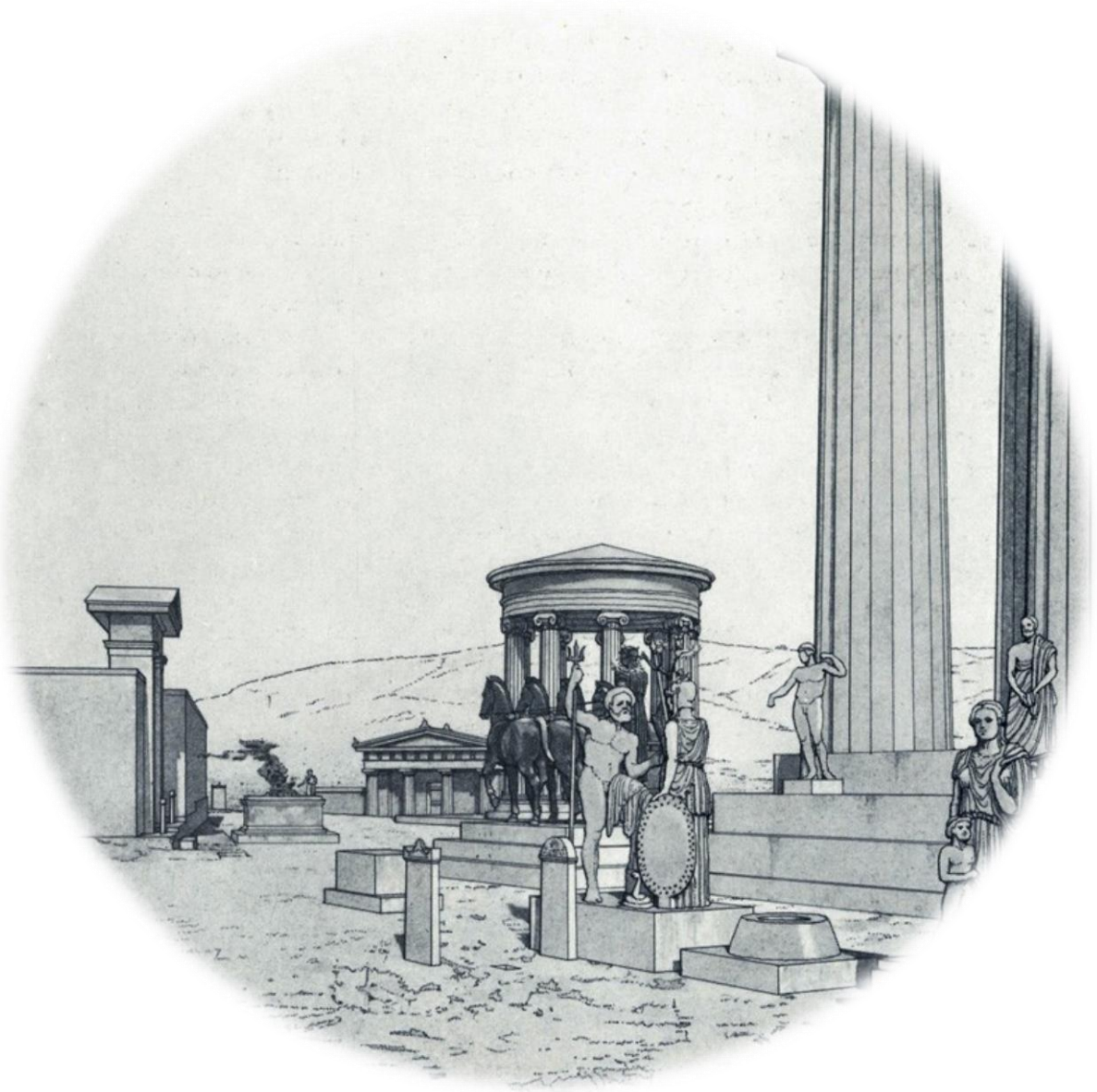
DOMUS AUGUSTA DIVINA

The Roman Imperial Cult in the Province of Achaea during the Julio-Claudian Dynasty (27 BC – 68 AD)



Gabriël de Klerk

Cover: drawing of the Parthenon with a view on the temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis in Athens.
Gorham Stevens, 'The Northeast Corner of the Parthenon', *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 1-26, there 1, figure 1.

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The Roman Imperial Cult in the Province of Achaea during the Julio-Claudian Dynasty (27 BC – 68 AD)

Master Thesis

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Contents

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Given here are the abbreviations used in this thesis to refer to epigraphical and numismatic reference works, as well as scientific publications.

AE	*Année Épigraphique*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
Corinth VIII.1	Benjamin Dean Meritt, *Corinth*, VIII.1, *Greek Inscriptions, 1896-1927* (Cambridge 1931)
Corinth VIII.2	Allen Brown West, *Corinth*, VIII.2, *Latin Inscriptions* (Cambridge 1931).
Corinth VIII.3	John Harvey Kent, *Corinth*, VIII.3, *The Inscriptions 1926-1950* (Princeton 1966).
Hahn	Ulrike Hahn, *Die Frauen des Römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im Griechischen Osten anhand Epigraphischer und Numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina* (Saarbrücken 1994).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin 1873-1939)
Jamot	Paul Jamot, 'Fouilles de Thespies', *BCH* 18 (1902) 201-215.
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*, consulted via the online database at http://numismatics.org/ocre/
Rizakis	Athanasios Rizakis, *Achaïe II: La Cité de Patras: Épigraphie et histoire. Meletemata 25* (Athens 1998).
RPC	*Roman Provincial Coinage*, consulted via the online database at https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/
Samsari	Dimitri Samsari, *Η Ακτια Νικοπολη και η 'ΧΩΡΑ' της* (Thessaloniki 1994).
Schmalz	Geoffrey Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens* (Leiden 2009).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*

Introduction

Roman interest in the region of Achaea commenced years before the actual transformation of the territory into a Roman province in 27 BC. During the Mithridatic Wars (88-63 BC) and the Roman Civil Wars (49 – 30 BC), the Greek peninsula became the centre stage for the battlements. The pinnacle of these years of civil strife was at Actium, between the forces of Marc Antony and the young Octavian, after which the latter created the province of Achaea.[1] Geographically speaking, the province corresponds with modern Greece, excluding Crete and Macedonia. Augustus decided Achaea to be a senatorial province, meaning that its administration was overseen by a proconsul of praetorian rank.[2] During the reign of Tiberius, however, the province was transferred to the power of the emperor,[3] which eventually was reverted by Claudius in 44 AD.[4] An overview of the *poleis* of Achaea that are used in this thesis can be found in Appendix I.

The establishment of the Principate during the reign of Augustus saw the almost instantaneous development of the imperial cult through the provinces of the empire.[5] It signified the adoration of the emperors and the imperial family through the erection of statues, temples, the performance of rites and sacrifice, the granting of honorific titles, and cult scenes on local coinage.[6] The veneration of the imperial family resulted in a serious competition between the local aristocracies and between cities, as it was seen as a means of promoting and establishing a direct link with the Roman emperor.[7] The imperial cult was a tangible expression of the power of the emperor, reaching from centre to periphery, from Rome to the outskirts of the *limes.* The cult implored that divine power could be centred in a human-being.[8]

There has been much discussion about how the imperial cult was integrated into the provincial landscape, and eventually it became incorporated into the 'romanization'-debate. This term signified the process in which "native social groups became increasingly

[1] Susan Alcock, *Graecia Capta: the Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge 1996) 14.
[2] Matthew Bunson, *Encyclopedia of the Roman Empire* (New York 2002) 2.
[3] Tac. *Ann.* 1.76.
[4] Suet. *Claud.* 25.3.
[5] Vasileios Evangelidis, 'The Architecture of the Imperial Cult in the Agoras of the Greek Cities', *Egnatia* 12 (2008) 125-144, there 125.
[6] Gwynaeth McIntyre, *Imperial Cult* (Leiden 2019) 2.
[7] Simon Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984) 64.
[8] George Heyman, *The Power of Sacrifice. Roman and Christian discourses in Conflict* (Washington 2011) 46-47.

'Roman'."[9] More recent research, while seeking ways of moving beyond the obsolete idea of romanization, struggled to find a coherent theoretical framework that encapsulated Roman imperialism. This led to the development of 'nativist counterapproaches'[10], the term 'discrepant experiences'[11], and the phenomenon of 'glocalization'.[12]

It is in the light of these discussions that two main debates have emerged within the study of the Roman imperial cult. The first is on the nature of emperor worship, and whether, and to what extent, it was based on Roman or Hellenistic cultural traits. Taylor, in her work on the imperial cult under Caesar and Augustus dating from 1931, stated that while Caesar might have appropriated the Greek format of divine worship, Augustus, eager to distance himself from Marc Antony who portrayed himself as a Hellenistic king, stayed within the Roman bounds.[13] In 1971, Weinstock, however, argued that Caesar, while possibly being inspired by the kings of the East, built his Roman counterpart, as the result of the religious and political honours that were given to him.[14] This was followed by the highly influential work on the imperial cult in Asia Minor by Price.[15] According to Price, the cities and local aristocracies implemented traditional religious aspects to that of the Roman imperial cult, therefore copying Greek and indigenous, instead of Roman, culture.[16] Rives argues that when examining the imperial cult in the province of Africa, he concludes that the ruling class made use of Roman and indigenous cultural factors to shape a new identity that fitted the relationship with the imperial administration.[17]

The other main debate in the study of the imperial cult is about what we understand to be part of the cult, and in what different ways it manifested itself throughout the Roman empire. It has to be said that the imperial cult is a modern concept. As Gradel stated in 2002, "the imperial cult' had no category of its own in the ancient world."[18] This coincides with

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[9] Richard Hingley, 'The 'Legacy' of Rome: the rise, decline and fall of the theory of Romanization', in: J. Webster and N. Cooper (eds), *Roman Imperialism. Post-colonial perspectives (Leicester Archaeology Monographs 3)* (Leicester 1996) 35-48, there 39.
[10] Jane Webster, 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces', *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001) 209-255, there 211.
[11] David Mattingly, 'Introduction. Dialogues of power and experience in the Roman Empire', in: Idem (eds), *Dialogues in Roman imperialism: power, discourse and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire* (Portsmouth 1997) 7-24, there 17-18.
[12] Andrew Gardner, 'Thinking about Roman Imperialism: Postcolonialism, Globalisation and Beyond?' *Britannia* 44 (2013) 1-25, there 7.
[13] Cyril Bailey, 'The Divinity of the Roman Emperor. By Lily Ross Taylor, professor of Latin, Bryn Mawr College', *American Historical Review* 4:37 (1932) 732-733, there 732.
[14] Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford 1971) 412-413.
[15] Price, *Rituals and Power,* 87.
[16] James Rives, 'Imperial Cult and Native Tradition in Roman North Africa', *The Classical Journal* 96:4 (2001) 425-436, there 427.
[17] Rives, 'Imperial Cult and Native Tradition', 435.
[18] Ittai Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford 2002) 4.

what Beard, North and Price said in 1998, who state that there was no such thing as *the* imperial cult. Imperial worship differed not only from east to west but locally was different, creating new contexts without one overarching cult-template.[19] As Woolf put it, 'understanding the place of ruler cult in the Roman empire depends crucially on understanding the empire as a mosaic of notionally autonomous religious systems.'[20] Because it is much easier to assess the imperial cult when studying these systems, many works have focussed on the cult on a regional or local level. It is here that this thesis will provide its usefulness. Local studies of manifestations of the Roman imperial cult must continuously be assessed to better understand how the imperial cult was constituted and how it functioned. These studies will further nuance and redefine the scientific discourse that has been debated the past years.

Much research in connection with the Roman imperial cult in the Eastern provinces has been aimed at the province of Asia Minor. However, there is no previous research into the province of Achaea, except for one epigraphic study of Kantiréa.[21] Nevertheless, this study only focuses on the archaeological evidence for the imperial cult. Moreover, this research omits the study of many imperial family-members, such as Gaius Caesar, and pays little attention to the role of the imperial festivals. This thesis will therefore study the Roman imperial cult in Achaea independently.

Furthermore, studies into the imperial cult have been dominated by epigraphic research. With the exception of one article by Kilic on the imperial cult of Smyrna[22], there is no previous research using numismatic sources as an approach to assessing the Roman imperial cult. This thesis will try to fill this lacuna by presenting a study of the imperial cult in the province of Achaea through a combination of numismatic with epigraphic evidence. This research will concern itself with the evidence dating from the Julio-Claudian dynasty (27 BC – 68 AD) because of the following reasons: first, a focus on the birth of the imperial cult in the province, which started with the settlement of Julio-Claudian power, will prove to be the most fruitful framework for the study of its Roman or Hellenistic precedent. Second, most articles only pay attention to the reign of Augustus or Tiberius, while that of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero is mostly overlooked. This leads to an incomplete picture of the dynastic

[19] M. Beard, J. North and S. Price, *Religions of Rome: Volume I. A History* (Cambridge 1998) 348.
[20] Greg Woolf, 'Divinity and Power in Ancient Rome', in: N. Brisch (eds), *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond* (Chicago 2008) 243-260, there 249.
[21] Maria Kantiréa, *Les Dieux et les Dieux Augustes. Le Culte Impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-Claudiens et les Flaviens* (Athens 2007).
[22] Murat Kilic, 'The Roman Imperial Cult in Smyrna', *Belleten* 76 (2012) 385-402.

dynamics in the context of the imperial cult. Third, the time period proves to contain an abundance of sources, numismatic and epigraphic, stemming from different *poleis* and regions across the whole province. Therefore, this thesis will try to answer the following question: to what extent does the imperial cult in the province of Achaea during the Julio-Claudian period conform to the imperial cult in the Roman East?

This question will be answered by dividing the thesis into three chapters. The first chapter will concern itself with the evidence of imperial veneration during the reign of Augustus. This chapter will also serve as an introduction to topics such as the distinction between the epithet *divus* and *theos*, veneration of the imperial family and imperial festivals, and the establishment of imperial priesthoods. The second chapter will be focused around the imperial cult during the reign of the emperors Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. Similar topics as in chapter I will be studied. The third chapter will function as the synthesis of the evidence and will try to place the findings in the two main debates that are described above.

The most prominent work that encapsulates all the numismatic evidence is the catalogue of *Roman Provincial Coinage, Vol. I* (henceforth denoted as *RPC*). Research into numismatic evidence concerning the province of Achaea will, therefore, be based primarily on this volume. The epigraphic evidence concerning itself with the imperial cult from Achaea is very diverse, ranging from testimonials of the re-consecration of Greek temples to Augustus to the representation of Nero as Apollo on statue-bases. The problem with a comparative study of epigraphic sources of Achaea is that, in contrast with the numismatic sources, they are not centrally catalogued. Except for a handful of sources, however, they can be traced in the *Inscriptiones Graecae* (henceforth denoted as *IG*) or the S*upplementum Epigraphicum Graecarum* (showed as *SEG*).

Both groups of evidence have their pitfalls. Epigraphic sources are first-hand testimonies of daily life in ancient times. Every piece of evidence is intrinsically valuable to the study of history, while especially epigraphic monuments can be a precious tool of constructing the social, cultural, political, and religious world of the ancient Romans and Greeks.[23] The downside of epigraphic sources is of an interpretational nature. What do these sources exactly tell us? For what audience was it constructed? This ‘information gap’, i.e. the lack of valuable information that might have been understood by the audience, is a real struggle.[24] The same applies to iconographic studies of numismatic evidence. They cannot be

[23] Bradley Hudson McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C. – A.D. 337)* (Michigan 2002) 2.
[24] *Supra.*

researched in complete isolation of their historical background. Furthermore, completely fine epigraphic and numismatic sources are extremely rare. Most of the evidence had to endure the test of time or were exposed to *damnatio memoriae*, therefore being handed down incomplete or badly damaged. Finally, there is the question of authority, as there is a discrepancy between who, for example, oversaw the minting of provincial coinage and who erected imperial dedications. It is the task of the historian to frame these sources in their historical context. Only by examining the cultural, historical, and social surroundings of the sources can they be of immense value.

Chapter I: Achaea During Augustus

1.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the veneration of Augustus in the province of Achaea through the study of epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Augustus ruled over the province from 27 BC until his death in 14 AD and this timeframe will be utilized to examine the sources. The chapter will divide the sources into five paragraphs: first, sources that refer to the living emperor will be determined. The subsequent paragraph will examine divine references to Augustus that were made during his lifetime. Following this, a paragraph will be dedicated to references to the imperial family. This will also include the sources that assimilate the family members with deities or include the epithet *divus/theos.* Hereafter, priesthoods to the emperor and to the imperial family will be studied. Finally, one paragraph will be dedicated to the sources that refer to imperial festivals. The subquestion that this chapter will try to answer is: to what extent do the sources attest of imperial cult in Achaea during the reign of Augustus?

For all sources, especially for those epigraphic, effort is made to distinguish the origin of the material. This includes the provenance of the sources, the identity of the dedicants, and, when distinguishable if the sources were erected on a local or private level. The mentioning of the βουλὴ (the city-council) or δῆμος (the people), for example, refers to the group bestowing the honor on the imperial household, which suggests veneration on a local level.[25] Another illustration is the mentioning of the Areopagus.[26] Alternatively, certain inscriptions were commissioned by private persons, who not only stated their names but also made use of the epigraph to inscribe their *cursus honorum*.[27] In some instances, however, this is impossible to determine, as not all sources similarly survived the test of time.

1.2 The Living Emperor

1.2.1 Epigraphic Sources

Augustus received 22 dedications from Achaea during his reign. This does not include devotions that venerate Augustus as a *theos* or *divus* or that assimilate him with deities. Those dedications will be treated in paragraph 1.3. The biggest part of the sources originates from

[25] McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy,* 236.
[26] Francesco Camia, 'Cultic and Social Dynamics in the Eleusinian Sanctuary', in: E. Muniz Grijalvo, J. Manuel Cortés Copete, and F. Lozano Gómez (eds), *Empire and Religion. Religious Change in Greek Cities under Roman Rule* (Leiden 2017) 45-66, there 62.
[27] McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy,* 238.

Athens, where Augustus received eleven dedications.[28] They emerge from the early reign of Augustus, between 27 and 19 BC, as they refer to Augustus as the 'son of the Deified (Caesar)' and could have been erected in honor of an imperial visit of Augustus to the *polis* in 19 BC.[29] All the inscriptions, except two (possibly three[30]) sources, are altar dedications; *IG* II^2 3173 is a building dedication, referring to the erection of a temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis and *Schmalz* no. 114 is a statue dedication.

Let us first examine the altar dedications. All except one (*SEG* 18-74) follow the same basic formula: the first part comprises the term Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, followed by the patronymic θεοῦ υἱοῦ, and is ended by the epithet Σεβαστοῦ. The first is the Greek translation of the *praenomen* 'Imperator' and the *cognomen* 'Caesar' (although Augustus utilized it as his *nomen*) that he acquired before 36 BC.[31] The patronymic was a translation of *Divi Filius* that he gained upon the deification of Caesar in 42 BC.[32] The epithet *Sebastos* was a translation of *Augustus*, that Octavian received in 27 BC by a motion of the senate.[33] *SEG* 18-74 only refers to Augustus as *Sebastos Caesar*. None of the altars provide information about the dedicants.

IG II^2 3173 is a building-dedication to the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis. It was erected during the hoplite generalship of one Pammenes of Marathon and the archonship of one Areios of Paiania. The former also functioned as a priest to Roma and Augustus (which will be discussed in paragraph 1.5). It was dedicated by the δῆμος of Athens. The epithet *soter* ('saviour') in the first line was later re-inscribed to *Caesar*. This has led to some debate in historical scholarship, as to what extent it might reflect a change in the character of the imperial cult in Athens upon the death of Augustus in 14 AD. Spawforth argues that the epithet was reserved for the veneration of the living emperor.[34] Schmalz,

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[28] *IG* II^2 3227: '[Αὐτοκράτορος Καί]σαρος [θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβα]στοῦ'; *IG* II^2 3228: 'Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ [Σεβασ]τοῦ'; *IG* II^2 3229A: '[Αὐτο]κράτορος Καί[σαρ]ος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ'; *SEG* 18-74: 'Σεβασ[τοῦ] Καίσα[ρος]'; *SEG* 18-75: 'Αὐτοκρά[το]ρος Καίσ[αρος] θεοῦ ν[ἱοῦ Σε]βασ[τοῦ]'; *SEG* 18-76: '[Αὐτοκρά]το[ρος] [Καίσ]αρος θ[εοῦ] [υἱ]οῦ Σεβασ[τοῦ]'; *SEG* 18-78: '[Αὐτοκράτ]ορος [Καίσαρος] Θεοῦ υἱοῦ [Σεβα]στοῦ'; *SEG* 18-79: 'Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θε[οῦ υἱ]οῦ [Σεβα]στοῦ'; *IG* II^2 3173: Σ[εβασ]τῶι ⟦ Καίσαρι⟧ […]Σεβαστοῦ Σωτῆρος'; *IG* II^2 3179: 'Σεβαστῶι Καίσαρι'; *Schmalz* no. 114: '[αὐτο]κρά[τορα Καί]σα[ρα] σω[τήρα] Σεβ[αστόν]' (Athens).

