H. W. Pleket, 'Religious history as the history of mentality...', in *Faith, Hope and Worship* (ed. H. S. Versnel, 1981) 152-92. Cf. the position of the Indian king: J. Gonda, *Ancient Indian Kingship* (1966).

## RITUALS, POLITICS AND POWER

'What is a god? Wielding of power (*to kratoun*).  
What is a king? Like a god (*isotheos*).'<sup>1</sup>

In this final chapter I want to consider the implications of this pair of Greek apophthegms. What was the relationship of the imperial cult both to the religious and to the political systems of the Roman empire? Where was power to be found? I hope to remove some misapprehensions which may persist and also to underline what I see as the importance of the imperial cult. Firstly, I argue that the dependence of the imperial cult on the traditional religious system does not imply that the divinization of the emperor meant little in comparison with the paramount position of primitive divine kings. In fact the modelling of the imperial cult on the cult of the gods opened up a new set of possibilities. Further, the specific characteristics of the traditional religious system, anthropomorphism and polytheism, were not necessary preconditions for honouring the emperor. The accommodation of external authority within local traditions is a widespread phenomenon.

Secondly, we must consider the problem of the relationship between the imperial cult and the political system, between the 'dignified' and the 'efficient' aspects of the state. The issue is all too often neglected by writers on royal rituals, who tend to stop with a description of the rituals themselves and fail to investigate the relationship between the sacred nature of the king and his political power.<sup>2</sup> In Roman history the conventional approach solves the problem by relegating the imperial cult to the sidelines, in favour of diplomacy and administration. Politics, diplomacy and administration form the key to any understanding of the period; the imperial cult does not. Rituals may indeed present a picture of the emperor between human and divine, but they do not really matter. I propose

<sup>1</sup> *Philologus* 80 (1925) 339 with *Rh. M.* 112 (1969) 48-53.

<sup>2</sup> Richards (1968) 23; R. E. Bradbury, *Benin Studies* (1973) 74-5, 'the key problem of Benin polity - the relationship between political kingship and divine kingship'. See more generally Geertz (1966) 35-40.

to argue against this view, but it is not easy to pose the question in the appropriate terms. I do not want to suggest that the imperial cult was a part of the ideological superstructure nor that it legitimated political power; these views presuppose too crude a view of the existence and relationship of different aspects of society, economics, politics and religion. Nor should power be seen as a given element of society, located primarily in politics, but as a term for analysing a wide range of situations. Both diplomacy and the imperial cult were ways of constructing the emperor, and religious language was used in both contexts. Religion is not simply a gloss on politics.

## I IMPERIAL RITUALS AND THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM

The incorporation of the emperor into the traditional religious system has formed the theme of much of this book. The emperor was honoured at ancestral religious festivals; he was placed within the gods' sanctuaries and temples; sacrifices to the gods invoked their protection for the emperor. There were also festivals, temples and sacrifices in honour of the emperor alone which were calqued on the traditional honours of the gods. In other words, the Greek subjects of the Roman empire attempted to relate their ruler to their own dominant symbolic system.<sup>3</sup>

One serious misunderstanding of this relationship between imperial and divine rituals needs to be cleared away. It is sometimes felt that the position of the emperor between human and divine which the rituals created is but a pale shadow of real, primitive divine kingship. The divine kings of Frazer's *Golden Bough* have continued to provide a framework for the understanding of ruler cult. Studies of African kings still refer to the Frazerian traits of divine kings: namely, their power over nature, their power as the dynamic centre of the universe and the dependence of the universe on the king, with the killing of the king as a possible fourth characteristic. In contrast the imperial cult seems rather anaemic. As an Africanist says of the king of Benin: 'He is the God-king (immortal and unique like God himself). The divinity of the Roman emperor was only an artifice. Here it expresses a most profound religion, conditioning and moulding the very existence of the community.'<sup>4</sup> The lure of the primitive divine kings has proved remarkably tenacious. One of the major monographs on

<sup>3</sup> That is, they drew on their own 'symbolic capital'. For an explanation of this concept see Bourdieu (1977) 171-83, and also 'Genèse et structure du champ religieux', *Revue française de sociologie* 12 (1971) 295.

<sup>4</sup> H. Deschamps in preface to P. Marti, *Le roi-dieu au Benin* (1964) 6.



ancient ruler cult begins with an explicitly Frazerian account of the primitive conception of the king as saviour with control over life and fertility.<sup>5</sup> By implication the Hellenistic and Roman ruler cults were a desperate attempt at archaizing.

This privileging of primitive kings and consequent denigration of the imperial cult makes the fatal mistake of comparing 'divine kings' without considering the context of the whole society. It is crucially important whether or not there is a cult of the gods which is independent of the king.<sup>6</sup> This did not always exist. For example, the Swazi, a particularly well-documented African kingdom, did not sacrifice to the gods, though the divine order was conceptually important.<sup>7</sup> Their only communal ritual was an annual ceremony centred on the king which reaffirmed the relationship between the king, the powers of nature and the well-being of the nation. In societies such as this the term 'divine kingship', despite being hallowed by tradition, is in fact a misnomer. Among the countless ethnographic studies of African kings there seems to be no case where the king is treated as a god.<sup>8</sup> His person may be hedged around by taboos, he may be connected with the prosperity of the kingdom, he may even be killed if his powers fail. But he is not described as a god, and the rituals do not make him one.

The existence of an autonomous divine ritual fundamentally alters the position of the king. Ritual centres on the gods rather than primarily on the king and the king himself ceases to be the sole mediator of divine favour for the kingdom. Whereas a Frazerian view would see the king as degraded in consequence, I suggest that the existence of divine ritual allows for new expressions of the relationship

<sup>5</sup> Taeger (1957) 17-50. Also a Frazerian piece by R. Mondt, 'Skēptouchoi basileis: an argument for divine kingship in early Greece', *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 203.

<sup>6</sup> That is, one must take into account the extent of structural differentiation. On this see T. Parsons, *Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives* (1966), and R. N. Bellah, 'Religious evolution', *Amer. Soc. Rev.* (1964) 358 = *Beyond Belief* (1970) 20. Neglect of this point makes unhelpful much (comparative) work on 'sacral kingship' (e.g. *The Sacral Kingship*, *Numen* Supp. iv (1959)).

<sup>7</sup> H. Kuper, *An African Aristocracy* (1947) ch. 13; T. O. Beidelman, 'Swazi royal ritual', *Africa* 36 (1966) 373-405. Cf. also the Shilluk: Evans-Pritchard (1948); G. Lienhardt, 'The Shilluk of the Upper Nile', in *African Worlds* (ed. D. Forde, 1954) 138. On the killing of the king see M. W. Young, 'The divine kingship of the Jukun: a re-evaluation of some theories', *Africa* 36 (1966) 135-53.

<sup>8</sup> See especially *African Political Systems* (ed. M. Fortes, E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 1940); J. H. M. Beattie, 'Rituals of Nyoro kingship', *Africa* 29 (1959) 134; J. S. Boston, *The Igala Kingdom* (1968) ch. 5; W. Bascom, *The Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria* (1969) ch. 4; M. Mainga, 'A history of Lozi religion to the end of the nineteenth century', in *The Historical Study of African Religion* (ed. T. O. Ranger, I. Kimambo, 1972) 95; S. D. Brown, *Ritual Aspects of the Mamprusi Kingship* (1975); G. Prins, *The Hidden Hippopotamus* (1980) 113-38.

of the king to the gods. For example, the theory of the divine right of kings, which might seem to be a 'primitive' survival, only becomes of importance from the sixteenth century onwards.<sup>9</sup> There is therefore no reason to see the imperial cult as an inferior version of primitive divine kingship. In fact in Greece the rule of Rome could be incorporated within the traditional context of divine ceremonial.

We need to determine which aspects of the Greek religious tradition were particularly important for the incorporation of the emperor. One might think that Greek polytheism and anthropomorphism were preconditions for the accommodation of the new rulers. This idea may seem tempting at first sight, but it is refuted by comparative evidence. Christianity, which considers itself to be monotheistic, nevertheless has great potential for the sanctification of the ruler. Though it is not possible in general to assert that the king is (in some sense) God, close analogies can be developed between the rule of the king and the rule of God.<sup>10</sup> There is also the Hebrew tradition of kings as the Lord's anointed ones, and it was the anointing of the king with holy oil which was an important element in the development of the sacred nature of kings in France and England and of the practice of the royal touch.<sup>11</sup> The anointing of kings is also evocative of the anointing of Christ and a further possibility within the Christian tradition was to play on the position of the king as Christ-like.<sup>12</sup> The polytheistic nature of the Greek system was thus not a necessary condition for the development of ruler cult.

Greek anthropomorphism is equally contingent. The spread of Indian culture throughout south-east Asia as far as Java at the end of the first millennium A.D. is a major historical development which, with the spread of Hinduism, had a great impact on the political organization of the area. Local chieftains were enabled to enhance their positions and authority by borrowing and adapting Indian religious practices. This is particularly clear in Cambodia.<sup>13</sup> Between the ninth and twelfth centuries a succession of kings ruled over a

<sup>9</sup> R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West* vi (1936) 185-91, 271-92, 429-61. Cf. also Kantorowicz (1957) for the development of the theme of the ruler's two bodies under Elizabeth I.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy* II (1966) 616-22 on Eusebius.

<sup>11</sup> Bloch (1924) and also (1961) 373-93.  
<sup>12</sup> Kantorowicz (1957) 42-86. On the development of Christ's regal imagery see P. Beskow, *Rex Gloriorum. The Kingship of Christ in the Early Church* (1962).

<sup>13</sup> G. Coedès, *Angkor, an Introduction* (1963), and I. W. Mabbett, 'Devarāja', *J. Southeast Asian History* 10 (1969) 202. Also Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (1968); P. Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters* (1971) 248-57, on urban development; S. J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer* (1976) 98-101.

unified kingdom. From the first there was a cult of the god-king (as we hear from splendidly talkative inscriptions), with which many of the monuments of the country are connected. The essence of the king resided in a *linga* (or phallus) in a pyramid in the centre of the royal city. The symbolism may seem bizarre, but it was in fact borrowed from Hindu Shivaism. At death such monuments probably became the royal mausoleum and the king was apotheosized. This case, like the occasional theriomorphic cults of Egypt,<sup>14</sup> shows conclusively that the religious system does not need to be anthropomorphic in order to subsume the ruler.

The nature of the religious system did of course lay down sets of possibilities. Cambodia again provides an illustration. In the twelfth century when Buddhism prevailed over Shivaism the royal cults also changed. A statue of Buddhārāja, representing the king as the embodiment of Buddhist enlightenment, was substituted for the *linga*. So the polytheistic, anthropomorphic nature of Greek cults made possible the basic strategy of treating Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors as Olympian deities.

This accommodation of external authority within the traditions of the local community is paralleled in other societies. For example, in India the relationship of native rulers to their subjects was traditionally expressed through the ritual of the *darbar*: the prince received gifts of varying value from his subjects and in turn distributed marks of status to the subjects. In other words, there were well-established rules for the ranking of subjects beneath the acknowledged primacy of the prince. When India came under British rule these *darbars* continued, with the British governors replacing the princes. But the aims of the British differed from those of their Indian predecessors. Thus the Imperial Assemblage of 1877, following Victoria's assumption of the title of Empress of India, reworked the *darbar* tradition. It avoided ranking the innumerable princes from all over India and succeeded in creating a new but also traditional expression of British rule.<sup>15</sup> Similarly the Greek subjects of the Roman empire were able to draw on ancient rituals to honour their rulers. The cultural gap between the Indians and the British, or the Greeks and the Romans,

<sup>14</sup> D. Wildung, 'Göttlichkeitsstufen des Pharaos', *OLZ* 68 (1973) 549.

<sup>15</sup> B. S. Cohn, 'Representing authority in Victorian India', in *The Invention of Tradition* (ed. E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger, 1983) 165–209. Contrast nineteenth-century Africa, which 'did not offer to its conquerors the framework of an indigenous imperial state nor existing centralized rituals of honour and degree', T. Ranger, *ibid.* 211–62 at p. 211. Cf. also the deification of Captain Cook in Hawaii (M. Sahlins, in *La fonction symbolique* (ed. M. Izard, P. Smith, 1979) 307–43) and of Prince Philip in the New Hebrides (*Observer* colour supplement, 25 May 1980).

was not so large that the subjects rejected the new rulers. Nor, as in other societies, did novel millenarian cults incorporating the alien authority spring up. Such cults satisfy the subjects but are not likely to create a bond meaningful to the ruler. When, as in the Roman empire, the two worlds are sufficiently close, it is possible to adapt local traditions to honour the ruler in a manner acceptable to both sides. The Greeks could not legitimate the emperor through ancestral charter myths of the founding of the kingdom, and talk of divine descent was not very successful. But the cults of the Roman emperor could constantly evoke the traditional deities.

## II THE IMPERIAL CULT AND POLITICAL POWER

The significance of the imperial cult is dependent on its relationship not only to an autonomous religious system, but also to the political system. There might indeed have been no autonomous political system. As Geertz (1980) has shown, the state of nineteenth-century Bali was minimally concerned with administration, which was carried out at the village level, and devoted its energies to elaborate dramaturgical performances. Geertz used this example as the basis for rethinking the relationship between the 'dignified' (or ritual) and the 'efficient' (or practical) aspects of the state. He argues that it is a misconception to imagine that 'the office of the dignified parts is to serve the efficient, that they are artifices, more or less cunning, more or less illusional, designed to facilitate the prosier aims of power' ((1980) 122). In his view 'power served pomp, not pomp power... The dramas of the theatre state, mimetic of themselves, were, in the end, neither illusions nor lies, neither sleight of hand nor make-believe. They were what there was' ((1980) 13, 136). This argument may be true of Bali, but how can one generalize from this one example to all societies? The problem is quite different in societies, like that of the Roman empire, which had an autonomous political and administrative system. Here it is obviously implausible, if not false, to conclude that rituals are all there was. How then are we to understand the relationship between the dignified and the efficient aspects of the state?

