

**THE IMPERIAL CULT
IN THE
LATIN WEST**

II, 1

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

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*Studies in the Ruler Cult
of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*
VOLUME II, 1

WITH PLATES LXXIV-CXII



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Beaujeu, <i>Rel.Rom.</i>	J. Beaujeu, <i>La Religion romaine à l'Apogée de l'Empire</i> , Paris, 1955.
den Boer (ed.), <i>Le Culte</i>	W. den Boer (ed.), <i>Le Culte des Souverains dans l'Empire romain</i> (Fondation Hardt, Entretiens 19), Geneva, 1972.
Cerfaux-Tondriaux	L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriaux, <i>Le Culte des Souverains dans la Civilisation gréco-romaine</i> (Bibl. de Théol., ser. 3.,5), Tournai, 1957.
Deininger, <i>Provinziallandtage</i>	J. Deininger, <i>Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.</i> (Vestigia 6) Munich, 1965.
Etienne, <i>Culte impérial</i>	R. Etienne, <i>Le Culte impérial dans la Péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien</i> (Bibl. des Ecoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome 191), Paris, 1958.
Kornemann, "Herrscherkulte"	E. Kornemann, "Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte", <i>Klio</i> 1 (1901), 51-146.
Latte, <i>RRG</i>	K. Latte, <i>Römische Religionsgeschichte</i> ² (Handb. d. Altertumswiss. 5,4), Munich, 1967 (1976).
Nilsson, <i>GGR</i> ³	M. P. Nilsson, <i>Geschichte der griechischen Religion</i> (Handb. d. Altertumswiss. 5, 2), Munich, 1974.
Taeger, <i>Charisma</i>	F. Taeger, <i>Charisma</i> , Vol. 2, Stuttgart, 1960.
Weinstock, <i>D. J.</i>	S. Weinstock, <i>Divius Julius</i> , Oxford, 1971.
Wissowa, <i>RuKR</i> ²	G. Wissowa, <i>Religion und Kultus der Römer</i> (Handb. d. Altertumswiss. 4, 5) Munich, 1912.

Journals are abbreviated as in *L'Année Philologique* with modifications customary in English.

BOOK II

I. GENIUS AND NUMEN*

...hinc ad vina redit laetus et alteris
te mensis adhibet deum;

te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
defuso pateris, et Laribus tuum
miscet numen uti Graecia Castoris
et magni memor Herculis.

(Horace, *Odes* 4, 5, 31-36)

The interpretation of this passage has led to protracted discussion. Horace's primary meaning is plain enough. Among the honours voted by a grateful senate on the victorious return of Octavian from Actium was one of particular significance for the future development of the ruler cult. Henceforth libations¹ were to be poured to his *genius* at all banquets public and private.²

* *Harvard Theological Review* 62 (1969), 356-367 (revised).

¹ For the accompanying acclamation see Ovid, *Fasti* 2, 637f.: et "bene vos, bene te, patriae pater, optime Caesar" / dicite suffuso per sacra verba mero; cf. Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis* 60, 7: rati ergo sacrum esse fer[ri]culum tam religioso apparatu perfusum, consurreximus altius et 'Augusto, patri patriae, feliciter', diximus. In Petronius the acclamation comes before the dessert, in contrast to Horace's *alteris mensis*. Traces of the cups associated with the libation are published by V. von Gonzenbach, "Genius Augusti—Theos Sebastos", *Opuscula: Stockholm St. in Class. Arch. (Festschrift K. Kerényi)* 5 (1968), 81-117. For the Hellenistic background see K. Scott, "The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes", *AJPhil* 49 (1928), 137-166 at 150ff.; W. W. Tarn, "The Hellenistic Ruler-Cult and the Daemon", *JHS* 48 (1928), 206-219 especially 211ff. S. R. F. Price, "Gods and Emperors: The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult", *JHS* 104 (1984), 79-95 at 92, understands *multa prece* in the sense of a prayer to the emperor rather than an acclamation.

² CD 51, 19, 7: ...τούς τε ἱερέας καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εὐχαῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὁμοίως εὐχεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πάντας αὐτῶ σπένδειν ἐκέλευσαν. Dio states that the libation was to Augustus and his words have been taken *stricto sensu*, notably by H. Heinen, "Zur Begründung des römischen Kaiserkultes", *Klio* 11 (1911), 129-177 at 146 with n. 2; S. Weinstock, *RE* 23, 1 (1957) 823f.; G. Niebling, "Laribus Augustis Magistri Primi", *Historia* 5 (1956), 303-331 at 329 (contra p. 330); A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus* (Antiquitas 14), Bonn, 1973, 24 (contra 56); H. P. Syndikus, *Die Lyrik des Horaz*, Darmstadt, 1973, 343; M. S. Smith, *Petronii Arbitri Cena Trimalchionis*, Oxford, 1975, 168. E. Fraenkel, *Horace*, Oxford, 1957, 446f., makes no direct comment on the point but cites as a parallel Plut., *Marius* 27, 5: ...ἐκαστοι κατ' οἶκον ἅμα τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Μαρίῳ δέπνουν καὶ λοιβῆς ἀπὸ ἑρχοντο (see further Val. Max 8, 15, 7). On this view, then, one must suppose that the senate in 30 B.C. decreed the same honour to Octavian as that paid by the Athenians to Demetrius Polyorces and his favourites—one which Demochares at least places in the same category as altars and shrines; cf. Scott (above, note 1) 150, 152 n. 69, citing *Demochares ap. Athen.* 6, 252f.-253a. The more usual view is that, while the acclamation certainly refers to Augustus, the libation was technically to his *genius*, in which case the honour will have been in line with the establishment of a thanksgiving on his *natalis*, the chief festival of the *genius* (CD 51, 19, 2). So Wissowa, *RuKR*² 173, n. 5, 177 with n. 7; Taylor, *Divinity* 151, 182, cf. A. D. Nock, *Gnomon* 8 (1932), 514f.; I. Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (MAAR 22),

With this decree of 30 B.C. began the intrusion of the Genius Augusti into the private cult of the Roman household.³ How far this had developed by 14/13 B.C., the date of the poem, is graphically described by Horace. To the household Lares, figurines of which were set upon the table at mealtimes and received offerings of food, has now been added *tuum numen*—here surely the Genius Augusti.⁴ In striking support of this we have the evidence of a painting from a private house at Pompeii. On one wall the *genius* of the *paterfamilias* is represented pouring a libation in the presence of members of his family, while a second *genius* on an adjoining wall, carefully preserved at the time the room was renovated, is likewise clad in a toga but holds a cornucopia as he pours a libation upon a lighted, cylindrical altar; below, evidently in explanation, is a graffito EX SC (*CIL* 4, 5285). On the convincing interpretation of Mau, the second figure is that of the Genius Augusti and dates from soon after the senatorial decree of 30 B.C.⁵ There is no sign of the Lares, but the two pictures together certainly seem to reflect the admission of the emperor's *genius* into domestic cult. If so, what is of particular interest in Horace's stanza is that the Genius Augusti is here described as *tuum numen*.

Rome 1955, 54; Taeger, *Charisma* 108, 133; von Gonzenbach (above, note 1) 104f.; Niebling (above) 330; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 56, cf. *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 166f.; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*, Oxford, 1979, 68f. The only comparable use of *σπένδειν* in Dio is in 62, 26, 4—a libation of blood to Zeus Eleutherios—but it is clear from other authors that the dative is regularly used of the deity to whom the libation is poured; cf. Liddle and Scott s.v. In any event the association of the emperor's *genius* with the libation seems clear from Horace, *o.c.* 34f. Dio is of course writing much later and the distinction between a man and his *genius* may not always have been safe: so Liebeschuetz 69; see also inscriptions attesting *cultores Larum et imaginum Augusti* (rather than *genii Augusti*); cf. Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 26, n. 109 with bibl. Taeger 42 takes the offering to Marius to have also been to his *genius*; cf. Taylor, *Divinity* 48, 151, n. 23; A. D. Nock, "Synnaos Theos", *HSCP* 41 (1930), 1-62 at 1, n. 1 (= A. D. Nock [ed. Z. Stewart], *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1972, 1, 203, n.1)" ... a private observance, not much beyond the limits of drinking healths". Von Gonzenbach, *l.c.* follows Taylor, *Divinity* 264, in seeing a Hellenistic model in the customary libation to the ruler's *daimon* at mealtimes. See further Nock, *Gnomon* (above) *ibid.*

³ For the cult of the Lares see Wissowa, *RuKR*² 166ff.; D. G. Orr, *Roman Domestic Religion: the Evidence of the Household Shrines*, *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1557-1591 at 1563ff. with bibl.

⁴ So F. Bömer, "Der Eid beim Genius des Kaisers", *Athenaeum* 44 (1966), 77-133 at 101, n. 55; cf. Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 42. Mommsen's view that Horace refers to the Lares Augusti at the crossroads is untenable; cf. Niebling (above, note 2) 329 with refs.; Fraenkel, *Horace* 446. For the institution of this cult in 7 B.C. see "Augustus and the West", above, Vol. I, 1, 84f. A connection is nevertheless clear from the circumstance that the reception of the emperor's *genius* into household cult in a sense pointed the way for the cult at the *compita*; also that in domestic cult twin Lares flank the *genius* of the *paterfamilias*, which now wears the *toga praetexta* appropriate to the Genius Augusti. See Wissowa *o.c.* 173; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 55f.; Orr (above, note 3) 1568; D. P. Harmon, "The Family Festivals of Rome", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1592-1603 at 1595. The association of the Lares with the libation and acclamation at meals is clear from Ovid, *Fasti* 2, 634 and Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis* 60, 8; cf. Weinstock (above, note 2) *ibid.*

⁵ A. Mau, *Pompeii in Leben und Kunst*², Leipzig, 1908, 278, citing other possible instances; cf. G. K. Boyce, *Corpus of the Lararia of Pompeii* (MAAR 14), Rome, 1937, 93; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 26, n. 108 with bibl.

For a similar reference one may compare a passage in the *Epistles* written a year or so later, perhaps in the early months of 12 B.C.:

*praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores
iurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras.*

(*Ep.* 2, 1, 15f.)

Mommsen took Horace to be alluding to the widespread practice of swearing by the Genius Augusti, now included in the oath formula with Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Penates.⁶ The theory has been challenged by Weinstock, who supposes an early attempt to introduce an oath by the emperor's *numen*.⁷ Yet a similar oath by the *genius* of Caesar had been introduced in 44 B.C. (CD 44, 6, 1; 50, 1) and Tiberius' refusal to allow men to swear by his *genius* (CD 57, 8, 3) could well be consistent with his policy of opposing what he judged appropriate for Augustus alone.⁸ It is true that Gaius swore by the *numen* of his sister Drusilla (Suet., *Cal.* 24, 2), but she was dead and deified at the time and such an oath would be in line with the later practice of swearing by the *numina* of the *divi*;⁹ Gaius himself enforced the oath by his own *genius* (*ibid.* 27, 3), which then became standard procedure under later emperors. On the whole, then, the likeliest view is that Horace refers to the Genius Augusti in *Ep.* 2, 1, 16 exactly as in *Odes* 4, 5, 34f. Both passages therefore illustrate that to employ *numen* of the emperor's *genius* is normal and acceptable usage. But a number of commentators have gone on to conclude that because the emperor's *genius* can perfectly well be called *numen*, therefore the Genius Augusti and the Numen Augusti are one and the same thing.¹⁰ This raises an important question central to the whole problem of the emperor's "Divinity". What the evidence strongly suggests is that on the contrary the two neither were nor ever could be wholly identical.¹¹

⁶ Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, Leipzig, 1887 (1963), 2, 809; cf. Heinen (above, note 2) 160, n. 2; Taylor, *Divinity* the emperor's *genius* probably arose spontaneously.

⁷ Weinstock, *DJ* 213; cf. *ibid.* n. 7 "the first attempt to introduce the cult of the Numen Augusti". This is surely unlikely at so early a date; see further below pp. 378f.

⁸ See "Divus Augustus", Vol. I, 1, 158-163. Weinstock, *ibid.* n. 6 with refs., notes that the Greeks certainly swore by the Tyche of Augustus. For the later development see *DJ* 214.

⁹ See D. Fishwick, "Numina Augustorum", below, pp. 395f.

¹⁰ D. M. Pippidi, "Le 'Numen Augusti'", *REL* 9 (1931), 83-112; L. R. Taylor, "The Worship of Augustus in Italy during his lifetime", *TAPA* 51 (1920), 116-133 at 132, n. 59; cf. *eadem*, *AJPhil* 58 (1937), 189; *Divinity* Stuttgart and Berlin, 1936, 117f. So also Beurlier, Preller, Hild, Warde-Fowler, Beaudoin; for refs. see Etienne, *Cult*

Ergänzungsheft 20, Heidelberg, 1974, 22f; further O. Murray, *JHS* 96 (1976), 218. The extent to which the two have been identified may be judged from *YCS* 7 (1940), 176, n. 822, where as evidence for the cult of the *genius* the editors quote an inscription set up by the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* with the formula *numini ac maiest[ati] eorum*.

¹¹ There seems to be no definitive exposition of the fundamental distinction between *genius* and *numen*, though Pfister pointed the way in a brief paragraph in *RE* 17, 2 (1937) 1286f. s.v. *numen*.

The dedication of the Ara Numinis Augusti is known only from an entry in the Fasti Praenestini for 17th January; the reading depends largely upon Mommsen's restoration, which with Taylor's improvement¹² has won general acceptance:

A XVI c(omitialis). Pontifices, a[ugures, XV]viri s(acris) f(aciundis), VII]vir(i) epulonum victumas in[m]ola]nt n[umini Augusti ad aram q]uam dedicavit Ti. Caesar. | Fe[riae ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) q]u[od eo die Ti. Caesar aram Divo] Aug(usto) patri dedicavit.

(*InscrIt* 13, 2, 115; cf. 401)

Alföldi argues persuasively that the ceremony took place in A.D. 6, when Tiberius was in Rome at this time of the year for the dedication of the temple of Castor and Pollux (CD 55, 27, 4-5).¹³ Whatever the precise year may have been, a date about this time is of relevance for present purposes to the extent that it tells strongly against the possibility that Horace could have been referring to the *numen* of Augustus twenty years or so earlier in *Odes* 4, 5, 34f. or *Ep.* 2, 1, 16. As for the associated rites, our knowledge is restricted to the mention of victims in the calendar. In itself this is little information on which to base any judgement of the relationship between the Numen Augusti and the Genius Augusti, so one must turn to whatever traces of the early cult of the *numen* survive outside of Rome. As it happens, these are remarkably few.