[29] Geoffrey Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens* (Leiden 2009) 95.

[30] *IG* II^2 3179 has received some discussion about its nature. Earlier historians, such as Fayer, identified the inscription as an altar dedication that was made on the Acropolis (Fayer, 147-148). Baldassarri however points out that the find-spot is actually quite a distance away from the Acropolis, and therefore cannot be connected with placement inside a temple on the Acropolis (Baldassarri, 50n25)

[31] Fergus Millar, 'The First Revolution: Imperator Caesar, 36-28 BC', *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique* 46 (2000) 1- 38, there 2.

[32] Ronald Syme, 'Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 7 (1958) 172-188, there 175.

[33] Suet. *Aug.* 7.2.

[34] Antony Spawforth, 'The Early Reception of the Imperial Cult in Athens', in: M. Hoff and S. Rotroff (eds), *The Romanization of Athens* (Oxford 1997) 199n59.

however, argues that it was more likely an error of the stonemason and was caused by the usage of the epithet *soter* further down the inscription.[35]

The inscription is connected with *IG* II^2, 3179, as it is also dedicated to *thea* Roma and Augustus Caesar. Again, the inscription was dedicated by the δῆμος of Athens. It is expected that both the inscriptions were erected at the same time, around 19 BC, in honor of the visit of Augustus after his return of the Parthian Settlement.[36]

Schmalz no. 114 follows the same nomenclature of the altars described above. However, *theou nios* was replaced by the epithet *soter*. The inscription leaves no further traces about the origins of the dedicants and no precise date can be given about the dedication. The only indication is provided by the usage of *Sebastos*, which serves as a *terminus post quem* for 27 BC.

Nicopolis was founded by Augustus as Actia Nicopolis in honor of his victory over Marc Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 BC.[37] Even though historical authors such as Tacitus and Pliny referred to Nicopolis as a *colonia*, the city enjoyed the privileges of a *civitas libera*. Recent scholarly research has pointed out to the dual status of the community, and that Nicopolis functioned as a free Greek *polis* and as a settlement for veterans that took part in the battle of Actium.[38] Augustus received eight altars dedicated to him at Nicopolis, of which seven were dedicated in Greek and one in Latin.[39] The Greek inscriptions all follow the same nomenclature of the Athenian altars. *Samsari* no. 3 up to and including 5, moreover, provide the provenance of the dedicants. No. 3 and 4 were dedicated, for example, by two Cilician cities of Greek origin, the cities of Aegaeae and Mallos[40] and no. 5 was dedicated by the Γαζαῖοι, who can be connected with the Phoenicians in the Levante.[41]

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[35] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, 81.
[36] Michael Hoff, 'The Politics and Architecture of the Athenian Imperial Cult', in: P. Foss and J.H. Humphrey (eds), *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 17* (Ann Arbor 1996) 185-200, there 194.
[37] Dario Calomino, *Nicopolis d'Epiro. Nuovi Studi sulla zecca e sulla produzione monetale. BAR International Series 2214 2011* (Oxford 2011) 27.
[38] Idem, '*Acta Nicopolis.* Coinage, currency and civic identity (27 BC – AD 268)', in: F. Lopez Sanchez (eds), *The City and the Coin in the Acnient and Early Medieval Worlds* (Oxford 2012) 103-116, there 104.
[39] *Samsari* no. 3: 'Αὐτοκράτο[ρι] Καίσαρι θεοῦ υ[ἱῷ] Σεβαστῶι'; *Samsari* no. 4: 'Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεοῦ υἱῷ Σεβαστῷ'; *Samsari* no. 5: 'Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσ[α]ρι θεοῦ υἱῷ Σεβαστῷ'; *Samsari* no. 6: '[Αὐτ]οκράτορι [Καίσ]αρι θεοῦ υἱῷ [Σ]εβαστῷ'; *Samsari* no. 7: 'Αὐτοκρά[τορι] Καίσαρι θεοῦ [υἱῷι] Σεβαστῶ[ι]'; *Samsari* no. 8: '[Αὐτοκρ]άτορι Καίσα[ρι] θεοῦ υἱῷ Σεβαστῷ'; *Samsari* no. 9: '[Αὐτοκράτορι] [Καίσαρι] [θεοῦ] υί[ῷι] [Σεβασ]τῶι'; *Samsari* no. 10: [Imp(eratori) Caesari divi] f(ilio) Augusto P(rincipi) o(ptimo) Pontifici Maximo' (Nicopolis).
[40] Anna Benjamin and Antony Raubitschek, 'Arae Augusti', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 28:1 (1959) 65-85, there 73.
[41] P. Gauthier, G. Rougemont and J. Bousquet (etc), 'Bulletin Épigraphique', *Revue des Études Grecques* 101 (1988) 293-491, there 429.

The Latin inscription is a votive dedication to Augustus and the *Lares Augusti.* The *Lares Augusti* was the official veneration of the Augustan house and their ancestors, such as Venus Genetrix, Mars Ultor, and Divus Julius, with at the head the *Pontifex Maximus*, i.e. Augustus himself. By doing so, Augustus extended his ancestors in the domain of the state religion, while at the same time venerating his own Genius.[42] Based on the neglected *Lares Compitales*, Augustus started a program of reviving these sanctuaries. Because of the mentioning of the *Lares Augusti*, the *terminus post quem* is the year 12 BC, when it was established.[43] The altar was dedicated by one Caecilius Hilarus, who seems to have been a freedman of Augustus.

One source stems from Eleusis.[44] It is a statue dedication, dedicated to Octavian and Livia and dates from around 30-27 BC, prior to Octavian receiving the epithet *Augustus*. He is referred to as *Autokrator Caesar* and 'son of the deified Julius'. Moreover, the epithets *soter* and *euergetis* ('benefactor') are bestowed on him. The inscription was dedicated by the δῆμος, and might have been in honor of the *princeps*' Eleusinian initiation in 31 BC.[45]

Corinth produced only one inscription during the reign of Augustus.[46] It is a heavily damaged Latin inscription, found in the Julian Basilica at the Corinthian forum. Of the dedicants, little is known, except that their names might have been Gnaius Pompeius Pius, Gnaius Pompeius Romulus, and Gnaius Pompeius Moschus. It seems peculiar that these three men, although a relation with Pompeius Magnus is undetermined, would inscribe their full names on an inscription dedicated to the heir of Pompey's political rival. It might suggest a shift in allegiance, instigated by the switch of authority in the Roman empire.

Finally, one dedication stems from Trikala.[47] The *polis* was part of the *Koinon* of Thessaly. The inscription refers to Augustus as *Autokrator Caesar*, 'son of the deified (Julius)'. There is no further information about the provenance or the origin of the dedicants.

1.2.2 numismatic sources

86 coin-types were minted in Achaea during the reign of Augustus. Here, 30 types refer to Augustus. Seven coin-types originate from the Mint of Corinth.[48] It is suggested that its relatively big output signalled the constantly increasing importance of the *colonia* in the

[42] Lily Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Philadelphia 1975) 184-185.
[43] Dimitri Samsari, *Η Ακτια Νικοπολη και η 'ΧΩΡΑ' της* (Thessaloniki 1994) 159.
[44] *SEG* 24-212: 'αὐτοκράτορα Καίσ[αρα] Τεοῦ 'Ιουλίου ὑὸ[ν] τὸν αὐτοῦ σοωτῆ[ρα] και εὐεργέτ[ην]' (Eleusis).
[45] Cass. Dio 51.4.1.
[46] *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 69: 'AVGVSTO' (Corinth).
[47] *IG* IX.2, 306: '[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα] θεοῦ υί[ὸν' (Trikala).
[48] *RPC* I.1132, 1134, 1136-1139, 1144.

province of Achaea, as the city grew out to be one of the largest *poleis* within 150 years.[49] All seven coin-types depict the bare head of Augustus on the obverse. The inscriptions on the obverse and reverse feature the names of the two *duumviri* of the *colonia.* These were the two highest local magistrates, residing over consular power, with the exception of the command of a military presence.[50] It was actually their responsibility, together with the city council, to oversee the minting at Corinth.[51]

Four coin-types originate from the Mint of the Thessalian *Koinon.*[52] The Thessalian League was a conglomeration of cities, towns, and tribes, with the exception of Magnetes, that functioned as a political body in the province of Achaea. The league found its roots long before the arrival of the Romans but was one of the few Greek *Koina* that was allowed to continue during the Principate.[53] The provincial coinage of the *Koinon* was probably minted at Larissa, that functioned as the capital of the league.[54] Three of the types feature the bare head of Augustus, while one features a laureate head of Augustus on the obverse. It is most interesting that the inscription on the obverse of *RPC* I.1427 reads ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. This coin-type will further be examined in paragraph 1.3.

The Mint of Buthrotum minted three coin-types featuring the *princeps.*[55] After a visit to the *polis*, Julius Caesar decreed that the city was to be transformed into a Roman *colonia*. The city was governed by a local senate and two *duumviri*, similar to the colonization of Corinth.[56] The three coin-types feature a bare head of Augustus on the obverse, while the legends on the reverse feature the names of the *duumviri.*

Three coin-types featuring Augustus survive from the Mint of Tanagra.[57] It was a Boeotian *polis* that, according to Strabo, was, together with Thespiae, one of the only Boeotian cities that prospered during the reign of Augustus.[58] Not much is known about the ancient village, albeit that Pliny the Elder called its inhabitants to be a *liber populus*.[59] While

[49] Marcin Pawlak, 'Corinth after 44 BC: Ethnical and Cultural Changes', *Electrum* 20 (2013) 143-162, there 158.
[50] Michel Amandry, *Le Monnayage des Duovirs Corinthiens. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Supplement XV* (Paris 1988) 9.
[51] Mary Hoskins Walbank, 'Image and Cult: The Coinage of Roman Corinth', *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (Leiden 2010) 151-197, there 152.
[52] *RPC* I.1425-1428.
[53] Nigel Guy Wilson, *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece* (New York 2006) 295.
[54] Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripolles, *Roman Provincial Coinage. Volume I From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius* (Oxford 2006) 281.
[55] *RPC* I.1380-1381, 1388.
[56] Richard Hodges and Inge Lyse Hansen, 'Introduction', in: Idem (eds), *Roman Butrint. An Assessment* (Oxford 2007) 1-16, there 6.
[57] *RPC* I.1313-1315.
[58] Strab. 9.2.25.
[59] Plin. *HN* 4.26.

no epigraphic sources attest of imperial veneration, the town had a special position in the imperial cult in Greece: it provided *sebastophoroi*, which were the youthful imperial bearers, who were assigned with carrying imperial images during processions of festivals and other occasions in honor of the emperor.[60] The three coin-types all feature the bare head of Augustus on the obverse.

A few kilometers to the north of Tanagra lay Chalcis. Three coin-types feature Augustus bare-headed on the obverse.[61] It has been suggested that the minting of the coin-types was due to the foundation of the city in 18 BC. However, as Picard argues, this is unlikely, as the town did not undergo a 'status-change', as Corinth or Sparta experienced.[62]

Nicopolis issued two coin-types featuring Augustus.[63] The obverses depict the head of Augustus. The coins designate the naval victory of Augustus at Actium over Marc Antony and Cleopatra: *RPC* I.1364, for example, depicts Nike holding a wreath on the reverse. The legends on the obverse and reverse respectively read ΚΤΙΣΜΑ ΣΕΒΑΤΟΥ ('created by Augustus'), which is nowhere to be found in Provincial Coinage except in Nicopolis, and ΙΕΡΑ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ ('sacred Nicopolis').

Dyme, a town on the northern coast of the Peloponnesos, was incorporated by Augustus to Patras.[64] However, it was allowed to mint its own coinage. Two coin-types derive from Dyme, both featuring the bear head of Augustus on the obverse.[65] On the reverse, *RPC* I.1287 features Victory holding a wreath and a palm, on a prow, while the reverse of *RPC* I.1288 features just a prow. These might suggest commemoration of the naval battle at Actium. The reverse inscription is a reference to Colonia Iulia Augusta Dumaeorum. While it is true that Caesar founded the colony in 44 BC as Colonia Iulia Dumaeorum, Marc Antony re-founded it as Colonia Iulia Antonia Dumaeorum.[66]

The Magnetes, a people within Thessaly, could mint their own local coinage, which was probably done at Demetrias. Two of the coin-types feature the laureate head of Augustus on the obverse.[67] Here we find a peculiarity: *RPC* I.1421A finds the reverse inscription of ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. This anomaly will be discussed in paragraph 1.4.5.

[60] Price, *Rituals and Power*, 189.
[61] *RPC* I.1344-1345, 1347.
[62] Olivier Picard, *Chalcis et la Confédération Eubéenne. Étude de Numismatique et d'Histoire (IVe – Ier Siècle)* (Paris 1979) 121.
[63] *RPC* I.1363-1364.
[64] Paus. 7.17.5.
[65] *RPC* I.1287-1288.
[66] Burrett, Amandry, and Ripolles, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, 262.
[67] *RPC* I.1420A, 1421A.

The Mint of Sparta only produced one coin-type featuring the head of Augustus.[68] In contrast with the Roman *coloniae* in Achaea, Sparta was not ruled by two *duumviri*, but by the Euryclids, due to their allegiance to Octavian during the civil war. The prominent position of this dynasty in Sparta is displayed by the many references on the Spartan coinage to Gaius Julius Eurycles and his son Gaius Julius Laco. That the Euryclids were keen on emphasizing their privileged position with the emperor, promoting the imperial cult while enhancing their own prestige,[69] is demonstrated in a passage of Pausanias. According to him, the *agora* housed two temples, one dedicated to Julius Caesar and one to Augustus[70], and one altar to Augustus.[71] Of these buildings, no archaeological evidence is left and is therefore omitted from paragraph 1.2.1.

The Mint of Patras only minted one coin-type featuring Augustus, bare-headed on the obverse.[72] Patras was, as was Corinth, a Roman *colonia* founded by Augustus, in 14 BC.[73] The city was recolonized because of its strategic placement and functioned as a commercial and political hub for the routes crossing the Achaean province.

The reverse of the coin-type is of interest in the study of Augustan veneration in the city of Patras. The reverse shows a legend where a man is plowing the *pomerium*, the sacred boundaries of the new-found colony.[74] The legend indicates that the man depicted is Augustus, who symbolically laid the foundation for the insurrection of Colonia Augusta Achaica Patrensis. This coincides with the inscription of PATER / PATRIAE on the obverse and reverse, which determines Augustus as the founder of Patras.

Carystus, a small town in the south of Euboea, minted one coin-type during the reign of Augustus, which featured the bare head of the *princeps* on the obverse.[75]

Finally, one Roman Provincial coin-type was minted at the town of Peparethus, located in Thessaly. This coin-type, dating from the reign of Augustus, shows Augustus on

[68] *RPC* I.1104.
[69] Francesco Camia and Maria Kantiréa, 'The Imperial Cult in the Peloponnese', *Meletemata* 63 (Athens 2010) 375-406, there 390.
[70] Paus. 3.11.4.
[71] Ibidem, 3.11.5.
[72] *RPC* I.1252.
[73] Tamara Dijkstra, 'Burial and Commemoration in the Roman Colony of Patras', in: S. Roselaar (eds), *Processes of Cultural Change and Integration in the Roman World: Mnemosyne Supplements; History and Archaeology of Classical Antiquity 382* (Leiden 2015) 154-174, there 156.
[74] Michel Amandry, 'The Coinage of the Roman Provinces through Hadrian', in: W. Metcalf (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage* (New York 2012) 400.
[75] *RPC* I.1355.

the obverse.[76]The obverse is accompanied with the inscription ΣΕΒΑΣ, and the reverse with ΠΕΠΑ, referring respectively to Augustus and the minting town.

1.3 Divine References to the Princeps

Before we dive into the sources, it is essential that distinction is made between the use of *deus* and *divus* in Latin and the usage of the Greek *theos.* Two complications lie at the heart of the ancient treatment of the epithet *deus/divus/theos.* The first is that the ancient Roman sources aren't consensual about the utilization of *deus* and *divus.* The fourth-century grammarian Maurus Servius Honoratus sheds some light on the debate, as he tells that distinction is made between those that always were divine (*dei*) and those that only received divinity after their human life (*divi*). Other ancient authors like Varro and Ateius, however, used the epithets contrariwise.[77] Koortboijan, nevertheless, argues that the view of Honoratus became conventional, and that 'the institutionalization of the emperor's divinity would assert that while *dei* were eternal, the *divi* were 'made'.[78]

The other difficulty remains that the Greek language did not contain this distinction and lacked a translation for the epithet *divus*. Instead, the Greeks employed the term *theos,* which was simultaneously utilized to honor the emperor during his lifetime. While the Romans made a clear distinction between the veneration of an emperor – or occasionally the imperial family, as will become clear in the case of Drusilla in chapter II – as *divus* only after the funeral and the official recognition by the Senate and the Roman gods as *deus*, the Greeks continued to employ the term *theos* as if there was no such distinction.[79] Of course, it is reasonably acceptable to suggest that not every citizen envisioned the dissonance that the Romans did, and made no division between the veneration of the living emperor and the deified emperor as a god.[80] The veneration of the deified emperor will be examined in Chapter II.

Fifteen Achaean dedications refer to Augustus either as *theos* or assimilate him with a deity during his rule.[81] Eleven of these inscriptions are dedicated to *Theos Sebastos Caesar*

[76] *RPC* I.1420.
[77] McIntyre, *Imperial Cult,* 8.
[78] Michael Koortboijan, *The Divinization of Caesar and Augustus: Precedents, consequences, implications* (Cambridge 2013) 8.
[79] Price, *Rituals and Power,* 75.
[80] Matthias Peppel, 'Gott oder Mensch? Kaiserverehrung und Herrschaftskontrolle', in: H. Cancick and K. Hitzl (eds.), *Die Praxis der Herrscherverehrung in Rom und seinen Provinzen* (Tübingen 2003) 69-96, there 75.
[81] *SEG* 18-73: 'Θεῶι Σεβαστῶι'; *SEG* 18-77: 'Θεῶι Σεβαστῶι'; *IG* II^2 3251: 'θεοῦ ὑοῦ Σεβαστοῦ'; *IG* II^2 3262 + 4725: '[Σεβαστὸ]ν Καίσ[αρα νέον 'A]πόλλωνα' (Athens); *IG* IX.2 424: 'θεῷ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι Σωτῆρι'; *IG* IX.2 425: 'θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος Σωτῆρος' (Pherai); *SEG* 43-163: 'Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος' (Messene); *SEG* 47-218:

and all follow the same formula. Furthermore, as already stated in paragraph 1.2, one coin-type, minted by the *Koinon* of Thessaly, features the legend ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. The utilization of *theos* might strike as odd, given the fact that Augustus forbade the veneration of himself as a god in Rome and in the provinces.[82] His propaganda-campaign against the exorbitant claims of Marc Antony, who addressed himself as a living god, and the Ides of March forced Octavian to take a more moderate, less absolutistic stance, and distance himself from his predecessors.[83] Why did the Greek cities still venerate Augustus as *theos*? And why would Augustus allow veneration altogether?

The veneration of living persons of status in the Greek world as *theos* was already attested at the time of Alexander the Great and the *Diadochoi*. Moreover, the term became related to Roma during the second and first century BC in Republican Rome. While the emperors (with the exception of Caligula) refrained from using the term in official communication with their subjects, the Greeks bestowed the title on many occasions on Augustus, and, as chapter II will show, his successors.[84]

Nevertheless, because there was a clear precedent of venerating the ruler with the term *theos*, Augustus could, out of political necessity, not completely refrain from being venerated in the same manner. While Augustus would not dare to go as far as Marc Antony of Caesar, the veneration of the emperor as *theos* aligned himself with earlier rulers and worked as a vehicle for the expression of his power.[85]

Let us turn back to the sources. Of the dedications that refer to Augustus as *theos*, only one provides the dedicant: *IG* IX.2 40 shows that the dedication was erected by the *polis* of Hypata. Furthermore, seven out of the fifteen dedications apply the epithet *soter* to Augustus. As will be demonstrated in chapter II, the use of this epithet in Achaea is almost completely reserved for the veneration of Augustus. Why do so many sources attest to Augustus 'the Saviour'? As an epithet, *soter* was frequently attributed to Greek gods and powerful historical figures alike. In the Classical Period, it referred to the performance of exceptional deeds

'[Σεβαστόν Καίσ]αρα Δία Βουλαί[ον' (Eleusis); *IG* IX.2 604: '[θεοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ [Καίσαρο]ς Σωτῆρος' (Larissa); *IG* IX.2 93: 'θεοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Σωτῆρος' (Echinos); *IG* IX.2 1288: 'θεο[ῦ Σε]βασ[τοῦ Καί]σαρο[ς Σωτῆ][ρ]ος' (Perrhaebia); *SEG* 34-486: 'Θεῶ Καίσαρι Σωτῆρι Σεβαστοῦ'; *SEG* 43-241: 'Θεοῦ Σεβασστ|οῦ Καίσαρος | Σωτῆρος' (Atrax); *IG* IX.2 40: 'θεὸν Σεβαστὸν' (Hypata); *IG* VII 36: 'θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Μουσείου' (Megara).