Some might wish to argue that the dignified aspects, 'ideology', are determined by the forms of economic relationships in society. The Marx and Engels of *The German Ideology* can be cited in support.<sup>16</sup> 'The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first

<sup>16</sup> K. Marx, F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (Collected Works v (1976)) 36, 59.

directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men – the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men at this stage still appear as the direct efflux of their material behaviour. The same applies to mental production as expressed in the language of the politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics, etc., of a people... The ruling ideas (of a society) are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relations, the dominant material relations grasped as ideas.' Thus a comparative study of the early state notes that many of the states with sacred kings are static, essentially agricultural communities where the dependence of subject on ruler is generally characterized by the giving of tribute.<sup>17</sup> This is hardly a penetrating economic analysis of the states, which anyway largely follows from the definition of the subject matter of the book as early (i.e. agricultural) states. A further problem is when Marxist materialism assumes that social and economic structures are the fundamental level beyond the need for explanation.<sup>18</sup> But they too are constructions and it is arbitrary to assume a one-way causal relationship running from socio-economic relationships to religious representations.

Irrespective of theories about the ultimate springs of religious representations, the significance of ritual has often been seen solely in terms of its practical consequences. Some have felt that the most important function of royal rituals is the preservation of the king's rule. Bloch ((1961) 381–2, 388) argued that the sacred status of mediaeval French kings protected them from the assassin, while Africanists have been puzzled by the overthrow of African sacred kings.<sup>19</sup> The same expectation of practical value is held of the imperial cult. The Christian Tertullian tartly observed in the second century that imperial festivals did not prevent people from committing treason (*Apology* 35). Modern scholars too have judged the imperial cult by its ability to prevent military revolts, rebellions and assassination; a cult expressing homage (not worship) should surely have created loyalty to the emperor.<sup>20</sup> But such arguments are too crude. No one imagines that an ideology can so dominate everyone's consciousness that all forms of political opposition to the ruler are literally unthinkable. Ruler cult need not serve as a bullet-proof vest in order to be of significance.

<sup>17</sup> *The Early State* (ed. H. J. M. Claessen, P. Skalník, 1978) table iv on pp. 550–1 and p. 604.

<sup>18</sup> M. Godelier, *Perspectives in Marxist Anthropology* (1977) 169–85.

<sup>19</sup> *African Kingships in Perspective. Political Change and Modernization in Monarchical Settings* (ed. R. Lemarchand, 1977).

<sup>20</sup> *CAH* xii (1939) 704; Jones (1964) 40–1. See, however, Philo, *Legatio* 30.

Ritual has also been examined for its more general consequences or functions. It used to be conventional to argue that Hellenistic royal cults were designed to 'sugar the pill of eminently unpopular measures',<sup>21</sup> while the divinization of the Roman emperor has been seen to 'function as the legitimation of rule'.<sup>22</sup> But functionalist explanations have long been criticized as trite and uninformative. It does not further our understanding to read another study of ancestor cults which concludes that the cults functioned to consolidate social hierarchies.<sup>23</sup> It would be equally unhelpful simply to be told that the imperial cult functioned to legitimate imperial rule. Such language is the language of empiricism that regards power, rule, function, and legitimation as unproblematic categories. A functional analysis typically fails to examine the conceptual elements of the ritual and leaps to the 'obvious' conclusion, as if the actors' perceptions were irrelevant. Rituals are often felt to be 'mere' rituals, a 'symbolic' aspect of the 'real' state, a form of flummery which can safely be left in the care of certain specialists. Such a distinction between the 'real' and the 'symbolic' wrongly presupposes that the 'real', actual imperial rule, is unproblematic. But, as Geertz ((1980) 136) put it, 'the real is as imagined as the imaginary'.

This suggests that the terms of the question about the relationship between the dignified and the efficient aspects of the state need rethinking. The terms imply that the efficient aspects are what really count. The political apparatus, the administrative machine, the system of taxation are the fundamental parts of the state. The officials of the state possess political power; if their authority is questioned, they can support their power with force. If one takes this view of the efficient aspects of the state, the imperial cult will necessarily be seen simply as a response to the given phenomenon of political power. One might be tempted to say that it functioned as an accommodation of power and attempted to mystify political reality.

The notion of power as a possession of political leaders is, however, highly questionable. There are objections at two different levels. Firstly, it is surely wrong, as is usually done in historical studies, to treat power in realist terms as a simple datum. Scholars in different fields have shown that this notion of power needs reformulating. As Foucault argues, 'clearly it is necessary to be a nominalist: power is not an institution, a structure, or a certain force with which certain

<sup>21</sup> Ferguson, *CAH* VII (1928) 15; Taylor (1931) 35; A. D. Nock, *Syllabus of Gifford Lectures 1939* (First series) 9, whence the quotation.

<sup>22</sup> H. Gesche, 'Die Divinisierung der römischen Kaiser in ihrer Funktion als Herrschaftslegitimation', *Chiron* 8 (1978) 377.

<sup>23</sup> As Geertz (1966) 42 points out.

people are endowed; it is the name given to a complex strategic situation in a given society'.<sup>24</sup> The argument that power is to be seen as a concept which analyses relationships is presented more fully by political scientists.<sup>25</sup> Taking for granted that power is relational, they argue that a power relationship between A and B exists when B complies with A's wishes on a matter where there is a conflict of values or plans as a result of calculation of the consequences of non-compliance. That is, a power relationship is rational and compliant. It is easy to see how this view could be applied to the political power relationship between the Roman emperor and his Greek subjects. But is it not true that this power relationship rested ultimately on force? The emperor could execute rebellious subjects by judicial process, or he could send in the army. Force is, however, a very different concept from power. It applies to a situation when B is not compliant; it is non-rational and non-relational. What justification can there be for assuming that force is what underpins power? The cities of the province of Asia, where there was no legion stationed, were not forced to obey the emperor from fear of his deployment of violence. That is, power was not a possession of the emperor, wielded over his subjects and supported ultimately by force; power is a term for analysing complex strategic situations.

The second-level objection to the conventional view of power is that power does not necessarily reside primarily in politics, or the 'efficient' aspects of the state. If power is taken as an analytical term, it makes it easier to see that there are manifold relations of power which pervade and constitute society. Religion just as much as politics is concerned with power. In other words, there is no reason to privilege politics over the imperial cult.

Furthermore, the constitution of these relations of power requires analysis. Diplomacy, a major element of politics in the Roman period, is often seen as essentially practical, or 'efficient', a given, empirical reality requiring no further explanation. But diplomacy is surely not a simple fact, but a contingent social construct. The endless embassies from cities to emperors need to be seen as one way of creating and defining a relationship between subject and ruler. The imperial cult was another way by which the emperor was constructed.<sup>26</sup> The 'efficient' is no less a construct than the

<sup>24</sup> M. Foucault, *La volonté de savoir* (1976) 123. See further *Power/Knowledge* (1980).

<sup>25</sup> P. Bachrach, M. S. Baratz, *Power and Poverty* (1970), to which S. Lukes, *Power* (1974) does not do justice. See also M. A. Crenson, *The Un-Politics of Air Pollution* (1971) ch. 1, for a method of studying non-decisions.

<sup>26</sup> I borrow the term 'construction' from (e.g.) P. L. Berger, T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966).

'dignified'; the 'dignified' no less an expression of power than the 'efficient'.

How, though, do these two means of constructing the emperor relate? The rationalist bias with which we are trained to interpret political events leads us to suppose that diplomacy was quite separate from the imperial cult, being based on empirical considerations. But, as has been argued of modern politics, 'political beliefs and perceptions are very largely not based upon empirical observations or, indeed, upon "information" at all'.<sup>27</sup> It would be mistaken to imagine that diplomacy and the imperial cult operated in entirely separate spheres. We have already seen that the linguistic and iconographic classifications of imperial statues were not bounded by ritual contexts (ch. 7 pp. 179–80). The emperor was not transformed into a totally different being in ritual contexts. I want here to show that the religious language used in diplomatic contexts further weakens the conventional distinction between politics and the imperial cult.

The imperial cult was often associated with diplomatic approaches to the emperor. Offers of cult were sometimes made in association with requests concerning privileges and other matters.<sup>28</sup> Ambassadors to the emperor were frequently also imperial priests. For example, a Samian decree lists the members of an embassy to Augustus as 'the priest of Emperor Caesar Sebastos son of god and of his son Gaius Caesar and of Marcus Agrippa, Gaius Julius Amynias... and from the temple builders of Augustus, Menodorus son of Niceratus, and from the other temple builders Saphinios' and others.<sup>29</sup> We do not know in what terms they presented themselves to Augustus but the city obviously appointed them because of their offices. Little evidence survives of the manner in which ambassadors addressed the emperor, but one Alexandrian embassy addressed Augustus as 'unconquered hero'<sup>30</sup> and ambassadors from Mytilene showed no embarrassment in presenting divine honours to Augustus. The instructions given to them by the city for their speech survive in part; they were to address Augustus as one who had attained the eminence and power of the gods, and were to promise further divine honours which would 'deify him even more'.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> M. Edelman, *Politics as Symbolic Action* (1971) 31.

<sup>28</sup> See for evidence Millar (1977) 492, 537, 542–4 and 375–463 on embassies.

<sup>29</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* 75 (1960) 70, no. 1 = F. Herrmann, *Der römische Kaisereid* (1968) 125, no. 6. Cf. E. L. Bowie, *YCS* 27 (1982) 35 and above, pp. 85–6.

<sup>30</sup> *P. Oxy.* 3020 col. ii. Cf. Weinstock (1971) 188 on Alexander; also *ZPE* 15 (1974) 4.

<sup>31</sup> *IGR* IV 39 = *OGIS* 456. I infer the nature of this part of the text from the fact that it is in indirect speech. The language of petitions may also have been strongly



Divine language was used by the Greeks not only in their diplomatic approaches to the emperor but also in response to political actions by the emperor. Gaius made various alterations to the client kingdoms, which modern works describe in purely 'factual' terms of administration. ('Rome lost nothing in surrendering the direct government of these districts.'<sup>32</sup>) This was not how the action was perceived by the Greeks. A contemporary Greek text reads:<sup>33</sup>

Since the new Sun Gaius Caesar Sebastos Germanicus wanted to cast his own rays also on to the attendant kings of his empire, so that the greatness of his immortality should be in this matter too the more splendid, though the kings, even if they racked their brains, were not able to find appropriate ways of repaying their benefactions to express their gratitude to such a great god (*telikoutos theos*); he re-established the sons of Cotys, Rhoemetalces, Polemon and Cotys, who had been brought up with him and were his friends, to the kingdoms that rightly belonged to them from their fathers and ancestors. Reaping the abundant fruits of his immortal favour they were in this even greater than their predecessors: while they received thrones from their fathers, these men, as a result of the favour of Gaius Caesar, have become kings in the joint government of such great gods (*eis sunarchian telikouton theon*), and the favours of the gods differ from a purely human succession as much as day differs from night and the eternal from human nature.

Ninety years later two Delphic letters addressed to Hadrian reveal a similar conceptualization of the actions of the emperor. Hadrian, who was very interested in Delphi, was responsible for many benefactions to it. One of the letters talks of requiring the unsurpassable benefits of his *theiotes* ('divinity') with common vows; the other says that the citizens of Delphi pray for his safety as a result of his pious benefactions to the sanctuary

Having known perfectly well for a long time that it was as such a great god (*hos theos telikou[tos]*) that you have assured for ever everything whose realization you have seen to for our city....<sup>34</sup>

It is crucially important that the actions of Gaius and Hadrian are presented as the work of 'such a great god'. The first text also uses language more familiar and more acceptable to us about the religious, though the texts of the actual petitions are rarely preserved (and not before the second century). See a decree from Cos (ch. 3 n. 8) and the use of *theios* (below p. 246).

<sup>32</sup> J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius* (1934) 200-3.  
<sup>33</sup> *IGR* IV 145 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 798 (Cyzicus). Cf. also the Neronian freeing of Greece (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 814).

<sup>34</sup> *F. Delphes* III 4, 3, nos. 308 and 304. Cf. R. Flacelière, 'Hadrien et Delphes', *CRAI* (1971) 168.

restoration of the three men to their kingdom and their friendship with Gaius. But those scholars who screen out the more bizarre aspects of the language used by the participants commit the empiricist fallacy of imagining that social facts can be described in neutral, objective terms. We must not disguise the divergence of the Greek conceptual system from our own.

The importance of this interconnection between religious language and politics can be further demonstrated by an examination of the changes in that relationship and in the terms employed. In the Hellenistic period, when the amount of royal administration over Greek cities was relatively light and variable, the establishment of royal cults does not seem to have affected the terms of politics. The actions of kings towards cities were met by cults; for example, the benefactions of Antiochus III to Teos were followed by the erection of his statue beside that of Dionysus (ch. 2 p. 31). But civic decrees do not describe the actions of the king in divine terms and do not elaborate the significance of the cults for the status of the king. By the time of Augustus the relationship of the honours to the political standing of the ruler had changed. The Mytileneans promised Augustus further honours which would 'deify him even more' (n. 31). Cults ceased to be simply responses to particular interventions by the ruler. The more elaborate and systematic nature of the imperial administration in contrast to that of Hellenistic kings was accompanied by a perception that the birthday of Augustus was simply equivalent to the beginning of all things (ch. 3 p. 55).