An inscription from Lepcis Magna, dated 1st July–30th June A.D. 11-12, records that a local college of *quindecimviri sacrorum* dedicated to the emperor's *numen* a *calchidicum* (*sic*) and other structures, the costs of which were supported by Iddibal Caphada Aemilius, an imperial priest: *numini imp(eratoris) Caesaris divi f(ili) Aug(usti) ...* (IRT 324).¹⁴ Apart from attesting the appearance of the *numen* so soon in Tripolitania this offers no help. Equally unilluminating is a small (Augustan?) altar from Tarraco inscribed in

Toutain and others have marked the opposition between the two notions en passant; cf. Etienne's refs., *Culte impérial* 315, to which add C. Koch, "Gottheit und Mensch im Wandel der Römischen Staatsform", in H. Berve (ed.), *Das neue Bild der Antike*, Leipzig, 1942, 2, 153; Taeger, *Charisma* 247, 378f.; Bömer (above, note 4) 111, n. 81.

¹² L. R. Taylor, "Tiberius' *Ovatio* and the Ara Numinis Augusti", *AJPhil* 58 (1937), 185-93 at 187-189. *Contra* R. T. Scott, "Providentia Aug.", *Historia* 31 (1982), 436-459 at 438-441 reading ...in[m]ola]nt m[aior(es) provid(entiae) Aug(ustae/i) ad aram q]uam ... But see "The Altar of Providentia on Coins of Emerita", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 182.

¹³ *Lorbeerbäume* (above, note 2) 43f. with arguments against a dating in A.D. 5 or 9. For the theory that the dedication of the Ara Numinis Augusti is represented on the Grimaldi relief in the Louvre see *ibid.* 41 with Tafel XVI, 2; cf. *id.*, "Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus" in A. Wlosok (ed.), *Römischer Kaiserkult* (WdF 372), Darmstadt, 1978, 403-422 at 416f. For the significance of the event see "*Roma et Augustus*", above, Vol. I, 1, 86f.; further D. Fishwick, "Numen Augusti", *Britannia* 20 (1989), 231-234.

¹⁴ A. Di Vita, "Gli Emporia di Tripolitania dall'età di Massinissa a Diocleziano: un profilo storico-istituzionale", *ANRW* 2, 10, 2 (1982) 515-595 at 558.

fine lettering *numini August(i)* (RIT 48; Pl. LXXIV a-c); once again no real help is provided by the dedication formula, nor by the beautifully executed *urceus*, *patera* and *lituus* represented on the altar's left, right and back sides respectively. By far the most important record is an inscription from Narbo attesting an altar to the Numen Augusti vowed on 22nd September, A.D. 11, and dedicated in AD 12/13: *T. Statilio Taur[o] | L. Cassio Longino | cos. x k. Octobr. | numini Augusti votum | susceptum a plebe Narbo | nensium in perpetuom ...* (ll. 1-6: principal face); cf. [*Pleb*]s *Narbonensis a[ram] | numinis Augusti de[di]cavit...* (ll. 1-3, cf. 24ff.: lateral face) (CIL 12, 4333 = ILS 112) (Pl. LXXV a).¹⁵ The stone records *inter alia* that a board made up of three knights from the local *plebs* and three freedmen¹⁶ shall on certain days pay cult to the emperor's *numen* with prescribed rites: on high feasts the sacrifice of victims and the offering of incense and wine, which the board shall distribute to the people for the purpose; on lesser days simply wine and incense.¹⁷ Is this cult identical with that of the *genius*, as Pippidi claimed,¹⁸ or is it not? Certainly there are parallels. Incense and wine played an important role in the cult of the *genius*, and the offering of a victim to the *genius* of the living emperor is amply recorded in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, though not before the time of Nero.¹⁹ Further, one of the main festivals at Narbo, 23rd–24th September (here as elsewhere a two-day feast), celebrates Augustus' birthday, which, of course, was the chief festival of the *genius*. Even so there are differences sufficient, in Taeger's opinion, to confirm that what is regulated here is a new and separate cult.²⁰ In particular the cult has

¹⁵ See in general M. Gayraud, *Narbonne antique des Origines à la Fin du IIIe siècle* (RAN Suppl. 8), Paris, 1981, 358–366 with translation; cf. M. Le Glay, *La Religion romaine*, Paris, 1971, 254–256.

¹⁶ For the composition of the board and its possible relationship to the *Augustales* and *Seviri Augustales* see P. Kneissl, "Entstehung und Bedeutung der Augustalität", *Chiron* 10 (1980), 291–326. On the *tres equites Romani a plebe* see further C. Nicolet, "L'inscription de l'autel de Narbonne et la 'Commendatio' des Chevaliers", *Latomus* 22 (1963), 721–732. For detailed commentary on these and other features of the inscription see now J. Cels-Saint-Hilaire, "*Numen Augusti* et Diane de l'Aventin: le témoignage de l'ara Narbonensis" in *Les grandes Figures religieuses. Fonctionnement pratique et symbolique dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1986, 455–502; further below, Appendix II, "The *Augustales* and the Imperial Cult," 610–612.

¹⁷ Full discussion in "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, pp. 502, 508. For the rite of supplication see G. Freyburger, "La supplication d'action de grâces sous le Haut-Empire", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1418–1439, especially 1435f.

¹⁸ Above, note 10, 106–08. One would doubt Latte's suggestion, *RRG* 306, n. 3, that Roma may have originally found a place in the cult at Narbo: the goddess is usually associated with the living Augustus himself rather than with the Numen Augusti; cf. C. Fayer, *Il Culto della dea Roma*, Pescara, 1976, 215f.

¹⁹ Henzen, *AFA* 57; *Diz.Epig.* 3 (1922) (1962) 459 s.v. (Cesano); cf. Pippidi, *l.c.* 107, n. 3; Weinstock *DJ* 210f.

²⁰ *Charisma* 145f. On the formula of dedication see further Wissowa in *RE* 4 (1900) 2358f. s.v. *dedicatio*; Gayraud, *Narbonne* (above, note 15) 364–366; cf. U. Laffi, "La *Lex Aedis Furfensis*", in *La Cultura Italica* (Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia, Pisa 19 e 20 dicembre 1977), Pisa, 1978, 121–144 at 128.

been inspired by a special event, the intervention of Augustus on behalf of the *plebs* of Narbo,²¹ and seems unconnected with the general cult of the *genius* that was so closely associated with the Lares. The decisive point arises in any case from an inscription of A.D. 18, attesting the decision of Forum Clodii to institute rites associated with an altar to the Numen Augustum (*CIL* 11, 3303 = *ILS* 154), a term surely to be taken as a variant on Numen Augusti,²² rather than as attesting an independent divinity.²³ As at Narbo, the *natalis* of Augustus is celebrated on 22nd and 23rd September by the sacrifice of victims, and on the birthday of Tiberius a calf shall be sacrificed; but the key clause is ll. 10-12; *et ut natalibus Augusti et Ti. Caesarum, prius quam ad vescendum | decuriones irent, thure et vino genii eorum ad epulandum ara | numinis Augusti invitarentur* |. If the *genii* of Augustus and Tiberius have to be invited to dine at the altar of the Augustan *numen*, clearly the *Genius Augusti* cannot be identical with the Numen Augusti.²⁴ This in turn surely implies a distinction between the two at Narbo also.

²¹ Cf. ll. 29-31 (principal face): ... *quod ea die ... iudicia plebis decurionibus coniunxit*..., with the commentary of Kneissl (above, note 16) 301-306.

²² This conclusion is imposed by the sheer weight of statistics. Throughout the whole of the second century, which is when the cult of the *numen* really begins, and into the early part of the third there occurs no certain example of *numini Augusto*. Instead, the form in all cases where the formula is given in full is *numini Augusti* or *numinibus Augustorum* (*AEpig*, 1965, no. 195 is misprinted). It is true that the full form of the singular occurs relatively seldom, but *Augusti* can often be deduced with certainty from some accompanying epithet or from the emperor's actual name. Hence, when some abbreviation is used (as in *CIL* 3, 3487 below), analogy surely requires that one expand *numini Aug(usti)* or *Aug(ustorum)*. Otherwise, there are perhaps five examples of the term in the first century; the inscription at Forum Clodii attesting the form *numini Augusto* (A.D. 18); the earlier altar at Narbo to the Numen Augusti (A.D. 11/12); so also *CIL* 4, 3882 (= *ILS* 5146); *CIL* 13, 389; *RIT* 48: *numini August(i)*. Given that the adjectival form at Forum Clodii is therefore unique, it may best be viewed as simply a variant found at a time before the personal form *Augusti* had become the stereotype.

²³ *Contra* Taylor (above, note 12) 189, who suggests that the Numen Augustum was "a collective divinity which included the *genii* of the emperor and the prospective heir to the succession and perhaps too the Juno of the empress". But there appears to be no other evidence than this inscription for a Numen Augustum which on Taylor's interpretation would be something different from the Numen Augusti/Augustorum. In the second and third centuries *Augusti* (usually abbreviated) always denotes the *living* emperor, just as *Augustorum* denotes either the living emperors or the living emperor(s) in conjunction with the dead. It seems very probable, however, that the reference at Forum Clodii is to the *numen* not of Tiberius but of Augustus himself, in which case the fact that in A.D. 18 Augustus was already four years dead may account for the use of the impersonal adjectival form. The suggestion that the Numen Augustum includes the *genii* of Augustus and Tiberius is perhaps based on the invitation extended to these to dine at the altar on the *natalis* of Augustus and Tiberius. But, if the Numen Augustum were in fact a collective divinity of the kind suggested, then the altar at Forum Clodii was in part at least dedicated to the *genii* of Augustus and Tiberius, since these are included in the Numen Augustum. In that case would these have had to be *invited* to dine at the altar in which they shared? One would have thought that the clause in ll. 11-13 rather implied that the *genii* of the emperor and his heir were, so to speak, outsiders invited to an altar dedicated to a distinct, though closely associated, concept. That the *genii* of Augustus and Tiberius should on their feast-days be "commemorated" in this way at the altar of the Numen Augustum is reasonable enough, especially if *Augustum* refers to Augustus himself.

²⁴ Taeger, *ibid*.

Further evidence confirms and corroborates this conclusion. An occasional inscription, for example, records a dedication to *both* the *numen* and the *genius* of the same person. Thus a stone from Bourges, the text of which is not entirely certain, seems to attest both the *numen* and *genius* of Lucius Caesar: *n(umini) et | g(enio?) L.(?) Ca|esari(s) [.] Rufinius Adnam(etus) Africani | f(ilius) | d(edit) d(edicavit)* (ILTG 160). To ascribe *numen* to Lucius Caesar is rare but understandable in view of his position as Augustus' heir.²⁵ With this may be compared a dedication from Aquincum which the college of *Augustales* set up in A.D. 138: *numini Aug. et | genio imp. Caes. T. Ae[l.] | Hadr. Antonini...* (CIL 3, 3487). Here *Aug.* may be singular, in which case it refers to Hadrian, or plural, in which case it includes the living emperor along with past emperors collectively.²⁶ On either interpretation both the *numen* and the *genius* of Hadrian would seem to be joint but separate recipients of cult. If, then, *numen* means exactly the same as *genius*, it may fairly be asked why in both inscriptions two different words are used to denote one and the same thing.²⁷ The second text brings out a further point concerning the later development of both cults. Although inscriptions occasionally show that the dead can have a *genius*, sharply distinguished from the *manes*,²⁸ it is consistently the *genius/genii* of the living emperor(s) that is the object of cult, not the *genii* of deified emperors.²⁹ Dedications to the *numina Augustorum*, on the other hand, are to be interpreted as denoting the *numina* either of joint emperors, or (more commonly) of all emperors, the present emperor(s) in company with past emperors.³⁰ This again points to a fundamental distinction between the *Genius Augusti* and the *Numen Augusti*.

What the evidence suggests, then, is that as far as one can tell from the actual ritual of the cults, *genius* and *numen* seem to have been recognized as distinct and separate concepts. If so, this can only be a practical reflection of the fundamental distinction between the two at the theoretical or theological level. A detailed exposition of the basic issues at stake would take the argu-

²⁵ Taylor, *Divinity*, 219.

²⁶ See "*Numina Augustorum*", pp. 390, 391-394; Taeger, 378f.

²⁷ The question was raised but not satisfactorily answered by Taylor in *TAPA* 51 (1920), 132, n. 59. Pippidi's suggestion that *numen* was preferred to *genius* simply for reasons of euphony and richness of content is clearly inadequate: above, note 10, 111, n. 2. For a possible further example see *CIL* 5, 7212: *num. | et g[en]io*...

²⁸ Cf. W. F. Otto in *RE* 7, 1 (1910) 1162f. s.v.; Weinstock, *DJ* 214, n. 6; Kunckel, *Genius* (above, note 10) 44f. The normal conception was that the *genius* protected man from birth to death, then passed to another person; cf. Horace, *Ep.* 2, 2, 188f.; further Weinstock, *o.c.* 205, n. 2.

²⁹ References in Cesano (above, note 19) 459-62. The *genius* of Augustus was, however, invited to dine on Augustus' *natalis* at the altar at Forum Clodii (set up in A.D. 18). See also a dedication to the *genius* of Augustus and Tiberius and to the Juno of Livia (*CIL* 11, 3076; Falerii).

³⁰ Above, note 26.

ment beyond the range of the present discussion,³¹ but it will be appropriate to recapitulate the main points of current doctrine insofar as these are now generally accepted. What should emerge is how it comes about that the *Genius Augusti* can be called *numen* while clearly being distinct from the *Numen Augusti*.

For the purposes of the present discussion the most significant aspect of the *genius*³² is that it was conceived as something not internal but external to a man: his *comes*, guiding star, or spiritual companion, under whose *tutela* he lived.³³ Whether it was imagined as a man's own procreative force or the force that begat him is debatable, but the earliest references in literature make it abundantly clear that the *genius* is a divinity, much resembling the Greek *δαίμων*, which was worshipped along with other deities such as the Lares, Penates, Manes and Olympian Gods.³⁴ One prays to one's *genius*, swears by it, and makes offerings to it—usually of unmixed wine, flowers, cakes or incense - particularly on birthdays, the high festival of the *genius*. With the generalization of the original concept not just humans but places, buildings, towns, groups of men or things, even the Roman people³⁵ or the Senate were thought to have a *genius*, which sometimes was identified with a particular god — Hercules or Apollo, for example. Gods, too, were on occasion credited with a *genius*, though naturally the *genius* of a god would be overshadowed

³¹ Further discussion in "Augustan Blessings and Virtues", below, pp. 465-471.