[82] Henry Burton, 'The Worship of the Roman Emperors', *The Biblical World* 40:2 (1912) 80-91, there 82-83.

[83] Christian Habicht, 'Die Augusteische Zeit und das erste Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt', in: E. Bickerman (eds), *Le Culte des Souverains dans l'Empire Romain* (Gene 1973) 39-88, there 59.

[84] Simon Price, 'Gods and Emperors: The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult', *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies* 104 (1984) 79-95, there 81.

[85] Habicht, 'Die Augusteische Zeit', 60.

accomplished by the dedicatee. By the Hellenistic Period, the epithet came to be bestowed on monarchs who were recognized for their benevolence towards a community.[86]

It is not clear on what occasion Augustus would have received the epithet. What we know is that all sources stem from the *Koinon* of Thessaly. It might be suggested that the epithet was awarded to Augustus because his adoptive father set Thessaly free after he defeated Pompey at Pharsalus.[87] Another option is that it might have been in honor of Augustus' tour through the province; Hadrian received many altars dedicated to him as *soter* because of his visits to Athens.[88] What seems most likely, however, is that they were erected because Augustus permitted the *Koinon* of Thessaly to retain its freedom. Augustus functioned as *strategos* of the *Koinon* in 27/26 BC, recognizing its position and importance in the province of Achaea.

1.4 The Domus Augusta

1.4.1 Agrippa

Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa was the right hand of Augustus during the civil war and married Augustus' only daughter, Julia, in 21 BC.[89] Allegedly, the only reason that Augustus did not adopt Agrippa was because of his marriage to his daughter, making the marriage incestuous after the adoption.[90] One bilingual inscription from Sparta refers to Agrippa.[91] The inscription is dated between 18 and 12 BC and was dedicated by the 'Agrippiastae'. The inscription tells us that this association was supervised by one C. Iulius Deximachus, who was still in his teens at the time of the dedication and might have only performed a ceremonial role as president of the Agrippiastae. Possibly the dedication was erected on behalf of a visit of Agrippa to the *polis*.[92] It is believed that the association functioned as a youth organization with its primary political function of honoring Agrippa.[93]

Three Achaean coin-types survive from the reign of Augustus that refer to Agrippa.[94] Just as with the inscription, some argue that the type originating from the Mint of Sparta was

[86] Theodora Suk Fong Jim, 'Private Participation in Ruler Cults: Dedications to Philip Soter and Other Hellenistic Kings', *The Classical Quarterly* 67:2 (2017) 429-443, there 433-434.
[87] Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 48.1.
[88] Kieran Andrew Hendrick, *Roman Emperors and Athenian Life, from Augustus to Hadrian* (Berkely 2000) 136.
[89] Cass. Dio 54.6.5.
[90] Hugh Lindsay, *Adoption in the Roman World* (Cambridge 2009) 198.
[91] *IG* V.1 374: '[M(arcum) Agrippa]m […] [M(ᾶρκον) Ἀγρίπ]παν' (Sparta).
[92] Antony Spawforth, 'Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: Some Prosopographical Notes', *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 80 (1985) 191-258, there 196.
[93] Idem, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge 2012) 99.
[94] *RPC* I.1106 (Sparta), 1366-1367 (Nicopolis).

issued in honor of the general voyaging through the Peloponnesos and his subsequent visit to Sparta.[95] It shows the head of Agrippa on the obverse, together with the inscription ΑΓΡ.

The two coin-types from Nicopolis feature the head of Agrippa on the obverse, while *RPC* I.1367 depicts a tripod and dolphin on the reverse. This suggests a reference to the maritime and naval conquest of Agrippa at Actium, as the image of the tripod and dolphin was also decorated on Agrippa's basilica of Neptune.[96]

1.4.2 Gaius and Lucius Caesar

Gaius and Lucius Caesar, sons of Agrippa and Augustus' daughter Julia, were adopted by Augustus in 12 BC ensuring the continuation of the Principate after the *princeps'* eventual death. However, the two met their untimely death, with Lucius dying in 2 AD and Gaius in 4 AD.[97] They were both commemorated together with Augustus on one epigraphic source at Hypata.[98] The dedication was commissioned by the *polis*.

Moreover, Gaius was commemorated once at Athens and assimilated as 'New Ares'.[99] It was dedicated by the δῆμος of Athens, most probably in honor of a visit to the *polis* in 1 BC, or because of his military command in the East.[100] This is the only instance that presents Gaius as 'New Ares', although later on Drusus Minor was assimilated in the same fashion (see paragraph 2.4.4).

Only one coin-type from the Mint of Corinth commemorates the two brothers.[101] Here, the heads of the two are depicted facing each other, while the inscription reads C L. While no other Augustan coinage from Achaea depicts the two juniors, their portraiture was known throughout the coinage of the provinces. The type used above, *RPC* I.1136, dates from 2-1 BC, which commemorates the assumption of the *toga virilis* by Lucius (Gaius already received that honor in 5 BC, being three years older), recognizing them both as *princeps iuventutis*, simultaneously admitting them into the senate and designating them as nominees for the consulship.[102] It can, therefore, be assumed that the young princes were depicted on the Achaean coin because of their designation as heirs to the Principate.[103]

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[95] Susanne Grunauer, *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaimonier. Antike Münzen und Geschnittene Steine Band VII* (Berlin 1978) 70.
[96] John Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (Somerset 1986) 262.
[97] Alisdair Gibson, *The Julio-Claudian Succession: Reality and Perception of the 'Augustan Model'* (Leiden 2012) 5.
[98] *IG* IX.2 40: ' Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα Λούκιον Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα' (Hypata).
[99] *IG* II^2 3250: 'Γάιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν νέον Ἄρη' (Athens).
[100] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, 100-101.
[101] *RPC* I.1136.
[102] Gibson, *The Julio-Claudian Succession*, 5.
[103] John Pollini, *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar* (New York 1987) 92.

1.4.3 Agrippa Postumus

Agrippa Postumus is the third son of Agrippa and Julia. He is commemorated on one dedicatory inscription from Patras.[104] He is referred to as 'the son of Augustus', so the dedication is dated between 4 AD, the year that Postumus was adopted by Augustus, and 6 AD when he was banished from Rome. Postumus is also referred to as patron of the city.[105] Furthermore, Postumus is commemorated on one coin-type from the Mint of Corinth.[106] The type shows the bare head of Agrippa Postumus on the obverse, accompanied by the inscription CORINTHI AGRIPPA CAESAR. It is believed that the coin was minted in honor of the adoption of Postumus and therefore dates around 4 AD.

1.4.4 Livia

Livia received only two dedications in the reign of Augustus.[107] The first, from Eleusis, was dedicated to her and Augustus and is dated between 30 and 27 BC. Livia is referred to as Livia Drusilla, which is quite rare for her veneration in the East. It is the only dedication attested in Athens to Augustus together with his wife. The second inscription, from Rhamnous, is a temple-dedication to the temple of Nemesis that refers to Livia as *Thea Livia*. Because of the term *thea*, it was long believed that it referred to her deification and therefore was dated in the reign of Claudius. However, because the empress is honored as Livia instead of Julia, signalling veneration prior to her adoption by Augustus, the inscription can be dated in the reign of Augustus.[108] Both inscriptions leave no trace of the dedicants.

Four Achaean coin-types depict the head of Livia.[109] The coin originating from Sparta was limitedly produced in honor of a visit of Livia, together with Augustus, to the *polis* in the year 22/21 BC.[110] The two coin-types from Chalcis show Livia on the obverse, while the reverse features the head of Hera. The appearance of Hera on the Chalcidian coinage is no anomaly, as the greatest portion of coins minted in Chalcis, under Hellenistic or Roman rule, features the goddess.[111] What is more interesting is a link between Livia and Hera. Livia has been honored many times in the Eastern provinces as Hera, referring to her marriage with

[104] *Rizakis*, no. 20: 'AGRIPPAE IVLIO AVG F DIVI NEPO CAESARI PATRONO' (Patras).
[105] Athanasios Rizakis, *Achaïe II: La Cité de Patras: Épigraphie et histoire. Meletemata 25* (Athens 1998) 98-99.
[106] *RPC* I.1141.
[107] *SEG* 24-212: 'Λιβίαν Δρουσίλλαν' (Eleusis); *IG* II^2 3242: 'θεᾶι Λειβίᾳ' (Rhamnous).
[108] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, 103-105.
[109] *RPC* I.1105 (Sparta); 1346, 1348 (Chalcis); 1427 (*Koinon* of Thessaly).
[110] Grunauer, *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaimonier*, 69.
[111] Picard, *Chalcis et la Confédération Eubéenne*, 15.

Augustus, as Hera was the wife of Zeus.[112] This is also commemorated in the fourth coin-type. Here, the Thessalians refer to Livia as ΗΡΑ ΛΕΙΟΥΙΑ, assimilating her with Hera.

1.4.5 Tiberius

As much as thirteen dedications were made to Tiberius during the reign of Augustus.[113] Eight of these dedications derive from Athens. *IG* II^2 3243 up to and including 3248 form a special series of inscriptions. They all refer to Tiberius as 'Tiberius Claudius Nero', which supposes that the inscriptions are dated prior to the adoption by Augustus, and probably belong to Tiberius' self-imposed Rhodian exile (6 BC – 2 AD).[114] All the inscriptions refer to the fact that the Claudii served as patrons for many Greek and Asian cities, and that διὰ προγόνων ('through his ancestors'), Tiberius functioned as *euergetis* and patron of Athens.[115] All Athenian inscriptions were dedicated by either the βουλὴ, the δῆμος, or Areopagus. *IG* II^2 3228 was first dedicated to Augustus but later revised to Tiberius. It is dated between the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus in 4 AD and the ascension of Tiberius to the imperial throne in 14 AD.[116] *IG* II^2 3254 is dated to a similar time-frame, as it refers to Tiberius as merely *Caesar*.

This notion that Tiberius is referred to as *Claudius Nero* and is promoted as the patron and benefactor of Greek cities is also commemorated in the inscriptions from Epidaurus and Olympia. These inscriptions are similarly dated between 6 BC and 2 AD. The inscription from Epidaurus only tells us it was dedicated by the *polis*, while two of the three inscriptions from Olympia (*Olympia* no. 220 and 371) suggest that they were dedicated by one Tiberius Claudius Apollonius.

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[112] Gertrude Grether, 'Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult', *The American Journal of Philology* 67:3 (1946) 222-252, there 224.

[113] *IG* II^2 3228: '[Τι]β[ε]ρ[ί]ου Καίσαρος'; *IG* II^2 3243: 'Τε[βέριον Κλαύ] διον Νέρ[ω]να'; *IG* II^2 3244: 'Τεβέριον Κλαύδιον […] Νέρωνα'; *IG* II^2 3245: 'Τεβέριον Κλαύδιον […] Νέρωνα'; *IG* II^2 3246: 'Τεβέριον Κλ[αύδιον Νέρωνα]'; *IG* II^2 3247: 'Τεβέριον] [Κλαύδιο]ν Νέρω[να'; *IG* II^2 3248: 'Τεβέ[ρ]ιον [Κ]λαύδιο[ν] Ν[έρ]ων[ο]ς'; *IG* II^2 3254: 'Τιβέριον Καίσαρα' (Athens); *IG* IV2,1 597: 'Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα' (Epidaurus); *IG* VII 1837: 'Τιβέριον Καίσαρα' (Thespiae); *Olympia* IV 220: ''Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον […] Νέρωνα'; *Olympia* V 370: 'Ν[έ]ρωνα'; *Olympia* V 371: 'Τι[βέριον Κ]λαύδιον Νέρωνα' (Olympia).

[114] Geoffrey Schmalz, *A New Hero Comes to Town: The Athenian Career of G. Julius Nicanor the 'New Homer' and 'New Themistocles'.* Unpublished Manuscript (2013) 16.

[115] Elizabeth Rawson, 'The Eastern Clientelae of Clodius and the Claudii', *Historia* 22 (1973) 219-239, there 227.

[116] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens,* 102.

One inscription from Thespiae refers to Tiberius as *Caesar* and marks that it was dedicated during his fifteenth year in tribunal power. This suggests that it was dedicated in 13/14 AD, but prior to his ascension to the throne.[117]

Seven coin-types From Achaea refer to Tiberius. It is believed that the two coin-types from Corinth[118] refer to the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus after the death of Gaius Caesar. This coincided with the coin-types that refer to Agrippa Postumus (already discussed above), who was simultaneously adopted by the *princeps*. Therefore, the coin-types date from around 4-5 AD. The two coin-types from the Mint of Tanagra[119] feature the bare head of Tiberius on the obverse, with the legend TIBERIOC (KAICAP). Two more coin-types depicting Tiberius were minted by the Magnetes.[120] Here, Tiberius is referred to as ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. This is also attested on the single coin-type referring to Tiberius, from the *Koinon* of Thessaly.[121] This coin-type bears the legend ΤΙΒΕΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΩ. The identification of Tiberius as *Sebastos* is found nowhere pre-ascension of the imperial throne. While some coin-types refer to Tiberius as *Caesar*, the idea that Tiberius was designated as *Sebastos* prior to the death of Augustus is unattested. It seems to attest to a misinterpretation of the term on behalf of the Magnetes and might suggest that the concept of *Augustus*/*Sebastos* was not fully grasped by the Achaeans during the reign of the first *princeps*. It is possible, however, that this was done to refer to the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus, therefore being the son of Augustus and adopting his name. Tacitus mentions that after the death of Gaius and Lucius Caesar Tiberius became the *filius, college imperii, consors tibuniciae potestatis* of Augustus.[122] It could have easily been that the Achaeans mistakenly took *consors* literary and thought this meant that Tiberius henceforth could be named *Sebastos*.

1.4.6 Drusus Minor

Drusus Minor was the only natural son of Tiberius, through his marriage Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa. He is not to be confused with his uncle Drusus the Elder, who was the brother of Tiberius. One statue dedication refers to Drusus Minor, originating from Athens.[123] The inscription unassumingly refers to him as 'Drusus' and gives no further

[117] Peter Michael Swan, *The Augustan Succession: An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History Books 55-56 (9 B.C.-A.D. 14)* (Oxford 2004) 294.
[118] *RPC* I.1140, 1144.
[119] *RPC* I.1316, 1317.
[120] *RPC* I.1420A, 1421A.
[121] *RPC* I.1429.
[122] Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.1.
[123] *IG* II^2 3256: 'Δροῦσ[ον]' (Athens).

information than that it was dedicated by the δῆμος. It was probably part of the statue group that commemorated the joint adoption of Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus in the Julian clan in 4 AD.[124]

One coin-type, from the Mint of Corinth, refers to Drusus Minor.[125] It depicts the bare head of Drusus, accompanied by the legend CORINTHI DRVSVS CAESAR. This again refers to the adoption of Drusus in the Caesarean faction by the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus.

1.4.7 Germanicus

Germanicus, the son of Drusus Major and Antonia Minor, was commemorated two times during the reign of Augustus in Achaea.[126] The first dedication originates from Patras and is dated between the adoption of Germanicus by Tiberius in 4 AD and his ascension to the throne in 14 AD. Rizakis argues that it is possible that Germanicus became the new patron of Patras following the exile of Postumus.[127] The second inscription refers to Germanicus as *Caesar* and again was most probably erected in honor of the series of adoptions set in motion in 4 AD. This dedication was dedicated by the δῆμος.

Only one coin-type, originating from Corinth, is dedicated to Germanicus and was most probably done in honor of his adoption by Tiberius.[128] The coin features the bare head of Germanicus on the obverse with the legend GERMANICVS CAESAR (COR).

1.5 Imperial Priesthoods

Eleven sources mention the establishment of priesthoods dedicated to the veneration of the emperor and the imperial family in Achaea.[129] Of these sources, nine originate from Athens, one from Hypata, and another one from Eleusis.

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[124] Cynthia Damon and Elizabeth Palazzolo, 'Defining Home, Defining Rome: Germanicus' Eastern Tour', in: T. Biggs & Jessica Blum (eds), *Rome's Journey: Constructions of Rome through Travel* (Cambridge 2019) 194-210, there 199n17.
[125] *RPC* I.1143.
[126] *Rizakis* no.21: '[Ger]m[anic]o Iul[io Ti(berii) f(ilio)] [Aug(usti) n]ep(oti) divi pronep(oti) [Caes(ari)]' (Patras); *IG* II^2 3255: 'Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα' (Athens).
[127] Rizakis, *Achaïe II*, 100.
[128] *RPC* I.1142.
[129] *IG* II^2 1722: ' ἱερεὺς Δρούσου'; *IG* II^2 1724: 'ἱερεὺς Δρ[ούσου'; *IG* II^2 1730: 'ἱερεὺς] Δρούσου'; *IG* II^2 3173: 'ἱερέως θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Σεβαστοῦ Σωτῆρος'; *IG* II^2 3242: 'ἱερέως θεᾶς [Ῥώμη]ς κ[α]ὶ Σεβασ[τ]οῦ Καίσαρος; *IG* II^2 3521: 'τὸν ἀ[ρχιε]ρέα τοῦ Σ[εβαστοῦ]'; *IG* II^2 5034: 'ἱερέως καὶ ἀρχιερέως Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος'; *IG* II^2 5096: 'ἱερήας Ἑστίας ἐπ' ἀκροπόλει καὶ Λειβίας καὶ Ἰουλία[ς]'; *IG* II^2 5114: 'ἱερέως θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσ[αρος]' (Athens); *IG* IX.2 34: '[ἱερέως] τῶν Σεβαστῶν' (Hypata); *SEG* 47-218: '[Σεβαστὸν Καίσ]αρα Δία Βουλαῖ[ον [...] ἱερε]ὺς αὐτοῦ' (Eleusis).

IG II^2 3173 is a building dedication which refers to Pammenes of Marathon, who functioned as the first priest of Roma and Augustus at Athens. It is dated in the early reign of Augustus, between 19 and 18 BC. The existence of a priesthood to Roma and Augustus is attested three more times on epigraphic evidence: on a theatre seat in *IG* II^2 5114, reserved for the priest of Roma and Augustus; on *IG* II^2 3179 (not mentioned in footnote 129), a now lost altar dedicated to Roma and Augustus; and finally on *IG* II^2 3242, a temple-dedication from a late Augustan period which refers to Demostratos II of Pallene, the second and final priest of Roma and Augustus.

Additionally, two inscriptions reveal a separate priesthood to Augustus. *IG* II^2 3521 is a statue dedication, devoted to the high priest of Augustus. This dedicatee could possibly be identified as Polycharmos of Marathon, who later functioned as high priest to Tiberius. It is dated between 4-14 AD and is dedicated by the Areopagus.[130] The second inscription, *IG* II^2 5034, was originally a theatre seat dedicated to the 'priest of Augustus Caesar', but was later re-inscribed for the 'priest and high priest of Augustus Caesar'. The re-inscription is dated between 4 and 14 AD, and could possibly again refer to Polycharmos of Marathon.[131]

IG II^2 1722, 1724 and 1730 refer to a priesthood to Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, in Athens. In all three inscriptions, Drusus is mentioned as ὕπατος, which translates to the office of consul that Drusus held at the time of his death in 9 BC. It has, therefore, been assumed that the priesthood was erected following the death of Drusus.[132] The second and third inscriptions, however, date from a later period, as they list respectively Anaxagoras and Polycharmos of Marathon as eponymous archon, who simultaneously fulfilled the post of priest to Drusus. As will be demonstrated, priesthoods to the imperial family were usually assumed for life. The fact, however, that the eponymous archon functioned as a priest to Drusus, attests that this particular priesthood was annually reorganized.[133]

Besides a cult to Augustus (with or without Roma) and Drusus, there seems to have been a cult dedicated to Hestia on the Acropolis, Livia, and Julia, the daughter of Augustus. This is attested in *IG* II^2 5096, which is a theatre seat, reserved for the priest of the above mentioned. The *terminus ante quem* is 2 BC, as in this year Julia was exiled by Augustus. The inscription from Eleusis is a statue-dedication to Augustus Caesar as Zeus Boulaios. It was dedicated by his priest Kallikratides of Trikorynthos and has been dated in the past

[130] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, 133.
[131] Ibidem, 223.
[132] Francesco Camia, 'A Note on the Athenian *Hiereus* of Drusus *Hypatos*', *Tekmeria* 11 (2012) 37-50, there 38.
[133] Camia, 'A Note on the Athenian *Hiereus'*, 39.

between 27 and 25 BC.[134] However, more recent scholarship has pleaded for a revision of the date, on the fact that this dating would presume that the Eleusian priesthood to Augustus would predate that of Athens. It is therefore assumed that the dedicant was Oinophilos of Trikorynthos, the son of Kallikratides. This would mean that the inscription is to be dated to a late Augustan date.[135] This priest also functioned as *agonothete* and as κῆρυξ (herald) for the βουλὴ and δῆμος, as the inscription reveals.