Roman rule gradually developed during the three centuries between Augustus and the re-establishment of authority by the tetrarchy towards the end of the third century. The empire became more hierarchical and central control increased. The Senate ceased to be of importance in provincial administration after the mid second century, the size of the imperial bureaucracy increased significantly and the powers of the local communities were decreased. For example, from the late first century onwards there appeared specially appointed imperial officials who oversaw the affairs, especially financial, of Greek cities.<sup>35</sup> They may not have been as numerous as was once believed, but they nevertheless constituted a qualitatively important institutional development indicative of growing imperial intervention.

Along with these changes there went an increase in the use of terms

<sup>35</sup> G. P. Burton, 'The Curator Rei Publicae: towards a reappraisal', *Chiron* 9 (1979) 465.

which sanctified the emperor, both in Latin and in Greek.<sup>36</sup> For example, in the second and third centuries *theios* ('divine') was often applied to the emperor.<sup>37</sup> Petitions appealed to 'the most divine' (*theiotatoi*) emperors, or to the emperor's 'divinity' (*theiotes*).<sup>38</sup> Some have thought that this term was banal and meant simply 'imperial', but its semantic motivation remained close to *theios*, of which it is the adjectival form. Thus *theios* and *theiotes* are used of the gods themselves,<sup>39</sup> and the emperor could be described as 'most *theios* of the emperors', a meaningless compliment if the term simply meant 'imperial'.<sup>40</sup> Not only was the emperor's *theiotes* called upon by the Greeks, it could even be used as a premiss in political argument. The most striking example comes from the end of our period when a governor issuing Diocletian's price edict asserted that the *theiotes* of the emperor would ensure the eternal duration of the edict.<sup>41</sup>

There is also a significant development in the language of panegyrics addressed to the emperor.<sup>42</sup> The relationship of the emperor to the divine is much closer and more immediate in the panegyrics written at the turn of the third and fourth centuries than in Pliny's panegyric delivered to Trajan in 100. There the emperor is simply placed under the protection of Jupiter, and the imperial cult, at least as practised by Domitian, is actually attacked (esp. 52–5). Such an attitude contrasts very strikingly with a passage from a panegyric of 291, which would have been unimaginable in Pliny's speech.

<sup>36</sup> Taeger (1960) 415–18; R. Turcan, *ANRW* II 16, 2 (1978) 1051–6. See also D. Hagedorn, K. A. Worp, 'Von *kyrios* zu *despotes*. Eine Bemerkung zur Kaisertitulatur im 3/4. Jhd.', *ZPE* 39 (1980) 165. See L. Berlinger, *Beiträge zur inoffiziellen Titulatur der römischen Kaiser* (Diss. Breslau, 1935) 70–7; R. Frei-Stolba, 'Inoffizielle Kaisertitulatur im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.', *MH* 26 (1969) 13, esp. 31–5 for *sanctissimus* etc. in Latin.

<sup>37</sup> Robert (1960) 317 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 833; J. Rougé, 'Ο θεϊότατος Αὐγούστος', *Rev. Phil.* (1969) 83. An early example from Aphrodisias (*PCPhS* (1980) 73, no. 2 = Reynolds (1982) no. 54).

<sup>38</sup> See Aristides, *Or.* XIX (Keil) 5 and *IGBulg* IV 2236, which republishes parallel texts. See also the Lycian petition against the Christians (ch. 5 p. 124).

<sup>39</sup> E.g. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 867, 30 (Artemis).

<sup>40</sup> Keil, von Premerstein III 55 = *AJ* 142. Similarly the consecration of Livia gave her *athanasia* (immortality) and *theotes* (*I. Ephesos* 1A 17, 65–6). It also served to translate *maiestas* (*JRS* 66 (1976) 107 line 31 with p. 117 = *SEG* xxvi 1392 = *AE* (1976) 653).

<sup>41</sup> *SEG* xxvi 1353, 9–11. Cf. also *I. Ephesos* II 217.

<sup>42</sup> S. MacCormack, 'Latin prose panegyrics: tradition and discontinuity in the later Roman empire', *REAug* 22 (1976) 29. Also Taeger (1960) 648–65; F. Burdeau, 'L'empereur d'après les panégyriques latines', *Aspects de l'empire romain* (1964) 1; S. G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (1981). For passages in Pliny see K. Scott, 'The Elder and Younger Pliny on emperor worship', *TAPhA* 63 (1932) 156.

When you [Maximian] crossed the alps your divine aura shone forth over all Italy and everyone gathered in astonishment. Altars were lit, incense was placed on them, wine was poured in libation, victims were sacrificed. All were warmed with joy and danced to acclaim you, hymns of praise and thanks were sung to the immortal gods. People invoked, not the god familiar from hearsay, but a Jupiter close at hand, visible and present, they adored a Hercules who was not a stranger but the emperor.<sup>43</sup>

This is the high-water mark of all the panegyrics, which should be accounted for in terms of the re-establishment of imperial authority by the tetrarchs. The difficulty is to pin down the novelty of the panegyrics of this period more precisely. Pliny's panegyric is the only earlier Latin panegyric that is extant, and it was composed for a very different context. There are great gaps in our knowledge as very little of what was addressed to the emperor survives,<sup>44</sup> but the development of such highly formalized languages to elaborate the relationship between subject and ruler is a significant aspect of the political change between early and late empire. The novel first- and early second-century descriptions of imperial actions by 'such a great god' gradually became routinized in the course of the second century in the general application of religious language to the emperor. The late panegyrics mark a fusion of the diplomatic and the religious constructions of the emperor.

A Christianizing theory of religion which assumes that religion is essentially designed to provide guidance through the personal crises of life and to grant salvation into life everlasting imposes on the imperial cult a distinction between religion and politics. But a broader perspective suggests that religions need not provide answers to these particular questions,<sup>45</sup> and the imposition of the conventional distinction between religion and politics obscures the basic similarity between politics and religion: both are ways of systematically constructing power.

Many societies have the problem of making sense of an otherwise incomprehensible intrusion of authority into their world.<sup>46</sup> The Greeks were faced with the rule first of Hellenistic kings and then of

<sup>43</sup> *Panegyrici Latini* III (11) 10, Budé. Tr. MacCormack, *Art* p. 25.

<sup>44</sup> We do not know what the young men sang in the theatre at Ephesus when Hadrian visited the city (*SEG* xvii 504 = *I. Ephesos* iv 1145), nor what won the prizes for panegyrics at Greek festivals (*JHS* 104 (1984) 90). But see the rules for imperial speeches by 'Menander Rhetor' pp. 368-77, 422-3 (ed. D. A. Russell, N. G. Wilson, 1981).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Geertz (1966) and P. L. Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion* (1969).

<sup>46</sup> Burrige (1969) is excellent on millenarian cults and on religion and power in general. Cf. also L. Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (1957).

Roman emperors which was not completely alien, but which did not relate to the traditions of the self-governing cities. They attempted to evoke an answer by focussing the problem in ritual. Using their traditional symbolic system they represented the emperor to themselves in the familiar terms of divine power. The imperial cult, like the cults of the traditional gods, created a relationship of power between subject and ruler. It also enhanced the dominance of local élites over the populace, of cities over other cities, and of Greek over indigenous cultures. That is, the cult was a major part of the web of power that formed the fabric of society.

The imperial cult stabilized the religious order of the world. The system of ritual was carefully structured; the symbolism evoked a picture of the relationship between the emperor and the gods. The ritual was also structuring; it imposed a definition of the world.<sup>47</sup> The imperial cult, along with politics and diplomacy, constructed the reality of the Roman empire.

<sup>47</sup> P. Bourdieu, 'Sur le pouvoir symbolique', *Annales (ESC)* 32 (1977) 405 (translated in *Critique of Anthropology* 13-14 (1979) 77).

# A CATALOGUE OF IMPERIAL TEMPLES AND SHRINES IN ASIA MINOR

The catalogue is arranged, like the Roberts' *Bulletin épigraphique*, by areas, but within each area the entries are in alphabetical order. For information on neocorates I am indebted to Dr B. Burrell who is to publish her study of the numismatic evidence (cf. *HSCP* 85 (1981) 301-3).

## ISLANDS

### Calymnus

- 1 Statue of Caligula dedicated to Apollo, perhaps in a temple dedicated to them both. *Annuario* 22-3 (1944-5, 1952) 148-9, nos. 108-9 (the latter = *IGR* IV 1022).

### Chios

- 2 A number of stones inscribed *Theon Sebaston* were found in the vicinity of the agora. *Pace BE* (1969) 433, they are not all altars; some may be boundary stones of an imperial sanctuary. I am grateful to Prof. W. G. Forrest for information.

### Cos

- 3 Temple (*naos*) to Claudius. Maiuri no. 680.
- 4 'Sebastoi Theoi dedicated together in the sanctuary' of Asclepius. Maiuri no. 443 = *SEG* XIII 442. Suggestions have been made as to the use of certain buildings for the imperial cult (R. Herzog, *AA* (1905) 12; E. Kirsten, W. Kraiker, *Griechenlandkunde*<sup>5</sup> (1967) 566-7) but only the niche dedicated to Nero Asclepius is certain (*AA* (1903) 193-4; P. Schazmann, *Kos* I, *Asklepieion* (1932) xii, 57).

### Lesbos: Eresus

- 5 (a) Sanctuary and temple (*temenos* and *naos*) to sons of Augustus, (b) sanctuary and temple (*temenos* and *naos*) to Livia, (c) temple (*naos*) to Augustus. *IG* XII Supp. 124. Cf. Robert, *REA* 62 (1960) 285 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 801 n. 1 and *Stele. Tomos eis Mnemen Nikolaou Kontoleontos* (1977) 5-7 (*BE* (1979) 320).
- 6 ?Temple. Price, Trell (1977) fig. 397 (B.M.) is described as an imperial temple but this seems an arbitrary decision.

## Catalogue

### Lesbos: Mytilene

- 7 Temple (*naos*) of Augustus. *IGR* iv 39 = *OGIS* 456; *IGR* iv 44 with *IG* xii Supp. p. 13. Cf. Mellor (1975) 140.
- 8 Temple to Commodus? *BMC Lesbos* 170, no. 6; *Copenhagen* 336; von Aulock 7743. Cf. Pick, *JÖAI* 7 (1904) 6, 24–5; E. L. Shields, *The Cults of Lesbos* (1917) 90. The temple may also be shown on coins of Elagabalus (Mionnet iii 58, no. 177).

### Rhodes: Lindos

- 9 Temple alleged. E. Dyggve, *Lindos* iii 2 (1960) 292ff., 519–20, argued that the remains of a temple of c. A.D. 300 were from an imperial temple. So G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen* (1966) 398; E. Kirsten, W. Kraiker, *Griechenlandkunde*<sup>5</sup> (1967) 588; Brackertz (1976) 108, 241. However J. D. Kondis, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 400, more plausibly suggests a dedication to Psithyros.

### Samos

- 10 Temple of Rome and Augustus. *IGR* iv 975; *Ath. Mitt.* 75 (1960) 70, no. 1, 82, no. 2. Cf. Mellor (1975) 61–2, 138–9, 216; Fayer (1976) 138–40. Before 6 B.C. The location is unknown, but *Ath. Mitt.* 75 (1960) 70, no. 1 B 14, implies that it was distinct from the Heraeum.

### Thera

- 11 Kaisareion and *basilike stoa* (*IG* xii 3, 326 lines 26 & 18–19). Two old buildings, both restored c. A.D. 150. The portico received an Antonine group in a room at its north end (Fig. 5; *Thera* i 217–34, iii 112–13, 129). A temple allegedly dedicated to Dionysus and the Ptolemies is said to have been taken over as the Kaisareion (*Thera* i 237–46, iii 107–12, 121–3), but the original dedication is not certain, nor is it clear that the temple should be identified with the Kaisareion. Thera was attached to the province of Asia, *RE* va (1934) 2299.

## TROAD

### Antandros

- 12 Neocorate on one coin. Doubtful. Information from Dr B. Burrell.

### Assos

- 13 Temple to Augustus in Vermeule (1968) 457 is a figment.

### Ilium

- 14 Alleged Flavian sanctuary. *IGR* iv 210 = *I. Ilium* 103. A. Brückner, *Troia und Ilium* (1902) 460 and *IGR*, suggested that this was a list of gifts for a Flavian sanctuary. Frisch, *I. Ilium* p. 211, argues rightly that the Flavians head the list for dating purposes only.

## MYSIA

### Beujuk Tepekevi

- 15 Temple and equipment (not baths?) to Artemis Sebaste Baiiane, *IGR* iv 228. For the precise location, on the upper Granicus, see

H. Kiepert's map, *Formae orbis antiqui* ix, 'Thermae' at 40° 1'N, 27° 3'E, at the modern village of Tepeköy. F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (1910) 186 n. 3, 274, no. 60, took the deity to be Julia Titi; this is unlikely and she is probably Artemis as an imperial protectress. Cf. Nock (1925) 92-3 = (1972) 42-3.