³² See Otto's authoritative treatment (above, note 28) 1155-70; further Dar.-Sag. 2, 2 (1896) (1963) 1488-1494; Wissowa, *RuKR*² 175-181; Cesano (above, note 19) 449-81; A. D. Nock "The Emperor's Divine *Comes*", *JRS* 37 (1947), 102-116 at 109f. (= *Essays* 664-666); P. Veyne, "Ordo et Populus, génies et chefs de file", *MEFR* 73 (1961), 229-274 at 268ff.; Bömer (above, note 4) 89-104; J. Béranger, "Les génies du sénat et du peuple romain et les reliefs flaviens de la Cancellaria", in *id.*, *Principatus* (Univ. de Lausanne, Publ. de la Fac. des Lettres 20), Geneva, 1973, 399-410 (cf. 411f.); Kunkel (above, note 10) 10-13; S. MacCormack, "Roma, Constantinopolis, the Emperor and his Genius", *CQ* 25 (1975), 131-150 at 134f.; R. Schilling, "Genius" in *RLAC* 10 (1978), 52-83 (with bibl.); Orr (above, note 3) 1569-1575; M. P. Speidel and A. Dimitrova-Milčeva, "The Cult of the Genii in the Roman Army and a New Military Deity", *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1978) 1542-1555 (with bibl.); Fears (below, note 35) 279, n. 14 with bibl.; *id.*, "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology", *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 827-948 at 851, n. 82 with bibl. See further G. Dumézil, "Encore Genius" in H. Zehnacker and G. Henz, (édd.), *Hommages à Robert Schilling* (Coll. d'Et. lat. Sér. scient. 37), Paris 1983, 85-92.

³³ *Contra* Latte, *RRG* 103 with n. 2, arguing that the *genius* was not a separate guardian spirit. But see Horace, *Ep.* 2, 2, 187: *scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum*; Censorinus, *De die natali* 3, 1: *genius est deus cuius in tutela ut quisque natus est vivit*. For the closeness of the link between a man and his *genius* see Censorinus *o.c.* 2, 3: *illud etiam in hoc die observandum quod genio factum neminem oportet ante gustare quam eum qui fecerit*. J. C. Mann, *Britannia* 2 (1971), 313 takes *genius Aug.* to refer to the emperor's "quasi-divine character".

³⁴ Wissowa, (above, note 32); cf. Orr (above, note 3) 1570, n. 77 with bibl.

³⁵ Sacrifices to the *Genius Publicus* are first attested in 218/17 B.C. See J. R. Fears, "Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ GENIUS POPULI ROMANI", *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978), 274-286. For a representation of the *Genius Populi Romani* see H. Jucker, "Ipse suos *Genius* adsi visurus honores..." in G. Schwarz and E. Pochmarski (édd.) *Classica et Provincialia* (Festschrift E. Diez), Graz, 1978, 93-96.

by the god himself. As a result, the *genius* is often represented artistically in corporeal form.³⁶ Thus the *genius* of a place or dwelling (*CIL* 9, 1545; 10, 378 *et passim*) appears in literature as a snake; whereas statues, reliefs and wall-paintings portray the *genius* of a man as a Roman clad in toga with cornucopia and sacrificial vessel, often in the act of sacrificing. This is the form of the famous "Genius Augusti" in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican Museum (Pl. LXXV b).³⁷

In contrast *numen* was in origin a very different concept.³⁸ *Numen* is a difficult word to translate; perhaps the nearest is "power" or, as Rose put it, "a result of the existence of power".³⁹ As such, it seems to belong among the oldest Roman religious concepts, though the word itself is first attested in Accius.⁴⁰ By the Augustan period *numen* can be attributed to a wide variety of things—in fact anything, inanimate as well as animate, considered to have this special property: a fountain, a tree, a boundary-stone, a place, a poet, the emperor. But preeminently *numen* is the functional property of a god and therefore akin to *vis divina*, *sanctitudo*. Since *numen* is what all gods possess, and by virtue of which they manifest their efficacy, *numen* denotes the quintessential property of a god: that which makes a god a god.⁴¹ Hence,

³⁶ For representations of the *genius* see H. Fuchs in *Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica* 3 (1960) 810-16 s.v. "genio"; Kunckel, *Genius* 26-28, 46-48, cf. 14-21; further Orr (above, note 3) 1572-1575.

³⁷ H. von Hesberg, "Archäologische Denkmäler zum römischen Kaiserkult", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 911-995 at 932f. with bibl. H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Monumenta Artis Romanae 7), Berlin, 1968, 44f., notes that the anthropomorphic representation of the *genius familiaris* is related to the appearance of the Genius Augusti togate and *capite velato* between the Lares at the Compita. For the distinction between the Genius Augusti in this guise and similar statues representing the emperor as priest see W. Hermann, *Gnomon* 43 (1971), 503; cf. S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, 1984, 179, n. 46, 185 with Pl. 1B (taking the Vatican statue to show not the Genius Augusti but the emperor as priest).

³⁸ See especially H. J. Rose, "Numen inest: Animism in Greek and Roman Religion", *HTHR* 28 (1935), 237-57; *id.*, "Numen and Mana", *HTHR* 44 (1951), 109-20 (replying to S. Weinstock in *JRS* 39 [1949], 166f.); Pfister in *RE* 17, 2 (1937) 1273-91 s.v. *numen*; also in general H. Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism: Studies in Ancient Roman Thought, Language and Custom*, Oxford, 1947; *id.*, *Pietas. Selected Studies in Roman Religion* (Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 1), Leiden, 1980. The older idea that the early Romans worshipped a class of spirits called *numina* was revived by A. Grenier, "Numen. Observations sur l'un des éléments primordiaux de la religion romaine", *Latomus* 6 (1947), 297-308. For further discussion see W. Pötscher, "Numen", *Gymnasium* 66 (1959), 353-74; *id.*, "'Numen' and 'numen Augusti'", *ANRW* 2, 16, 1 (1978) 355-392 at 357-374; Latte, *RRG* 57; H. Wagenvoort, "Wesenszüge altrömischer Religion", *ANRW* 1, 2 (1972) 348-376 at 352-356, 366-376; D. Fasciano, "Le Numen chez Ovide", *RCCM* 15 (1973), 257-296; F. P. M. Francissen, "Numen inest in loco. De Romeinen en het sacrale in de natuur", *Hermeneus* 49 (1977), 247-275. For a contrary view see G. Dumézil, *La Religion romaine archaïque*, Paris, 1966, 33-45.

³⁹ Above, note 38, (1951) 114; cf. Orr (above, note 3) 1565, n. 33 with bibl. See now *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 1202 s.v.

⁴⁰ Wagenvoort (above, note 38) (1972) 353, n. 12, citing Acc. 646R (Nonius 173, 27); E92 R (Varro, *De ling. lat.* 7, 85).

⁴¹ P. Herz, *Untersuchungen zum Festkalender der römischen Kaiserzeit nach datierten Weih- und Ehreninschriften*, Mainz, 1975, 72, notes that *numen* therefore radiates outwards from its possessor whereas the protection of the *genius* reflects upon the person or thing it accompanies.

when used of a god in this sense, *numen* is normally followed in pre-Augustan literature by the genitive, and the same is true of the later period except that in poetry one can now speak of the *numina* of one god. If this is not simply a plural created for metrical purposes,⁴² it presumably means the various ways in which the god manifests power or activity. The most interesting development from the point of view of the ruler cult is that under the late Republic *numen* began to be applied to the human understanding (Lucretius 3, 144) or to an association of humans: thus Cicero uses *numen* of the senate (*Phil.* 3, 32; cf. Livy 7, 30, 20), the Roman people (*Or. post red. ad Quir.* 8, 18) or the Pontifices (*De domo sua* 39, 104). It was a relatively short step from this to attribute *numen* to individual humans, the living Octavian or Augustus.⁴³ Crucial to the mainpoint at issue, however, is that in Augustan literature and later *numen* began to be used not only to denote the essential property of a god but by a metonymy the god or divinity himself; that is, from meaning the impersonal property of a god *numen* can now denote a personal god or divinity.⁴⁴ In this sense the name of the god is sometimes found in simple apposition (*Iuppiter numen*), sometimes in adjectival form (*numen Idaeum*, *numen Herculanum*). By a further extension *numen/numina* can be used absolutely to denote the god or divinities in general who dwell in a particular locality denominated by a pendant genitive. Thus inscriptions refer to the *numina castrorum* and Tacitus calls the Eagles *propria legionum numina* (*Ann.* 2, 17, 2). It is significant, too, that when *numen* denotes a personal god, one can in this sense speak of the *genius numinis*, whereas there seems to be no example at all of *numen genii*.⁴⁵ Why this should be so is difficult to say. Perhaps the reason is that the *genius* was a minor divinity that never evolved into a fully developed deity.

Both the original and the derivative sense of *numen* bear directly on our problem. When Horace applies the term to the emperor's *genius* in *Odes* 4, 5, 34f., he is clearly using *numen* in the later, developed sense of a divinity. A simple proof of this may be advanced. If correct, it would follow that the Lares could also be termed *numina* in precisely the same sense. Ovid does in fact do this:

*Mille Lares Geniumque ducis qui tradidit illos,
urbs habet et vici numina trina colunt*

(*Fasti* 5, 145f.)⁴⁶

⁴² Cf. Weinstock (above, note 38) *l.c.*; Fasciano (above, note 38) 259, n. 10, 268ff.

⁴³ For examples see J. R. Fears, *Princeps a Diis Electus: The Divine Election of the Emperor as a Political Concept at Rome* (MAAR 26), Rome, 1977, 179, n. 74. On the attribution of *numen* to the emperor see Niebeling (above, note 2) 329f.

⁴⁴ Rose (above, note 39) aptly compares the modification of "Providence" from impersonal to personal. See further Wagenvoort (above, note 38) (1972) 353, 355.

⁴⁵ Pfister (above, note 38) 1287; Pötscher (above, note 38) (1978) 384.

⁴⁶ On this passage with 11. 129-132 see Scott Ryberg, *Rites* (above, note 2) 54f.

Yet no one would think of identifying the Numen Augusti with the Lares Compitales. The two passages are not wholly parallel since, as already stated, the Lares of *Odes* 4, 5, 33f. are clearly the household gods, but *mutatis mutandis* the point holds good for either case. Furthermore, it is reasonable enough that Horace should use *numen* of the Genius Augusti in *Ep.* 2, 1, 15f. since for purposes of oath-taking the emperor's *genius* ranked alongside Jupiter Optimus Maximus *et al* (above, p. 377). But *numen* used of the Genius Augusti in this sense is something very different from the Numen Augusti. For it is patently in the original sense of a property that *numen* can be attributed to the living emperor; this is why, for example, there are no pictures of the Numen Augusti.⁴⁷ The best proof of the point, however, is that with the single exception of the Forum Clodii inscription (above, p. 380) one never finds *numen Augustum*,⁴⁸ and under no circumstances *numen Augustus*:⁴⁹ instead the usage is (almost) always *numen Aug(usti)* or, when multiple emperors became the fashion, *numina Augg(ustorum)*. The same applies to the very frequent dedications to the *numina* of all emperors, past and present included, even when, as is normal in Africa, a singular *numen* is attributed to all emperors comprehensively;⁵⁰ in all cases the genitive surely implies that *numen* is a property of the single, multiple or collective *Augusti*, and there seems to be nothing to support the thesis of E. Beaudoin that the Numen Augusti, though certainly abstract, was conceived as a sort of divinity distinct from the emperor and having an existence of its own.⁵¹ On the other hand, the fact that the "divine power" of the emperor can be the recipient of prayers and sacrifices as at Narbo⁵²—where the intention is that the Numen Augusti shall be *volens* and *propitium* (*CIL* 12, 4333: ll. 33f., lateral face)—certainly seems to show that it was conceived as a divinized abstraction to be treated in the same way as a traditional god,⁵³ though immanent in the emperor rather than concomitant like the Genius Augusti.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Cf. Kunckel, *Genius* (above, note 10) 23.

⁴⁸ See above, note 23.

⁴⁹ For a poetical example of *Augustum numen* see Ovid, *Pont.* 3, 1, 163: *e quibus ante omnes Augustum numen adora*. The easiest interpretation here is that *numen* is in apposition to Augustus ("Augustus, the deity"); cf. Fasciano (above, note 38) 288, n. 165. This seems confirmed by 3, 1, 97f.: *numen adorandum est, non ut mihi fiat amicum / sed sit ut iratum quam fuit ante, minus*; cf. 4, 6, 10: *numen ad Augustum supplice voce loque*. Possibly Ovid's wife, whom he tells to perform acts of cult to Augustus, Tiberius and Livia (3, 1, 161-164), had statuettes corresponding to Ovid's own (4, 9, 105-110). See "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, p. 532 with nn. 341-344.

⁵⁰ See "*Numina Augustorum*", below p. 395, further "The Imperial Numen in Roman Britain", below, p. 411.

⁵¹ E. Beaudoin, *Le Culte des Empereurs dans les Cités de la Gaule Narbonnaise* (Annales de l'Enseignement supérieur de Grenoble) 7 (1891), 19f.

⁵² For later instances of the emperor's *numen* associated with one or more deities in the fulfilment of a vow see, for example, *RIB* 1074, 1594.

⁵³ Cf. Kneissl (above, note 16) 296.

⁵⁴ Augustan abstractions seem to have been conceived as offshoots of the immanent Numen

To draw a clear-cut distinction between the *Genius Augusti* and the *Numen Augusti* is fundamental for the theological basis of the early imperial cult.⁵⁵ But it is questionable whether this was always apparent to the dedicator of an altar or a votive offering. Both *genius* and *numen* can be applied equally well to so many things—gods, men, localities, towns, human associations—that one suspects the two were often enough considered simply as synonyms.⁵⁶ A case in point is *CIL* 3, 7435 (= *ILS* 1856): *I.O.M. | et num. Aug. n. | et p(ublici) p(ortorii)*... (A.D. 182). On Pfister's interpretation *numen portorii* denotes "die persönlich gedachte Gottheit" which dwells in the *portorium*.⁵⁷ Yet neither Pfister nor anyone else would want to claim that *numen Aug(usti)* means a deity of this kind dwelling in the emperor, nor surely would anyone want to credit the property of *numen* to the public *portorium* in the same sense as to the emperor. Given that the inscription was found at Nicopolis (Moesia Inferior), a more likely solution would be that *numen* was considered more or less synonymous with *genius* and the text simply saved a word compared with *CIL* 3, 7434 (= *ILS* 1855), an earlier dedication from the same place: *Numini Augustor. et genio p(ublici) p(ortorii)*... (A.D. 161/8). But it would be illegitimate to conclude that *genius* and *numen* are identical concepts simply because some particular inscription happens to blur theological niceties.