Finally, one dedication originating from Hypata refers to the existence of an imperial priesthood. *IG* IX.2 34 refers to a priest of Augustus and 'primary' ταγός (head-of-state) to the *Theoi Sotheri.*

1.6 Imperial Festivals

Imperial festivals were introduced during the reign of Augustus as *Caesarea* or *Sebastea* and were entrenched in the veneration of the emperor.[136] According to Price, imperial festivals 'formed the essential framework of the imperial cult'.[137] This, because they connected the entire populace of a city or region with the veneration of the emperor or the imperial family. Likewise, emperors became connected to already established local festivals by the addition of imperial titles and the inclusion of imperial veneration. One example is the *Sebasta Heraea*, which was derived from the *Heraea* of Samos. Other festivals were dedicated solely to the emperor, such as the *Sebastea*, *Caesarea*, *Hadrianea*, *Antoniea*, and *Severeia*.[138] Festivals could include agonistic games, poetry contests, donations of sums of money, public sacrifices, and the erection of statues, temples, and other dedications.[139] This paragraph will concern itself with the evidence for the organization of imperial festivals during the reign of Augustus.

Already in 19 BC, games were held in honor of Augustus. This is commemorated in a civic decree[140] which oversaw the birthday celebrations for Augustus, dating from around that period. The celebrations contained the annually returning sacrifices and 'Iso-Pythian games', games which were copied from the famous Pythian games.[141] The celebrations for the birthday of Augustus coincided with the celebrations for the birthday of Apollo, as well as

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[134] Kevin Clinton, 'Eleusis and the Romans: Late Republic to Marcus Aurelius', in: M. Hoff and S. Rotroff (eds), *The Romanization of Athens* (Oxford 1997) 161-182, there 166.
[135] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens,* 94.
[136] Antony Spawforth, 'Agonistic Festivals in Roman Greece', *Bulletin Supplement* 55 (1989) 193-197, there 195.
[137] Price, *Ritual and Power,* 102.
[138] Ibidem, 103-104.
[139] Ibidem, 106-107.
[140] *IG* II^2 1071.
[141] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens,* 17.

celebrations for the restoration of democracy by Thrasyboulos.[142] The decree was commissioned by Antipatros, son of Antipatros, of Phlya, a prominent citizen of Athens, which is demonstrated by the fact that he functioned seven times as *strategos*.[143]

Another civic decree honors one G. Julius Nikanor, who functioned as *agonothete*, the official that oversaw the public games, of the Σεβαστῶν ἀγώνων. Because the invocation names Augustus as well as Tiberius, it is believed that Julius Nikanor was *agonothete* between 4 and 4 AD, from the moment that Tiberius was adopted by Augustus. This implies that the *Sebastea* were in honor of Augustus and Tiberius.[144]

Caesarea were also held at Corinth. One inscription, listing the victors of *the Isthmia Caesarea*, describes that games were held by an unknown *agonothete*.[145] The date is 2 or 3 AD, as the inscription tells that it was dedicated 33 years after the battle at Actium. The inscription describes that the contestants were divided into three categories: boys, youths, and men.[146] The Isthmian games were biennial games held at the Isthmus, a sanctuary near Corinth.[147]

An inscription from Argos was dedicated to one Tiberius Klaudius Diodotos, son of Diodotos.[148] The inscription lists the *cursus honorum* of the dedicatee, where it is also described that he funded the *agonothesia* of the 'Nemeian Sebastea'. The Nemean Games were similar to the Isthmian games, as they were held every two years, one year and three years after each Olympic Games. Already at 388 BC Argos was responsible for the organization of the Nemean Games.[149]

In an honorary decree originating from Messene, directed at one P. Cornelius Scipio, evidence is found for the establishment of an imperial festival in the form of *Caesarea*.[150] The dedication shows that already in 2 or 3 AD such a festival was held at Messene.

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[142] Benjamin Merritt & George Stamires, 'Greek Inscriptions', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 26:3 (1957) 198-270, there 264.
[143] Geoffrey Woodhead, 'Inscriptions: The Decrees', *The Athenian Agora XVI. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (1997) 1-527, there 474.
[144] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, 16-17.
[145] *Corinth* VIII.1 no. 14.
[146] *Corinth* VIII.1, 17.
[147] Wolfgang Decker, 'Isthmia', *The New Pauly Online* [consulted at 28-6-2020]
[148] *IG* IV 606.
[149] Stephen Miller, 'Kleonai, The Nemean Games, and the Lamian War', *Hesperia Supplements* 20 (1982) 100-108, there 106.
[150] *SEG* 23-206.

Another honorary decree, dedicated to the benefactor Xenarchos, shows the existence of a *Caesarea* at Lycosura in Arkadia.[151] It dates from the reign of Augustus and was apparently still held in the 2nd century AD.[152]

Imperial festivals were held at Epidaurus from the reign of Augustus on, as attested in an honorary description by the *polis* of Epidaurus to one Gnaeus Cornelius Nikatas. The inscription tells us he functioned as the first *agonothete* of the *Caesarea*, that he also founded. Here, the festivals of the already established *Apollonieia* and *Asklepieia* were associated with this new festival.[153]

One inscription is interesting.[154] It lists the achievements of a modest athlete of Thespiae, one Neikogenès son of Pharadas. It lists that he participated in the *Caesarea* of Tanagra, which functions as proof that such a festival was held at the *polis*. The dedication originates from the early Principate of the 1st century AD.[155]

At Hyampolis in Phokis, a dedication was made to an unknown *agonothete* of the μεγάλων Καισαρήων.[156] According to the inscription, he also oversaw the *Megala Elaphebolia* and the *Laphria*, both traditional festivals held for years at Hyampolis, who might have been associated with the *Caesarea*. The dedication originates from the period surrounding the change of the millennium.

The existence of a festival in the form of *Caesarea* is also attested at Larissa.[157] This, because one agonistic inscription mentions the existence of the Καισάρηα. It is believed that the games were organized by the *Koinon* of Thessaly and held in Larissa in connection with the *Poseidonia*, which are also mentioned in the inscription. Exact dating is not attested, but it is believed that the inscription survives from the 1st c. AD.[158]

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[151] *IG* V2 515.
[152] Madeleine Jost, *Sanctuaires et Cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris 1985) 185.
[153] Franscesco Camia, 'Between Tradition and Innovation: Cults for Roman Emperors in the Province of Achaia', in: A. Kolb and M. Vitale (eds), *Kaiserkult in den Provinzen des Römischen Reiches. Organisation, Kommunikation und Rëpresentation* (Berlin 2016) 255-284, there 257.
[154] *IG* VII 1856.
[155] Jean-Yves Strasser, 'La Carrière du Pancratiaste Markos Aurèlios Dèmostratos Damas', *BCH* 127 (2003) 251-299, there 270.
[156] *IG* IX.1 90.
[157] *IG* IX.2 614b.
[158] Francesco Camia, 'Lykos, son of Hermolaos, Hiereus Heptaeterikos of the Sebastoi. Emperor Worship and Traditional Cults at Thessalian Hypata (SEG 54, 556)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 179 (2011) 145-154, there 146n8.

1.7 conclusion

The sources show that from the start of his reign, Augustus was honored through a multitude of altars, dedicatory inscriptions, and coin-types. Not only do the epigraphic sources refer to Augustus as *Autokrator*, *Caesar*, or *Sebastos*, they refer to him as *Divi Filius*, *soter*, and *euergetis*. In addition, even while Augustus forbade the veneration of him as a god, the Hellenistic roots of the Greek monarchical veneration resulted in fifteen dedications that assimilated Augustus with a deity or refer to him as *theos.* While no numismatic sources integrate Augustus with a god, one coin-type refers to him as ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Moreover, it has become clear that most of the dedications made to Augustus were rooted in imperial visits, military victories, political allegiances, Roman numismatic precedence, euergetism by the emperor, and the foundation of Roman *coloniae*. To some extent, members of the imperial family were venerated throughout the province of Achaea. These again were sparked because of visits to the province or *poleis*, military victories, and adoptions into the Julio-Claudian family tree. In addition, the reign of Augustus saw the establishment of multiple priesthoods to the imperial family in Achaea. These priesthoods, however, were confined to the *poleis* of Athens, Hypata, and Eleusis.

It is especially in the observations of the imperial festival that it becomes clear how widespread the imperial cult was in the province of Achaea. The evidence shows that at least during the reign of Augustus, imperial festivals were assimilated with traditional festivities in Athens, Corinth, Argos, Messene, Lycosura, Epidaurus, Tanagra, Hyampolis, and Larissa.

The epigraphic sources that refer to the dedicants are of utmost importance to research into the nature of the imperial cult in Achaea. They demonstrate that dedications were commissioned by the official authoritative bodies of the *poleis*, embassies from distant states or cities, or prominent members of the elite of the *poleis*, who commissioned them because of their allegiance to the imperial family or on the basis of their function as (*arch*)-*iereus* or *agonothete*. It is especially in the case of the assimilation with local deities or with *theos*, that it is clearly demonstrated that the citizens of the Achaean province adapted themselves to the changing political situation in Rome, while simultaneously appealing to Hellenistic roots. This is also exhibited in the celebration of imperial festivals, where local bodies associated the veneration of the imperial family with traditional festivities.

The birth of the imperial cult and the veneration of the emperor and the imperial family was not a gradual constant process in Achaea, however. As has been proven by the case of Athens, not every *polis* reacted in the same manner to the new force in the Mediterranean. The same can be said from Corinth: while some coin-types refer to the

imperial family, only one epigraphic source stems from the period of Augustus. Furthermore, not everyone knew how to adapt to the new political situation in Greece, as demonstrated by the usage of the epithet of *theos,* or the fact that some coin-types refer to Tiberius as *Sebastos*. It demonstrates that the Achaean province and its inhabitants were still very much searching for their position into the new political and cultural hierarchy, and veneration of subsequent emperors can only prove to what extent they adapted or distanced themselves from the Roman imperial family.

Chapter II: Post-Augustan Julio-Claudian Achaea

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will be dedicated to the veneration of the emperor and the imperial family in the Achaean province through the epigraphic and numismatic sources stemming from the ascension to the imperial throne of Tiberius in 14 AD, through the reign of Caligula (37-41 AD) and Claudius (41-54 AD), until the death of Nero in 68 AD. The framework of chapter I will be employed: it will commence with the dedications to the living emperor, after which references to the deified emperor will be discussed. Subsequently, dedications to the imperial family will be discussed. This will include, where applicable, assimilations of the imperial household with divinities and their veneration as t*heos/divus*. Then, Priesthoods to the emperor, the imperial family, and the *Theoi Sebastoi* will be discussed. This is followed by an analysis of imperial festivals. As in chapter I, attention will be given to the provenance of the sources, and to the origins of the dedicants. This chapter will try to answer the following research question: to what extent do the sources originating from the reigns of Tiberius until and including Nero from Achaea attest of imperial cult?

2.2 The Living Emperor

2.2.1 Tiberius

Tiberius received nine dedications during his reign.[159] The inscription deriving from Corinth is the only dedication that was inscribed in Latin; the remaining are exclusively in Greek. In all the other inscriptions, with the sole exception of the inscriptions originating from Attica, Tiberius is referred to as *Sebastos.* It is striking that the three Attic inscriptions, while not referring to Tiberius as *Sebastos,* all mention the emperor as *theos.* Moreover, the inscription from Larissa refers to Tiberius as εὐεργέτην. Furthermore, of the nine dedications, four can be attributed to be erected on a local level. Only one Attic source shows veneration on a private level, as two private persons dedicate a statue to Tiberius as part of the execution of a testament.[160]

[159] *IG* II^2 3257: 'θεοῦ'; *IG* II^2 3264: 'Αὐτοκράτορα Τιβέ[ρ]ιον Καίσα[ρ]α θεὸν'; *IG* II^2 3265: 'Τιβέριον θεόν' (Attica); *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 72: 'tiberio divi auGVSTI' (Corinth); *IG* II^2 3261: 'Τιβέριον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν' (Eleusis); *Schmalz* no. 133: 'Τιβερίωι [Καίσαρι] θεῶι Σεβα[στ]ῶι' (Athens); *SEG* 23-449: ': [Σεβασ]τῷ Τιβεριῳ' (Demetrias); *SEG* 37-484: '[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρ]α ν Τιβέριον θεοῦ υἱὸν | [Σεβαστόν' (Larissa); *SEG* 41-328: 'Τιβερίωι Καίσ[αρι] Σεβαστῶι' (Messene).

[160] Jakob Munk Hojte, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases: From Augustus to Commodus* (Aarhus 2005) 280.

From the 40 coin-types produced during the reign of Tiberius in Achaea, eight show Tiberius either bareheaded or laureate on the obverse. Six of these coins originate from the Mint of Corinth; one from Locri; and one from the *Koinon* of Thessaly.[161] Of these types, only those from Locri and the *Koinon* of Thessaly denote Tiberius as *Sebastos*.

2.2.2 Caligula

Caligula received just two dedications during his brief reign, both originating from Athens.[162] The first inscription refers to the imperial lineage of Caligula, as he is portrayed as a descendant of the 'god Augustus', 'grandson of Tiberius *Sebastos*', and as 'son of Germanicus Caesar'. Moreover, the subsequent fragment of the inscription reveals that Caligula received the epithets σωτῆρ and εὐεργέτην. This segment also points out that it was initiated by all three civic bodies of Athens (ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος).[163] The second inscription is much more reserved, as Caligula is referred to as *Caesar Sebastos*. This inscription was commissioned by the priest of the imperial family, as will be discussed in paragraph 2.5.

All eight Achaean coin-types dating from the rule of Caligula originated from the Mint of Corinth. Of these types, only two show the bear head of Caligula on the obverse.[164] Both these varieties refer to Caligula as CAIVS CAESAR AVGVSTV.

2.2.3 Claudius

Claudius received as much as ten dedication during his reign.[165] One inscription from Athens cannot be confidently dated to Claudius' reign and is therefore omitted.[166] From the ten dedications, nine refer to Claudius as *Germanicus*. Of the Greek inscriptions, as much as eight dedications add the epithet *Sebastos*. In both these cases, the exception is one inscription from

[161] *RPC* I.1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1152, 1158, 1338A, 1432.
[162] *IG* II² 3266: '[Γάιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμα]νικόν, [θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἔκγονον, Τιβερίου Σ]εβαστοῦ [υἱωνόν, Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρο]ς υἱόν'; *Schmalz* no. 140: '[αὐτο]κράτορος [Γαίου] καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ' (Athens).
[163] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, blz. 112.
[164] *RPC* I.1172, 1173.
[165] *IG* II² 3268: 'Τιβέριον] Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβα[στὸν Γερμανικόν]'; *IG* II² 3272: '[Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Καίσ]αρα [Σεβασ]τὸ[ν Γερμανικὸν'; *IG* II² 3274: 'Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Καίσαρ[α Σεβαστὸν] Γερμανικὸν'(Athens); *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 74: 'ti Claudio caesari augusto germanico'; *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 76: 'germanICO N britANNico'; *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 77: 'TI CLAVDIO Caesari AVG GERManico' (Corinth); *IG* IX2 605: 'θεὸν Κλαύδιον'; *IG* IX2 606a: '[Θεσσαλοὶ Κλαύ]διον Καίσαρα [Γερμανικὸν] Σεβαστὸν θεόν' (Larissa); *IG* II² 3275: '[Τιβε]ρίῳ Κλαυδίῳ [Καίσαρι] [Σεβαστ]ῶι Γερμανικῷ' (Ramnous); *IG* IX2 81: '[Τιβέριο]ν Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν [Γερμα]νικὸν' (Lamia).
[166] *IG* II² 3283a.

Larissa, where Claudius is referred to as *theos*. The other inscription originating from Larissa mentions Claudius as Σεβαστὸν θεόν.

Two inscriptions give reason to assume they were commissioned on a private level. One from Corinth implies the instigation of a dedication by a private person: only P F AEM PRIMVS F can be traced; the other, originating from Athens, is most probably dedicated by Diokles of Hagnous, functioning as *strategos.*[167] Five further inscriptions were commissioned on a local level: one from Corinth indicates the commission of a column by the citizens of the colony by decree of the city council[168]; additionally, two dedications originating from Athens and two from Larissa mention the civic institutions of the *polis*.

Claudius' image features on a significant amount of Achaean coinage during his reign. From the 34 coin-types, Claudius is portrayed bareheaded or laureate 21 times. Three originate from Sparta[169], three from Corinth[170], two from Patras[171], six from Buthrotum[172], one from Magnetes[173], and finally six from the *Koinon* of Thessaly.[174] From these 21 coin-types, Claudius is referred to fifteen times as *Sebastos,* whereas the coinage of Corinth has the epithet of AVG twice incised.

2.2.4 Nero

Nero received four Achaean dedications during his reign.[175] Once again, the inscription from Corinth were engraved in Latin. The remaining three inscriptions are in Greek, and the two inscriptions from Athens refer to Nero as *Theos Nios.* One of the Athenian inscriptions refers to Nero as *autokratoros megistos.* Out of the four sources, only one identifies the instigator of the monument: *IG* II^2 3277 shows that the Athenian Areopagus, βουλὴ and δῆμος commissioned the erection of the dedication.

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[167] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, blz. 121.
[168] *Corinth* VIII.3, blz. 41.
[169] *RPC* I.1113 - .1115.
[170] *RPC* I.1180 - .1182.
[171] *RPC* I.1255, 1256.
[172] *RPC* I.1395 - .1399A.
[173] *RPC* I.1422.
[174] *RPC* I.1433 - .1437.
[175] *IG* II^2 3277: 'Αὐτοκράτορα μέγιστον Νέρωνα Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν θεοῦ υἱόν'; *IG* II^2 3281: '[Αὐτο]κράτορος Καί[σαρ]ος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ' (Athens); *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 80: '[Neroni Claudio divi CLaudii f(ilio)]' (Corinth); *SEG* 45-551: '[Αὐτοκράτορα Νέ]ρωνα Κλαύδ[ιον Καίσαρα Σεβα]στὸν Γερμα[νικόν]' (Atrax).

Four epigraphic sources attest the veneration of Nero during his reign as assimilated with Apollo.[176] All the inscriptions can be dated after 64 AD, when Nero started to identify and promulgate himself as Apollo, and all originate from Athens.[177] They allude to Nero as νέου Ἀπόλλωνος. Of the four inscriptions, only the first refers to Nero as Σεβαστος. Unfortunately, the inscriptions leave no reference to the dedicants.

Out of all the Julio-Claudian emperors, the reign of Nero signified the biggest output of coin-types from the province of Achaea. Out of the 119 coin-types, as much as 95 types feature Nero bareheaded, laureate, and, most extraordinary, radiate.[178] As will be demonstrated below, until the reign of Nero, only Augustus was depicted radiating, posthumously during the reign of Tiberius.

The coin-types from the reign of Nero show a wide variety in their legends. Corinth, together with Patras and Buthrotum, features Latin inscriptions. Eleven out of fourteen Corinthian coin-types feature AVG; for Patras, this is 22 out of 27; for Buthrotum, fourteen out of eighteen coin-types include AVG. For the Greek legends, Sicyon features no reference to Nero as *Sebastos.* Nevertheless, the Mint is keen to emphasise the epithet ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟC*;* the coin-types from Chalcis and Carystus exclusively feature ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙCΑΡ (while Poppaea is referred to as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ in one instance from Chalcis[179]); Nicopolis only refers to the emperor as ΝΕRΩΝΟΣ; both Phoenician, and only one Magnesian coin-type, refers to Nero as *Sebastos*; the *Koinon* of Thessaly dubbed Nero as ΝΕΡΩΝ (ΚΑΙΣΑΡ) ΤΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ.