Cyzicus

- 16 Temple of Augustus. Dio LVII 24, 6; Tacitus, *Annals* iv 36.
- 17 Temple of 'Hadrian', perhaps dedicated to Zeus. J. Marquardt, *Cyzicus und sein Gebiet* (1836) 150-7, for literary evidence. G. Perrot, E. Guillaume, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie...* (1862) 76ff. = *RA* (1864) I 350ff., for survey of site. Carabella, *RA* (1876) II 264, for excavations yielding a phallus and statuary (cf. G. Mendel, *BCH* 33 (1909) 275, no. 32). T. Reinach, 'Lettre à M. le Commandeur J. B. de Rossi au sujet du temple d'Hadrien à Cyzique', *BCH* 14 (1890) 517, for reconstruction, using Cyriacus, unacceptable in many details. B. Keil, *Hermes* 32 (1897) 497-508, suggests a dedication to Persephone but see Magie. F. W. Hasluck, *JHS* 24 (1904) 139-40 = *Cyzicus* (1910) 10ff., 187ff., on site. Weber, *Untersuchungen* 132, on visit of Hadrian. O. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial* (1928) 15ff. and *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs* (1913) 8, on thirteenth god. Nock (1930) 33 = (1972) I 228 terms the temple an Olympieum presumably on the basis of the scholion on Lucian. A. Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* (1931) 299-300. Magie (1950) I 614, II 1472-3 synthesizes. R. M. Ertüzün, *Kapıdağlı Yarımadası ve çevresindeki adalar* (1953) 113-29, for the only (published) modern survey and plan. B. Ashmole, 'Cyriac of Ancona and the temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus', *JWI* 19 (1956) 179, and 'Cyriac of Ancona', *PBA* 45 (1959) 25ff., esp. 35-6, gives the best reconstruction. Vermeule (1965) 376-7 on the bust. H. P. Laubscher, 'Zum Fries des Hadrianstempels in Kyzikos', *Ist. Mitt.* 17 (1967) 211. Vermeule (1968) 256, 454 and in *Studies G. M. A. Hanfmann* (1971) 174 doubts whether Laubscher's frieze comes from the temple. Bowersock (1973) 195-7 pointed out that Aristeides is silent on the divinity of Hadrian. P. W. Lehmann, *Samothracian Reflections* (1973) ch. 1 esp. 45-50, gives the best evaluation of Cyriacus, though she perpetuates the curious idea, taken from Ashmole and Vermeule, that the Gorgoneia were particularly appropriate for Jupiter and hence Hadrian. Lyttleton (1974) 261-3 suggests that the drawings of Cyriacus are not of the temple itself but the arcade, which removes the conflict between the dedicatory inscription and the scholion on Lucian as to the financing of the temple. E. W. Bodnar, C. Mitchell, *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean 1444-1445* (1976) 28-31, give the text of Cyriacus. Price, Trell (1977) 109-16 offer a reconstruction. A. C. G. Smith, 'Hadrianic architecture in the eastern Roman empire' (unpublished Ph.D. Cambridge, 1980) 74-102 (figs. 92-123), is the only recent attempt



to plot the remains and relate them to Cyriacus. Cyzicus received one neocorate, first attested under Antoninus Pius, for this temple, and a second under Caracalla (T. Reinach, *RN* (1890) 244-52; Price, Trell (1977) fig. 448).

Miletopolis

- 18 *Hieron* of Sebastoi, *JHS* 27 (1907) 64, no. 6.

Pergamum

- 19 Rome and Augustus (*naos* and *temenos*), also known as 'Sebastion'. Mellor (1975) 140-1 and Fayer (1976) 109-11 cite most of the evidence. For coins see Pl. 2b, von Fritze (1910) 83-4; *BMCRE* I 196, no. 228, II 94, no. 449, 352, no. 254\*, III 146, no. 711 (Augustus to Caracalla). Variants in Pick (1929) 32 and *BMCRE* III 12, no. 79. On the festival see L. Robert, *Entretiens Hardt* 14 (1968) 259-67.

- 20 Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan. For its foundation cf. *IGR* IV 336 = *CIL* III Supp. 7086 = *I. Pergamon* 269 = *AJ* 73. On the building see H. Stiller, *Das Trajaneum* (*Alt. von Perg.* v 2 (1895)), J. L. Ussing, *Pergamos* (1899) 107-10; M. Collignon, *Pergame* (1900) 153-62; A. Conze, *Alt. von Perg.* I 2 (1913) 283-4; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II 2 (1925) 1179ff.; W. von Massow, *Führer durch das Pergamonmuseum* (1932) 104-6; W. Zschietzschmann, *RE* XIX (1938) 1259; Ohlemutz (1940) 79-82; G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen* (1966) 410-11; Ward-Perkins (1970) 392-3; Hansen (1971) 442; Akurgal (1978) 82. For the recent work see K. G. Siegler, *AA* (1966) 430-4; U. Rombock, 'Pergamon, Trajaneum, Vorläufiger Bericht über die Arbeiten von 1965 bis 1974', *AA* (1976) 328-40, with further annual reports to date. U. Rombock, *AA* (1976) 322-8, illustrates a new model; see also model and elevation in H. von Hesberg, *ANRW* II 16, 2 (1978) 960-1. The temple, raised on a podium, with columns all round, was topped by figures of Victory; in front was an altar. For the statues see *Alt. von Perg.* VII 2 (1908) 231ff., nos. 281-2; Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) nos. 28, 30; new fragments of hand and shod foot, *AJA* 82 (1978) 330 and *AA* (1978) 428; arm, support (fig. 18) and sword, *AA* (1980) 422. These suit a cuirassed statue perfectly. For the coins see Pl. 2c, von Fritze (1910) 8, 84-5 and Pick (1929) 31-2. There is a conflict between the coins, which show Zeus and Trajan, and the extant statues, which represent Trajan and Hadrian. This conflict cannot be resolved by assuming that Zeus was ousted by Hadrian. The same coin type is found in the third century and the games, though more commonly called simply the Traianeia, are known as the Traianeia Diphileia in the late second century (Robert, *Monnaies antiques* 50; cf. Magie (1950) 594-5, 1451 n. 7 on the name and date (after 112)). Presumably a place was found in the temple for Hadrian too.

- 21 Imperial Room in Asclepieum. T. Wiegand, *Abh. Ak. Berlin* (1932) no. 5, 10-11; E. Boehringer in *Neue Deutsche Ausgrabungen* (1959) 158;

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Le Glay (1976) 350; Fig. 6. O. Deubner, *Das Asklepieion von Pergamon* (1938) 40-3, Akurgal (1978) 109 and Habicht, *Alt. von Perg.* VIII 3 pp. 84-5, argue it was the epigraphically attested library, which is not necessarily contradictory. Perhaps alluded to in a dream of Aristides, *Or.* I 106-7 (451, 24 Keil). Imperial festival, *IGR* IV 508 = *Alt. von Perg.* VIII 3, 85; cf. VIII 3, 36. Statue of Hadrian in Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) no. 31.

- 22 Temple (*naos*) to younger Faustina(?). *I. Pergamon* 298 = *IGR* IV 361. Foundations perhaps found on acropolis, A. Conze, *Alt. von Perg.* I 2 (1913) 306; A. von Szalay, E. Boehringer, *Alt. von Perg.* X (1937) 1-2.

- 23 Ionic Temple of 'Caracalla' really of Asclepius, and neocorate. On the remains see R. Bohn, *Die Theater-Terrasse* (*Alt. von Perg.* IV (1896)) 41-77; J. L. Ussing, *Pergamos* (1899) 80-2; M. Collignon, *Pergame* (1900) 178-85; A. Conze, *Alt. von Perg.* I 2 (1913) 284-5; W. von Massow, *Führer durch das Pergamonmuseum* (1932) 106-7; W. Zschietzschmann, *RE* XIX (1938) 1260; Hansen (1971) 444. The temple, with an altar in front, was topped by figures of Victory. The only person to have made use of all the evidence on the temple was H. von Fritze, 'Asklepiosstatuen in Pergamon', *Nomisma* 2 (1908) 19-35, esp. 28-35, and von Fritze (1910) 50-1, who was followed by Pick (1929), esp. 34-7, and whom I follow in general. Von Fritze revised the dedication inscription *I. Pergamon* 299 = *IGR* IV 362 using the squeezes in Berlin and *I. Pergamon* 300, from the shrine inside the temple, which he suggests was dedicated to Zeus Asclepius. Von Fritze refuted the arguments still advanced that Caracalla was honoured as the 'new Dionysus' (Akurgal (1978) 84-6; Trell (1945) 48, 53; Price, Trell (1977) 267, no. 464, fig. 439, Paris) and that he was identified with Asclepius (Nock (1930) 25-6 = (1972) 1221). See also Ohlmutz (1940) 151-4. For coins see Pl. 3e-f.

Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis

- 24 House for cult of emperor alleged in *IGR* IV 1156 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 837 = *AJ* 83 (cf. *Hell.* VI 80) by Weber, *Untersuchungen* 136ff. There is no sign of this in the text. Cf. R. Macmullen, *HSCP* 64 (1959) 209, for parallels to imperial concern for housing.

AEOLIS

Cyme

- 25 ?Imperial shrine with imperial busts. S. Reinach, *RA* (1888) 185-6, 383, pl. 15; *CIL* III Supp. 7099 = *I. Kyme* 21; Magie (1950) 1359; Vermeule (1968) 458. Tiberian.

Claros

- 26 Cult place for Tiberius alleged in porch of temple of Apollo. L. Robert, *Les fouilles de Claros* (1954) 20. Cf. G. Klaffenbach, *Das Altertum* 1 (1955) 226, Brackertz (1976) 139.

Ephesus

- 27 Temple of Roma and Julius Caesar. This temple, authorized by Augustus for the use of the Roman citizens of the province of Asia (Dio LI 20, 6), has been identified with the double temple beside the council house (W. Alzinger, *RE Supp.* XII (1970) 1648–9, *Augusteische Architektur in Ephesos* (1974) 55–6, *JÖAI* 50 (1972–5) Beib. 249–53; A. Bammer, *JÖAI* 51 (1976–7) 57–8; Fig. 3, B). The design is certainly Roman (Tuchelt (1979) 32–3, though note S. Stucchi, *Architettura cirenaica* (1975) 258), but one cannot prove its precise function on typological grounds (H. von Hesberg, *Gnomon* 50 (1978) 583–4). W. Jobst, *Ist. Mitt.* 30 (1980) 254–5, discusses some details of the restoration.
- 28 Temple of Augustus at the Artemision. (Sebasteion/Augusteum.) *IBM* 522 = *ILS* 97 and *CIL* III 7118 (from the Artemision). Nock correctly observed that Augustus and Artemis did not necessarily share the same precinct ((1930) 30 = (1972) 1 225). Jobst ('Zur Lokalisierung des Sebasteion-Augusteum in Ephesos', *Ist. Mitt.* 30 (1980) 241–60) went further and argued that because the inscription was not found in situ the shrine was not in the Artemision but in the upper agora. However, the text implies that a wall was built for the Artemision and the Sebasteion in a single operation, even if the wall of the imperial shrine could later be repaired on its own (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 818 = *ILS* 8797 = *I. Ephesos* II 412). In fact the remains of the imperial shrine may have been found long ago near the temple of Artemis, though they have been totally ignored in recent work. J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (1877) 152–4, excavated two buildings within the sanctuary wall wsw of the temple of Artemis. He identified the second as the Sebasteion but the finds and inscriptions do not support this. His first building, which contained a female imperial statue, is more likely. Statue bases of Marcus Aurelius and seven members of his family were found reused by the temple of Artemis, and could have come from the Sebasteion (*I. Ephesos* II 287).
- 29 Temple of Augustus in the city itself. An inscription of 27 B.C. refers to 'the foundation of Augustus and the dedication of the sanctuary' (*I. Ephesos* III 902 = *SEG* XXVI 1243). As Jobst (no. 28) argues, this probably refers to the temple with external colonnade in the centre of the upper square (fig. 3, F). Head of Augustus: Inan, Rosenbaum (1979) no. 2.