It remains to assess the significance—religious, theological and constitutional—of this fundamental step from *genius* to *numen*. As we have seen, the cult of the *Genius Augusti* attributed to the *princeps* the shadowy, guardian spirit which every man had and to which every man could make offerings.⁵⁸ That of the emperor was inevitably of special concern since it was vital to ensure the protection of the monarch who was so necessary to the well-being of the world.⁵⁹ But to pay cult to the *Numen Augusti* was worship of a very different order.⁶⁰ For it was no longer the emperor's divine *comes* but a divine property (one might almost say *the* divine property) immanent within him that was the object of rites and the effect can only have been to focus attention more sharply on the person of the living emperor and to enhance the charisma

Augusti or specializations of the concomitant *Genius Augusti*. See "Augustan Blessings and Virtues" (above, note 31) *l.c.*

⁵⁵ Pötscher (above, note 38) (1978) 383f., 387f. For the extent to which the two have been identified see above, note 10; Pötscher, *ibid.* 381.

⁵⁶ For possible overlap see the view of Latte, *RRG* 333, n. 3, cf. Bömer (above, note 4) 97; Liebeschütz, *Continuity* (above, note 2) 69, n. 2; *contra* Pfister (above, note 11) 1282.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ The attendant spirit of a woman is usually termed her *Juno*, but *genius* is occasionally attested; cf. Otto (above, note 28) 1157.

⁵⁹ Cf. Herz, *Untersuchungen* (above, note 41) 72.

⁶⁰ Pötscher (above, note 38) (1978) 387-92.

of Augustus and his successors.⁶¹ Freely used by the poets, the concept might even conjure up the idea of Augustus as a deity on the same level as the gods.⁶² Yet the essential point to bear in mind is that on which Nock so insisted, namely that to credit the princeps with *numen* is basically a form of honour—honour arising from heart-felt gratitude.⁶³ *Deus est mortali iuvare mortalem* is how Pliny puts the idea (*N.H.* 2, 18).⁶⁴ To credit Augustus with *numen* is the highest honour possible. But this did not make Augustus a god, any more than Cicero made gods of the senate or the Roman people in attributing to them *numen*. In strictly theological terms Augustus now became a θεῖος ἄνθρωπος, an inspired man, one with deity in him, and the emperor's "divinity" must be understood not as the conferring of divine nature upon Augustus but rather as the working of divinity through the agency of the human emperor.⁶⁵ Augustus himself never made the ultimate step from manhood to godhead, from possessing *numen* to being a *numen*; even after Tiberius dedicated the Ara Numinis Augusti he still needed *caelestes honores*.⁶⁶ From the point of view of the constitution, on the other hand, the cult of the *numen* set Augustus on the highest eminence to which humans could aspire: *excelsissimum generis humani fastigium*, to borrow from Pliny again (*N.H.*, *Praef.* 11). The fact that he accepted this "superman" status towards the very end of his reign is doubtless an indication that he felt politically safer than thirty years before. At all events it marks a distinct development in Augustus' own thinking and contrasts sharply with the psychological background to the settlements of 27 and 23 B.C. Augustus might still be *princeps* in name, but in the ultimate analysis he could never again be *primus inter pares*.

⁶¹ On the view of Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 37ff., the twin laurels became independent cult symbols representing the emperor's *numen*. For a college concerned with the cult of the *numen* see, for example, *CIL* 6, 10251a (= *ILS* 7348).

⁶² M. L. Palladini, "L'aspetto dell' imperatore-dio presso i Romani", *Contributi dell' Istituto di Filologia Classica* (Pubbl. dell' Univ. Catt. del Sacro Cuore) 1 (1963), 1-65 at 19f.

⁶³ *Gnomon* 8 (1932), 517f. *et passim*; cf. Fears, *Princeps* (above, note 43) 122. For further discussion see M. P. Charlesworth, "Some Observations on Ruler-Cult, especially in Rome", *HTHR* 28 (1935), 5-44 at 12f.; cf. "Isotheoi Timai", above, Vol. I, 1, 42.

⁶⁴ For Pliny deification is basically a way of expressing gratitude for benefits received; cf. *Panegyric* 11, 1; 35, 4; 52, 1. See further J. Beaujeu, "Les apologètes et le culte du souverain" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 103-136 at 108f.; A. Wardman, *Religion and Statecraft among the Romans*, Baltimore, 1982, 104.

⁶⁵ L. Bieler, *ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ* I, Vienna, 1935; A. D. Nock, *JRel* 31 (1951), 214-16. Whether this was always appreciated, particularly by the uneducated classes, may be doubted. See further "The Theology of the Roman Emperor", below, Vol. IV.

⁶⁶ A. D. Nock, "Seviri and Augustales", *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philol. et d'Hist. orientales* (Mélanges Bidez) 2 (1933-34), 627-38 at 638 (= Nock, *Essays* 355).

II. NUMINA AUGUSTORUM*

Shortly before the death of Augustus, Tiberius dedicated the celebrated Ara Numinis Augusti, thus formally enshrining the *numen* of Augustus within the Imperial Cult.¹ The step was a radical one, fundamental to the whole development of the emperor's "divinity". Whereas the cult of the emperor's *genius* had continued a traditional Republican practice,² to ascribe *numen* to the *princeps* was to establish Augustus as a θεῖος ἀνὴρ, through whom divinity could function as an intermediary.³ For to pay cult to the Numen Augusti was to ascribe to the human emperor the quintessential property of a god.⁴ The cult of the *numen* seems, however, to have been slow in establishing itself as a popular form of worship and to have been restricted in the areas where it took hold.⁵ In the north-east and the east it occurs rarely, apart from the late formula *devotus numini maiestatique eius/eorum*,⁶ and is attested only to a very limited extent in Africa, where *numini Augustorum* gives way in the third century to *D.N.M.Q.E.*⁷ Spain has produced scores of examples of the *devotus* formula, yet extremely few direct dedications.⁸ But in Narbonensis and more especially in the Celtic provinces of the north-west evidence for the worship of the Imperial *numen* is very great indeed. In no other quarter of the Roman world, in fact, does the Imperial *numen* appear so frequently in dedications of the widest variety.

The major concern here is with the form the cult took and what exactly this implies. In the vast majority of cases dedications are made to the Numina

* *Classical Quarterly* 20 (1970), 191-197.

¹ Degraffi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, pp. 115, 401: *Fasti Praenestini ad 17th January*. For arguments in support of a date ca. A.D. 6 see A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus* (*Antiquitas* 14), Bonn, 1973, 42-44.

² "Augustus and the West", above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 84f. On the cult of the *genius* see in general Weinstock, *DJ* 205-217.

³ For the significance of the step from *genius* to *numen* see "Genius and Numen", above, p. 386; further "Divinity and Worship", above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 41f. with note 71.

⁴ On the nature of *numen* see W. Pötscher, "'Numen' und 'numen Augusti'", *ANRW* 2, 16, 1 (1978) 355-392.

⁵ Early examples occur at Narbo, *CIL* 12, 4333 (= *ILS* 112): A.D. 11; Forum Clodii, *CIL* 11, 3303 (= *ILS* 154): A.D. 18; Lepcis Magna, *IRT* 324a: A.D. 11-12; Tarraco, *RIT* 48: ?reign of Augustus.

⁶ *D.N.M.Q.E.* and variants first appear in the early third century; cf. H. G. Gundel, "Devotus numini maiestatique eius. Zur Devotionsformel in Weihinschriften der römischen Kaiserzeit", *Epigraphica* 15 (1953), 128-150; A.D. Nock, *CP* 57 (1962), 115.

⁷ The commonest form of dedication in Africa is *numini* (never *numinibus*) *Augustorum*: elsewhere this form is comparatively rare; cf. below, note 34. See further D. Fishwick, "Le Numen impérial en Afrique romaine," *115e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Avignon, 1990, Ve Colloque sur l'histoire et l'archéologie d'Afrique du Nord*, forthcoming.

⁸ Etienne, *Culte impérial* 309-13.

Augustorum, either written in full or in a variety of abbreviations.⁹ When the plural *Augustorum* is abbreviated to *Augg./Auggg.*, there is usually no doubt that the *numina* of two or more reigning *Augusti* are intended.¹⁰ Examples of this type occur frequently in Britain, which is unique in attesting an early-third-century cult of the *numen/numina* of the living emperor or emperors. But what exactly is implied by *numinibus Augustorum/Augustor./Aug.; num(inibus?) Aug(ustorum)?*¹¹ The fact that the double or treble G is expressly used to denote reigning emperors certainly seems to imply that some other sense is intended when an abbreviation has only the single G. Must one then assume that if the reduplicated G denotes living emperors to the exclusion of the dead, therefore the single G denotes dead emperors to the exclusion of the living? The question is prompted by the opinion of *RIB* on the subject, stated in the editorial note *ad RIB* 152 (p. 49): "...In an abbreviated form, however, the sole means of distinguishing between the *numina* of two or more reigning *Augusti* and those of *deceased emperors treated collectively* [my italics] would be to use for the former the normal AUGG. or AUGGG., and for the latter AUG. with the plural NUMINA..." The question is an important one since it is basic to the whole cult of the Imperial *numen*. To whom is the cult actually addressed in its most frequent manifestation, that is, in dedications to the *Numina Augustorum*?

First, a look at the problem in the context of the ruler cult as a whole within the general area of the Celtic World. It is important to observe that in the Gauls, the Germanies and Britain emperor worship was something different from what it was in the Romanized provinces of the West. In Narbonensis, Baetica and Proconsularis, for example, a great deal was originally left to local initiative and the establishment of an official provincial cult deferred until the time of Vespasian.¹² But in newly pacified territories the cult performed the important role of focusing loyalty on the person of the emperor and helped to further the process of Romanization; hence its installation at

⁹ On the expansion of the various abbreviations and the general nature of the cult in Britain see "The Imperial *Numen* in Roman Britain", below, pp. 397-422. On abbreviated forms in the Germanies and the Gauls see J. Deininger, "Numinibus Augustorum. Anmerkungen zur Datierung der Trierer Bronzeprora", *Germania* 44 (1966), 138-142.

¹⁰ But see "The Imperial *Numen* in Roman Britain", below, p. 404. In *CIL* 13, 1710 it is possible that *Augg.* may signal the inclusion of two living emperors (Severus and Caracalla) with deified dead emperors. See "The Severi and the Provincial Cult of the Three Gauls", above, Vol. I, 2, 321f.

¹¹ For the expansion of *num.* in the plural see "The Imperial *Numen* in Roman Britain", pp. 407-412.

¹² For Narbonensis see "The Provincial Cult of Gallia Narbonensis: Three Temples at Narbo", above, Vol. I, 2, pp. 240-256; for Baetica: "The Origins of the Provincial Cult of Baetica", *ibid.* pp. 219-239; for Proconsularis: "The Foundation of the Provincial Cult in Africa Proconsularis", *ibid.* pp. 257-268.

a very early stage in the development of a new territory.¹³ This is certainly true of the cult centre at Lyon, where from 12 B.C. the famous altar at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône served the cult of Roma and the living emperor, exactly as Augustus had prescribed. It may also be true of the centre at Camulodunum, where (whatever the technical status of the temple) there is the possibility of an earlier altar cult that will presumably have been to the living Claudius—doubtless with Roma; though so far there is no trace of the goddess here.¹⁴ One would suppose that it also held true for the abortive foundation at Ara Ubiorum in the Rhineland, not that anything definite has accrued to prove a cult of Roma and the living emperor.¹⁵

By the end of Hadrian's reign the situation had altered at Lyon to the extent that a temple had been added and past emperors were now included in the worship, apparently both at the altar and at the temple.¹⁶ Towards the close of the second century, however, it would appear that the altar was once again reserved for the living emperor(s), whereas both past and present rulers shared in the temple cult.¹⁷ This is the period when dedications to the Numina Augustorum become plentiful on the continent, though occasional inscriptions may be earlier. In Britain, on the other hand, the cult of the Numina Augustorum begins in the surviving evidence in *ca.* A.D. 133-7 (*RIB* 824f.). Since at least six and perhaps twice as many inscriptions of this type are dated before A.D. 161—that is, before the first reign of double emperors—it is clear that deified emperors must certainly be included in the cult. Yet Britain remained what it was, a distant outpost of dubious loyalty, and it is significant that in the second century as in the third such abstractions as Imperial Virtus, Victoria, Fortuna and Disciplina, which can only refer to the living ruler or rulers, occur relatively frequently in military dedications.¹⁸ By the early third century the pendulum had swung the other way once again and the emphasis was now on the *numen/numina* of the living emperor(s) to the exclusion of the past. A somewhat similar development is observable at this time on the north-west frontier. In Belgica and the Germanies the cult of the Numina Augustorum is less frequently attested than in Aquitania and Lugdunensis, and again mainly in the late-second and early-third centuries, when there are

¹³ See "*Roma et Augustus*", above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 97-130.

¹⁴ "*Templum Divo Claudio constitutum*", above, Vol. I, 2, pp. 200f.

¹⁵ "*Roma et Augustus*" pp. 137-139.

¹⁶ "The Temple of the Three Gauls", above, Vol. I, 2, pp. 308-316.

¹⁷ "The Severi and the Provincial Cult of the Three Gauls", *ibid.* pp. 326-333; further, below, p. 392 with note 24.