Additionally, seven coin-types at the Mint of Sicyon depict a laureate head of Nero on the obverse, while the inscription reads NE KAI ZEYC ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟC.[180] Here, Nero was assimilated with Zeus Eleutherios, in honor of his proclamation of Freedom for Greece.[181] Here, Nero assured the populace of the province of Achaea freedom and tax immunity (*libertas, immunitas*).[182] The incident is described by Suetonius[183] and is remembered on Corinthian coin-types[184] and on *sestertii* from the mint of Rome.[185] The same applies to

[176] *IG* II² 3278: 'Αὐτοκράτορι Νέρωνι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ νέῳ Ἀπόλλωνι'; *SEG* 32-252: 'Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ ὑοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Νέρωνος νέου Ἀπόλλωνος'; *SEG* 44-165: '[[Νέρωνος]] Καίσαρος Νέου Ἀπόλλωνος'; *Schmalz* no. 152: 'Αὐτοκράτορι Νέρω[ν]ι νέῳ 'Απόλλωνει' (Athens).
[177] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, 122.
[178] *RPC* I.1189, 1195, 1197, 1200-1209 (Corinth); 1238-1244 (Sicyon); 1257-1281 (Patras); 1349, 1350A, 1352, 1353 (Chalcis); 1357, 1357A, 1358 (Carystus) ; 1371-1377A (Nicopolis); 1400-1417 (Buthrotum); 1418, 1419 (Phoenice); 1422A, 1423, 1424, 1424A (Magnetes); 1439-1446 (*Koinon* of Thessaly).
[179] *RPC* I.1352A.
[180] *RPC* I.1238 – 1244.
[181] Burrett, Amandry, and Ripolles, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, 258.
[182] Jonathan Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (Cambridge 2012) 50.
[183] Suet. *Ner.* 24.
[184] *RPC* I.1203-1206.
[185] *RIC* I Nero 95-97.

Patras, as two coin-types from the reign of Nero depict a radiate bust of Nero on the obverse, with the reverse inscription IVPPITER LIBERATOR.[186]

The radiate crown is of special interest. This most recognizable feature was already well-attested on numismatic sources dating from the Ptolemaic period, where on coin-types from, among others, Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-222 BC), Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205-180 BC), and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (145-116 BC) rays were emanating from their diadems.[187] It is believed that they were used to envisage the powerful divine nature of the monarch.[188]

The first testimony of a Roman being adorned with a radiate crown is Julius Caesar. According to Florus, following the civil war between Pompey and Caesar, the latter was bestowed with many honors, and *in theatre distincta radiis corona.*[189] It was only after the death of Augustus, that sources indicate the veneration of an emperor with the radiate crown. During the reign of Tiberius, Augustus was honored by coin-types featuring the radiate crown.[190] Tiberius refrained from being portrayed with a radiate crown or bust, but already under Caligula there is clear evidence of radiate features,[191] from, among others, Smyrna[192], and Aezani.[193] In Achaea, however, Nero is the first living emperor that is illustrated wearing a radiate crown/diadem. Simultaneously, the mints of Corinth, Patras, Buthrotum, Phoenice, Magnetes, and from the *Koinon* of Thessaly, portray the living emperor radiate. It is uncertain whether or not the local authorities commissioned this on their own accord. What is certain is that the Mint at Rome issued asses and dupondii with the head of Nero radiate.[194]

It is most probable that the portrayal of a radiating Nero is in connection with his relationship to Apollo, as corroborated by epigraphic sources (see above). To illustrate, the coinage of Nicopolis attests of Nero playing the lyre in the style of Apollo[195] or bears the inscription ΝΕΡΩΝΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΚΤΙCΤΗ[196]. Likewise, Suetonius mentions that Nero was *quia Apollinem cantu, Solem aurigando aequiperare existimeratur.*[197] Finally, Nero

[186] *RPC* I.1279, 1280; Calomino, Nicopolis *d'Epiro*, 231-232.
[187] Panagiotis Iossif and Catherine Lorber, 'The Rays of the Ptolemies', *Revue Numismatique* 168 (2012) 197-224, there 198.
[188] Peter Thonemann, *The Hellenistic World: Using Coins as Sources* (Cambridge 2016) 157.
[189] Flor. 2.13.91.
[190] Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor*, 47.
[191] Brooks Levy, 'Caligula's radiate crown', *Schweizer Münzblätter* 152 (1988) 101-107, there 102.
[192] *RPC* I.2474.
[193] *RPC* I.3085.
[194] For example: *RIC* I Nero 87 109, 111.
[195] *RPC* I.1371, 1376.
[196] *RPC* I.1373-1376.
[197] 'the equal of Apollo in music and of the sun in driving a chariot' (Suet. *Ner.* 53).

connected himself with the radiate bust and Apollo, to imitate Augustus and the grandeur that he envisioned for himself.[198]

2.2.5 Remarks

When observing the evidence, some observations must be made. The initial is about the quantity of the epigraphic dedications and the numismatic references to the living emperor. Tiberius received nine dedications during his lifetime, while eight out of 40 coin-types depict him; Caligula only received two dedications, while two out of eighteen coin-types refer to him; Claudius had twelve dedications made during his lifetime, while 21 out of 34 coin-types refer to him; Nero, while only receiving four dedications, is richly displayed on numismatic evidence, as 95 out of the 119 types refers to the imperial portrait. First, let us turn to the numismatic evidence. It seems to indicate an increasing trend of portraying the emperor on the obverse of the coin, culminating in the extraordinary amount of coins attesting the imperial portrait of Nero (Augustus, 33.7%; Tiberius, 20%; Caligula, 44.4%; Claudius, 61.8%; Nero, 79.8%). Here, the local mints seemed to break with the Hellenistic tradition of refraining from portraying royalty on their coinage, instead choosing to abide by the revolution set underway during the rule of Augustus.[199] From the beginning of the rule of Augustus, over 200 cities adopted the imperial portrait on the obverse of their coinage, and it seems Achaea joined the trend. As has been shown in chapter 1, however, not all Greek cities, such as Athens, were as zealous to join in the empire-wide trend and continued the practice of favoring the representation of deities over emperors on their coinage. The adoption of the imperial portrait during the reign of Augustus was not an evenly spread phenomenon, though. It occurred unevenly throughout the Empire and the province of Achaea, suggesting a bottom-up structure, where the magistrates of the Greek cities adapted their coinage to the new political environment offered by the Roman empire, slowly adopting the Roman emperor in their cultural and political climate.[200]

Second, epigraphic records suggest that the veneration of the living emperor after Augustus diminished during the reign of Tiberius and Caligula. The quantitative output of epigraphic references slightly increases during the reign of Claudius and Nero, but does not climb to the numbers seen under the rule of Augustus.

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[198] Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor,* 50.
[199] Andrew Burnett, 'The Augustan Revolution seen from the Mints of the Provinces', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 101 (2011) 1-30, there 20-21.
[200] Volker Heuchert, 'The Chronological Development of Roman Provincial Coin Iconography', in: Idem, C. Howgego and A. Burnett (eds), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces* (Oxford 2005) 29-56, there 44.

Furthermore, as demonstrated in chapter I, on many dedications to the living Augustus, the epithet σοτηρ was unearthed. While the usage of epithets, such as Optimus for Trajan[201], or Pius for Antoninus[202], was not uncommon – *Augustus* is an epithet on its own[203] - the treatment of the epithet σοτηρ is not attested in any other Achaean epigraphic source after Augustus, except for one inscription originating from the reign of Caligula (*IG* II^2 3266). Spawforth argues that during the reign of Augustus, σοτηρ became reserved for the living emperor[204], but almost all the epigraphic evidence of successive emperors seems to indicate that the epithet was ignored completely in the province of Achaea.

2.3 The Deified Emperor

Of the five Julio-Claudian emperors, only Augustus and Claudius were officially deified by the Roman senate. Both were deified upon their death and posthumously declared *divus* by the senate, respectively in 14 and 54 AD. As has been examined in chapter I, the Greeks did not have an exact substitute for the term *divus* and might have utilised the term *theos* without distinguishing deified emperors and those who did not receive a consecration.

2.3.1 Augustus

Augustus' deification was commemorated five times on epigraphic sources.[205] The four inscriptions from Corinth were inscribed in Latin, and the first three follow the same formula. Two of these inscriptions tell us more about the dedicants, and in both cases, it comprises the *Augustales*: *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 52 is dedicated by the *Augustalis* Gnaeus Cornelius Speratus, whereas no. 53 is dedicated by the *Augustales* as a whole. The term *Augustalis* is slightly problematic, as it might suggest that their members were part of a religious priesthood, dedicated to the veneration of the emperor. It is argued, however, that the *Augustales* were a social class, equal to the *ordo sequester* in Rome, who, despite their capital, were not allowed in the highest local order of *decurionum*, as they were ex-slaves. Because of their past, they were barred from occupying public official posts, so their elevation to the order of *Augustales* enabled the city to benefit from their euergetism. At the same time the ex-slaves could finally

[201] Fred Kleiner, *A History of Roman Art* (Boston 2010) 153.
[202] Mason Hammond, 'Imperial Elements in the Formula of the Roman Emperors during the First Two and a Half Centuries of the Empire', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 25 (1957) 17+19-64, there 30.
[203] Hammond, 'Imperial Elements', 21.
[204] Spawforth, 'The Early Reception', 199.
[205] *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 51: 'dIVO auGVSTO'; *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 52: 'divo AVGVSto'; *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 53: 'divo AVGVSto'; *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 81: divi AVG' (Corinth); *IG* II^2 3235: 'θεῷ Σεβαστῷ' (Athens).

promote their new prominent social position. The rendering of Augustus' title to the new order was therefore merely honorific of nature.[206]

The fourth and fifth references to the deification of Augustus were found on a dedication made to Nero, as he was described as the great-great-grandson of the deified Augustus. The dedication from Athens is a small inscription on an altar dedicated to Augustus.[207] Although the inscription leaves no traces for further interpretation, it confirms exactly to the problem sketched above: *divus* was translated into *theos.*

Manifold coin-types refer to the deification of Augustus, all during Tiberius' time in power. Two coin-types from Corinth show a radiate bust of Augustus[208]; two types from Patras illustrates the radiate head of Augustus accompanied by the inscription DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER[209]; one type from Dyme demonstrates the radiate bust of Augustus with the inscription AVG(V)[210]; and finally one issue from the *Koinon* of Thessaly depicts the head of *Divus Augustus*.[211]

The coinage of Patras seems to take on a special position in the series of Achaean coinage commemorating the deification of Augustus. At the Mint of Rome, multiple *sestertii* and *dupondii* were issued, featuring the radiate bust of Augustus, and the inscription DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER.[212] The Mint of Patras copied the obverse and supplemented it with a reverse depicting Augustus laying down the foundations for the founding of the *colonia.* The usage of PATER seems twofold: at the one hand, it refers to the familial position that Augustus held to Tiberius. At the other hand, it refers to the title he held during his lifetime, that of *pater patriae.*[213]

2.3.2 Claudius

Three dedications referring to the deification of Claudius are found.[214] The two inscriptions from Corinth are in Latin and follow the same formula, 'divi Claudii'. The formula is in the genitive case, as the dedications are actually to – and erected during the reign of – Nero, as they denote him as the son of the deified Claudius. The first dedication leaves no traces of the

[206] Gradel, *Emperor Worship*, 229-230.
[207] Benjamin and Raubitschek, 'Arae Augusti', 65-85.
[208] *RPC* I.1151, 1157.
[209] *RPC* I.1253, 1254.
[210] *RPC* I.1289.
[211] *RPC* I.1430.
[212] *RIC* Tiberius, 70-83, 91-92.
[213] Rebecca Edwards, *Divus Augustus Pater: Tiberius and the Charisma of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 2005) 79.
[214] *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 80: 'divi Claudii'; *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 81: 'divi claudii' (Corinth); *IG* V.1 1450: 'θεοῦ Κλαυδίου' (Messene).

dedicant(s). The second, however, mentions that the dedication was erected by the *duumvir* Publius Memmius Cleander. It is believed that the remainder of the inscription indicates the additional officials who were part of the occasion, though further identification of these persons is indiscernible. Perhaps one of the other administrators responsible for the erection of the dedication was L. Rutilius Piso, as he was the colleague of Cleander, as attested on Corinthian coinage.[215]

The third inscription was inscribed in Greek and originates from Messene. The dedicant was Tiberius Claudius Aristomenes, the son of Dionysius, who was priest of the Imperial Cult in Messene.[216] Just as with the dedications from Corinth, this one was devoted to Nero who is commemorated as Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον θεοῦ Κλαυδίου υἱόν, and Claudius again is referred to in the genitive case.

Similarly to the instance of Augustus, the Mint of Rome commemorated the deification of the deceased emperor by issuing *aurei* and *denarii* who refer to Claudius as DIVVS CLAVDVS AVGVSTVS.[217] It appears that the Provincial coinage of Achaea was not as keen as to appropriate the inscription as they were with Augustus, and they are not alone in this phenomenon: the inscription DIVVS CLAVDIVS on provincial coinage is only attested once, on a coin-type from the Mint of Cnossus, at Crete.[218]

2.4 Dedications to Imperial Family Members

2.4.1 Livia

Livia, the spouse of Augustus and mother of the second emperor Tiberius, is honored in thirteen inscriptions.[219] There is a wide variety in the provenances of the dedications, ranging from Athens and its surrounding neighbours, to Corinth, even reaching as far as Tegea. The sources attest to the divine veneration of Livia during her lifetime and assimilations composed with different deities. All the inscriptions were dedicated during the reign of Tiberius, except for one Corinthian inscription, which was erected during the reign of Claudius in connection

[215] For example, *RPC* I.1203.
[216] Nino Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians: Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory* (Cambridge 2009) 320.
[217] *RIC* Nero 4-5.
[218] *RPC* I.1007.
[219] *IG* II^2 3238: ‘Ἰουλίαν θεὰν Σεβαστὴν Πρόνοιαν’; *IG* II^2 3239: ‘Ἰουλίαν θ̣[εὰν] Σεβ[αστὴν]’; *IG* II^2 3240: ‘Σεβαστῇ Ὑγείᾳ’; *IG* II^2 3242: ‘θεᾶι Λειβίᾳ’; *SEG* 22-152: ‘'Ιουλίαν Σεβαστὴν Βουλα[ί]αν’ (Athens); *Corinth* VIII.2 no. 15: ‘‘dianae PACILVCIFErae augVSTAE’; *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 55: ‘divAE AVGvstae’; *AE* (1920) no. 1: ‘ΘΕΑΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ’ (Corinth); *SEG* 13-348: ‘Σεβαστὴ […] σοφαῖς 'Ελικωνιάσιν πινυτόφρων σύγκορος’; *SEG* 36-478: ‘Σεβαστὴν 'Ιουλίαν Μνημοσύνην’ (Thespiae); *SEG* 47-220: ‘[Ἰ]ουλίαν Σεβαστ]ὴν’ (Eleusis); *IG* VII 66: “Ιουλίαν Θεὰν Σεβαστήν’ (Megara); *IG* IX2 333: ‘: Ἰου λίας Ἥρας Σεβαστῆς’ (Mylai).

with the official deification of Livia in 42 AD.[220] Of most dedications, the dedicant is unknown. Some, however, such as *SEG* 13-348, *SEG* 22-152 and *IG* IX.2 333, were erected by the local offices, while *IG* II^2 3238 tells us that the dedication was commissioned by the βουλὴ, δῆμος, Areopagus, and one Dionysios of Marathon. This Dionysios of Marathon was an αγορανομος, the overseer of the market,[221] which explains the placement of the dedication: at the Roman market.

Livia is attested on nine coins from the Mint of Corinth during the reign of Tiberius. Here, two coin-types show Livia veiled.[222] Three coins depict Livia personified as the virtue Salus[223], and four coin-types personified as Pietas.[224] These Salus-types were assumed on provincial coinage after the Mint of Rome minted similar *dupondii*, depicting Salus on the obverse, in honor of the well-being of Livia after her grave illness in 22 AD.[225] In the same fashion, the Pietas-types followed types that were minted at Rome.[226] Furthermore, two coin-types from the reign of Claudius, minted by the *Koinon* of Thessaly, depict a veiled bust of Livia.[227] It cannot be said with any certainty, however, if these two coin-types were produced in honour of the deification of Livia by Claudius in 42 AD.[228] Although already during the reign of Tiberius Livia is venerated as *Thea*, the Achaeans Mints remarkably did not produce coinage referring to *Thea Livia* during her lifetime. This is in contrast to the fact that Livia is commemorated as *Thea* or *Thea Sebaste* on various coins from mints of Macedonia[229], Thrace[230], and Lesbos[231].

All the inscriptions refer to Livia as Ἰουλία, except *IG* II^2 3240, *SEG* 13-348, and *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 55. This is because Augustus posthumously adopted Livia as his daughter in the *gens* Julia, after which Livia assumed the *nomen* Augusta.[232]. This might strike as odd, as it was the Roman Senate that bestowed the *agnomen* 'Augustus' on Octavian in 27 BC as an honorary title.[233] In the same fashion, the Roman senate decreed that the descendants of

[220] Suet. *Claud.* 11.1.
[221] McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, 315.
[222] *RPC* I.1149-1150.
[223] *RPC* I.1153, 1154, 1159.
[224] *RPC* I.1155, 1156, 1160, 1161.
[225] Tracene Harvey, *Julia Augusta: Images of Rome's First Empress on Coins of the Roman Empire* (New York 2020) 121.
[226] *RIC* I Tiberius, 43.
[227] *RPC* I.1434-1434A.
[228] Friedrich Burrer, *Münzprägung und Geschichte des Thessalischen Bundes in der Römischen Kaiserzeit bis auf Hadrian (31 v. Chr. – 138 n. Chr.)* (Saarbrücken 1993) 31.
[229] *RPC* I.1563, 1634.
[230] *RPC* I.1779.
[231] *RPC* I.2338.
[232] Anthony Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome* (New Haven 2002) 148.
[233] Francis Haverfield, 'The Name AVGVSTVS', *Journal of Roman Studies* 5 (1915) 249-250, there 249.

Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, should receive the *agnomen* 'Germanicus'.[234] Another example is the *agnomen* 'Britannicus', that Claudius and his son, who later came to be known by that surname, received by the Roman Senate.[235] Though it is not acknowledged what Augustus envisioned when he bestowed his *agnomen* onto his wife, the Senate did not treat it gravely: rather, they praised Livia and voted to her the title *mater patriae*, although Tiberius denied her the honor.[236] Livia was not to be the only imperial family member who was bestowed the title *Augusta*: Antonia Minor received the *agnomen* by Caligula; Agrippina Minor by Claudius; and Poppaea Sabina by Nero.[237] The appropriation of the *agnomen* Augusta is attested in almost every inscription, either as Σεβαστὴ or *Augusta.*

It seems striking that out of all the dedications, only one inscription (*SEG* 47-220) does not venerate Livia as a *thea* or *diva.* In all other instances, Livia is referred to as – or assimilated with - a goddess. As will become more clear in this paragraph, it was not uncommon for the imperial family to be venerated as *theos* in the province. This eastern tradition already had its roots in Republican times, when figures such as Titus Flamininus, Sulla, and Pompey were hailed as divine personalities, which was based on Hellenistic tradition.[238] What is more astounding is the fact that Livia was assimilated with such a wide variety of deities (Diana, Hygeia, Pronoia, Muse, Hestia Boulaia, Mnemosyne, and Hera) but that one of her most popular assimilations is nowhere attested in Julio-Claudian Achaea: that of Demeter/Ceres. Many examples ranging from Leptis Magna to Alexandria were found assimilating Livia with the goddess of abundance and fruitfulness.[239] From Livia on, the female imperial family members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty were continuously assimilated with Demeter/Ceres.[240] Achaea did not follow this process, however, as no source attests veneration of an imperial family member with Demeter or Ceres.

It has been claimed that the deification of Livia was a deliberate initiative of Claudius to strengthen the single familial link he had with the imperial house. Livia was his grandmother, and to match her apotheosis with that of Augustus would make his claim on the imperial throne more respectable.[241] Moreover, the deification of Livia would set about the promotion of a return to the Roman standards following the reign of Caligula, which was

[234] Suet. *Claud.* 1.3.
[235] Cass. Dio 60.22.1-2.
[236] Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.1; Suet. *Tib.* 50.3; Cass. Dio 57.12.4.
[237] Claudia-Martina Perkounig, *Livia Drusilla – Iulia Augusta. Das politische Porträt der ersten Kaiserin Roms* (Vienna 1995) 130-131.
[238] Barrett, *Livia*, 208.
[239] Ibidem, 209-210.
[240] Barbette Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres* (Austin 1996) 119.
[241] Josiah Osgood, *Claudius Caesar: Image and Power in the Early Roman Empire* (Cambridge 2011) 140.

marked by an exuberance of divine appropriation.[242] This corresponds with the symbolic role that Livia pertained during the reign of Augustus: the epitome of the ideal Roman woman, culturally and socially entwined with the virtues and morals that the Augustan age wanted to propagate.[243] However, as the sources in this paragraph show, only one inscription and two coin-types dating from Claudius' reign worship Livia as *thea*. The impulse for the veneration of Livia as *thea*, *diva*, or to assimilate her with deities seems to rest more on Hellenistic precedence than on Claudius' programme.