- 30 'Royal portico' (*stoa basilike*); Fig. 3, D. W. Alzinger, *RE Supp.* xii (1970) 1634-6; *id.* *Augusteische Architektur* 26-37; *JÖAI* 50 (1972-5) Beib. 87-9, 258-80; *ANRW* II 7, 2 (1980) 817. The inscription is reprinted in *SEG* xxvi 1269 = *I. Ephesos* II 404. Statues of Augustus and Livia: Inan, Rosenbaum (1979) nos. 3 and 5.
- 31 Temple of Domitian. W. Alzinger, *RE Supp.* xii (1970) 1649-50 (with references); Fig. 3, G. First imperial neocorate, rededicated to Vespasian, J. Keil, *Num. Zeit.* 52 (1919) 115-20, *Forsch. in Eph.* III 38 (accepted by S. Karwiese, *RE Supp.* xii (1970) 282). The series of dedicatory inscriptions to Domitian (later changed to Vespasian) refer to the building as 'the Ephesian temple (*naos*) of the Sebastoi'. (*I. Ephesos* II 232-42, v 1498, vi 2048.) In front was an altar with reliefs (*JÖAI* 27 (1932) 55-8) perhaps of second-century date (W. Alzinger, *Die Ruinen von Ephesos* (1972) 46). For recent investigations see H. Vetters, 'Domitianterrasse und Domitiangasse', *JÖAI* 50 (1972-5) Beib. 311-30. For the statue of Domitian see *JÖAI* 27 (1932) Beib. 59-60, Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) no. 27, *Anz. Wien* (1962) 47; also more fragments in the Selçuk Museum. For its reconstruction see R. Meriç in *Fest. H. Kenner* II (*JÖAI* Sonderschrift forthcoming), 'to whom I am grateful for advice. G. Daltrop, V. Hausmann, M. Wegner, *Die Flavii - Das römische Herrscherbild* II 1 (1966) 26, 38 identify the figure as Titus, but this is excluded by the inscriptional evidence which allows only for Domitian and Vespasian. It could in fact pass for any of the Flavians, Vermeule (1968) 232. Vetters, *Anz. Wien* (1976) 495f. n. 8, and Bammer argued against, e.g., E. Stauffer, *Christ and the Caesars* (1955) 174, that the statue was not destroyed until Christian times. Bammer (1974a) 118-22, *Das Altertum* 21 (1975) 33-4, and *JÖAI* 50 (1972-5) Beib. 386-92, has argued that the glorification of the emperor was here carried to extremes; the cult statue was removed from the temple and placed at the head of the steps to the NE of the temple. This is highly speculative. The sole evidence is the alleged reorientation of the altar in front of the temple towards the steps. The remains of the altar do permit this hypothesis, but they are also compatible with the conventional and more likely view that the statue was within the temple. Indeed if, as seems likely, the statue was acrolithic, it cannot have been out of doors, and W. Alzinger, *ANRW* II 7, 2 (1980) 820, stresses the Hellenistic traditions of the temple. *I. Ephesos* II 449 = *SEG* xxvi 1245 is a civic decree seemingly referring to the temple, but it should be noted that 'imperial works' can refer to buildings erected by the emperor for the city (Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 89 n. 2).
- 32 Temple of 'Hadrian' on Kouretes Street, probably dedicated primarily to Artemis. *I. Ephesos* II 429. F. Miltner, *JÖAI* 44 (1959) Beib. 264ff., *JÖAI* 45 (1960) Beib. 64ff., W. Alzinger, *RE Supp.* xii (1970) 1650-2 (with references), *id.* *JÖAI* 49 (1968-71) Beib. 44-5,

- Ward-Perkins (1970) 393. For the (misguided) debate as to whether this was the neocorate temple see E. L. Bowie, 'The "Temple of Hadrian" at Ephesus', *ΖΡΕ* 8 (1971) 137; H. Engelmann, 'Der Tempel des Hadrian in Ephesos und der Proconsul Servaeus Innocens', *ΖΡΕ* 9 (1972) 91; M. Woerrle, 'Zur Datierung des Hadriantempels an der "Kuretenstrasse" in Ephesos', *AA* (1973) 470; E. L. Bowie, 'The Vedii Antonini and the temple of Hadrian at Ephesus', *Proc. X Int. Cong. Class. Arch., Ankara 1973* II (1978) 867. On the reliefs see R. Fleischer, 'Der Fries des Hadriantempels in Ephesos', in *Fest. F. Eichler* (1967) 23, and *id.* in Bammer (1974b) 78–82 (with further bibliography), who is conclusive on the mythological references of the scenes (against Miltner, Saporiti and Brenk who see references to the emperor). B. Brenk, 'Die Datierung der Reliefs am Hadriantempel in Ephesos und das Problem der tetrarchischen Skulptur des Ostens', *Ist. Mitt.* 18 (1968) 238, is important on dating.
- 33 Temple (*neos*) of Hadrian: *I. Ephesos* II 428. Second imperial neocorate: *RE* XII Supp. (1970) 333–4. The location of this temple is debated if it is not to be identified with the previous temple. Bowie, *ΖΡΕ* 8 (1971) 141 n. 12, suggests that it was in the Baths of Varius, but this is hardly lavish enough for a neocorate temple and such a situation is otherwise unparalleled. Magie (1950) 1479 n. 30, Lämmer (1967) and D. Knibbe in *Fest. F. K. Dörner* II (1978) 492 argue plausibly for a connection with the Olympieion.
- 34 Antonine Altar. The reliefs were reused at the Library of Celsus and their order is uncertain though its foundations may now have been located near the Library of Celsus: *Anat. Stud.* 28 (1978) 20 and 29 (1979) 195. For reconstructions see Vermeule (1968) 95–123, refuted by Eichler, 'Zum Partherdenkmal von Ephesos', *Beihefte II of JÖAI* 49 (1971) 102; Fig. 8. See W. Oberleitner *et al.*, *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake* (1978) 66–94, which I follow in general.
- 35 Sarapeion. Alzinger, *RE* Supp. XII (1970) 1652–4 (with references). As Keil argued, inscriptions make it clear that this building was dedicated primarily to Sarapis (cf. R. Salditt-Trappmann, *Tempel der ägyptischen Götter in Griechenland und an der Westküste Kleinasiens* (1970) 26–32). Attempts have also been made to identify it as an imperial temple. But a dedication to Claudius is excluded by the second-century date of the architecture, and there is no reason to associate Hadrian with it. A statue of Caracalla outside the temple, dedicated to those sacrificing to Sarapis, is insufficient grounds for thinking of a dedication to him (cf. ch. 6 n. 9). Nor is there any evidence to associate the temple with Macrinus and Elagabalus (as suggested by D. Knibbe, *ANRW* II 7, 2 (1980) 798–800).
- 36 Sacrifice in front of imperial temple, reign of Macrinus (217–18). Pl. 3a: *BMC Ionia* 89, no. 293 (= Price, Trell (1977) fig. 438) and

E. Babelon, *RN* (1891) 36–7 (pl. 4, 3) (= *Mél. Numismatiques* 1 (1892) 29–30 (pl. 2, 3)). *BMC Ionia* 89, no. 294. Babelon opined that the statue within the temple was recognizably that of Macrinus, but this is to go beyond the limits of the die-cutter's art. For the background of relations between Ephesus and Macrinus see J. Keil, 'Ein ephesischer Anwalt des 3. Jahrhunderts durchreist das Imperium Romanum', *SBAW* (1956) 3 (= *SEG* xvii 505 = *I. Ephesos* iii 802). It is hardly likely that this was a new temple for the short-reigned Macrinus, but it is not clear with which of the other imperial temples it should be identified. A third neocorate was granted by Caracalla (c. 211–12), but diverted to Artemis after Geta's death (*RE* xii Supp. (1970) 344–5). Elagabalus gave a fourth neocorate, which was lost and regained from Valerian (*loc. cit.* 348–9). A coin shows the three imperial temples and that of Artemis (Price, Trell (1977) fig. 243).

#### Erythrae

- 37 'Sacred room' (*hieros oikos*) to Dionysus, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. *IGR* iv 1533 = *I. Erythrae* 1 132. Obscure.

#### Miletus

- 38 Temple (*naos*) of Augustus. Most have located it in the portico by the council house. T. Wiegand, *SDAW* (1901) 908; (1906) 253; *Milet* 1 2, pp. 107–12; A. von Gerkan, *Milet* 1 6, 51; A. Rehm, *Milet* 1 9, 162; M. Mayer, *RE* xv (1932) 1643; G. Kleiner, *Die Ruinen von Milet* (1968) 20, 43, 59 and *Das römische Milet* (1969) 122–3. Tuchelt (no. 39) shows, however, that the site is not known.
- 39 Imperial altar in council house. K. Tuchelt, 'Buleuterion und Ara Augusti', *Ist. Mitt.* 25 (1975) 91; Fig. 2.
- 40 Temple of Gaius. Provincial temple (*naos*) at Miletus (*I. Didyma* 148, with Robert, *Hell.* vii (1949) 206–38, esp. 208–9). The construction was allegedly ordered by Gaius himself (Dio lxx 28, 1), but there is no reason to accept the innuendo of Dio that Gaius wanted the temple of Apollo at Didyma to be made over to him (as still believed by G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen* (1966) 345; see Magie (1950) 1366–7). At most he may have intended to help complete the temple of Apollo (Suetonius, *Gaius* 21). The temple of Gaius may be shown on a coin (*BMC Ionia* 198, no. 143), but it did not keep its provincial status after the death of Gaius.
- 41 Two neocorates under Elagabalus (Paris no. 1912; *Coll. Waddington* 1877); the first was presumably for the temple of Augustus (no. 38), rather than for that of the 'damned' Gaius (no. 40). Paris no. 1912 shows two temples and their cult statues, of which at least one is in military dress. One neocorate was lost with the death of Elagabalus, but the city retained the other under Balbinus (*BMC Ionia* 201, no. 164).
- 42 Piety to Apollo Didymeus and the Delphinion and the Sebastoi 'dedicated together with them', *Milet* 1 3, 134 = *LSAM* 53 lines 9–10

and 33-4. One could associate one of the unattributed monuments within the Delphinion with the Sebastoi.

Priene

- 43 Temple of Athena. The altar, steps and architrave were dedicated to Athena and Augustus (*I. Priene* 157-9) and within the temple were found sculpture, including a head of Claudius (*BMC Sculpture* II, nos. 1152 (= Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) no. 204), 1155) and bases of imperial statues (*I. Priene* 223-6). For information on the finds I am indebted to Prof. J. Carter. The silence of Pausanias (VII 5, 5) also implies that Augustus was not placed beside the cult statue of Athena. It has been suggested that the rear porch of the temple was dedicated to Augustus (T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, *Priene* (1904) 116-17; M. Schede in D. Krencker, M. Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara* (1936) 43-4, and *Die Ruinen von Priene*<sup>2</sup> (1964) 39). A wall and doorway were found there in the nineteenth-century excavations (*Antiquities of Ionia* IV (1881) 29, pls. 14, 16-17). Admittedly the rear porch could be used for a subsidiary cult (e.g. the temple of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia on the Maeander), but there is no direct evidence for this at Priene and the hypothesis is unnecessary if there were imperial statues in the temple itself. See Carter in Addenda, p. 282 below.
- 44 Sacred portico. M. Schede, *JDAI* 49 (1934) 107 and *Die Ruinen von Priene*<sup>2</sup> (1964) 55 (accepted by G. Kleiner, *RE Supp.* IX (1962) 1209, and Akurgal (1978) 193).

Smyrna

- 45 Temple to Tiberius, Livia and Senate. Tacitus, *Annals* IV 15, 55-6. Also Aristides, *Or.* XIX (Keil) 13. Coins show Tiberius within the temple as a priest (*BMC Ionia* 268, nos. 266-8; *Copenhagen* 1338-9; von Aulock 2199, 7993). Also shown more schematically on third-century coins (Cat. no. 46).
- 46 Second neocorate granted by Hadrian. *IGR* IV 1431. The grant included the 'sacred games' of the Hadrianea Olympia but the temple which was also built was dedicated to Zeus; Philost. *Vit. soph.* I 25 (p. 108 Loeb), Magie (1950) 615, 1474 n. 15. Fragments, which are comparable in scale to the temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens, may belong to this temple; D. Walter, *JÖAI* 21-2 (1922-4) Beib. 232. Coins show the three temples, of Roma, Tiberius and Hadrian (Pl. 3f; Price, Trell (1977) 268, and fig. 455). Third neocorate under Caracalla (*BMC Ionia* 288, no. 403 etc.). Inscriptions refer to temples (*naoi*) of the Sebastoi and a sacred Kaisareion, which are presumably the same (*I. Smyrna* I 199, 236-7, = *IGR* IV 1480, abbreviated).
- 47 Portico in main square; busts of younger Faustina on arcades. R. Naumann, S. Kantar, 'Die Agora von Smyrna', in *Kleinasien und Byzanz (Ist. Forsch.* (1950)) 69, and R. A. Staccioli, *Latomus* 16 (1957) 275ff. The interpretation by Ward-Perkins (1958) 179-80 and Ward-Perkins (1970) 395-7 is speculative (see ch. 6 n. 22).

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### Teos

- 48 Temple (*naos*) of Sebastoi. *IGR* iv 1581. Coins of Augustus and of Nero and Octavia show the head of Augustus within a temple: Pl. 2a; *BMC Ionia* 319, no. 69 = Price, Trell (1977) fig. 356, *Copenhagen* 1515, Weber 6233; *BMC Ionia* 319, no. 74; Mionnet iii 262, no. 1499 (specimen in Ashmolean). Presumably the same temple, seen in different lights. Note also the fragments of curved architrave dedicated to Hadrian (*BCH* 46 (1922) 329, no. 8 = *SEG* ii 586). Bean (1979a) 112 is perhaps confusing this with the dedication of the temple of Dionysus by Hadrian (Robert, *Hell.* iii (1946) 86–9).

### LYDIA

### Asar Tepe

- 49 Sanctuary of Men, Zeus, another deity and 'the ruling divine emperors' (*tōn kratountōn theōn Sebastōn*)? *IGR* iv 1349 = Lane, *CMRDM* i 76. C. Foss, *Classical Antiquity* i (1982) 178–201, argues that this site, perhaps only a sanctuary in the Roman period, was in the territory of Tmolus, which he identifies with Gök kaya.

### Blaundus

- 50 Alleged imperial temple. Keil, von Premerstein ii pp. 145–7 (= *IGR* iv 1700) show that *IGR* iv 719 was not a temple of Claudius as Arundell, referred to in *CIG* 3869, and Vermeule (1968) 459 suggest. An adjacent temple did, however, have an imperial statue in or near it, Keil, von Premerstein ii p. 145.

### Coloe

- 51 Temple (*naos*) of emperors (*kyrioi*). Attested in 213/14. Keil, von Premerstein iii 61, no. 75.

### Dareioukome

- 52 Temple to Demeter in honour of emperor. *IGR* iv 1352. Cf. Veyne (1962) 83 n. 3.

### Jussuf Deressi

- 53 Kaisareion with colonnade, in part a private donation. Keil, von Premerstein iii 107 = *I. Ephesos* vii 2, 3865 A (early imperial script). (The village is now called Yusufdere.)