¹⁸ Etienne, *Culte impérial*, 333f. with refs. For Imperial virtues in Britain see, e.g., *RIB* 152, 1466, 2200 (*Virtus*); 1073, 1778 (*Fortuna*); 842-4, 1138, 1337, 1731, 1995, 2100 (*Victoria*); 990, 1127f., 1978, 2092, *JRS* 49 (1959), 136, no. 6; *Britannia* 10 (1979), p. 346, no. 7 (*Disciplina*). These virtues relate to the living emperor whether the abbreviation *Aug.* is to be expanded to *Aug(usta)* (cf. *RIB* 845; *virtus Augusta*) or (as is perhaps likelier in military examples?) *Aug(usti)*.

several dedications to the *numina* of multiple reigning emperors; cf. *CIL* 13, 4131f. Significantly, there are no dedications in this area set up to the *numina* by soldiers, though the *devotus* formula was popular enough in military cult. The score or so instances of *D.N.M.Q.E.* that have come to light are, however, third-century and, of course, relate specifically to the *numen* of the living emperor or his house. What appears to have replaced the *numina* as the main facet of the Imperial cult in this region is the *domus divina*.¹⁹ Inscriptions in honour of the Imperial house occur in very great numbers—all told close to 100 by soldiers and more than 250 by civilians, with far more in Belgica and the Germanies than in Aquitania and Lugdunensis. Once again the bulk of examples date from the first half of the third century, relatively few coming from the second.

The picture that emerges from the inscriptions, then, is that in the first century and the third the main emphasis of the ruler cult in the Celtic world was emphatically on the living emperor. In the second century and to some extent in the third the *divi* certainly had their place in the cult, but at no stage and in no province of the north-west is there any possibility that deified emperors would have been paid cult to the exclusion of the living. Even in older provinces such as Tarraconensis the living emperor and Roma had been added to the earlier cult of the *divi* under Vespasian,²⁰ and when this was the trend in the Romanized west it is impossible to think that the *divi* would ever have eclipsed the living emperor in Britain, Gaul, or the Germanies. As a result, the general development of the ruler cult makes it *a priori* most unlikely that *Augustorum* could have denoted past emperors exclusively whenever the plural does not seem to indicate multiple reigning emperors (*Augg/Auggg*). Indeed to exclude the *numen* of the living ruler would have almost amounted to a rejection of his legitimacy. Such a situation is inconceivable at times when dynasties tended to be short-lived.

Could then *numinibus Aug./Augustorum* apply solely to living emperors, even without reduplication of the G? Such is certainly the view of some recent commentators, who on this basis have attributed inscriptions bearing the formula to the reigns of double emperors of the second and third centuries.²¹ For a decisive answer one may turn to the arguments of E. Meyer, who in a series of articles had demonstrated that *Augustorum* frequently occurs in inscriptions that are earlier than the first double reign (therefore before A.D. 161), and hence must refer to successive emperors or emperors in general, past as

¹⁹ For analysis of the term see "*Domus Divina*", below, pp. 423-435.

²⁰ "*Flamen Augustorum*", above, Vol. I, 2, pp. 276f.

²¹ So M. Gayraud, "Les inscriptions de Julia Natalis à Narbonne", *RAN* 3 (1970), 115-127 at 124-126 *ad CIL* 12, 4332. Of the inscriptions he lists (p. 125) only *CIL* 13, 4131f. (both with the double G) and *ILTG* 234 are securely assignable to double reigns by virtue of their precise dating. For a similar view see F. Eygun, *Gallia* 19 (1961), 399f.

well as present.²² His analysis is for present purposes relevant only to the occurrence of the plural form within the ruler cult, but it coincides very largely, though not entirely, with the conclusions we have arrived at above.²³ Just as Σεβαστῶν denotes all rulers, past and present inclusively, in ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν, the commonest title of eastern provincial priests, so too—at least in some provinces of the west—*Augustorum* seems to denote both past and present *Augusti* in the various titles of the provincial *flamen* or *sacerdos*. In Hither Spain, for example, the titles *flamen Aug(ustorum)*, *flamen Romae et Aug(ustorum)*, *flamen divorum Augustorum*, and *flamen divorum et Augustorum* all occur within the Flavian-Trajanic period and must therefore be considered simply as variants, all of which denote a provincial priest charged with one and the same form of cult. Since Roma is normally associated with the living Augustus, it would appear that from the time of Vespasian onwards the provincial cult at Tarraco included Roma and the living emperor along with deified past emperors. Hence *Augustorum* must embrace both past and present *Augusti*: for at this period *Augusti* cannot denote multiple emperors reigning jointly and successive rulers are ruled out by the fact that a provincial priest served only one year. Similarly at Lyon, the priestly titles suggest that the cult of Roma and the living emperor at the great altar became that of Roma and the *Augusti* shortly before the erection of the temple, which served only the expanded worship. One at least of these inscriptions (*CIL* 13, 1706) looks datable by its lettering well before A.D. 161; more securely, the construction of the temple itself can be tentatively assigned to the period between A.D. 121 and ca. A.D. 130-36. It thus becomes impossible to take *Augusti* in the sense of two living rulers, and successive rulers can be excluded for the same reason as at Tarraco. Finally, in the late-second and third centuries a further change is reflected in the title *sacerdos ad aram Caesaris nostri/Caesarum nostrorum apud templum Romae et Augustorum*. This can only mean that the altar was reserved for the living ruler or rulers whereas the temple was dedicated to Roma and the *Augusti*. But by the *Augusti* is surely meant, as in the second century, the *divi* with the inclusion of the living emperor(s), since to limit *Augusti* to the *divi* now that the altar catered solely for the living ruler(s) is surely to impose a different interpretation on *templum Romae et Augustorum* in the third century from the one it bore in the second.²⁴ Here again, therefore, *Augustorum* denotes emperors in general; nor is there any obvious contradiction in holding that, whereas the

²² *id.*, “Augusti”, *Chiron* 5 (1975), 393-402 with refs in n. 2.

²³ Cf. “*Flamen Augustorum*”, pp. 274f.; “The Severi and the Provincial Cult of the Three Gauls”, pp. 326f.

²⁴ Kornemann, “Herrscherkulte” 109. Yet in the second century Kornemann takes *Augusti* to denote both past and present rulers in the formula *templum Romae et Augustorum*; *ibid.* n. 4 with refs.

divi were excluded from the altar, the living emperor(s) was (were) included in the formula *templum Romae et Augustorum*.

Thirdly, can one demonstrate from individual inscriptions that *numina Augustorum* includes the *numina* of both past and present rulers? One negative point in favour of this view is that *numini Aug./numinibus Augg.* (or a variant) never occur in conjunction with *numinibus Aug.* While this does not necessarily prove that the *numen/numina* of the living emperor(s) is included in *numina Aug.*, it would certainly prove that *numinibus Aug.* is restricted to deified rulers, if the two ever appeared together in the same dedication. Furthermore, *CIL* 8, 5177 is one text at least that lends support to the general thesis by explicitly linking the *numen* of the living emperor with the *numina* of deified emperors in a common dedication: *numini divor. | Augustorum | sacr. et | imp. Caes. divi Trajiani Parthic. f. | divi Ner. nep. Trajiani Hadrian. | Aug...* (Zattara, A.D. 121).²⁵ In the great majority of dedications, however, one is confronted with the simple formula *numinibus Augustorum* (or an abbreviation), with the result that any conclusions can be based only on the general content of the inscription.

An occasional text offers reasonable possibilities for analysis: for example, *CIL* 13, 1752 (= *ILS* 4132): *//////numinib. Aug. totiusque | domus divinae et situ [sic] c. C.C. | Aug. Lugud. | tauribolium [sic] fece|runt dendrophori | Luguduni consistentes |...* (Lyon, A.D. 190) (Pl. LXXVI a). Since this is a *taurobolium*, it almost certainly began with the *pro salute* formula: the editors supply *pro salute Imp. Caes. M. Aureli Commodi Antonini Aug.* Now with the *pro salute* formula one commonly finds *et domus divinae/totiusque domus divinae* immediately following the emperor's name, often with that of specific members of his family; that is, the dedication is made for the *salus* of the emperor, his wife and/or near relatives, and all Divine House.²⁶ Here the emphasis is wholly on the living: there would be no point in concerning oneself for the welfare of dead members of the imperial house.²⁷ Sometimes, too, *pro salute* is coupled with *devotus numini eius*; that is, the *numen* of the living emperor; cf. *CIL* 13, 6549: *[pro] sa[lfu]t[e] im[p(eratoris)] | Sev[er]i colle | [giu]m iuvent | [ut]i[s] devotissi | [m]i numini eu | [s] sacrant...* But in *CIL* 13, 1752 we have *numinib(us) Aug(ustorum)* sandwiched between *pro salute* and the genitive of the Divine House. One possibility is that the wording is jumbled and the formula *totiusque domus divinae* is to be taken as following in sense after the emperor's name. If so, it is difficult to think that a *taurobolium* on behalf of the *salus* of the reigning emperor and all his family

²⁵ Cf. Th. Mommsen, *Hermes* 19 (1884), 232, n. 3.

²⁶ Cf. *CIL* 12, 1782; 13, 1753f.; 14, 41; 8, 8203 (= *ILS* 4130, 4133-6).

²⁷ For *pro salute domus divinae* see *RIB* 91; *CIL* 13, 5042. That the emphasis is on living members of the ruling house is even clearer in the rare formula *pro salute et incolumitate d.d.* (cf. *CIL* 13, 520). See further "*Domus Divina*", below, pp. 427ff.

could appear alongside a dedication to the *Numina Augustorum*, from which was excluded the key *numen* of the reigning emperor. The other interpretation would be to take *-que* at its face value as linking *totius* with *Aug(ustorum)* in the sense of a dedication to the *numina* of the *Augusti* and all the Divine House. In that case it is impossible to believe that *Augustorum* does not include the present emperor. The formula “and of all the Divine House” surely implies a prior mention of some specific member or members, a series that in all cases begins with the emperor himself;²⁸ hence the common expansion of the formula to *totiusque domus divinae eius/eiorum* or variant; cf. *RIB* 897, 919, 2066 *et passim*. In this instance, then, the living emperor must be included under *Augustorum* (the date precludes the possibility of joint emperors), for otherwise one would have a dedication to the *numina* of dead emperors and of other members of the Divine House—excluding (apparently) the emperor himself. To all appearances, therefore, the altar commemorating the *taurobolium* performed by the *dendrophori* who had their locale at Lugdunum would appear to have been dedicated: “[For the welfare of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus], to the divinities of the *Augusti* (the *divi* and Commodus) and of all the divine house, and for the [prosperity]²⁹ of the colony Copia Claudia Augusta at Lugdunum...” One would think the same interpretation, that the *Augusti* include the living emperor, applies to *numinibus Aug(ustorum) et dom(us) div(inae)*, for example; cf. *CIL* 12, 2596.³⁰

There remain one or two hard cases which might seem to jeopardize the conclusions reached above. A dedication from Nescania in Baetica, for example, reads: *numini divorum Augg. | C. Publicius Fortunatus | liber[t]us m(unicipii) F(lavii) Nesca[niensis] | aram solo pub(lico) | s(ua) p(ecunia) d. d. d.* (*CIL* 2, 2009). At first sight it might appear that this was a dedication to the *numina* of divinized emperors and that here was one text where the living emperor’s *numen* was certainly not included. Two considerations strongly suggest that this inference would be false. In the first place C. Publicius Fortunatus was a freedman of the Flavian municipality of Nescania. Whatever the precise date of the inscription may have been, then, it was certainly Flavian or post-Flavian. Now under Vespasian a provincial cult for Baetica was established at Corduba, the object of which was in all probability the living emperor in conjunction with the *divi*, who had already been paid municipal cult under the Julio-Claudians.³¹ The interesting point is that, in nine out of the sixteen cases we have, the title of the provincial priest of Baetica is given

²⁸ See Calza’s lists, *Diz. Epig.* 2, 3 (1910) (1961) 2063.

²⁹ Reading *statu* for *situ*; cf. Dessau *ad loc.*, n. 2.

³⁰ The point still holds if the sense is rather *numinibus Aug(ustorum) et dom(ui) div(inae)* (cf. *CIL* 8, 2563; 13, 5666).

³¹ See “*Flamen Augustorum*”, pp. 279ff.; Étienne, *Culte impérial*, 200-202.

as *flamen divorum Aug.* or a variant. As argued earlier, this title is synonymous with *flamen divorum et Augustorum* and, first appearances to the contrary, does not imply a cult of the *divi* to the exclusion of the living emperor.³² Equally striking is that *CIL* 2, 2344 (Trajan) and *AEpig* (1966) no. 181 (A.D. 191) both attest the formula *flamen divorum Augg.*, which in neither case can denote joint ruling emperors. While there is nothing to show that the double G is deliberately intended to signal the inclusion of the living emperor, it is clear that *divorum Augg.* in the titles of provincial priests certainly does not denote past emperors exclusively. It may therefore be suggested that the formula *divorum Augg.* in the Nescania text may echo or even be consciously modelled on the formula commonly employed at the provincial centre. If so, in this case too *divorum Augg.* must include the living emperor with the *divi*.³³

An objection to this might be that in the Zattara inscription (above, p. 393) *numini divorum Augustorum* certainly denotes deified emperors exclusively since the *numen* of Trajan is explicitly mentioned in addition. Yet this text is hardly comparable with the Nescania dedication. For one thing the most common form of dedication in Africa is *numini Augustorum* and there are no African examples of dedications *numini divorum Augustorum* tout court;³⁴ for another, in contrast to Baetica or Tarraconensis, the titles of the provincial priests of Africa (*flamen/sacerdos p. A...*) do not attest any currency for the formula *divorum Aug.* Indeed, taken as a whole, the Zattara text rather supports the thesis that, in the cult of the *numen*, dedications are made to the *numen/numina* either of the present emperor or emperors or of both past and present emperors, never of past emperors alone.³⁵ Nevertheless it does not follow that *numina divorum Augustorum* must in every context be taken to include the living emperor. A wooden tablet from Egypt, for example, reads: ... *iuravitque per I(ovem) O(ptimum) M(aximum) | et numina divorum Augustorum | geniumque Imp. Caesaris Traiani | Hadriani Augusti...* (*AEpig*, 1937, no. 112: A.D. 127).³⁶ With this may be compared the formula in the well-known municipal laws of Malaca and Salpensa: *iusiurandum ... per Iovem et di|vom Augustum et divom Claudium et divom | Vespasianum*

³² Above, p. 392. Similarly ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶν Σεβαστῶν by no means implies a cult of the *divi* exclusively.

³³ *Contra* Gayraud (above, note 21) 126, understanding a reference to deified, deceased emperors exclusively.

³⁴ Cf. *CIL* 8, 958, 8808, 14395; *ILAlg* 1, 3991. *ILTun* 1501, reading *num(ini) | deor(um) | Augustorum) sac(rum)*, is surely a reference to Augustan gods; cf. *IRT* 273; *CIL* 11, 6306. See below, "Augustan Gods", pp. 450-453. *Contra* Meyer (above, note 22) 394, understanding a reference to the emperors and their families.