2.4.2 Antonia Minor

Antonia Minor was the child of Mark Antony and Augustus' sister Octavia Minor, and the wife of Tiberius' brother Drusus. The marriage between Antonia Minor and Drusus resulted in the birth of Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius.[244] As already stated in paragraph 2.4.2, Antonia received the *agnomen* Augusta by her grandson Caligula upon his ascension to the throne in 37 AD.[245] This is reflected on two Achaean inscriptions, who both derive from the reign of Caligula.[246] The first inscription originates from Corinth and refers to Antonia as Augusta. The dedicant is unknown. The second inscription comes from Thespiae, near Helicon. Here, Antonia is referred to as Σεβαστή. The dedicant is one Honestus, who is known as the author of multiple verses inscribed in the Vale of the Muses.[247] Two Corinthian coin-types from the reign of Caligula attest the same, as they show a bust of Antonia Minor on the obverse, accompanied by the inscription ANONIA AVGVS.[248] Only one other Provincial coin-type from the reign of Caligula, minted at Caesarea, assigns Antonia Minor as AVG.[249]

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[242] Emma Stafford, ''The People to the Goddess Livia'. Attic Nemesis and the Roman Imperial Cult', *Kernos* 26 (2013) 205-238, 232-233.
[243] Kelyn Elizabeth Jessen, *Portraits of Livia in Context: An Analysis of Distribution Through the Application of Geographic Information Systems* (Iowa City 2013) 35.
[244] Nikos Kokkinos, *Antonia Augusta: Portrait of A Great Roman Lady* (London 1992) 6-11.
[245] Cass. Dio 59.3.4; Suet. *Cal.* 15.2.
[246] *Corinth* VIII.2 no. 17: 'ANToniae AVGVstae' (Corinth); *Jamot* (1902) 153-155, no. 4: 'Σεβαστή Καισαρας' (Thespiae).
[247] Regina Höschele, 'Greek Epigram in Rome in the First Century CE', in: C. Henriksén (eds), *A Companion to Ancient Epigram* (Hoboken 2019) 475-490, there 485.
[248] *RPC* I.1176-1177.
[249] *RPC* I.3628A.

2.4.3 Germanicus

Germanicus was honoured three times in Achaea, both dating between 14 and 18 AD.[250] The inscription from Athens was commissioned by the Areopagus and the δῆμος and was most probably mounted on the Propylaia, the entrance to the Acropolis. It was erected in honor of Germanicus' visit to the *polis* in 18 AD.[251] The second inscription, originating from Patras, was probably also dedicated in honor of a visit by Germanicus. Tacitus tells us that Germanicus travelled from Nicopolis to Athens[252], and it is expected that Germanicus visited the town over which he was patron. [253] Germanicus' allegiance to the city is mentioned in the inscription, as he is referred to as 'c[ol(onia) Patr(ensis) patrono]'.

The third inscription originates from Thera and is part of a dedication to Germanicus and his wife Agrippina Major. The inscription was commissioned by the δῆμος of Thera in the reign of Caligula.[254] The dedication refers to Germanicus as Zeus Boulaios, who was already venerated in fifth century BC Athens, as members of the βουλὴ made offerings to him before they convened.[255] As shown in Chapter I, Augustus was venerated in the same fashion at Eleusis, at the *bouleuterion.* It is probable that Germanicus was venerated as Boulaios likewise to oversee the *bouleuterion* at Thera.

Three coin-types show Germanicus on the obverse. The first, from the reign of Tiberius, minted in Tanagra, shows the bare head of Germanicus, with the inscription ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟC.[256] The other two coin-types derive from Corinth, during the reign of Caligula, accompanied by the inscription GERMANIC CAESAR.[257]

2.4.4 Drusus Minor

Only one epigraphic source mentions Drusus Minor, originating from Athens, around 20 AD.[258] Here, Drusus is assimilated as the New God Ares.[259] This prompts a similar dedication to Gaius Caesar at the Athenian Agora to the imagination. Because of this, it is possible to

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[250] *IG* II^2 3258, 'Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα' (Athens); *Rizakis* no. 22: 'Ger[manico] Caisa[ri Ti(berii) Aug(usti) f(ilio) divi Aug(usti) [nep(oti) divi Iulii] pron(epoti)' (Patras); *IG* XII.3 1393: '[Δία Βου]λαῖον Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα' (Thera).
[251] Jeffrey Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis. History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (Cambridge 1999) 278.
[252] Tac. *Ann.,* 2.53.1.
[253] Rizakis, *Achaïe II,* 101.
[254] Sheila Ager, 'Rescuing Local History: Epigraphy and the Island of Thera', in: P. Harding and C. Cooper (eds), *Epigraphy and the Greek Historian* (Toronto 2008) 150-176, there 154.
[255] Antiph. 6.45.
[256] *RPC* I.1318
[257] *RPC* I.1178, 1179.
[258] *IG* II^2 3257: ' Δροῦσον Καίσαρα θεοῦ υἱὸν νέον θεὸν Ἄρη' (Athens).
[259] Eugene Vanderpool, 'Athens Honors the Emperor Tiberius', *Hesperia* 28:1 (1959) 86-90, there 90.

suspect that the dedication was related to the temple on the Roman Agora.[260] However, recent scholarly debate has tried to move away from the idea that Gaius and Drusus were worshipped in the temple of Ares.[261] The inscription tells us it was dedicated by the βουλὴ and δῆμος of Athens.

Drusus Minor was depicted on three coin-types, all during the reign of Tiberius. The first two derive from Corinth and illustrate a bare head of Drusus.[262] The third coin-type originates from Tanagra, where Drusus is displayed bare-headed, accompanied by the inscription DROYCOC.[263] The portrait of Drusus was based on Imperial coinage, which show a similar bust of Drusus.[264] On provincial coinage, the portraiture of Drusus is attested throughout the Roman Empire, from Baetica and Cyprus.[265]

2.4.5 Gemellus

Gemellus was the son of Drusus Minor and was adopted by Caligula upon his ascension to the imperial throne.[266] One Achaean dedication is made to Gemellus.[267] He is referred to as Tiberius Caesar and is commemorated alongside his grandmother Antonia Minor. No numismatic references are found, as Gemellus is almost completely excluded from Imperial and Provincial Coinage. Only one coin-type, from the Mint of Rome, commemorates Gemellus together with his twin-brother Germanicus Gemellus.[268]

2.4.6 Agrippina Major

Vipsania Agrippina Major, the grand-daughter of Agrippa and Augustus' daughter Julia, was the only wife of Germanicus.[269] Only one epigraphic Achaean reference to her survives.[270] As shown in paragraph 2.4.3, Agrippina was venerated together with Germanicus during the reign of Caligula at Thera, as she was assimilated with the goddess Hestia Boulaia. In the same fashion as that *IG* XII.3 1393 corresponds with the veneration of Augustus as Zeus

[260] Théodore Leslie Shear, Jr., 'Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town', *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 356-377, there 362.
[261] Christopher Dickenson, *On The Agora: The Evolution of a Public Space in Hellenistic and Roman Greece (c. 323 BC – 267 AD)* (Leiden 2016) 280n344.
[262] *RPC* I.1149-1150.
[263] *RPC* I.1319.
[264] *RIC* I Tiberius 84-87.
[265] *RPC* I.71, 123 (Baetica); *RPC* I.3921-3296 (Cyprus).
[266] Barbara Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (London 1976) 176.
[267] *Corinth* VIII.2 no. 17: 'TIBERIO CAESARI' (Corinth).
[268] *RIC* I, Tiberius 43.
[269] Tac. *Ann.*, 1.33.1.
[270] *IG* XII.3 1392: 'Ἑστίαν Βουλαίαν Ἀγριππῖναν' (Thera).

Boulaios at Eleusis, this source coincides with *SEG* 22-152, where Livia was assimilated with Hestia Boulaia. The veneration of Hestia has always been centred around the *prytaneion*, which functioned as the Athenian city Hall, and which housed the eternal flame of Hestia.[271] The association with Livia transformed the *prytaneis* into the equivalent of Rome's Vestal Virgins.[272] Therefore, the veneration of Agrippina Major as Hestia might seem as a continuation of the veneration of Livia, with Agrippina Major now exemplifying the Vestal virtues. However, no other evidence in the Roman East is found for further veneration of Agrippina Major as Hestia.

Agrippina Major is featured on only two coin-types, both dating from the reign of Caligula, minted at Corinth.[273] These coin-types depict Agrippina on the obverse, while her sons Nero Caesar and Drusus Caesar are featured on the reverse. Agrippina Maior was, together with her son Nero, exiled in 29 AD by Tiberius, who both died in 31 AD. Drusus was also imprisoned and died in 33 AD. After his ascension to the imperial throne, Caligula buried their remains in the Augustan Mausoleum, and it is probably because of their rehabilitation that the Mint of Corinth issued these coin-types.[274]

2.4.7 Julia Livilla

Julia Livilla, the youngest child of Agrippina Major and Germanicus, was venerated once in Achaea, during the reign of Caligula, ca. 37 AD, at Athens.[275] The dedicant is one Tatarion, daughter of Asklepiodoros of Gargettos,[276] Caligula's sisters were widely venerated in Athens upon the ascension to the throne of Caligula, but because of the exile in 39 AD and premature death of Julia Livilla, there are little traces of her veneration in the Roman East.[277] No numismatic sources show veneration of Julia Livilla in the province.

2.4.8 Agrippina Minor

Agrippina Minor, the oldest daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina Major, was the sister of Caligula, the wife of Claudius, and the mother of Nero. She received three dedications in the

[271] Geoffrey Schmalz, 'The Athenian Prytaneion Discovered?', *Hesperia* 75:1 (2006) 33-81, there 33.
[272] Rosalinde Kearsley, 'Women and Public Life in Imperial Asia Minor: Hellenistic Tradition and Augustan Ideology', *Ancient West and East* 4:1 (2005) 98-121, there 110.
[273] *RPC* I.1174-1175.
[274] Amandry, *Le Monnayage des Duovirs*, 70.
[275] *IG* II² 3241: 'Λιο]υίαν Σεβαστοῦ' (Athens).
[276] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, 114.
[277] Tomasz Mikocki, *Sub Specie Deae. Les Impératrices et Princesses Romaines Assimilées à des Déesses* (Rome 1995) 43-44.

province of Achaea.[278] The first dedication originates from Athens, dating from the early reign of Caligula (prior to her exile in 39 CE), and was commissioned by the δῆμος. The dedication from Eleusis can be dated later than 50 AD, on the merit that she received the title Augusta in that year, corresponding with the *agnomen* Σεβαστῆι from the inscription. The *terminus ad quem* is the death of Agrippina Minor in 59 AD. The inscription was dedicated by one Tiberius Claudius Eukles, The third inscription, from Paros, was dedicated to a priest of Agrippina Minor, where she is referred to as *thea.* The usage of the epithet *Thea* in connection with Agrippina Minor was widely attested throughout the Roman East.[279] The usage of the *agnomen* Σεβαστῆ gives reason for the same dating as the previous inscription.

Agrippina Minor was widely attested on Achaean coin-types. The Corinthian Mint produced six coin-types (two during the reign of Claudius, four during the reign of Nero)[280] which portray the bust of Agrippina on the obverse. Chalcis produced two coin-types during the reign of Nero, where one features the bust of Agrippina on the obverse and the other the bust on the reverse.[281] The Corinthian coin-types are accompanied by the inscriptions IUL AGRIPPINA AVG CAESARIS and AGRIPPINA CAESARIS (Claudius' reign), and AGRIPPINA AVGVSTA (Nero's reign). The coin-types from Chalcis simply refer to the queen as ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑ.

RPC I.1183 and 1184 portray Nero and Britannicus on the reverse, standing face to face, with the inscription 'NE BR' or 'NERO BRIT'. The coin-type was probably intended to celebrate the adoption of Nero as a tutor of Britannicus by Claudius.[282]

2.4.9 Drusilla

Julia Drusilla, the fifth child and second daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina Major, was honored in four epigraphic sources from Achaea, all dating from the reign of Caligula.[283] All four inscriptions refer to Drusilla as *thea*, which signifies the fact that she was divinized upon her death by the Roman senate in 38 AD on instigation of Caligula.[284] In fact, she was the first

[278] *SEG* 25-208: ''Αγρ[ιππῖναν Γαίου] Καίσ[αρος Σεβαστοῦ] [ἀδελφήν]' (Athens); *SEG* 47-221: '[Ἰ]ουλίαι 'Αγριππίναι Σε[βαστῆι]' (Eleusis); *IG* XII.5 275: '[θεᾶς Ἀγριπ]πείνης Σ[εβ]αστῆ' (Paros).
[279] Judith Ginsberg, *Representing Agrippina: Constructions of Female Power in the Early Roman Empire* (Oxford 2006) 97.
[280] *RPC* I.1183-1184, 1190, 1193, 1196, 1198.
[281] *RPC* I.1350-1350A.
[282] Amandry, *Le Monnayage des Duovirs*, 73.
[283] *IG* II^2 3266: 'νέαν θεὰν Δρουσίλλαν Σεβαστὴν Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἀδελφήν'; *SEG* 34-180: 'Δρουσίλλαν νέαν θε]ὰν Ἀφροδείτην' (Athens); *IG* IV2.1 600: 'Θεὰν Δρούσιλλαν' (Epidaurus); *SEG* 1-157: 'Δρουσίλλαν Θ[εά]ν, Γαΐου Καίσαρος Αὐτοκράτορος Σεβαστοῦ ἀδελφήν.' (Delphi).
[284] Cass. Dio 59.11.2.

Roman woman to receive this honor, and the third Roman only after Julius Caesar and Augustus.[285]

SEG 34-180 assimilates Drusilla with the goddess Aphrodite. This on its own is not unprecedented, as a statue of Drusilla was erected in the Temple of Venus Genetrix in Rome. Moreover, inscriptions from Mytilene, Kyzikos, Cos, and Magnesia survive, which assimilate Drusilla with Aphrodite.[286]

Only one out of four inscriptions refers to Drusilla as Σεβαστὴν, although no source conveys that Drusilla officially received the epithet from the Senate. Dio mentions that Caligula insisted that all honors that Livia received were to be given to Drusilla, so it is possible that this also included the usage of Augusta, as Hoffsten argues.[287] This view, however, has been abandoned, and it is commonly believed that Caligula did not bestow the *Augusta*-title on Drusilla.[288] This is strengthened by the fact that only one other inscription from the Roman East calls Drusilla *Sebaste*: a honorary inscription for Drusilla from Halasarna, at Cos.[289] Mionnet, a 19th century numismatist, has identified one coin from Lesbos that states ΔΡΟΥCΙΛΛΑ CEBACTH.[290] However, this coin is irretraceable in the *RPC*, and there is no evidence that suggests that such a type was ever minted in Lesbos.

2.4.10 Britannicus

Only one inscription from Achaea refers to Britannicus, the son of Claudius.[291] The inscription dates between 47 and 50 AD, as it recalls the Claudius' post as censor which he first assumed in 47 AD, and the fact that Nero was adopted in 50 AD and subsequently became first choice over Britannicus. Furthermore, the inscription tells us it was commissioned by the citizens of the colony, by decree of the city council and under the supervision of the *duumviri*.[292] Britannicus was, together with his adoptive brother Nero, commemorated on two Corinthian coin-types (see paragraph 2.4.8).

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[285] Peter Herz, 'Diva Drusilla: Ägyptisches und Römisches im Herrscherkult zur Zeit Caligulas', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 30:3 (1981) 324-336, there 324.
[286] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens,* 111.
[287] Ruth Bertha Hoffsten, *Roman Women of Rank of the Early Empire in Public Life as Portrayed by Dio, Paterculus, Suetonius, and Tacitus* (Philadelphia 1939) 57n40.
[288] Hildegard Temporini, *Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans: ein Beitrag zur Stellung der Augustae im Principat* (Berlin 1979) 188.
[289] *AE* (1901) nr. 203: 'ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΝ δρουσιλλαν' (Halasarna).
[290] Théodore Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques, Grecques et Romaines, avec leur degré de rareté et leur estimation, tome III* (Paris 1808) 49, no. 125.
[291] *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 77: 'ti CLAVDIO AVG F CAESari BRITANNICO' (Corinth).
[292] *Corinth* VIII.3, 40-41.

2.4.11 Claudia Octavia

Claudia Octavia was the third child of Claudius, and his second with Valeria Messalina. No epigraphic sources dedicated to Claudia Octavia survive. However, three coin-types refer to Octavia on the obverse.[293] These types refer to her marriage with Nero, as the inscriptions on the coins state OCTAVIAE NERONIS AVG.

2.4.12 Poppaea Sabina

Poppaea Sabina was the second wife of Nero, after his divorce with Claudia Octavia. She is memorialized only through a coin-type from Chalcis.[294] Her draped bust is accompanied by the inscription ΠΟΠΠΑΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. This was in line with the fact that Nero had proclaimed Poppaea Sabina with the title Augusta in 63 AD.[295]

2.4.13 Statilia Messalina

Statilia Messalina, the third wife of Nero, was venerated through one inscription, from Athens, during the late reign of Nero.[296] The dedication refers to her as 'Statilia Messalina, the wife of Nero', and is dedicated by one P. Okkios Krispos. Nothing else is known of the dedicant. What is more interesting is the fact that Statilia Messalina is honored as ἰδίαν σωτείραν καὶ ευερ]γέτιν. This dedication is the only reference that venerates the Roman empress as 'saviour'. Furthermore, it is peculiar that Messalina is venerated as σεβαστή, as there are no sources that confirm that she attained that title.[297]

2.4.14 Remarks

Especially at Athens and Corinth, multiple dedications were made to commemorate the imperial family. It has been argued by Friesen that the assimilation of the emperor and the imperial family was part of a bigger strategy of entwining the Roman elite with the Greek pantheon. Assimilating Livia with local Greek deities, for example, created a connection between the 'new world order' and the ancient Greek religious world.[298] By doing so, Friesen positions the imperial cult as a top-down phenomenon, handed down from government/emperor onto the subjects of the empire. Some maintain that the imperial cult

[293] *RPC* I.1191, 1194, 1199.
[294] *RPC* I.1352A.
[295] Tac. *Ann.* 15.23.1.
[296] *BCH* 51 (1927) no. 24: '[Στατειλίαν Μ]εσσαλεῖναν υ [Νέ]ρωνος γυ[ναῖκα]' (Athens).
[297] Paul Graindor, 'Inscriptions Attiques d'époque romaine', *BCH* 51 (1927) 245-328, there 261.
[298] Steven Friesen, *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John: Reading Revelation in the Ruins* (Oxford 2001) 123.

cannot be seen as a sole Roman invention, and particularly in the case of the assimilation with traditional deities much can be said about their Hellenistic roots. Price asserted that the assimilation of the emperor or the imperial family provided an elevated position of the emperor, on the one hand becoming visible and representable in the Roman provinces, on the other hand falling back on the Hellenistic tradition of asserting divine representation.[299] The assimilation with a traditional deity in, for example, the 'New goddess Drusilla Aphrodite' (*SEG* 34-180) or the 'Nero the new Apollo' (*IG* II^2 3278), has its roots in the Ptolemaic dynasty.[300] Ginsburg synthesizes, by arguing that while Eastern provincial imperial cult for the biggest part was the product of Hellenistic traits, to some extent one can see imperial influence on local initiative. This is exceptionally emphasized by the lack of divine assimilation by the emperor on Roman provincial coinage. Here, the provincial mints followed the practice of the Roman Mint and decided against depicting the emperor with divine attributions during its lifetime.[301] Nonetheless, the coinage during Nero's reign proves the opposite, as the Mints of Achaea soon depicted the emperor as a god, even during his lifetime.

In the same way that Livia was used by Claudius of formulating a connection between the emperor and the imperial house, Claudius employed his other relatives to strengthen his claim to the imperial throne and furthermore to generate affection and hospitality among the Roman populace.[302] For example, Germanicus was honored on the provincial coinage of his brother in Caesarea[303], Anazarbus[304], and Antioch[305], and his mother Antonia Minor in Thessalonica[306], and Caesarea.[307] This strategy, however, is not attested in Achaea, as no epigraphic or numismatic sources from the reign of Claudius refer to Germanicus, Agrippina Major, or their children. The only exception is Agrippina Minor, who was attested on epigraphic and numismatic sources because of her marriage with Claudius.