### Nacrasa

- 54 Temple of emperor. Coins (of Trajan) show a military figure, facing left, who is probably the emperor (*Hunterian Collection* ii 459, no. 1; Paris no. 791). To be distinguished from Artemis, facing right (*Copenhagen* 298; von Aulock 3035). Ann Johnston elucidated this case for me.

### Philadelphia

- 55 Temple and neocorate from Caracalla. *IGR* iv 1619 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 883 = *AJ* 134. Cf. Robert (1967) 49 n. 3.

### Sardis

- 56 Temple (*naos*) of Augustus. *IGR* iv 1756 = *Sardis* vii 1, 8, lines 13–14.



- 57 Antoninus Pius and Faustina in Artemision. G. Gruben, 'Beobachtungen zum Artemis-Tempel von Sardis', *Ath. Mitt.* 76 (1961) 155, is the best work on the temple (note the plan on table v); see Fig. 7. Though based only on a brief survey, his results have not been effectively answered in the final report by G. M. A. Hanfmann and J. C. Waldbaum, *A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments Outside the City Walls* (1975) 74–87. For the statues see Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) nos. 40–1 and also G. M. A. Hanfmann and N. H. Ramage, *Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds through 1975* (1978) 96, no. 79 (Antoninus Pius), 166, no. 251 (Faustina). For Zeus see nos. 102–5 and note nos. 88 and 252 (two or more further female colossi). Clearly not all these colossi can have stood in the temple itself, but the head of Faustina comes from an acrolithic statue and must have stood against a wall, presumably in the cella. Sardis advertised two neocorates on her coins under Septimius Severus, the first of which was probably granted for this temple, as Ann Johnston has argued to me. Coins display a temple with a cuirassed statue of the emperor (von Aulock 3154, 7814). One of these was issued in a special series of the Ionian League under Antoninus Pius and there must have been a special meeting of the League, of which Sardis was not a member, in Sardis (Gillespie, *Rev. belge num.* 102 (1956) 31–53; H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 9 (1972) 188–92). This meeting was presumably in celebration of the new work on the temple of Artemis. I assume that the statue of Faustina was omitted from the coin as of lesser importance.
- 58 Three neocorates under Elagabalus (*BMC Lydia* 265, nos. 170–2), the third withdrawn and regained under Valerian (*BMC Lydia* 273, no. 206). Three imperial temples on coins (Price, Trell (1977) 137, fig. 242), and an inscription refers to a number of provincial temples at Sardis (*IGR* IV 1523 = *Sardis* VII, 1, 47). A provincial temple of the first century A.D. has now been discovered; T. Howe, C. Ratté, C. Foss (forthcoming).

### Thyatira

- 59 'Royal room' (*basilikos oikos*) in Hadrianeion. *IGR* IV 1290 (with Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1929) 141 = *Op. Min. Sel.* II 1107 n. 2). Weber, *Untersuchungen* 138, took this as a temple but it should be a special room in a larger public complex, just as the gerousia in the same town had its own *oikobasilikon*, *BCH* 11 (1887) 100. It may have been like the room of the same name at Cremna (Cat. no. 127).

### Tralles

- 60 Temple to Augustus suggested by F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadt-münzen* (1897) 173–4, no. 23. On context see Magie (1950) 469, 1331 n. 7.
- 61 Neocorate from Caracalla. Coins show the temple of Zeus and the imperial temple, with the cuirassed emperor inside: Mionnet IV 189, no. 1102, Supp. VII 474, no. 733; von Aulock 3290; Trell (1945) pl.

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14, 5 (ANS); Price, Trell (1977) fig. 447 (Paris). The neocorate on inscriptions: LBW 1652a; *Ath. Mitt.* 8 (1883) 333, no. 13; *IGR* iv 1341 (with Robert, *Hell.* iv (1948) 111 n. 3).

Trocetta

62 Sanctuary of Sebastoi, argued for by Keil, von Premerstein 1 p. 10 on *IGR* iv 1498, is not certain. See Veyne (1962) 83-4 n. 3.

CARIA

Alabanda

63 Column from portico ? of temple to Theoi Sebastoi, Apollo Isotimos and Demos. *CRAI* (1906) 419. Bean (1980) 160.

Aphrodisias

64 'Imperial temple' (*sebasteios naos*, attested in a second-century text, *CIG* 2839) has now probably been located (*AJA* 84 (1980) 511; 85 (1981) 472; 86 (1982) 568-9; *Anat. Stud.* 30 (1980) 205-6; 31 (1981) 177-80; 32 (1982) 10-13). Cf. also K. T. Erim, *National Geographic* 160 (1981) 526-51 at pp. 529, 548-50. A monumental entrance way flanked by porticoes of Julio-Claudian date probably led up to a grand temple (in an unexcavated area). For the inscriptions on the reliefs see J. Reynolds, *ZPE* 43 (1981) 317-27. K. T. Erim, *Britannia* 13 (1982) 277-81, published a relief of Claudius and Britannia, and in *RA* (1982) 163-9 discusses and illustrates other reliefs.

Aphrodisias (district of)

65 Bust of Septimius Severus in pediment, perhaps of shrine. H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch* (1961) 102, no. 52; Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) no. 58.

Hydisos

66 Temple ? to Titus. *SDAW* (1894) II 917 with Laumonier (1958) 186.

Hyllarima

67 Temple, with porch (*pronaos*) to Antoninus Pius, Zeus Hyllus and patris privately donated. *SDAW* (1894) II 918 with Laumonier (1958) 453-4.

Iasos

68 Imperial room off portico. *Anat. Stud.* 23 (1973) 41 = *AJA* 78 (1974) 122 = *TAD* XXI 1 (1974) 103.

Lagina

69 Alleged imperial temple. The phrase *sebastos oikos* in an epistyle inscription (*I. Stratonikeia* II 1, 662) is generally assumed to prove an imperial temple in the sanctuary of Hekate, whose remains are located near the main temple (C. T. Newton, *Halicarnassus...* II (1863) 557-8, 799; Laumonier (1958) 348; Tuchelt, *Ist. Mitt.* 25 (1975) 139 n. 202, 31 (1981) 186). However the context of the phrase shows that it concerns sacrifices on behalf of 'the imperial house'. There is therefore no evidence that the ruined temple served the imperial cult.

Mylasa

- 70 Temple of Rome and Augustus. Standing on a podium with columns all round it had a frieze of ox-heads, tripods and libation bowls (Fig. 10). Seen by early travellers: J. Spon, G. Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie* I (1679) 275 = *A Journey into Greece* (1682) 275-6 (whence *CIG* 2696), and R. Pococke, *A Description of the East* II 2 (1745) 61 and pl. 55 (whence Trell (1945) pl. 28; *ANRW* II 16, 2 (1978) 956-7 reproduces both drawings). Later destroyed: R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor* (1817) 216. Cf. W. Ruge, *RE* xvi (1935) 1063. Robert, *REG* 64 (1951) xiv-xv (and *ACF* (1951) 213-14 = *Op. Min. Sel.* IV 116), settles the site, against Laumonier, *RA* (1933) II 31-3. Maps in A. Akarca, *Milâs* (1954) facing p. 112, and Bean (1980) 21, who refers (p. 23) to an inscription. Dinsmoor (1950) 276-7 discusses the architecture. Cf. A. Akarca, *Les monnaies grecques de Mylasa* (1959) 20, 51, who dates it to between 11 B.C. and A.D. 2. Mellor (1975) 136-8 quotes the travellers.

Nysa

- 71 Statues of family of Antoninus Pius in shrines (?) against rear wall of geronticon. *AD* 7 (1921-2) 42-77, esp. 68-76, and W. A. McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (1943) 219-24.

Panamara

- 72 *Sebasteion. I. Stratonikeia* I 227 (a text of Hadrianic date, Laumonier, *BCH* 61 (1937) 269). Inscription on arcade of doorway of imperial (?) temple, *SEG* IV 275 = *I. Stratonikeia* I 168, with Laumonier (1958) 244-5.

Stratonicea

- 73 Temple of Sebastoi Autokratores. E. Hula, E. Szanto, *SAWW* 132 (1894) 19-20; Laumonier, *RA* (1933) II 52-3; Bean (1980) 71. The remains of the temple on the terrace above the theatre still (September 1979) lie in a tangle of brambles. The decoration suggests a date in the late Trajanic-early Hadrianic period (the nearest parallels being from Athens: Ch. Börker, 'Zwei vergessene Giebel in Athen', *AA* (1976) 264-78). I am grateful to Dr S. Walker for advice on dating.

LYCIA

Choma

- 74 *Sebasteion* and portico. A private donation. *IGR* III 739 = *TAM* II 905, xix 32 (referred to in decree of A.D. 149).

Olympus

- 75 Door of temple with statue base of Marcus Aurelius adjacent. C. Fellows, *A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor* (1839) 213; F. Beaufort, *Karamania*<sup>2</sup> (1818) 45; E. Petersen, F. von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien...* II (1889) 142 and pl. 18; Akurgal (1978) 265 from Turkish survey; F. Stark, *The Lycian Shore* (1956) 165, is confused and Vermeule (1968) 295, 483 dogmatic; Bean (1979b) 140 rightly does not assume that the temple was dedicated to Marcus.

Phaselis

- 76 Alleged temple of Hadrian. *IGR* III 760 = *TAM* III 1187 has long been said to be on the epistyle of a temple of Hadrian (O. Benndorf, G. Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien* I (1884) 117 n. 3; Weber, *Untersuchungen* 225-6; Magie (1950) 620). It is in fact on a gate dedicated to Hadrian (*Phaselis* (ed. J. Schäfer, 1981) 87-9, 151-4, pls. 41-4). Vermeule (1968) 483 compounded the original error by referring to a temple of Trajan.

Rhodiapolis

- 77 Temple seemingly to Asclepius, Hygeia and Sebastoi. But *IGR* III 732 = *TAM* II 3, 906 is misleading; cf. *IGR* III 733 = *TAM* II 3, 910.

Sidyra

- 78 Claudian temple to Theoi Soteres Sebastoi, on podium with external colonnade. *IGR* III 577 = *TAM* II 177. O. Benndorf, G. Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien* I (1884) 61-2, figs. 41-3, pl. 21; Robertson (1943) 209, 341; Anabolu (1970) index s.v. Sidyra; *ESAR* IV 728; there is little now visible, Bean (1978) 80.

Xanthos

- 79 Temple (*naos*) of 'Caesar' within a *peribolos* (sanctuary). *IGR* III 482 = *OGIS* 555. Magie (1950) II 1386 n. 45, probably to Octavian.
- 80 Temple A in Letoum said by O. Benndorf, G. Niemann, *Reisen* I (1884) 122, no. 92, to be for imperial cult on basis of statue base (*IGR* III 600 = *TAM* II 2, 492). H. Metzger, *RA* (1966) 104, and Chr. Le Roy, *RA* (1976) 317-18, rightly deny this.
- 81 Provincial imperial shrine (*ethnikon Kaisareion*) in the Letoum (A. Balland, *F. Xanthos* VII (1981) 185, no. 67); festivals in honour of Roma and Augustus in the sanctuary (270-2, 280, no. 91). Balland argues that the shrine should be identified with the room in the portico, rather than the nymphaeum with its statue of Hadrian (pp. 25-8). See further *F. Xanthos* VI 17, fig. 3 and pls. 5-7, and *F. Xanthos* VII, plan 1. For the statue of Marciana see *F. Xanthos* VII 56, no. 31. The nymphaeum (*RA* (1970) 314-17) located at a spring does, however, have interesting parallels in the nymphaeum at the source of Argos' water supply, where a colossal statue of Hadrian was found (W. Vollgraff, *BCH* 82 (1958) 539-55). Cf. also the nymphaeum at Zaghoun where an imperial statue probably stood in the apse of the shrine, F. Rakob, 'Das Quellenheiligtum in Zaghoun und die römische Wasserleitung nach Karthago', *Röm. Mitt.* 81 (1974) 41-89.

CIBYRATIS

Bubon

- 82 Imperial room and statues (Pl. 4b). P. Oliver-Smith, 'The Houston bronze spearbearer', *Antike Plastik* 15 (1975) 95, collected much material but see now J. Inan, 'Der Bronzeturso im Burdur-Museum aus Bubon und der Bronzekopf im J.-Paul-Getty-Museum', *Ist. Mitt.*

27/8 (1977/8) 267 with plan, and the inscriptions published by C. P. Jones at pp. 288–96 = *SEG* xxvii 916–27 (and Inan, Rosenbaum (1979) 47–9). C. C. Vermeule, 'The late Antonine and Severan bronze portraits from southwest Asia Minor', in *Eikones. Fest. H. Zucker* (1980) 185, adds further statues now in private collections and reports that a number of marble statues were also found. A visit to the site in September 1979 showed that much of the room had been infilled but some inscriptions were still to be seen. Rumours reveal further destinations of other works which do not seem yet to have surfaced, though a head of Pius(?) in Edinburgh may have originated here.

PHRYGIA

Dioskome

- 83 Alleged imperial shrine. *IGR* iv 635. *ESAR* iv 772 suggested a shrine was dedicated and Vermeule (1968) 472 an altar, but the object is entirely unclear.

Eumeneia

- 84 Imperial temple. Within, the emperor with spear in left, ? naked. Price, Trell (1977) 263, no. 397 (Paris no. 1140; reign of Philip).