³⁵ Indirect confirmation is further supplied by, for example, *CIL* 3, 6992 (Apamea: A.D. 129): *numini domus Augustor[um] | et | imp. Caesaris...Hadriano*. While the dedication is to the *numen* of the house of the *Augusti*, the date makes clear that these are the living *Augustus* with deceased *Augusti*; cf. *CIL* 8, 4199 (Verecunda: A.D. 147/8).

³⁶ For a similar (restored) oath of Neronian date see Weinstock, *DJ* 214, n. 5.

Aug. et divom Titum Aug. | et Genium imp. Caesaris Dōmītiāni Aug... (CIL 2, 1964 [LIX] = ILS 6089; cf. CIL 2, 1963 [XXVI] = ILS 6088).³⁷ The similarity makes it well-nigh certain that *numina divorum Augustorum* in the Egyptian text above denotes past emperors exclusively. But these are oaths—not dedications to the Imperial *numina*, which is what the present discussion is about.

Finally, there is the problem of *RIB* 181 (Somerdale) (Pl. LXXVI b): *num(inibus) divor(um) | Aug(ustorum) C. Indutius | Felix Silvano | v.s.l.m. | con. Vic. Ga. (A.D. 155?)*³⁸ This seems to be the only example of its kind in Britain or indeed the entire north-west where the *Augusti* are qualified *divi*; elsewhere in the area *numini Augusti* or *numinibus Augustorum* with variant abbreviations is the form. If, then, one considers that this formula is unique in the Celtic world, that the evidence overwhelmingly favours the view that the *numen* of the living emperor is included in the *numina Augustorum*, and that in Baetica and Tarraconensis *divorum Aug.* includes the living emperor in any case, it is difficult to think that the Keynsham stone is an isolated example of a dedication to the *numina* of past emperors exclusively. Where this formula came from (had G. Indutius Felix encountered it in Spain, for example?) it would be idle to speculate, but all analogy suggests that here, too, the *divi Augusti* include the living emperor, Antoninus Pius (?)³⁹ Certainly it would be illegitimate to conclude either from this text or from the Nescania inscription that cult was normally paid to the divinities of past emperors exclusively. The verdict stands that, wherever one encounters dedications to the *Numina Augustorum*, the *Augusti* should be understood to include the living emperor along with the *divi*.⁴⁰

³⁷ For the development of the formula see, for example, *AEpig* (1973) no. 138; (1974) no. 274.

³⁸ See now E. Birley, "The Deities of Roman Britain", *ANRW* 2, 18, 1 (1986) 3-112 at 35, n. 128. He rejects the date A.D. 155 as based on a false interpretation of the letters CON VIC GA, which *RIB* takes to indicate the suffect consuls C. Aufidius Victorinus and M. Gavius [?Appalius Maximus].

³⁹ Cf. P. Herz, *Untersuchungen zum Festkalender der römischen Kaiserzeit nach datierten Weih- und Ehreninschriften*, Mainz, 1975, 74. Birley's arguments (above, note 38) would remove any basis for dating the text.

⁴⁰ The cult is restricted to the West; cf. Herz *ibid.*, noting the difficulty of finding a Greek equivalent.

III. THE IMPERIAL NVMEN IN ROMAN BRITAIN*

With the welcome appearance of *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Vol. I: Inscriptions on Stone*, by R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, the major part of the epigraphical evidence for the Roman presence in Britain has at last been clearly and conveniently assembled under one cover. An Index, compiled by R. Goodburn and H. Waugh,¹ now gives easy access to the numerous black and white drawings of the stones and their texts and it is a comparatively light task to add later inscriptions published in the annual report of the *Journal of Roman Studies* from 1955 to 1969 and from 1970 onwards in *Britannia*. The following remarks have been occasioned by a survey of British inscriptions attesting the worship of the Imperial *numen*. They are not concerned, except incidentally, with the religious doctrine underlying this concept.² The main purpose is rather to consider some of the epigraphical problems resulting from the various ways in which the cult of the *numen* is recorded in order to establish a basis on which to discuss the nature and significance of this particular form of worship in Britain.

1. *The Numen of the Emperor*

Let us begin with a fundamental assumption. This is that to one emperor can be attributed one *numen* and one *numen* only. The principal scholar to maintain the contrary, namely that several *numina* can be attributed to one emperor, was D. M. Pippidi, whose remark "... bon nombre d'inscriptions portent *numinibus Augusti*..." has been responsible for a good deal of confusion on the point.³ In a recent paper J. Deininger has rightly emphasized that the key inscription on which this thesis turns is *EphEp* 7, 946 (= *RIB* 611) (Pl LXXVII a), a dedication on an altar found at Kirkby Lonsdale but now lost, the text of which is very much in doubt.⁴ The version given by Pippidi from De Ruggiero, *Diz.Epigr.* 1, 518 reads [Nu]minibus [August]i et [Geni]o collegii [A]pollinis..., which is based on W. T. Watkin's reading.⁵ The facsimile

* *Journal of Roman Studies* 59 (1969), 76-91 (revised).

¹ *RIB I, Epigraphic Indexes*, Gloucester, 1983. See earlier I. König, "Index Inscriptionum imperatoriarum ex corpore q.d. THE ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS OF BRITAIN (RIB) accedunt consules Romani", *Epigraphica* 32 (1970), 127-142.

² For this see in general "Genius and Numen" above, pp. 381-384.

³ "Le 'numen Augusti'", *REL* 9 (1931), 83-112 at 102. For the expansion *num(inibus)/n(uminibus) Aug(usti)* see also Hirschfeld ad *CIL* 13, 949, 1320, 1330 *et passim*.

⁴ "Numinibus Augustorum. Anmerkungen zur Datierung der Trierer Bronzeprora", *Germania* 44 (1966), 138-142.

⁵ *AJ* 39 (1882), 366; cf. *id.*, *Roman Lancashire*, Liverpool, 1883, 196 with figure, reproduced in *Trans. Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* n.s. 46 (1946), 139.

in *RIB*, itself reproduced from Machell MS. II, shows that all that can apparently be read is]MINIB | ... NETGE | ... O COLGF | Before the N(?) on the second line is a further letter which *RIB* gives as Ġ with the reading [Nu]minib(us) | [Au]g(usti) n(ostri) et Ge[ni]o... Whatever the original text may have been (see below, p. 420), it may be observed at once that *numinib(us) Augusti* is a form of dedication without parallel elsewhere in the Empire.⁶ As F. Pfister has shown,⁷ only in poetry can the plural *numina* be attributed to a single god or (more rarely) an emperor, a usage which may well have been invented to suit the requirements of hexametric poetry;⁸ certainly there are no instances where several *numina* of some particular deity are epigraphically attested in dedications. With Roman emperors the rule is clear enough: one emperor, one *numen*.⁹ The conclusion to be drawn from this is fundamental to the following discussion. Whenever *numinibus* is written in

⁶ A possible exception is *CIL* 8, 1357, 1.6 (= *ILS* 679: Testur, A.D. 316/7): ...col(onia) Bisica Lucana devota numinibus | maiestatique eius; but the inscription is known only from a nineteenth-century copy of dubious quality in M. Hoffmann, *Index gramm. ad Africae... titulos Lat.*, Strasbourg, 1878, 105. It is true that most of the other British inscriptions which Pippidi cites (*CIL* 7, 83, 87, 239, 506, 638, 639, 640, 755 = *RIB* 235, 193, 656, 1330 [not 1368!], 1584, 1585, 1586, 1786) do in fact appear in the Index of *CIL* 7, p. 331, s.v. *numina Augusti*. But in not a single case is *Augusti* written in full: only the abbreviation *Aug*. The same point applies to *CIL* 8, 9040; 12, 2224; 13, 1318, which Pippidi also cites in support of his thesis. Furthermore, in none of the British inscriptions above does *RIB* give the expansion *numinibus Aug(usti)* (there is a misprint in 656; see below, p. 419). Instead, we have the form *numinibus/numini(bus) Aug(ustorum)*: that is, in reading [nu] minib(us) [Au]g(usti) in 611 *RIB* breaks its own normally correct practice. Similarly the supplements to *CIL* 7 in *EphEp* correctly expand *numinibus / numinib(us) Aug. to numinib(us) Aug(ustorum)*; cf. Deininger, (above, note 4) 140, n. 22 quoting *EphEp* 7, 505; 9, 742.

⁷ *RE*, 17, 2 (1937) 1277f., 1283. For *numina* with a single emperor, see Verg., *Georg.* 1, 30; Statius, *Silv.*, 3, 3, 183f.; 4, 4, 57 and 8, 61f; 5, 2, 154.

⁸ Cf. Weinstock in *JRS* 39 (1949), 167; D. Fasciano, "Le numen chez Ovide", *Rivista di Cultura classica e medioevale* 15 (1973), 257-296 at 268ff.

⁹ E. Birley, "The Deities of Roman Britain", *ANRW* 2, 18, 1 (1986) 3-112 at 34f., accepts the thesis of J. C. Mann, *Britannia* 2 (1971), 313, that the multiplication of the emperor's powers might be expressed in popular thought through the notion that he possessed multiple *numina*. For the view that *numen* is the essential power or divine force that makes a god—a god—therefore by metonymy the deity itself—see "Genius and Numen", above, pp. 383f.; "Augustan Blessings and Virtues", below, pp. 470, 472; further *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 1202 s.v., 3-6. Logically, therefore, the word should be predicated of the emperor in the singular, as confirmed by the formula *devotus numini maiestatique eius* or the occasional attribution of *numen* in the singular to a plurality of Augusti; for the early cult of the Numen Augusti see "Genius and Numen", above, pp. 378ff. Confused theology is perfectly possible, of course, at a popular level, but the ascription of *numina* to a single Augustus does not seem to be securely attested in inscriptions (above, note 6); the problem is naturally complicated by the use of abbreviations. For *numen* explicitly applied in the singular to a single emperor see, for example, *CIL* 2, 1516; *CIL* 8, 5177; *ILAI* 1, 1028; *IRT* 324 (a); *AEpig* (1957) no. 338. Under the circumstances, then, to infer a plurality of *numina* for a single emperor in a particular inscription, as in *RIB* 707 (Birley, *o.c.* 35, n. 117) or *RIB* 1330 (Birley, *ibid.* n. 120), seems arbitrary. Weinstock's judgment that the concept of *numen* developed late (followed by Mann, *l.c.*) was countered by H. J. Rose in *HTHR* 44 (1951), 109-120. See further "Genius and Numen", above, p. 383 with notes 38-40; D. Fishwick, "Numen Augusti", *Britannia* 20 (1989), 231-234.

full or plainly plural (*numinib.*), a following *Aug.* must in every case be expanded to *Aug(ustorum)*,¹⁰ examples of which are very common in Britain.¹¹ Together with those where *numinibus Augustorum* is written in full,¹² they form by far the largest category of inscriptions attesting the cult of the Imperial *numen*. The same is also true of the Three Gauls and the Germanies and to a lesser extent of Narbonensis. The formula applies to the totality of emperors worshipped in the cult, occasionally designated *divi Augusti*: cf. *RIB* 181 (Pl. LXXVI b).¹³

It is important to observe that the converse of this basic assumption does not apply, namely that wherever the plural *Augustorum* is found one must necessarily presuppose the plural *numina*. Examples of *numini Augustorum* or *numini divorum Augustorum*, if much rarer than the normal *numinibus Augustorum*, certainly occur;¹⁴ the *devotus* formula can also on occasion link a singular *numen* with the plural pronoun *eorum*.¹⁵ To attribute *numen* in the singular to divinities in the plural is a usage going back at least as far as to Cicero,¹⁶ and would seem to imply that the divinities in question are treated collectively. But it creates a difficulty in inscriptions where *numen/numina* is abbreviated and *Augustorum* written in full or plainly plural (*Augustor./divor.Aug.*). What is the proper expansion of the abbreviation in these cases—in the singular or in the plural? Clearly any degree of certainty on the matter is out of the question, but if one looks at the general practice of a province, it becomes possible to make a reasonable judgement. In Africa, for example, the odds in favour of an expansion to *numini Augustorum* would be relatively high; in the Gauls and even more so in the Germanies an expansion to *numinibus Augustorum* would be far more likely.¹⁷ This argument applies *a fortiori* to Britain where *no* examples of the formula *numini Augustorum* have yet been found and where as a result the plural *numinibus*

¹⁰ Though sometimes given as an expansion (e.g. *CIL* 13, 1379), the form *numinibus Augustis* seems to be nowhere attested in full and may therefore be excluded from discussion—*AEpig*, 1965, no. 195 should read *numinib(us) Aug(ustis)*, not *Aug(us)tis*. The singular form *numini Augusto* looks to occur with certainty only at Forum Clodii, *CIL* 11, 3303 (= *ILS* 154); cf. Piddidi (above, note 3) 101. On the interpretation of this formula, see “Genius and Numen” above, p. 380, note 23.

¹¹ *RIB* 193, 235, 247, 274, 459, 611, 656, 707, 918, ?1056, 1227, 1327, 1330, 1584-88, 1596, 1786, 2042; *Britannia* 8 (1977), p. 429, no. 16, cf. *Britannia* 13 (1982), 302f.

¹² *RIB* 1041, 1700, 2217; *JRS* 52 (1962), p. 192, no. 8.

¹³ For detailed discussion of the thesis that both *Augustorum* and *divorum Augustorum* include the living emperor(s) with the deified dead see further “*Numina Augustorum*”, above, pp. 391-396.

¹⁴ Cf. *CIL* 2, 2009; 3, 751 = 7434; 8, 958, 5177, 14395; 12, 4146, 4332; 13, 2501, ?3651, 5166; *RGKBer* 17 (1927), no. 204; *AEpig* (1962) no. 225; (1969-70) no. 388.

¹⁵ *CIL* 2, 2070; *AEpig* (1930), no. 150, *et passim*.

¹⁶ Pfister (above, note 7) 1275f.