[299] Price, *Rituals and Power*, 183-184.
[300] Ulrike Hahn, *Die Frauen des Römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im Griechischen Osten anhand Epigraphischer und Numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina* (Saarbrücken 1994) 22-23.
[301] Judith Ginsburg, *Representing Agrippina: Constructions of Female Power in the Early Roman Empire* (Oxford 2006) 98-99.
[302] Barbara Levick, *Claudius* (New York 1990) 45.
[303] *RPC* I.3629-3630.
[304] *RPC* I.4060.
[305] *RPC* I.4281.
[306] *RPC* I.1581-1587.
[307] *RPC* I.3628A.

2.5 Priesthoods to the Emperor, the Imperial Family, and the Theoi Sebastoi

Three sources indicate to the existence of an imperial priesthood to Tiberius at Eleusis.[308] The first refers to Papios of Marathon, who paid for the inscription and became priest of Tiberius for life. The inscription was, however, dedicated by the Athenians.[309] The second inscription refers to Polycharmos of Marathon, who was high priest of Tiberius and priest of Apollo Patröos. The third source indicates another high priest to Tiberius, one Herodes of Marathon, who is identified as the *archon* Herodes III of Marathon, who was the brother of the above-mentioned Polycharmos. The dedication probably dates from around 30 AD.[310]

One source shows the existence of a priesthood to Livia in Mylai during the reign of Tiberius.[311] Here, the δῆμος dedicated the inscription to one Dexippe, the wife of Philiskos son of Aristoboulos, who was priestess to Hera Livia Sebaste.

Two sources refer to the existence of an imperial priesthood to Antonia Minor.[312] The first is found on a theatre-seat in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens and was reserved for the priestess of Antonia. The inscription is dated from the early reign of Tiberius. [313] The second inscription, even so from Athens, refers to Tiberius Claudius Novius, who was high priest of Antonia Augusta. This inscription is dated between 47 and 54 AD. [314]

One reference to a priesthood of Drusilla is found.[315] The inscription is a dedication to the *Thea* Drusilla and is dedicated by Autonoe Aristotelous, who is identified in the inscription as priestess of Drusilla. The inscription is dated from the reign of Caligula.

One source refers to a priesthood to Agrippina Minor.[316] The dedication mentions the priestess of *Thea Agrippina Sebaste*, and dates from the reign of Claudius or Nero, at Paros.

Two sources refer to the priesthood of Nero.[317] The first one originates from Athens and is dedicated by Tiberius Claudius Novius (the same as the high priest of Antonia Minor) as imperial high priest of Nero. The second inscription stems from Messene, where reference

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[308] *IG* II^2 3261: 'Τιβέριον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν […] ἱερέως'; *IG* II^2 3530: 'τὸν ἀρχιερέα Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ' (Eleusis); James Oliver & Sterling Dow, 'Greek Inscriptions', *Hesperia* 4:1 (1935) 5-90, there 58-59: 'ἀρκιερέως Τιβερίο]υ Καί[σ]αρο[ς] Σεβα[σ]το[ῦ' (Athens).
[309] Clinton, 'Eleusis and the Romans', 167.
[310] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens,* 84-85.
[311] *IG* IX.2 333: ἱερητε[ύσ]ασαν Ἰουλίας Ἥρας Σεβαστῆς' (Mylai).
[312] *IG* II^2 3535: 'ἀρχιερέα Ἀντωνίας Σεβαστῆς'; *IG* II^2 5095: 'ἱερή[ας] Ἀν[τ]ωνίας' (Athens).
[313] Kokkinos, *Antonia Augusta*, 55.
[314] Ibidem, 55-56.
[315] *IG* IV2 1.600: 'Θεὰν Δρούσιλλαν […] ἡ ἱέρεια αὐτῆς' (Epidaurus).
[316] *IG* XII.5 275: 'τὴν ἱέρειαν […] [θεᾶς Ἀγριπ]πείνης Σ[εβ]αστῆς' (Paros).
[317] *Schmalz* no. 107: 'ἀρκιερεὺς Νέρωνος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ' (Athens); *IG* V.1 1450: 'Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον θεοῦ Κλαυδίου υἱόν […] ἱερεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ [ἱερεὺς Ῥώμης' (Messene).

is made to one Tiberius Claudius Aristomenes, son of Dionysos, who was high priest of Nero.[318] Both sources originate from the reign of Nero.

Finally, the imperial family was venerated by the priesthood of the *Theoi Sebastoi.* The cult of the *Theoi Sebastoi* was the veneration of the living emperor, past emperors, and deceased or living relatives of the imperial family. From the middle of the first century AD, the *Augusti* were collectively honoured as an assemblage of the different imperial cults.[319] Seven Achaean inscriptions refer to the priesthood or veneration of the *Theoi Sebastoi*.[320] The first five inscriptions originate from Athens, and range from Tiberius' reign, up to that of Nero. The first source is a terraced propylon that was dedicated to Athena Archegetis and the *Theoi Sebastoi*. It was dedicated by a family from Gargettus, a *deme* of Attica.[321] The second inscription refers to a priest of Apollo Patröos and the imperial family, who dedicated an altar to Caligula. A link between Apollo Patröos and the emperor was already established under Tiberius, as attested by another Athenian inscription.[322] This inscription does not explicitly refer to the *Theoi Sebastoi,* but to the imperial family as τοῦ γένους τοῦ διὰ Βίου. The third inscription is dated between 55 and 60 AD, and concerns a dedication to Hestia, Apollo, the *Theoi Sebastoi*, and the Athenian magistracies. It was dedicated by Philoxenos of Phlya. The fourth source refers to the 'high priest of the house of the *Sebastoi*', Tiberius Claudius Novius, who is already attested as priest to Antonia Minor and Nero in previously discussed sources. The inscription dates from 61/62 AD.[323] The fifth inscription refers to a high priest of the *Theoi Sebastoi* and the *genos* of the *Sebastoi* on behalf of the Achaean League under Nero.[324]

The other two inscriptions both originate from the island of Kea, respectively from Ioulis and Carthaea. Both inscriptions were dedicated by one Theoteles Philocaesar, who is referred to as high priest of the *Theoi Sebastoi.* They are dated between 14 and 54 AD.[325]

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[318] Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians*, 320.
[319] Francesco Camia, 'The Theoi Sebastoi in the sacred landscape of the polis. Cult places for the emperors in the cities of mainland Greece', in: J. Fouquet and L. Gaitanou (eds), *Im Schatten der Alten? Ideal und Lebenswirklichkeit im Römischen Griechenland* (Mainz 2016) 9-24, there 9-10.
[320] *IG* II^2 3183: 'θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖ[ς'; *SEG* 34-182: 'ἱερέως [...] τοῦ γένους τοῦ διὰ'; *IG* II^2 3185: 'θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς'; *IG* II^2 1990: 'ἀρχι]ερέως τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν'; *IG* II^2 3538: 'ἀρχιερέα θε[ῶν] Σεβαστῶν κ[αὶ] [γέ]νους Σε[β]αστῶν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆ[ς] Ἀχαίας διὰ βίου' (Athens); *IG* XII.5 629: '[θεοῖς Σεβα]στοῖς'; *IG* XII.5 558: 'θεῶν Σεβασ]τῶν' (Kea).
[321] Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, 89.
[322] *IG* II^2 3530.
[323] Spawforth, 'The Early Reception', 189.
[324] Ibidem, 191.
[325] Hahn, *Die Frauen des Römischen Kaiserhauses*, 55.

2.6 Imperial festivals

Two sources attest to the veneration of the imperial family by the celebration of festivals.[326] The first inscription originates from the reign of Tiberius and stems from Corinth. The dedication is made by a decree of the city council to Lucius Castricius Regulus. Numismatic evidence tells us that Castricius Regulus was *duumvir* under Tiberius, together with P. Caninius Agrippa. The bulk of the inscription describes the *cursus honorum* of the dedicatee. Here, Castricius Regulus functioned as *agonothete* of the *Tiberea Caesarea Sebastea*, of the Isthmian and the Caesarean games, and that he introduced poetry contests in honor of the divine Julia Augusta.[327]

The second source honors Claudius and his ascension to the imperial throne in 41 AD through the organization of an imperial festival. The dedicant was Novios of Oion, *strategos* and first *agonothete* of the imperial festival.

One extra collection of sources specially interests whether the phenomenon of the imperial cult might be constituted from Rome, or whether the local populace played a decisive part in the erection of altars, temples, dedications, and festivals. The collection originates from Gytheum near Sparta, and involves of an inscription which describes the preparations for the festivities surrounding the ascension of Tiberius to the imperial throne, and secondly comprises an imperial response of the emperor Tiberius to the community of Gytheum, refusing the divine honors, which was also set in stone at Gytheum.[328]

The preparations consisted of multiple venerations to the emperor and the imperial family. Statues were to be erected to Augustus[329], Livia[330], and Tiberius,[331] the first day was celebrated to the *Theos* Caesar Augustus Saviour Liberator, the second to Tiberius, the third to Livia, the fourth to Germanicus Caesar, the fifth to Drusus Caesar, and the sixth to Titus Quinctius Flamininus. Furthermore, performances were erected in honor of Gaius Julius Eurycles, the dynast of Sparta, and to his son Laco. Finally, sacrifices were to be made in the temple of Caesar. The response of Tiberius to the divine honors was that of moderation: he accepted the honors for Augustus, refused the honors to him, and tells the magistrates of

[326] *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 153: 'aGONOTHETE TIBereon caesarEON SEBASTEON ET agonothete iSTHMION ET CAESAReon', 'carmina ad iuliaM DIVAm […] INSTITVIT' (Corinth); *IG* II^2 3270: ': ἀγωνοθέτου πρώτου τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἀγώνων' (Athens).
[327] *Corinth* VIII.3 blz. 70-73.
[328] *SEG* 9-922; 9-923; 58-343.
[329] 'Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Πατρός'
[330] "Ιουλίας Σεβαστῆς'
[331] 'αὐτοκράτορος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεαστοῦ'

Gytheum that 'my mother will give you her answer when she learns from you what decision you have made about honors for her.'

From the above, one can conclude that it was the Gytheian community (or at least the magistrates) who initialized the benefactions to the emperor. It might, therefore, be probable that the erection of other dedications was done in the same fashion: the initiative came from the local or regional magistrates, who reached out to the emperor for ratification; for the Gytheians, remarkably they inscribed the refusal of the divine honors, as if it was a favorable outcome. The accessibility of the emperor for the erection of divine honors is also mentioned by Tacitus and Dio: The latter describes that Augustus gave permission to the dedication of sacred buildings in Ephesus and Nicaea to Rome and Caesar, and in Pergamum and Nicomedia to himself.[332] Tacitus also mentions the approval of Tiberius for the erection of a temple to Augustus.[333]

This interaction between the emperor and his subjects is best described in the 'petition-and-response'-model, which was formulated by Millar in his highly influential work *The Emperor in the Roman World*. Here, Millar argues that policy making was not actively carried out by the emperor, but that he based his decision making on the responses he made to his subjects.[334] This means that the emperor held a passive role in relation to his subjects and that change or policymaking in the province came about because his subjects actively pursued it. A striking example of how this passivity of the emperor can be understood is found in Dio. Here, Dio recalls the story of a woman who approached emperor Hadrian when he was traveling through the countryside. The woman asked for his attention, but was answered with that Hadrian did not have time. She cried out: 'Cease, then, being emperor!', after which Hadrian granted her his attention.[335] A connection between the 'petition-and-response'-model and the imperial cult will be further deliberated in chapter III.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the epigraphic and numismatic sources from the reign of Tiberius until and including Nero from Achaea that venerate the emperor and the imperial family, and that attest of imperial priesthoods or festivals. The evidence that venerates the living emperor is meagre: while Augustus received 22 dedications during his lifetime, the epigraphic output

[332] Cass. Dio 51.20.6.
[333] Tac. *Ann.* 1.10.
[334] Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977) 6.
[335] Cass. Dio 69.6.3.

venerating Tiberius until and including Nero combined comes 29 dedications. Furthermore, the evidence is geographically scattered. It is only the *polis* of Athens that consistently venerates every subsequent Julio-Claudian emperor through honorary dedications during their reigns. Furthermore, the numismatic evidence suggests a trend of increasing depiction and veneration of the living emperor, culminating in the reign of Nero, who's image is attested on almost 80% of the coinage that was minted during his reign. What is especially interesting is the fact that during the reign of Nero, the Greeks introduced the radiate crown on his image on coinage. This was based on the Hellenistic precedent that depicted the reigning monarch radiating. Other Hellenistic precedents, such as the usage of the epithet *soter*, however, became practically extinct during the reigns following Augustus. Finally, only Augustus and Claudius were posthumously honoured, in honour of their deification by the Roman senate. However, while some coin-types refer to the deification of Augustus, no coin-type does so to Claudius.

The veneration of imperial family-members is extremely diverse. Livia was already venerated during her lifetime with the epithet *Thea*, and received many assimilations with local deities even after her death. However, the deification of Livia by Claudius was not the impulse for this phenomenon, as most sources stem from the period before the reign of Claudius. Here, it is Hellenistic precedence that formed the veneration of Livia. The other female family-members of the emperors, such as Antonia Minor, Agrippina Major, and Julia Livilla were likewise venerated by dedicatory inscriptions and on coin-types, though in lesser quantities. Especially Drusilla and Agrippina Minor are of interest, as the former is the first Roman woman to have been posthumously deified by the senate, which is attested by the sources, and the latter, though not officially deified, likewise received many references to her as *Thea.*

The male relatives of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, such as Germanicus, Drusus Minor, Gemellus, and Britannicus, were likewise commemorated and assimilated with local deities, but again to a lesser extent when compared with the emperors. In contrast with their female counterparts, none of them were venerated as *divus* or *theos.* Again, their veneration on epigraphic and numismatic evidence was largely sparked by imperial visits, military victories, or the new political situations that ensued because of adoptions.

This chapter has shown that the Achaean priesthoods transformed into priesthoods to the living emperor, attested by priesthoods to Tiberius and Nero. Moreover, from the reign of Tiberius on, the imperial house was venerated as a whole by the priesthoods to the *Theoi Sebastoi*, at Athens, by the *Koinon* of Thessaly, and on the island of Kea. Moreover, imperial

priesthoods of Livia, Antonia Minor, Drusilla, and Agrippina Minor are attested. What is of special interest is that no priesthoods were dedicated to male members of the imperial family, other than to the emperor.

The sources that indicate to imperial festivals during the reigns of Tiberius until and including Nero are scarce when compared with the abundance of festivals attested during the reign of Augustus. As the source of Gytheum shows, the impulse for the insurrection of imperial festivals came from the local populace, but from the reign of Tiberius on, the veneration of the imperial family through the celebration of festivals became less frequent.

Chapter III: The Development of the Imperial Cult

3.1 *Introduction*

The past two chapters have examined the evidence for the imperial cult and the veneration of the Julio-Claudian dynasty by assessing all the epigraphic and numismatic sources that were purported to have been erected or commissioned during the reign of the five Julio-Claudian emperors. This chapter will form the synthesis of the evidence: the data will be compared, scrutinized, and put in the wider perspective of the imperial cult in the Roman East. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how the imperial cult developed under the rule of the Julio-Claudians, in what ways it fits the broader picture of the imperial cult, or where it differentiates. Moreover, this chapter will try to fit the imperial cult of the province of Achaea in the two debates that have been described in the introduction: that of its Roman or Hellenistic influence, and that of whether the imperial cult can be understood as a top-down, or bottom-up process.

3.2 *Observations of the Epigraphic and Numismatic Sources*

The following observations follow from a comparison of the sources: first, while the Achaean epigraphic and numismatic output under the rule of Augustus is large and geographically diverse, it seems to diminish under Tiberius and finds its nadir under the rule of Caligula. This might strike as odd, given the fact that Caligula consciously manifested himself as a divine personality at Rome and in the provinces.[336] It has been argued, however, that Caligula did not force his veneration on the provinces.[337] Another obvious answer to why Caligula received such a low number of dedications is that he was the subject of *damnatio memoriae*, following his death. While Caligula received no official *damnatio memoriae* by a formal declaration of the senate, multiple examples throughout the Roman provinces show the destruction or alteration of inscriptions originally dedicated to him.[338] Following this, the epigraphic sources quantitively stay around the same output as under Tiberius during the rule of Claudius and Nero, but never reach the same heights as under Augustus. The numismatic references, however, increase during the rule of Claudius and culminate in the rule of Nero, where the output of the *poleis* significantly outnumbers that of the rule of Augustus.

[336] Habicht, 'Die Augusteische Zeit', 85.
[337] McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, 338.
[338] Hojte, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases*, 57-58.

The second observation is that on an epigraphic level, the production of Athens is far more numerous than that of any other city. On a numismatic level, however, no coin-type shows any reference to Augustus, the imperial family, or any other image referring to Roman hegemony. As Walker pointed out, 'there is not a single reference to any contemporary event and only a single variety makes even a discreet reference to the existence of the Roman Empire.'[339] It seems that the absence of the image of the emperor on their coinage was a deliberate choice by the Athenians. Howgego, however, that this phenomenon was simply the product of 'particular circumstances which escape us.'[340] Others, however, have argued the differ. The appearance of an imperial bust on the obverse of a coin might be seen as a *homage* to the emperor and its court, is a way of identifying the city with the central power in Rome.[341] An absence of this form of flattery would be a statement *an sich,* of Athens not wanting to relate to Roman hegemony, but rather lingering in the long tradition of remaining culturally advanced and autonomous from other *poleis*. Minting of Athenian coinage ceased after the reign of Augustus and was followed by a hiatus that lasted until the second century AD.[342]

The third observation seen on both the epigraphical and numismatic level is that the veneration of the deified emperor, when comparing Augustus with Claudius, diminishes. This is especially true on a numismatic level, where no references are made to the deification of Claudius in Achaea. As shown in chapter II, however, Achaea is not alone here, as only one coin-type of all provincial coinage of the reign of Nero refers to the deification of Claudius. This is sharply contrasted by the vast amount of Achaean references to the 'deified Augustus' on coin-types from the reign of Tiberius. Numismatists have tried to explain the lack of references to the 'deified Claudius'. One conclusion is that on imperial coinage, Nero displayed Claudius and Augustus only in his first year of power. After 56 AD, however, no references were made to his Julio-Claudian ties anymore.[343] It seems here that the provincial mints followed the sympathies felt at the Imperial mint and copied this strategy.

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[339] Alan Walker, *A Chronological Study of the Greek Imperial Coinage of Athens based on the Collection of the Agora Excavations at Athens* (Ann Arbor 1980) 183.
[340] Christopher Howgego, 'Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces', in: Idem, V. Heuchert and A. Burnett (eds), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces* (Oxford 2005) 1-18, there 15.
[341] Amandry, 'The Coinage of the Roman Provinces through Hadrian', 399.
[342] Sophia Kremydi & Athena Iakovidou, 'Corinth and Athens: Numismatic Circulation from the Late Republic to the High Empire', in: P. van Alfen, G. Bransbourg and M. Amandry (ed), *Contributions to Numismatics in Honor of Richard B. Witschonke* (New York 2015) 457-484, there 471.
[343] Olivier Hekster, Erika Manders, and Daniëlle Slootjes, 'Making History with Coins: Nero from a Numismatic Perspective', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 45:1 (2014) 25-37, there 35-36.