Hierapolis

- 85 Temple 'to the imperial race' (*genei Sebastōn*) on Claudian coins. *BMC Phrygia* 229, no. 11; *Coll. Waddington* 6131; Mionnet iv 301–2, nos. 614–15 (= Paris nos. 590, 589); Berlin 138–41. Cf. L. Weber, 'Zur Münzprägung des phrygischen Hierapolis', *Charites F. Leo...* *dargebracht* (1911) 466–90 at pp. 471–3.
- 86 Elagabalan temple and neocorate; within, emperor in military dress sacrificing over an altar. For the three different coin types see Weber (1911) pp. 466–80 (pl. 7, nos. 1, 3–4) (also Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl. M.* 241, no. 32, Price, Trell (1977) figs. 389, 403). Von Papen, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 26 (1908) 161–8, and A. Johnston, *NC* (1984) 52–80, show that the neocorate was given not by Caracalla but Elagabalus (A.D. 221).

Laodicea

- 87 Imperial temple. Coins show the emperor in armour with trophy and spear. Under Domitian: *BMC Phrygia* 307, nos. 181–2, 185 (with figure of Domitia?); 308, no. 188; F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques* (1883) 404, no. 122; *Coll. Waddington* 6275 (Paris). Under Domitia: von Aulock 3846. Under Trajan: Mionnet Supp. vii 585, no. 448; *Copenhagen* 573. Under Caracalla: Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl. M.* 273, no. 49; also a variant showing the emperor in toga, libation bowl in right: *Coll. Waddington* 6305 (Paris) = Pl. 3b. Imperial temple and two others, von Aulock 3858.
- 88 Neocorate from Commodus (withdrawn) and Caracalla. Robert, *Laodicée* 283–5. Caracallan medallion shows within a temple a

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cuirassed emperor crowned by female figure holding a cornucopia (Paris no. 1696), though Ann Johnston points out that it may be retouched.

### Prymnessus

- 89 Sebasteion alleged in the Greek version of the martyrdom of St Areadne, set in the second century (ed. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Studi e testi* 6 (1901) 91-113 and 8 (1902) 3-21). E. Le Blant, *Les actes des martyrs* (1882) 178-84, had already noticed the interest of the work, but on the basis of an inferior, Latin version, reprinted in *PL* cciv 61-70 and *Acta Sanctorum* Nov. 1 201-7. The Syriac version omits the trial of Tertullus and lacks local colour, A. S. Lewis, *Select Narratives of Holy Women* II (1900) 85-93. Franchi de' Cavalieri gives a good discussion of the work, which is now supplemented by L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure* (1980) 244-56. The main narrative is clearly late both in language and in 'facts' (it is set in the province of Phrygia Salutaris, which was not created until 359-61). But the trial of Tertullus is obviously very close to the world we know from inscriptions, which Franchi used as an argument in favour of its authenticity. Robert, however, shows that the terms of praise were lifted from an honorific inscription which cannot have come from Prymnessus or its area (Pamphylia is its likely origin). But Robert also shows that the reference to Dikaio syne is uniquely appropriate to Prymnessus, whose chief deity she was. The fact that this is embedded in the section taken from the Pamphylian inscription suggests to me that we are dealing here with a late embellishment of an early text and that the trial of Tertullus cannot be regarded, as Robert suggests, simply as a late addition to liven up the story.

### Synnada

- 90 Temple probably not of emperor (as Imhoof-Blumer, *Kl. M.* 295, no. 21) but of Dionysus, as *BMC Phrygia* 401, nos. 49-50, and Price, Trell (1977) 269, nos. 507-11.
- 91 Two neocorates on inscription, *IGR* IV 700 = *MAMA* IV 59 (A.D. 293-305).

### Tiberiopolis

- 92 Alleged temple of Tiberius. But *BMC Phrygia* 421, no. 1, is now classified by the B.M. under Smyrna (Cat. no. 45).

## BITHYNIA

### Apamea

- 93 Alleged imperial shrine. *CIL* III 336 = LBW 1137 is to be supplemented not as *sac[ellum]* but *sac[erdos]*. P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung...* I (1931) 146 n. 199.

### Bithynium

- 94 Imperial temple? Coins show within the temple a cuirassed emperor holding a spear. Von Aulock 324 (Julia Paula), 327-8 (Severus

Alexander), *Coll. Waddington* 249 = *Rec.* 278, no. 70 (Valerian); Price, Trell (1977) 256, no. 270.

- 95 Temple of Antinous (in his native city), represented on coins, *Rec.* 270, nos. 13–18 (cf. Price, Trell (1977) 256, no. 271); remains tentatively identified by N. Firath, in *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mél. E. Laroche* (1979) 111–20. Cf. also Anabolu (1970) pls. 283–4, 297–8 and *AJA* 83 (1979) 342. On the local cult of Antinous see Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure* (1980) 132–5.

#### Heraclea Pontica

- 96 Alleged imperial shrine. Pliny, *Ep.* x 75–6. Pace Sherwin-White (*ad loc.*) these letters do not imply a shrine of Trajan in buildings at Heraclea and Tium (P. Veyne, *Latomus* 26 (1967) 746–8).
- 97 Neocorate under Philip I, for temple of Roma, *NC* (1971) 126, no. 10 (= Price, Trell (1977) fig. 7).

#### Juliopolis

- 98 The attribution of a neocorate to this city is based on a single coin which in fact comes from Hierapolis: A. Johnston, *Historia* 32 (1983) 65.

#### Nicaea

- 99 Temple of Rome and Julius Caesar for Roman citizens (Dio LI 20, 6). Note the statue of Julius Caesar (as Men?) on coins of Antoninus Pius (von Aulock 548, *Rec.* 409, no. 82) and Gordian III (*BMC Bithynia* 171, no. 118, *Rec.* 488, no. 706, von Aulock 7050). Cf. W. H. Roscher, *Berichte Verhandl. Leipzig* 43 (1891) 96; J.-A. Blanchet, *RN* 12 (1894) 301–6; W. Kubitschek, *Rundschau über ein Quinquennium* (1896) 41.

#### Nicomedia

- 100 Provincial temple of Rome and Augustus (Dio LI 20, 7). Mellor (1975) 141–2. ? Hadrian added, *BMC Bithynia* 105, nos. 9–11, *Rec.* 240, nos. 32–5, *RIC* III 396, nos. 1096–1100. See Bosch (1935) 191–2, A. M. Woodward in *Studies H. Mattingly* (1956) 163–4 and Fayer (1976) 108–9 on statues.
- 101 Room (*oikos*) of association to Vespasian. *IGR* III 4 = *TAM* IV 1, 22. Cf. Robert, *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1969) 8–14.
- 102 Second neocorate from Commodus (Dio LXXII 12, 2); withdrawn and regained from Septimius Severus. Third for Elagabalus (withdrawn) and regained from Valerian (*Rec.* 513). Coins show two and three temples: *Rec.* 552, nos. 278–9; von Aulock 7106, 7138–9, 7141, etc.; Price, Trell (1977) figs. 390, 446, 456–7.

#### Prusa

- 103 Temple to Claudius in house. Pliny, *Ep.* x 70.

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### ARMENIA MINOR

#### Nicopolis

- 104 One neocorate, Hadrian or later (*CIG* III 4189); a second by the mid third century (*BCH* 33 (1909) 35, no. 13).

### PAPHLAGONIA

#### Neapolis, Pompeiopolis and Caesarea

- 105 Sanctuaries (*Sebasteia*) with altars. *IGR* III 137 = *OGIS* 532 = *ILS* 8781 = *Studia Pontica* III 66 = *AJ* 37. On the area see D. R. Wilson, 'The historical geography of Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Pontus in the Greek and Roman periods' (unpublished B.Litt. Oxford, 1960) 508–9, though he assumes a distinction between these three cities and the hyparchies. I find it implausible that the text should exclude these cities from the arrangements.

### PONTUS

#### Amaseia

- 106 Imperial temple perhaps shown on coin of Trajan (*Rec.* I 1<sup>2</sup> 34, no. 8; Price, Trell (1977) 91). Neocorate attested from Marcus Aurelius: *Rec.* I 1<sup>2</sup> 36, no. 18.

#### Neocaesarea

- 107 Imperial busts in sanctuary? See Pl. 2d–e; Price, Trell (1977) 95–7 on *Rec.* I 1<sup>2</sup> 120ff. The three busts (?) are illustrated in Price, Trell (1977) fig. 170 and von Aulock 101. One neocorate under Marcus Aurelius (*Rec.* 87, no. 8) and two under Severus Alexander (*Rec.* 91, nos. 40ff.).

### GALATIA

#### Ancyra

- 108 Provincial temple of Rome and Augustus (*Sebasteion*). The temple, which is still standing, was surveyed by D. Krencker, M. Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara* (1936) (and also M. Schede, H. S. Schulz, *Ankara und Augustus* (1937)); their Hellenistic date was corrected by E. Wiegand, *Gnomon* 13 (1937) 414–22. Possible traces of altar in front of temple, Krencker, Schede pp. 30–1. A. Erzen, 'Men ve Augustus in Ankara mâbedi idolan münasebetleri', *V Türk Tarih Kongresi* (1956 [1960]) 134–41, seems unconvincing. H. Koşay, 'Augustustempel in Ankara', *Anatolia* 2 (1957) 137, and Y. Boysal, *ibid.* 131–2, on excavations of 1939. C. Foss, *DOP* 31 (1977) 65–6, on reuse in late antiquity. For attempts to relate the temple to Men and Cybele see Mellor (1975) 144 and Akurgal (1978) 284–7. For coins see Price, Trell (1977) 269, no. 522 (fig. 379, Paris), *Coll.*



*Waddington* 6591, F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen* (1890) 226, no. 746, von Aulock 6113 (Koinon temple of Sebastoi, presumably in Ancyra). The inscription on the temple relating to festivals and feasts there (*OGIS* 533 = Bosch no. 51; best text in Krencker, Schede pp. 52-4) dates as extant to A.D. 23-39 (R. K. Sherck, *ANRW* II 7, 2 (1980) 972-5). H. Hänlein, *AA* (1981) 511-13, argues that it proves an early Tiberian date for the temple.

- 109 Second neocorate under Valerian and Gallienus. Coins: *BMC Galatia* 15, nos. 39-41, 16, nos. 42-47. Inscription: *IGR* III 179 = Bosch no. 288.

### Choria Considiana

- 110 Temple (*naos*) and statues (*agalмата*): *RECAM* II 34. II 36, dating to 177-80, is perhaps an unadorned frieze block from the temple (inscribed in Latin).

### Germa

- 111 Emperor in toga with patera between two military standards as coin type: *Coll. Waddington* 6602-3, von Aulock 6204 (= *Ist. Mitt.* 18 (1968) 236, nos. 7-9). Commodan.

### Pessinus

- 112 Temple (*naos*), probably imperial: *IGR* III 230 = *OGIS* 540; statue (*agalma*), *OGIS* 533 = Bosch no. 51, lines 58-62 (best text, Krencker, Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara* (1936) pp. 52-4). Excavated temple of Tiberian date (P. Lambrechts *et al.*, *L'Antiquité classique* 41 (1972) 156-73; cf. *TAD* xx (1973) 107; *De Brug* (1972) 269, (1973) 310-11; Akurgal (1978) 277-8). This temple, lying above a theatre on its central axis, is reminiscent of the Roman theatre temples (J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples* (1959)). There is no other example from Asia Minor of this axial alignment (de Bernardi Ferrero IV 30), though temples were often closely associated with theatres (C. Picard, *J. Savants* (1961) 49-78). But there is no confirmation of the hypothesis that the excavated temple was dedicated to the emperor.

## LYCAONIA

### Isaura

- 113 Bearded bust on a column in a temple shown on a coin is identified by von Aulock 8653 as Septimius Severus; no identification is offered by Weber 7556, *Fitzwilliam* 5258, *BMC Lycaonia* 13, nos. 1-2, but it may rather represent Zeus.

### Kana

- 114 Temple (*naos*) and statue (*agalma*) to Trajan. *MAMA* VIII 211, dated between 106/7 and 109 (?) by R. K. Sherck, *ANRW* II 7, 2 (1980) 1017-20.

### Laodicea Combusta

- 115 Temple on hillside c. 1½ miles from Ladik with statue bases of Cornelia Salonina and of high priest of *theoi Sebastoi*: W. M. Calder,

## *Imperial temples and shrines in Asia Minor*

*Klio* 10 (1910) 233-4, *MAMA* I xv; no. 11 on map in *RE* XIII (1927) 2261-2. See *MAMA* I xiii-xiv for imperial estates here, and *RECAM* II 403 for other statues of Salonina.

### Perta

- 116 Fragments of architrave probably dedicated to Hadrian perhaps mentioning a temple. *MAMA* VIII 259 + M. H. Ballance, 'An archaeological reassessment of the Classical period in central Asia Minor' (unpublished Ph.D. Edinburgh, 1960) 207, no. 190.

## CAPPADOCIA

### Caesarea

- 117 One neocorate under Septimius Severus (*BMC Cappadocia* 74, no. 227; 78, no. 253). The temple is shown on a coin of A.D. 206 (Price, Trell (1977) fig. 378, Paris). Second neocorate under Gordian (*BMC Cappadocia* 92, no. 340; von Aulock 6523-34).

### Faustinopolis

- 118 Temple of younger Faustina. *SHA Marcus Aurelius* 26, *Carac.* 11. Cf. M. Hammond, *The Antonine Monarchy* (1959) 227 n. 42; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 716. No trace has been found on the ground but the source is presumably reliable.