¹⁷ There seem to be only four, possibly five, examples of *numini Augustorum* in the whole of the north-west: above, note 14. These are greatly outnumbered by dedications to the *numina Augustorum*, which occur in large numbers throughout the area.

is always to be preferred wherever the plural *Augustorum* is certain. One final point must be raised in this connection. While one finds a singular *numen* with the plural *Augustorum* or *divorum Augustorum*, cases where a singular *numen* is applied to two or more living emperors collectively and exclusively are extremely few.¹⁸ The rule with living emperors seems to be to attribute *numen* individually to each¹⁹ and hence the regular form is *numinibus Augg./Auggg.*²⁰

So much for inscriptions involving two or more *Augusti*, either living or combined living and dead. Now to dedications attesting the *numen* of a single reigning emperor. That this form of cult certainly existed in Britain is clearly shown by the following inscriptions:

Deabus Matribus Tramarinis | et n. imp. Alexandri Aug. et...(RIB 919)
Deo Marti Ocelo et | numini imp. Alexandri Aug. | et...(RIB 949) (Pl.

LXXVII b)

Deae Gar|mangabi | et n. Gōr[di]anī Aug. n. (RIB 1074)

Deo M|ar[t]e et n. | Aug. n. P.F. (RIB 1100)

[D]eo | Mogonito Cad(...) | et n. d. n. Aug. (RIB 1225; cf. Britannia 3, 1972, 363)

Matribus et nu|mini d. n. (RIB 1692).

[I.O.M.] | et numi[ni Aug(usti)] | n. (RIB 1983).

Silva[no] et | numini [A]ug. n. (JRS 59, 1969, p. 235, no. 1)

In all of the above the reigning emperor is either mentioned explicitly by name or the singular can be inferred with a high degree of probability from his title. There are also three examples of dedications to the *numina* of two reigning emperors where it is perfectly clear from the date who the reigning *Augusti* were: *RIB 327* (A.D. 244), 627 (A.D. 208), 2042 (A.D. 253-8). (*RIB 918* and 1596, which also record the *numina* of living emperors give no indication of date). If the *numina* of two reigning emperors are epigraphically recorded, it would be reasonable to expect a cult of the *numen* of a single reigning emperor. even if we had no actual text to prove it. Lastly, there are four examples of the formula *devotus numini maiestatique eius* (or a variant)

¹⁸ *CIL* 8, 14395, which is dated A.D. 209 and refers to Severus and his sons, gives the text [*arcum fecit*] *et numini Aug. eorum dicavit*. This again is an inscription from Africa, where a singular *numen* with the plural *Augustorum* seems much more common than elsewhere in the Empire. At Volubilis an unusual text even attributes one *genius* to the three Severi: *AEpig* (1957) no. 204.

¹⁹ For an explanation see W. Pötscher, "'Numen' und 'Numen Augusti'", *ANRW* 2, 16, 1 (1978) 355-392 at 386.

²⁰ Cf. *RIB* 327, 918, 1596, 2042; Espérandieu, *ILGN* 17; *CIL* 13, 4132; also the term *geminatum numen* applied to the double reign of Diocletian and Maximian, A.D. 289: Deininger (above, note 4) n. 17, quoting *Paneg. Lat.* 10 (2), 11, 2. This again reinforces the basic concept of one *numen* per living emperor.

which is common on the continent after A.D. 200 and can refer only to the living emperor or emperors: *RIB* 976 (A.D. 213), 978 (A.D. 222), 1706 (A.D. 223, 2066 (A.D. 212?)).²¹

A striking feature of this particular cult is that there are no certain examples in Britain where *numini Augusti* is written in full, though the formula may have occurred in a partially preserved text from Ebchester: *numini Au]gusti...* (*JRS* 53, 1963, 161, no. 7).²² Apart from this inscription, the nearest one finds to the full formula in Britain is *numini Aug.*: *RIB* 458, ?1983, 2040; cf. Espérandieu, *ILGN* 347. Theoretically this could be an abbreviation for *numini Aug(ustorum)*, but since no certain example of this particular form of dedication occurs in Britain the more likely expansion is *numini Aug(usti)*. Otherwise what one finds on all stones which certainly attest the *numen* of a single reigning emperor is that an abbreviation is used either of *numini* or of *Augusti* or of both. How these abbreviations are to be expanded is perfectly clear in the inscriptions quoted above. But what of other dedications where abbreviations are used, yet the intrinsic characteristics of the text do not allow one to determine exactly the proper expansion? Should one expand in the singular (*numini*) as a dedication to the *numen Augusti* or in the plural (*numinibus*) as a dedication to the *numina Augustorum*?

2. N. Aug. and Num. Aug.

(a)

This brings us to the central problem of the discussion. What is the proper expansion for *n. Aug.* and *num. Aug.*? Can any general principles be established that would enable one to determine the likely expansion of some particular abbreviation when there is no way of deciding from the text itself? It should be understood at the outset that, even if these principles can be formulated, we can never be sure that they have been followed in any particular

²¹ On this formula see H. G. Gundel, "Devotus numini maiestatique eius. Zur Devotionsformel in Weihinschriften der römischen Kaiserzeit", *Epigraphica* 15 (1953), 128-150; A. D. Nock, *CP* 57 (1962), 115. The abbreviation *D.N.M.Q. eius/eorum* is restored in *RIB* 1202, 1235 though unexampled elsewhere in Britain. On the implication of the formula see P. Herz, "Der römische Kaiser und der Kaiserkult. Gott oder primus inter pares?" in D. Zeller (ed.), *Menschenwerdung Gottes—Vergöttlichung von Menschen* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 7), Göttingen 1988, 115-140 at 136, stressing that this is not just an empty formula.

²² Similarly in the Gauls and the Germanies there is only a single instance, *CIL* 13, 389, and in Dessau's selection only two, *ILS* 112, 5146. Deininger, *l.c.*, n. 29, notes that of these *ILS* 112 (= *CIL* 12, 4333) is dated A.D. 11, *ILS* 5146 (= *CIL* 4, 3882) is not later than Tiberius' reign, while *CIL* 13, 389, is dated by its letter-forms to the first century: that is, all could refer to Augustus himself. *ILS* 5372 (= *CIL* 11, 1062) is best excluded as only *[mini August]* is preserved on the stone; cf. *AEpig* (1946), no. 198; *CIL* 13, 949 (?946) might also have originally read *[numini] Augusti*.

case. How is one to know that an abbreviation found in some particular text does in fact denote the formula for which that abbreviation seems normally to have stood? This caveat applies particularly to the present discussion when the issue hangs on the fine distinction between singular and plural. The most one can hope to do in the circumstances is to establish whether or not the use of these abbreviations conforms to a consistent pattern and, if so, to apply the results with the above proviso to doubtful cases. In the main this means that we must argue on the basis of dedications where the proper expansion *can* be determined from other features of the inscription.

First, the two main theories in the field. The earlier was that of Mommsen formulated in a note to *EphEp* 7, 1941 (= *RIB* 1594) (Pl. LXXVIII a), which Mommsen transcribed as follows:

Deo | *Marti et duabus* | *Alaisiagis et n(uminibus) Aug(ustorum)* | ...

For the sake of clarity Mommsen's words are best given in full.²³

“Dies ist die korrekte Auflösung der auf britannischen Inschriften sehr häufigen, sonst nicht gerade geläufigen Formel. Der Plural *numinibus* ist vielfach sicher bezeugt, der Singular auf keiner britannischen Inschrift vollständig gesichert (denn VII, 170, 936 [= *RIB* 458, 2040] sind nicht ausreichend beglaubigt) und auch ausserhalb Britannien findet sich zwar beides, aber überwiegt entschieden der Plural. *Augustorum* ausgeschrieben findet sich *CIL* III, 751; VII, 503 [= *RIB* 1327], VIII, 8808; Orelli 1961, *Augusti* oder *Augustis* vielleicht nirgends, *Augg.* und *Aug.* sehr oft. Die Formel wird (abgesehen natürlich von den auf den ersten Kaiser sich beziehenden Ausdrücken *numen Augusti*, Orelli 2489, und *numen Augustum*, Orelli 686) nicht leicht auf den regierenden Kaiser allein bezogen (ausnahmsweise *CIL* VI, 544... VII, 319 [= *RIB* 919]... VII, 996 [= *RIB* 1225]...; vgl. VII, 882 [= *RIB* 1983]...) sondern pflegt die Gesamtheit der Kaiser und des Kaiserhauses zu umfassen, wie sie im Kaisercultus zusammengefasst werden...”

The same view was later taken by Dessau and has now been adopted by Deininger.²⁴ The only differences between the three are that, while Mommsen was concerned with *n. Aug.*, Dessau applied his thesis to both *n. Aug.* and *num. Aug.*, whereas Deininger is mainly concerned with *num. Aug.* Thus on this interpretation, which may conveniently be called “Mommsen improved”, both *n. Aug.* and *num. Aug.* are to be taken as abbreviations of the plural *numinibus Augustorum*.

The main objection to this theory is that it does not allow for the possibility that the *numen* of a single reigning emperor may be intended in inscriptions where abbreviations cannot be expanded with certainty. To expand all abbreviations in the plural in effect excludes this possibility. Yet we have seen

²³ *Hermes* 19 (1884), 232, n. 3.

²⁴ Dessau ad *ILS* 4538, 9302; Deininger, *l.c.*

that the *numen Augusti* was certainly paid cult in Britain and that in cases where there is no possibility of doubt abbreviations were certainly used. Furthermore, Mommsen's statement that on no British inscription is the singular *numini* certainly attested is simply incorrect (though it is true that *numini Augusti* is nowhere attested in full). There seems no compelling need to doubt the singular in *CIL* 7, 170 (= *RIB* 458), even though the stone is now lost, nor again in *CIL* 7, 936 (= *RIB* 2040). The singular is likewise attested with certainty in *RIB* 949 and 1692, also in *JRS* 59 (1969), p. 235, no. 1. The three of these are in the same category as the "exceptions" Mommsen quotes (*RIB* 919, 1225, 1983), to which add *RIB* 1074 and 1100, where a singular *numen* can be inferred from the emperor's title.²⁵ Given that the *numen Augusti* is certainly found in Britain and the very real possibility that this may be intended in some cases where abbreviations are used, the problem is not *whether* an abbreviated form can be expanded in the singular but *which*.

One answer to this question is that given by *RIB ad* 152 (Pl. LXXVIII b). The editorial note to this inscription reads as follows:

"Mommsen... took the view that N. AVG stood for *N(uminibus) Aug(ustorum)*, while observing certain British examples (though not all, e.g. *RIB* 2040), in which the singular *NVMINI AVG(VSTI)* is plainly meant. In an abbreviated form, however, the sole means of distinguishing between the Numina of two or more reigning Augusti and those of deceased emperors treated collectively would be to use for the former the normal *AVGG* or *AVGGG*, and for the latter *AVG* with the plural *NVMINA*. *AAVVGG* clearly refers to Severus and Caracalla on *RIB* 627 (Greetland) dated to A.D. 208; and the frequent examples of such plurals might suggest that when it was desired to dedicate to more than one reigning emperor care was taken to state this unambiguously, as Roman ritual practice would enjoin. This may explain the difference in treatment."

On this view, then, the formula whenever two or more living emperors are concerned is *numina Augg./Auggg*. For "deceased emperors treated collectively" (*RIB* does not include the *numen* of the living emperor among the *numina Augustorum*²⁶) it is *numina Aug*. What then is the abbreviated form for the *numen* of a single reigning emperor? This is nowhere stated explicitly, but in *RIB* 152 *n. Aug.* is expanded to *n(umini) Aug(usti)*, and a similar expansion of *n. Aug.* with reference to the same editorial note is given in other examples of this abbreviation.²⁷ Furthermore, the same statement of doctrine ("For this expansion of *n. Aug.* in the singular see note to *RIB* 152") is invoked where the abbreviation used in the inscription is not *n. Aug.* but *num*.

²⁵ This excludes *RIB* 978, 1706, 2066 where *numini* occurs in the *devotus* formula; also *RIB* 979, with Birley's conjecture *...templum num[ini eius vetus]tate...*

²⁶ See above, note 13.

²⁷ *RIB* 623, 1593f., 1882, 1904, 1987, 1991, 2063 (in 640, where the expansion of *n. Aug.* is also indeterminable, the reference is omitted).

Aug.,²⁸ a fact which is recognized ad *RIB* 815, 824, where we have a similar expansion in the singular but the note reads: "For this expansion of *num. Aug.* in the singular see..." A like discrepancy is observable with *numini Aug.*, where again we read: "For this expansion of *n. Aug.* in the singular see..."²⁹ This again is recognized in the note to *RIB* 458 which reads: "For this expansion of *numini Aug(usti)* in the singular see..." It seems, then, that there is no difference in usage or meaning between *n. Aug.* and *num. Aug.*, that both are interchangeable, that both are to be expanded in the singular, and that both are equivalent to *numini Aug.*³⁰ Thus whereas on the theory of "Mommsen improved" both *n. Aug.* and *num. Aug.* are to be expanded in the plural, *RIB* goes to the opposite extreme in expanding them (for the most part) in the singular.

The explicit part of this theory, referring to inscriptions where we have the plural with *numina* written in full, works well enough. If one emperor cannot have more than one *numen*, clearly *numina Aug.* is equivalent to *numina Aug(ustorum)*. It is true that *Aug.* like *Augg.* can occasionally refer to two living emperors, but the usage is infrequent.³¹ Similarly with *numina Augg.* or *Auggg.* one is usually on firm ground in referring this to living emperors. The point is true at least of the late second century and later³²—before then, that is before the possibility of double emperors had been conceived, *Augg.* could certainly include deceased emperors; cf. *CIL* 2, 2344 (time of Trajan): *flamen divorum Augg.*—but so also *AEpig* (1966) no. 181 (A.D. 191).³³ The main weakness of the statement, however, is that it begs the central question of how one is to distinguish between the cult of a single living emperor and the cult of the *Augusti* collectively when both *numini/numinibus* and *Augusti/Augustorum* are abbreviated. Consistently to expand both *n. Aug.* and *num. Aug.* in the singular assumes that there is no possibility of an abbreviated form of *numina* in the cult of the *numina* of all emperors past and present. Yet in *RIB* 181 (Pl. LXXVI b), where the *Augusti* are expressly designated *divi*, *num.* is certainly taken to be an abbreviation for *num(inibus): num(inibus) divor(um) | Aug(ustorum)*... Similarly in 627, where two living

²⁸ *RIB* 309, 657, 1083, 2103.

²⁹ *RIB* 1983 (partly restored), 2040.

³⁰ This is, indeed, confirmed by the note to *RIB* 1692. "Some of the altars dedicated *num. Aug.* do not specify the name of the emperor but after *Aug.* or *D.N.* give the dedicator's name." This clearly shows that, on the view of *RIB*, *num. Aug.* is an abbreviation for *num(ini) Aug(usti)*.