The fourth is that different members of the Julio-Claudian family have been venerated both on an epigraphic and numismatic level. This was not a specifically Achaean phenomenon: the veneration of the imperial family has been attested throughout the whole Empire, especially in the East. This, because already during the reign of the Hellenistic monarchs, the tradition of implementing family-members of the ruling class into veneration was widely established.[344] This veneration during the reign of Augustus was especially fixed on the position of the family-members as heirs to the Principate. Firstly Gaius and Lucius and secondly Tiberius and Germanicus, were especially commemorated because of their adoption by the *princeps*. Again, Achaea does not take a special place in the imperial landscape here, as for example Gaius and Lucius were widely honored throughout the empire on behalf of their adoption.[345]

Noteworthy is the fact that while Caligula received little veneration during his reign, a wide array of his family-members was. Moreover, except for Germanicus and Gemellus, they were all female: Antonia Minor, Agrippina Major, Julia Livilla, Agrippina Minor, and Julia Drusilla. The pinnacle of the imperial veneration in Achaea during the rule of Caligula was the veneration of Drusilla, who not only received multiple dedications to her, but was also the recipient of an imperial priesthood. This, because she was deified upon her death in 38 AD. Furthermore, the fact that so many female relatives of Caligula received imperial honors is explained because when Gemellus died in 37 AD, there were simply no male relatives of Caligula to venerate.[346]

The fifth is that the rule of Augustus saw the establishment of many imperial priesthoods to him, and to the imperial family. This quickly diminishes under the rule of Tiberius, while Caligula and Claudius have no imperial priesthoods to them attested in Achaea. However, what becomes clear is the establishment of an imperial cult to the *Theoi Sebastoi*. While one inscription from the reign of Augustus refers to a priesthood to the *Theoi Soteri*, it cannot be proven that this meant the same as the *Theoi Sebastoi,* but rather the collective veneration of the deities who were venerated as *soter*. From the reign of Tiberius on, however, except for that of Claudius, sources attest to the existence of a priesthood to the *Theoi Sebastoi*. The *Theoi Sebastoi* were not the Greek counterpart of the Roman *Divi Augusti,* as the latter refers to the emperors who received official deification by the senate,

[344] Grether, 'Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult', 224.
[345] Gwynaeth McIntyre, *A Family of Gods: The Worship of the Imperial Family in the Latin West* (Ann Arbor 2006) 26.
[346] McIntyre, *A Family of Gods,* 95.

while the former also incorporates emperors and family-members who did not receive such formal honors, but were honored during their lifetime as gods.[347]

The sources indicate a change in the nature of the imperial priesthoods: the priesthoods to the imperial individuals were replaced with (or maybe accommodated within) the priesthoods to the *Theoi Sebastoi*. From the reign of Caligula on, only a handful of individual priesthoods are attested. This reorganization of the imperial cult was not uncommon, however, in the Roman East. Spawforth argues that this transformation can be seen in light of the Greek answer to the dynastic changes in rulers of the later Julio-Claudian emperors and the growing prominence of the imperial household during the reign of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero.[348]

Sixthly, while many imperial festivals were established during the rule of Augustus, epigraphical evidence suggests that only two subsequent festivals were held during the reign of Tiberius and Claudius. This does not mean, however, that the festivities from the reign of Augustus were not continued. As in Asia Minor, many festivals were held annually, or at least were repeated every two or four years and survived for many years.[349] In fact, it seems that the implementation of the imperial priesthoods to the *Theoi Sebastoi* in the province of Achaea suggests a transformation in the popularity of the imperial festivals. It would be hard to believe that the Greek *poleis* kept on erecting dedications to the imperial household but would not be inclined to participate in imperial festivities. The many regulations proscribed on the Sacred Law-inscription at Gytheum suggests that much thought and effort went into the celebrations of the imperial festivities at the *polis*. It would seem inappropriate to assume that a silence in the sources suggests to an absence of imperial festivities. If anything, imperial festivals and agonistic games seemed to have grown exponentially in the province of Achaea. This is demonstrated by *SEG* 56-1359, where Hadrian in 134 AD was forced to order the exact order in which the festivals were to be held.[350] It has been estimated that already in the second century AD over 500 agonistic games, of which at least a considerable amount would have been dedicated to the emperor, were testified in the Roman East.[351]

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[347] Fernando Lozano, 'Divi Augusti and Theoi Sebastoi: Roman Initiatives and Greek Answers', *The Classical Quarterly* 57 (2007) 139-152, there 141.
[348] Spawforth, 'The Early Reception', 191.
[349] Price, *Rituals and Power*, 104-105.
[350] Christopher Jones, 'Three New Letters of the Emperor Hadrian', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 161 (2007) 145-156, there 155.
[351] Angelos Chaniotis, *Festivals and Contests in the Greek World. Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum VII* (Los Angeles 2011) 22.

3.3 Modern Debates

3.3.1 Influence and Negotiation

As has been stated in the introduction and has been recited many times in the past chapters, a major part of the scholarly debate surrounding the imperial cult has been centred around its Roman or Hellenistic roots. Of course, a case study of a single province in the Roman Empire, such as this thesis, might not prove to be conclusive evidence for either side of the debate. It might, however, show how the inhabitants of the province of Achaea constituted their imperial cult, which might lead to a clearer understanding of the imperial cult as a whole.

On the one hand, the Hellenistic framework provided the incentive for the veneration of the Roman emperor and the imperial household in Achaea. Especially the veneration of the living emperor and his relatives as *theos,* although unprecedented in Rome and the Roman West, is abundantly testified by the Achaean sources. Reference to the divinity of the living emperor seems to culminate in the portrayal of Nero with the radiate crown on the coin-types that were minted during his reign. It exemplifies the notion that the emperor was endowed with (some) divine powers and is clearly borrowed from the depiction of Hellenistic monarchs on Greek coinage. The point of view, however, of Friesen, who argues that the veneration of the imperial family as gods must be understood as a top-down phenomenon, is wrong. I would like to argue that a more moderate stance as persisted by Ginsburg is favourable and does not undermine the notion of local initiative.

Then follows the imperial festivals. The analysis of the inscriptions regarding the festivities attested at Athens, Corinth, Argos, Messene, Lycosura, Epidaurus, Tanagra, Hyampolis, and Larissa have demonstrated how existing festivals were fused with the veneration of the imperial cult by assimilating them into *Sebastea* and *Caesarea*. Again, the foundation for these festivals and games was the Hellenistic tradition that venerated cult-heroes and deities through festivity. By the time of Augustus, the imperial festivals were wide-spread throughout the Achaean province, becoming engrained in the veneration of the imperial household by adding a ‘Roman’ or ‘imperial’ veneer over the Hellenistic traditions. Moreover, there is evidence that shows that members of the imperial family actively participated in the festivities, as one epigraphic source shows how Germanicus won the chariot-race at the Olympic Games.[352]

On the other hand, the imperial cult in Achaea cannot be conceived as a Hellenistic adaptation to Roman rule *pur sang*. I would like to argue that imperial veneration in the

[352] Robert Sherk, *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian* (Cambridge 1988) 59.

province also functioned and manifested itself as a negotiation between the Hellenistic past and the Roman present. Where Price has argued that the imperial cult was based on Hellenistic traits, I contend that this view must be adjusted and a more favourable position towards Roman precedent, such as embodied by the study of Rives, must be incorporated in the study of the Roman imperial cult.

The imperial cult seemed to function as a way for the inhabitants to negotiate with the new spheres of power, by either cooperating and accommodating the cult in their lives, or by rejecting it. These two different attitudes are clearly exemplified in the case of Athens. At the one hand, the Athenians erected a multitude of dedications to the emperors and to the *domus Augusta*. Moreover, as much as seventeen out of the 28 references to imperial priesthoods found in Achaea stem from Athens. On the other hand, on a numismatic level, the sources are deafeningly silent, as they do not, apparently intentionally, depict the emperor or the imperial family on their coin-types. This phenomenon has only been attested in three other cities: Chios, Rhodes (until the reign of Nero), and Tyre.[353] It could result from a feud between the Athenians and the *princeps*, as Athens invoked the anger of Augustus around 21 BC and received political and financial repercussions. [354] It has been argued that the many dedications found in Athens and the Attic landscape was in part to accommodate the changing allegiance, as Athens had supported Antony during the civil war and sought to align themselves with Augustus.

Additionally, the assimilation of the imperial household with traditional deities, which is widely attested in Athens, functioned as a way of emphasizing the traditional cult, while simultaneously accommodating to the new spheres of power. Conversely this, in some sense, formed a new kind of Hellenism in imperial Athens.[355] Not everyone, however, seemed to adhere in the same fashion to the Athenian change of heart. Automedon, a contemporary Greek poet, criticizes the ease with which the Athenians bestowed honors on Augustus.[356] Dio Chryostom, moreover, expresses the sentiment that he is disgusted by the bestowal of honors by the Athenians.[357]

[353] Howgego, 'Coinage and Identity', 15.
[354] Glen Bowersock, 'The New Hellenism of Augustan Athens', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia IV* 7 (2002) 1-16, there 6.
[355] Bowersock, 'The New Hellenism', 10-11.
[356] 'if you bring ten sacks of charcoal you, too, will be a citizen. If you bring a pig, also, you will be Triptolemus himself.' (*Anth. Pal.* 11.319).
[357] '[The Athnians are] not worthy of it or of the glory which the Athenians of old bequeathed to them' (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.117).

Moreover, the case of the imperial cult as a negotiation between past and present is clearly exemplified in Athens by veneration of the *Theoi Sebastoi*. As already stated in paragraph 3.2, the veneration of the *Theoi Sebastoi* was a phenomenon created by the Eastern inhabitants to adjust to the dynastic alterations that took place during the early Principate. It was practiced both on a private and a local level, and seemed to be part of the reorganization of the imperial cult in Athens. The veneration of the *Theoi Sebastoi* operated in this reorganization as a powerful tool to adhere to the veneration of a growing list of dedicatees, and also to stabilize and centralize the imperial cult over the course of multiple emperors.[358]

Moving away from Athens, there are quite some examples indicating that the Achaeans looked to the imperial centre at Rome. The clearest example has been given in paragraph 2.6, where the sacred Law of Gytheum demonstrates how the local populace turned to the emperor for approval of their planned festivities. This is in line with the tendency that approval of the emperor was necessary for the organisation of imperial festivals.[359] Another example is the fact that the Achaeans seemed to copy dynastic strategies employed on epigraphic and numismatic sources. For example, the unofficial *damnatio memoriae* of Caligula seems to be clearly attested in the lack of Achaean references to the emperor. Another example is the above discussed absence of ancestral references on coin-types during the reign of Nero, which seems to have been copied from similar tendencies that happened at the Mint of Rome. Other instances where the provincial mints were inspired by the output of the Mint of Rome have been recalled in the previous chapters, such as the inscription of the legend DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER (paragraph 2.3.1), the depiction of Livia with the Salus- and Pietas-type (paragraph 2.4.1), or the depiction of Drusus Minor (paragraph 2.4.4).

3.3.2 The Local Elite and 'petition-and-Response'

In the past chapters, constant attention has been paid to ascertain which person(s) or authorative body was responsible for the dedications to the imperial family and references to the imperial cult. Not all sources, such as the series of altars to Augustus found at Athens described in paragraph 1.2.1, provide the reader with information about the dedicants. In contrast to these sources, some are more revealing. For example, dedications, such as the brothers Gnaius Pompeius at Corinth or the family originating from Gargettus at Athens

[358] Fernando Lozano, 'Divi Augusti and Theoi Sebastoi: Roman Initiatives and Greek Answers', *The Classical Quarterly* 57 (2007) 139-152, there 151-152.
[359] Dietrich Klose, 'Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East during the Roman Empire', in: C. Howgego, A. Burnett and V. Heuchert (eds), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces* (Oxford 2005) 125-134, there 127.

demonstrate how dedications were commissioned on a private level. Other sources, such as those made by those who held public offices (attested by a multitude of references to the *strategoi*, *agonothetes*, priests, and highpriests) and public institutions, such as the βουλὴ, δῆμος, Areopagus, and, in one instance, by the *Augustales*, attest of imperial veneration on a local level. Especially on the numismatic evidence, many references are made to those responsible for the minting of the coins, such as the Euryclids at Sparta, or the *duumviri* at Corinth and Buthrotum. Together, the sources paint a picture of a socially and politically diverse landscape of dedicants.

In reality the dedicants only make up a small percentage of the population of the *polis*. Not everyone would participate in the same fashion or with the same vigour in the imperial cult, and not everyone had equal access to the veneration of the emperor.[360] Take, for example, Pammenes of Marathon, who is mentioned in paragraph 1.2.1 and 1.5: he was no ordinary citizen, as he functioned at different times in his life as hoplite general, priest, *agoranomos*, eponymous archon, and gymnasiarch. He was part of the Athenian elite, as did his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather before him.[361] Many sources attest that Pammenes and his family prospered under the rule of Augustus, as they not only received honorary dedications, but were also responsible for the erection of many dedications that filled the Athenian landscape.[362] Moreover, Pammenes and many of his relatives functioned as high office holding magistrates.[363] The family of Pammenes at Athens strikes a comparison with the Euryclids at the Peloponnese. Eurycles himself was awarded with the Roman citizenship by Augustus and became ruler of the Lacedaemonians, and he and his family (as described in paragraph 1.2.2 and 2.6) prospered during Roman rule.[364]

These two examples of a connection between the local dynastic elite and the principate prove how imperial veneration was used by the local elite to shape their own attitude towards the new regime, while at the same time enhancing their own political prestige. The local elite was eager to create a special connection with the ruling emperor and the imperial family, by holding privileged positions in the imperial priesthoods and by dedicating festivals and

[360] Jesper Majbom Madsen, 'Joining the Empire: The Imperial Cult as a Marker of a Shared Imperial Identity', in: W. Vanacker and A. Zuiderhoek (eds), *Imperial Identities in the Roman World* (London 2016) 93-109, there 95.
[361] Fabio Augusto Morales, 'The Monument of Roma and Augustus on the Athenian Acropolis: Imperial Identities and Local Traditions', in: W. Vanacker and A. Zuiderhoek (eds), *Imperial Identities in the Roman World* (London 2016) 141-161, there 145.
[362] Daniel Joseph Geagan, 'A Family of Marathon and Social Mobility in Athens of the First Century B.C.', *Phoenix* 46 (1992) 29-44, there 38-39.
[363] Geagan, 'A Family of Marathon', 43.
[364] Strab. 8.5.1.

devotions to them.[365] Another example of a local individual reaching the highest ranks of society is Caninius Agrippa (mentioned as *duumvir* on Corinthian coinage, for example *RPC* I.1149, as described in paragraph 2.6), who is attested to have been elevated to the post of imperial procurator in Corinth during the rule of Tiberius.[366] The local benefactors socially advanced themselves and their families position by venerating the emperor and the imperial family, while simultaneously promoting their own euergetism and their *cursus honorum*.[367] The propagation of the imperial cult in the province of Achaea, therefore, not only led to a diffusion of imagery of the *domus Augusta* as the dominant power in the province, but also functioned as a powerful tool for the local elite to underline and strengthen their claims to their own certain sphere of influence in the community. Plutarch, who himself was the subject of Roman euergetism as he received the Roman citizenship of the consul Mestrius Florus,[368] embodied this sentiment perfectly.[369]

This is not to say that veneration of the imperial family was only practiced by, or reserved for, members of the elite. As already stated in paragraph 1.6, the imperial festivals enabled the entire populace to participate in the celebration of the imperial cult, in an almost equal setting. It is, however, in the other parts of the imperial cult, that local elitism played a significant role in the shape it took form in. This resonates with the study of Morales, who suggests the following: '[the imperial cult] played a fundamental role in the construction of cultural spaces where rich Athenians and Roman rulers could come to terms with and legitimate Rome's domination over the entire society.'[370]

The above discussion brings us to the following subject: can the imperial cult be understood, at least for the province of Achaea, as a bottom-up, or a top-down process? I would like to argue that the primary stimulus for the erection of the imperial cult in the province was, for the biggest part, the local elite. This comprises of those who fulfilled the positions of the highest magistracies in the *polis*, as well as the governing bodies of the *polis* itself. The above has explained how and why the local elite played a pivotal part in the construction of the imperial cult in Achaea. Here, I will argue how this phenomenon can be

[365] Sophia Zoumbaki, 'The Composition of the Peloponnesian Elites in the Roman Period and the Evolution of their Resistance and Approach to the Roman Rulers', *Tekmeria* 9 (2008) 25-52, there 37.
[366] Lindley Richard Dean, 'Latin Inscriptions from Corinth II', *American Journal of Archaeology* 23:2 (1919) 163-174, there 171-172.
[367] McIntyre, *A Family of Gods*, 62-63.
[368] Plut. *Vit. Oth.* 18.1.
[369] 'And not only should the statesman show himself and his native State blameless towards our rulers, but he should also have always a friend among the men of high station who have the greatest power as a firm bulwark, so to speak, of his administration; for the Romans themselves are most eager to promote the political interests of their friends.' (Plut. *Mor. Prae. ger. reip.* 18.1).
[370] Morales, 'The Monument of Roma and Augustus', 153.

understood in the framework of the *petition-and-response*-model and how this consequently demonstrates that the impetus for the imperial cult was the populace.

A clear example of how the 'petition-and-response'-model applies to the imperial cult in Achaea has already been studied in paragraph 2.6. Here, the Gytheians inscribed their proposed 'sacred laws' for the veneration of the emperor, and the emperor's reaction. In this response, Tiberius tells the Gytheians he received an embassy that delivered the proposed law to him, after which he gives his decision.[371] It shows how festivities surrounding the imperial cult in the East were constituted by the local populace, only to be gratified by the emperor.[372] Other examples of this bottom-up process have already been given in paragraph 2,6 but I would like to add another: Tacitus describes how Tiberius received an embassy from Spain asking permission for the insurrection of a temple to the emperor and Livia.[373]

Another clear example demonstrating how it was up to the emperor to accept or refuse divine honours can be found in Achaea. IG II2, 3173 and 3179 attest the existence of a joint cult of Roma and Augustus at Athens. That Augustus gave his permission for the establishment of a joint cult with Roma is attested in Suetonius[374] as well as Tacitus.[375]

Other Achaean sources, in the same fashion as Gytheum showing imperial responses of a Julio-Claudian emperor, are scarce. One other source is an imperial response of Caligula to the embassies of Achaeans, Boeotians, Locrians, Phocians, and Euboeans.[376] An embassy asked for ratification of their league and used the occasion to inform the emperor of their plans to bestow honours on him The inscription tells us that Caligula responded positively to the embassy and accepted the honours they bestowed on him.[377]

Thus, the above described phenomenon where the imperial cult was used by the elite as a powerful tool of self-enhancement can be understood in the model of 'petition-and-response'. Overall, the findings distance themselves from Price who, as mentioned in the introduction, sees the Roman imperial cult as a primarily Greek invention. It does tie well with the study of Rives, as he emphasizes the role of the ruling class in accommodating to Roman rule while adhering to indigenous cultural traits. This model enabled the local elite to contact the emperor and lay the foundations for the imperial cult in the province: the local

[371] Sherk, *The Roman Empire*, 57.
[372] Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire. Volume III:1* (Leiden 2002) 219.
[373] Tac. *Ann.* 4.37.1.
[374] Suet. *Aug*. 52.
[375] Tac. *Ann.* 4.37.3.
[376] *IG* VII 2711.
[377] Rocio Gordillo Hervás, 'Diplomacy and Language between Greece and Rome', *Greece and Rome* 64:2 (2017) 168-181, there 170.

populace sent embassies or petitions to the emperor, asked him for his permission to erect dedications or to facilitate festivities, after which the plans were put into action. The product of these actions is how the imperial cult came to be constituted in the province.[378]

[378] McIntyre, *A Family of Gods*, 56.

Conclusion

This thesis has set out to answer the question to what extent the imperial cult in Achaea during the Julio-Claudian dynasty corresponded to the imperial cult in the East. This was done by, firstly, comparing and scrutinizing the sources that are connected with the imperial cult in the Roman province of Achaea and secondly, to put them into the perspective of its ongoing scholarly debates. The sources show some peculiarities, such as the case of Athens, the absence of veneration of Caligula as a *theos*, the decline in deified veneration of Claudius, the inclusion of the veneration of the imperial family, the replacement of separate imperial priesthoods by the *Theoi Sebastoi*, and the evolution of the decrease in sources attesting of imperial festivals. These findings, however, are not as atypical as one might suggest, and can all be explained on the basis of Hellenistic precedence, adaptations to Roman power, or changes in the Roman imperial landscape. It may therefore be concluded that the imperial cult in Achaea cannot simply be understood as a purely Hellenistic continuation of tradition, or as a solely Roman invention, directed from above. Instead, the imperial cult functioned as an instrument for the local populace to simultaneously adhere to the rule of the Romans, for example via the 'petition-and-response'-model, but also to promote their own ideals. The implementation of the imperial cult in the province was eased by the process of 'petition-and-response', which in turn connected the province of Achaea, or at least its elite, with the emperor.

Future investigations in how the Roman imperial cult functioned during the reign of subsequent emperors in the province of Achaea might prove fruitful for the study of the imperial cult as a whole, and additionally might constitute to the picture that has been sketched above of the imperial veneration in Achaea. In addition, new epigraphic sources are found continuously and it is paramount for the study of the imperial cult that these findings are unremittingly compared and scrutinized in the framework sketched in this thesis. Furthermore, the potential of this thesis can only fully be endorsed when compared with other studies concerning themselves to the provincial imperial cult. While the Roman imperial cult has been extensively studied, many areas are still unexplored and further research could be devoted to the development of the imperial cult in, among others, the provinces of Macedonia or Thracia. Only through future studies of yet unexplored sources connected with the imperial veneration can the complex and seemingly complicated study of the Roman imperial cult be disentangled.

Appendix I: Map of *Poleis* in Achaea during the Julio-Claudian Dynasty

Source: Gabriël de Klerk (2020).

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