## PISIDIA

### Adada

- 119 Temple (*naos*) to Theoi Sebastoi, Zeus Megistos Sarapis and patris, with surrounding porticoes and work rooms. *IGR* III 364 = L. Vidmann, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae*... (1969) no. 339.
- 120 Temple (*naos*) to Theoi Sebastoi and patris with *agalma* of Aphrodite. *IGR* III 365.
- 121 Temple (*naos*) to Theoi Sebastoi and patris with *xoanon* and *agalmata*. *IGR* III 366.
- 122 Traianeion. Von Aulock (1977) 59, nos. 114-16 (Valerian and Gallienus).  
The first three temples are still standing, but no study of their architecture has been published, though the site has been long known (C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien* IX 2 (1859) 572-4; J. R. S. Sterrett, *Papers Amer. School Athens* 3 (1888) 281-308; G. Hirschfeld, *GGA* (1888) 577-8; von Aulock (1977) 20-1; *BE* (1977) 553). Cat. nos. 119-20 are datable to the later second or early third century; the grandson(?) of the donor was born about 210-40 (Sterrett *op. cit.* 299, no. 420) and his grandfather therefore c. 150-80. This dating confirms the impression given by the ornamentation of the temples.

### Antioch

- 123 Temple on Platea Augusta identified as of Augustus and Men by D. M. Robinson, *AJA* 28 (1924) 441-2, *The Art Bulletin* 9 (1926-7)

11-19, followed by many including Ward-Perkins (1970) 390. But there is no good evidence for this and it raises difficult questions as to the relationship to non-Greek gods (cf. ch. 4). It might be dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus: Magie (1950) 1 460 and B. Levick, *RE Supp.* xi (1968) 52 citing *CIL* iii 6838. Ramsay, *JRS* 6 (1916) 108 (and Mellor (1975) 144-5), believed it was a temple of Rome and Augustus because of the inscribing of the *Res Gestae*. But he later, *JHS* 50 (1930) 277, accepted a second-century date and this is confirmed by Inan, Rosenbaum (1966) 36 n. 5. On its Roman podium design executed by local craftsmen see J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'The architecture of Roman Anatolia: the Roman contribution', in *Proc. X Int. Cong. Class. Arch., Ankara 1973* ii (1978) 881, esp. 883.

#### Apollonia

- 124 Temenos ? of Sebastoi, with 3 equestrian imperial statues, and 5 other imperial statues on one base. *MAMA* iv 142-3. The Corinthian temple of Rome and Augustus in Dinsmoor (1950) 282 is an error.
- 125 Imperial temple with cuirassed emperor within on coins of Marcus Aurelius: *Anatolian Studies W. M. Ramsay* (1923) 217, no. 11, von Aulock 4991, von Aulock (1979) 57, nos. 83-8; Philip I: *Copenhagen* 101 = von Aulock (1979) 60, no. 135; and Gallienus: *BMC Pisidia* 203, nos. 5-6; *Copenhagen* 99; von Aulock 4999; Price, Trell (1977) fig. 393 (ANS); von Aulock (1979) 62, nos. 157-83.

#### Comama

- 126 *Agalma* of boule ? and temple (*naos*) dedicated to house (*oikos*) of Sebastoi; financed by a bequest. *IGR* iii 402 = *Anat. Stud.* 10 (1960) 55, no. 102 = *AE* (1961) 23 = *SEG* xix 832.

#### Cremna

- 127 Colonnaded hall. The hall on the forum, a room and statues (presumably imperial) were dedicated to Hadrian, the room perhaps also being known as an *oikobasilikon*. *CIL* iii 6874; *TAD* 19, 2 (1970) 100, no. 11, with *BE* (1973) 475 *ad fin*; M. H. Ballance, *PBSR* 26 (1958) 167-75.

#### Pednelissus ?

- 128 Temple (*naos*, with *pronaos*) to Theoi Sebastoi and patris. *Annuario* 3 (1916-20) 154, no. 93 = *SEG* ii 724. Cf. Magie (1950) 1317 n. 25 and 1482 n. 39 on the identification of the site.

#### Sagalassus

- 129 Temple to Antoninus Pius, his house and ? Patrioi Theoi, with external colonnade. *IGR* iii 348. On the building see Lanckoronski ii (1892) 130; Crema (1959) 389; Anabolu (1970) 12, 24, 43, 69, 96, pls. 95-102; Vermeule (1968) 487.
- 130 Temple (*naos*, with *peripteron*) to Apollo Clarius, Theoi Sebastoi and patris. *IGR* iii 342 = W. M. Ramsay, *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor* (1941) 16, no. 5.

Selge

- 131 Temple of Aelius Verus? A second-century podium temple is confidently attributed to him (A. Machatschek, M. Schwarz, *Bauforschungen in Selge* (1981) 94–6, table 20, pl. 69) but only on the grounds of an inscription (below a statue?) on part of the podium.

Termessus

- 132 Inscription on architrave of temple N4: *IGR* III 424 = *TAM* III 1, 17. The original restoration gave a dedication to the Sebastoi and Artemis. But H. Kasten, *Bursians Jahresberichte* 253 (1936) 81, and Heberdey rightly eschew restoring the Sebastoi. There was only one *agalma*, presumably of Artemis. There were, however, also six silver *eikones*, which may have been of the donors, R. Heberdey, *RE* VA (1934) 744.
- 133 Dedication to Hadrian on propylon of temple N7: *IGR* III 430 = *TAM* III 1, 10. Lanckoronski II 62, 120f., Weber, *Untersuchungen* 227, and Magie (1950) 620 all took the temple as that of Hadrian but it may have been dedicated to Artemis: Heberdey, 'Termessische Studien', *Denk. Ak. Wien* 69, 3 (1929) 29, *RE* VA (1934) 745.
- 134 Dedication to Antoninus Pius from building P4: *TAM* III 1, 11, but this was probably secular, Heberdey, 'Term. Stud.' (Cat. no. 133) 29, 100; *RE* VA (1934) 744–5 against Lanckoronski II 54.
- 135 Temple N3 was allocated by Lanckoronski II 48 and Mellor (1975) 136 to the cult of Roma or the Sebastoi but without grounds, Heberdey, *RE* VA (1934) 743–4.
- 136 Coins showing emperor crowning trophy standing in aedicula: von Aulock 5357 = Price, Trell (1977) 272, no. 571 (mid second to third century). Cf. von Aulock 5358, without monument. The buildings referred to can be identified on the map in *TAM* III 1 or *RE* VA (1934) 735–6. There was an imperial monument at Termessus but no clear imperial temple.

PAMPHYLIA

Aspendus

- 137 Neocorate temple, *Anatolian Studies* W. M. Ramsay (1923) 212, no. 4, Weber 7326 (Gallienus) and Paris (Salonina).
- 138 Colonnaded hall. Lanckoronski I 96–8. M. H. Ballance, *PBSR* 26 (1958) 175, 184, compared this to the building at Cremna but here the room at one end forms an entrance hall to the hall, though there may have been statues in the niches in the walls.

Cibyra minor

- 139 Claudian Kaisareion. Bean, Mitford II 60, no. 32 = *AE* (1972) 631 (lintel block).

Perge

- 140 Neocorate under Valerian and Gallienus. *BMC Pamphylia* 133, nos. 70ff.

Side

- 141 Imperial temple on coin of Salonina (*Coll. Waddington* 3500 (Paris = Pl. 2g); *BMC Pamphylia* 163, no. 124; the B.M. now has a better specimen) at which time the city gained its first neocorate from Gallienus. The imperial cuirassed statue appears within the temple. Earlier, however, a coin had shown the temple of Apollo and two imperial temples (Price, Trell (1977) fig. 453 (Paris), Trebonianus Gallus). Three neocorates were held under Aurelian (von Aulock 4864) and six in the fourth century (according to Dr B. Burrell). This last figure is unparalleled and unexplained.

CILICIA

Aegeae

- 142 Temple of Hadrian appears in the Acts of St Thalelaeus (*Acta Sanctorum May* v 180ff.; Armenian version translated by F. C. Conybeare, *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius...*<sup>2</sup> (1896) 239ff. at pp. 243, 255. Cf. *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* xii (1969) 109-11). These acts are not wholly reliable but the temple may have existed. Hadrian probably visited the city four times (A. von Domaszewski, *Num. Zeit.* 44 (1911) 7) and the city had the title Hadriana under Antoninus Pius (von Aulock 8666) and later emperors (*BMC Cilicia* 23, no. 23; von Aulock 5453).
- 143 Neocorate for temple of Asclepius from Severus Alexander, who is associated with the god, but probably without being honoured within the temple (Robert, *J. Savants* (1973) 195-7; *HSCP* 81 (1977) 36 n. 175; P. Weiss, *Chiron* 12 (1982) 198-203). Note also the possible relationship between Julia Domna and Hygeia (Robert, *J. Savants* (1973) 197). The neocorate temple appears on coins of Philip II, *Copenhagen* 39; cf. *JHS* 18 (1898) 161, no. 2; B. Pick, *JÖAI* 7 (1904) 39 = *Aufsätze* (1931) 70.

Anazarbus

- 144 Temple (*naos*) of Domitian. *JÖAI* 18 (1915) Beib. 55-8 with *JHS* 11 (1890) 242, no. 12: a temple column dedicated to *Autokrator Kaisar*. Cf. Scott (1936) 147 and M. Gough, *Anat. Stud.* 2 (1952) 95, 106-8. First neocorate by 198-9, second by 207 (A. M. Woodward, *NC* (1963) 7-10, R. Ziegler, *JNG* 27 (1977) 36-8; *Anat. Stud.* 2 (1952) 130, no. 2; *ZPE* 51 (1983) 131-2).

Antiochia ad Cragum

- 145 Lintel block from small temple which is 'adorned with two winged figures supporting a medallion on which is a bust seemingly of a Roman emperor'; Bean, Mitford 1 34. Perhaps an imperial temple. Cf. Cat. no. 65.

Cestrus

- 146 Imperial temple with statues of Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and Sabina. Bean, Mitford II 157ff., nos. 159-64 = *AE* (1972) 644-9.
- 147 Temple divided into two chambers with statue base of Antoninus Pius in position against the side wall of the front chamber and another statue base nearby. *Anat. Stud.* 12 (1962) 211-13, nos. 36-7 = *SEG* xx 95-6. Vermeule (1968) 495 suggests from the upper surfaces that the statues were respectively bronze and marble.

Near Cestrus

- 148 Temple to Theos Megalos, Trajan and Demos. The sole image will have been of the first mentioned. *Monumenti antichi* 23 (1914) 149-50, no. 110 = *Anat. Stud.* 12 (1962) 212 = *SEG* xx 105, with remarks on the site in Bean, Mitford II 155-6 n. 14.

Iotape

- 149 Temple (*naos*) of Trajan. *IGR* III 831. Plan in R. Heberdey, A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* (1896) 147-8; cf. R. Paribeni, P. Romanelli, *Monumenti antichi* 23 (1914) 174-83, Bean, Mitford I 27 and II 150. Plan of town in E. Rosenbaum *et al.*, *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia* (1967) facing p. 32 (building 8) (= *ANRW* II 7, 2 (1980) Abb. 1 facing p. 1264) and cf. p. 43. The site is still (1977) very well preserved and would merit further work.

Laertes

- 150 Kaisareion, with door, perhaps Claudian. Bean, Mitford II 96, no. 74.

Lamus

- 151 Imperial temple? Dedicatory inscription in Latin to Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, A.D. 77: *Anat. Stud.* 12 (1962) 208, no. 32 = *AE* (1963) 11. The editors argue that the inscription, found in a terrace wall, came from a small temple(?) nearby. Unfortunately they do not describe the building.

Ninica

- 152 Temple with cuirassed imperial statue within on coins of Maximinus: *BMC Cilicia* 117, no. 9, 118, no. 10 = W. Kubitschek, *Num. Zeit.* 34 (1902) 21, no. 19, 22, no. 20 = Price, Trell (1977) 276, no. 640.

Selinus

- 153 Temple of Trajan. Coins show the emperor within enthroned as Zeus: *BMC Cilicia* 143, nos. 1-2 (Septimius Severus and Severus Alexander); Ashmolean (Philip). Cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II 1, 100 n. 6; Beaujeu (1955) 72 n. 6 questions the attributes but vainly. The early nineteenth-century travellers, from F. Beaufort, *Karamania*<sup>2</sup> (1818) 189, onwards, identified a ruin, which is still the most prominent remains on the site, as the tomb of Trajan. It is in fact an Islamic building, containing reused ancient material. See R. Heberdey, A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* (1896) 150-1; R. Paribeni, P. Roma-

## Catalogue

nelli, *Monumenti antichi* 23 (1914) 143-4; E. Rosenbaum *et al.*, *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia* (1967) 29-31 (pl. 15 and no. 1 on plan 3 facing p. 32 = *ANRW* II 7, 2 (1980) Abb. 2 facing p. 1264).

### Tarsus

- 154 The provincial temples, of which the first may go back to Augustus (Mionnet III 624, no. 419; Supp. VII 259, no. 407), are featured on coins: Pick, *JÖAI* 7 (1904) 36-7, Price, Trell (1977) 277, no. 662 (Paris). Neocorate first attested under Hadrian (*BMC Cilicia* 189, no. 158), the second under Commodus (*BMC Cilicia* 191, no. 168).
- 155 Temple of Antinous? for which the first neocorate may have been given. *BMC Cilicia* 189, no. 159; Head, *HN*<sup>2</sup> 733; Pick *loc. cit.*
- 156 Aedicula of Julia Domna in Price, Trell (1977) 277, no. 665 (Paris), is now classified by the Cabinet under Laodicea, Syria (= Price, Trell (1977) fig. 469).

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