³¹ *Th.L.L.* 2, 1385, s.v. On imprecision in the usage see B. E. Thomasson, "Zum Gebrauch von *Augustorum*, *Augg.* und *Aug.* als Bezeichnung der Samtherrschaft zweier Herrscher", *ZPE* 52 (1983), 125-135.

³² *Th.L.L.* 2, 1386, s.v.; *Augg.* (*sic*) refers to Postumus on a milestone from Margam, Glamorgan: *JRS* 27 (1937), p. 248f., no. 12. If a reference to the *numina* is correctly restored in *AEpig* (1983) no. 643, then *Augg.* must refer to living and deceased emperors since the dedication is dated A.D. 221.

³³ See further E. Meyer, "Augusti", *Chiron* 5 (1975), 393-402 with documentation; Thomasson (above, note 31) 127f.

emperors are plainly meant (*Augg.*), *RIB* is surely right in taking *num.* as short for *num(inibus)*: *D(eae) Vict(oriae) Brig(antiae) | et num(inibus) Augg....* Again, *RIB* gives a plural expansion of *num. Aug.* in its partial restoration of 940; cf. also *RIB* 2264; *JRS* 47, 1957, p. 230, no. 19. But if in fact *num.*, if not *n.*,³⁴ can sometimes be plural, how is one to tell what is the proper expansion when it is followed by *Aug.*? For *Aug.* can be a normal abbreviation equally well for *Aug(usti)* as for *Aug(ustorum)*.³⁵ The rule of thumb followed by *RIB* seems to be to expand in the singular in all cases except when a plural is definitely indicated, as by *Augg.*, *divor. Aug.*³⁶

(b)

The best approach to the problem is surely to observe the various examples of a particular abbreviation and to see whether any consistent usage can be determined. As has been stated, this means that in practice most emphasis must be placed on texts where the proper expansion can be determined with some degree of probability from the intrinsic features of the inscription. Furthermore, since *Aug.* can equally well be singular or plural, it also means that much will depend on whether the use of *n.* and *num.* can be shown to conform to a consistent pattern. For the sake of convenience the abbreviations are treated in order ranging from shortest to longest.

N.AVG. If we include examples where the emperor is actually named or his title given, there are fourteen instances in all of this abbreviation in *RIB*. Of these the following permit the expansion *n(umini)* with certainty:

... | *et n(umini) imp(eratoris) Alexandri Aug(usti)* (*RIB* 919; Pl. LXXVIII c). The singular is certain since the *numen* is that of Alexander Augustus.

... | *et n(umini) Gōr[đī]anī Aug(usti) n(ostrī)* (*RIB* 1074). Again, the name of Gordian, which has been intentionally erased, permits the certain expansion of *numini* in the singular.

... | *et n(umini) | Aug(usti) n(ostrī) P(ii) F(elicis)* (*RIB* 1100). The emperor is not named, but his title suggests a singular emperor and therefore a singular *numen*.

³⁴ *RIB* gives a plural expansion for *n.* in a restoration to 913.

³⁵ P. Collart and D. van Berchem, "Inscriptions de Vidy", *Rev. Hist. Vaudoise* 47 (1939), 127-145 at 128.

³⁶ Similarly R. Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*⁴, Paris, 1914, 447f., treats both *n.* and *num.* as an abbreviation of *numini*. Also, in *AEpig.* *num. Aug.* regularly appears in the Index s.v. *numen Aug.*; yet when followed by *Augg.* *num.* is transcribed *num(inibus)*; cf. *AEpig* (1945), no. 123.

... | *et n(umini) d(omini) n(ostri) Aug(usti)* (*RIB* 1225). The same argument applies as above.

Equally illuminating is an inscription dated 23rd September, A.D. 244, in the reign of the two Philippi. The dedication is to the Deities of the Emperors and the Genius of the Second Augusta, which would have celebrated 23rd September, the birthday of Augustus, as the birthday of the legion.

nn. | Augg. | genio | leg. | II Aug. (*RIB* 327; Pl. LXXVIII d).

The interesting feature of this text is that a double *n.* is used to denote the plural *numinibus*, just as the double *g.* denotes the plural *Augustorum*. Not only does this confirm the principle of one *numen* per emperor, but the use of the double *n.* confirms that a single *n.* is the abbreviation for *numini*.

A further example where the abbreviation can be expanded with some probability is the inscription from Bath to which *RIB* appends the statement of doctrine quoted above:

locum reli|giosum per in|solentiam e|rutum | virtuti et n(umini) | Aug(usti) repurga|tum reddidit (*RIB* 152; Pl. LXXVIII b).

Since *virtus*, like other imperial virtues, is attributed only to the living emperor,³⁷ it seems highly likely that *n. Aug.* also refers to the living emperor. It is true that *virtus* in the singular is attributed to two reigning emperors (*Augg.*) in *RIB* 1466, but here the single *g.* of *Aug.* means that *Aug.* is in all probability short for a single reigning emperor. *Aug.* could of course denote the totality of emperors worshipped in the cult (*Augusti*) but then *virtus* would be attributed to dead emperors as well as the living. We may therefore take it that the holy spot was restored to the Virtue and Deity of the living emperor and that *n.* is short for *n(umini)*.

Thus in six out of fifteen examples (if we include *RIB* 327) it is clear that *n.* is the abbreviation for *numini*. It would seem then more likely than not that *n.* is also short for *numini* in other inscriptions where the abbreviation is indeterminable. That *n.*, the shortest possible abbreviation of the word, should stand for the singular is reasonable enough.³⁸ Where the simple formula *n. Aug.* is used, the expansion *n(umini) Aug(ustorum)* would in theory be possible, but in practice the possibility is remote, given that *numini Augustorum* is rare throughout the north-west and has yet to be attested in Britain. We may therefore fairly assume that in inscriptions where analogy is the only criterion available *n. Aug.* should very probably be expanded to *n(umini) Aug(usti)*.

³⁷ See the discussion by Etienne, *Culte impérial* 320-34 with refs.; further "Augustan Blessings and Virtues", below, p. 00.

³⁸ *N.* is, of course, always the abbreviation for *numini* in the formula *D.N.M.Q.E.*

This conclusion is strikingly confirmed if next we turn to examples outside Britain. The expansion of *n.* to *n(umini)* is self-apparent in the following text from Bourges:

n(umini) et | g(enio?) L.(?) Caesari(s) | [.] Rufinius Adnam(etus) Africani | f(ilius) | d(edit) d(edicavit). (Wuilleumier, *ILTG* 160).

A similar abbreviation to that in *RIB* 327 occurs at Trier and admits of the same conclusions:

nn. [Augg.] Dea[e Dia?]|n(a)e (CIL 13, 3639).

It may also be observed that in the Three Gauls and the Germanies, where the cult of the *numina Augustorum* is so predominant, there are no examples of *n. Aug.* in the Germanies, only one in Belgica, and perhaps three or four in Lugdunensis.³⁹ These may be dedications to the *numen* of a single living emperor, for which there is some slight direct evidence in Aquitania and perhaps in Belgica;⁴⁰ but it is equally possible that the reference is to the *numini Augustorum*, which we have seen to be occasionally attested on the continent and which is best taken as a variant on the normal *numinibus Augustorum*. Whichever view is correct, there is nothing in the north-west, nor for that matter elsewhere in the empire, to prejudice the hypothesis that *n.* is the normal abbreviation for *numini*.⁴¹ On the whole, it would seem that *n.* is the standard abbreviation for *numini* equally well outside Britain as within.⁴²

NVM. AVG. In the following example from Greetland *num.* is almost certainly to be expanded in the plural since it is followed by *Augg.* and dated by consuls to A.D. 208 in the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla:

D(eae) Vict(oriae) Brig(antiae) | et num(inibus) Augg. (RIB 627; Pl.

³⁹ *CIL* 13, 3527 (Belgica); *CIL* 13, 1742, 2532, ?3107, ?3154 (Lugdunensis). In *CIL* 13, 3107 the reading *n. Aug.* is given only by Fournier MS. f. 23, n. 2., and was omitted by Fournier in *Proc. verb. de la Soc. de la Loire*, 1808, 60. It does not occur in the facsimile provided by Hirschfeld and Ricci. The reading is also very uncertain in *CIL* 13, 3154.

⁴⁰ *CIL* 13, 389, ?949 (Aquitania); *RKGBer* 40 (1959), no. 8 (Belgica).

⁴¹ Thus one may doubt, for example, the expansion *n(uminibus) deorum* given by Hirschfeld in *CIL* 12, 5953, especially when the same editor expands *n.* to *n(umini)* in *CIL* 12, 252 and when the formula *numini deorum* (surely to be expected of the gods collectively) occurs in full in *CIL* 6, 539; 14, 2582. Again, Hirschfeld *ad CIL* 13, 1742, notes a horizontal bar above the single N and remarks "linea supra N. i.e. *n(uminibus)* fortasse casu effecta". A similar line occurs above the N in *CIL* 13, 3527, and above the second N in *CIL* 13, 3639; also over the double NN in *RIB* 1452: *IO [M] | Dol. | pro sal. Augg. nn. | ...* and over the single *n.* of *noster* in *RIB* 1225: *... et n(umini) d(omini) n(ostri) Aug. ...; et passim*. This is surely an intentional mark by the lapicide to denote a contraction and has no bearing on whether the singular or plural is intended.

⁴² For example, *n.* is expanded to *n(umini)*, though without inherent certainty, in *CIL* 3, 12350; 14, 4317. On the other hand, Hirschfeld expands *n.* to *n(uminibus)*—incorrectly on the above argument—in *CIL* 13, 3107, 3154.

LXXIX a. Cf. 459, 1596, 2042 where the plural *numina* is certainly attested with *Augg.* or *Auggg.*).

A plural is also very probably to be understood in an inscription from Somerdale, Keynsham, where the *Augusti* are designated *divi*:

num(inibus) divor(um) | Aug(ustorum) (RIB 181; Pl. LXXVI b).

A singular *numen* referring to the *divi Augusti* collectively would in theory be possible, but we have seen that no certain example of such a formula has yet been found in Britain.

These seem to be the only examples in Britain where *num.* can be expanded with any degree of probability. On the continent the following examples permit the expansion *num(inibus)*:

nu(minibus) A(u)gg. deo Marti Vorocio (CIL 13, 1497) (nu. Agg. seems to be a stylistic variant on num. Augg.)

in h. d. d. num(inibus) Augg. fara[to] | rem exaedificaverunt (CIL 13, 4131). The inscription is dated A.D. 245 in the reign of the two Philippi. With this text may be compared *CIL 13, 4132 (A.D. 198)*, also from Bitburg, where the plural *numinibus* occurs with *Augg.*

*num(inibus) Augg. et M[er(curio)] | S(...) Biga | iussa | v.s.l.m.⁴³ (Wuilleumier *ILTG*, 186 b).* The plural *Augg.* is again decisive, though it is impossible to identify the two *Augusti*, as the inscription is not dated.

[n]um(inibus) Augg. Mercurio sacr(um) (AEpig 1945, no. 123). The same argument applies as above.

*Num(inibus) Augg. et | deo Mercu|rio Felici (AEpig, 1973, no. 342; cf. 341: *Numinibus | Augg. et ...*).*

In the overwhelming number of examples from the Three Gauls and the Germanies the cult takes the form of dedications to the *numina Augustorum*. This is self-evident if one limits consideration simply to inscriptions where the for-

⁴³ This is the second (b) of two dedications found on a granite altar from Saint-Quentin (Creuse). The first (a) reads: *num. Aug. | deo Mer|curio Sa|bini ius(su) | Carissa | ar[am...] | d.s.p.* The interpretation to be placed on these inscriptions is surely that (a) is dedicated to the *numina* of all emperors worshipped collectively in the cult, whereas in (b) Sabinus has paid his vow to the *numina* of two living *Augusti*. On this view *num.* is used consistently in both and *num. Aug.* in (a) is a further example of the very common formula *num./numinibus Aug.* with which so many dedications begin in the north-west. Wuilleumier, however, expands *num. Aug.* in (a) to *num(ini) Aug(usti)*. This would mean that (b), which seems to have been cut later than (a) (*BCTH*, 1928-29, 73f.), employed the same abbreviation as that already on the stone to denote a different form. Surely this is unlikely. It may be noted that like *AEpig* and *RIB* Wuilleumier regularly expands *num. Aug.* in the singular except where the plural is definitely indicated as by *Augg.*, *divor. Aug.*

mula is written in full or plainly plural. We have noted that the abbreviation *n. Aug.* is as a result seldom attested throughout the area and not at all in the Germanies. The regular short form is *num. Aug.*, which if only on the basis of statistical probability must therefore be taken as in most cases equivalent to *num(inibus) Aug(ustorum)*.⁴⁴ If so, it would seem very likely that *num. Aug.* should be similarly interpreted in Britain, which could be expected to have followed the continental practice in such matters. A further factor to be borne in mind is that, although the cult of the *numen* Augusti is relatively rich in Britain, it is still very much outnumbered there by the cult of the *numina* Augustorum (above, p. 399). If, then, *n. Aug.* is the short form for *n(umini) Aug(usti)*, it is hardly likely that *num. Aug.* should also be regularly expanded in the singular. For in that case we should have two short abbreviations for what is statistically the less common form of the cult and no short abbreviation for what is by far the more frequent. It is worth noting in this connection, too, that, although one finds *nn.* (= *numinibus*), there are no examples of *numm.* in this sense; which would certainly indicate a possible singular for *num.*, if any in fact occurred. If lastly one considers the fact that in at least six instances in Britain and the north-west *num.* can be expanded to *num(inibus)* with great probability, if not certainty, the case for expanding *num.* in the plural where analogy is the only criterion seems fairly strong.

Against this must be weighed two examples where *num.* might possibly indicate the singular. Both come from Britain. The first is an inscription found in Nicholas Lane, London, later lost from the Guildhall museum, and now known only from the drawing reproduced in *RIB*. The transcript reads:

num(ini) C(aes(aris) Aug(usti)) | prov[incia] | Brita[nnia] ... "To the Deity of the Emperor the province of Britain (set this up)" (*RIB* 5).

Who the Caesar Augustus was is not clear, but the singular would certainly require the expansion of *num.* in the singular rather than in the plural, which we have taken to be the rule. Much depends, therefore, on whether the proposed restoration is acceptable. Clearly the reference would have to be some early emperor, since the later style, when the emperor is not actually named, is *numini Augusti nostri/numini domini nostri Augusti* (cf. *RIB* 1100, 1225). *RIB* notes that Caesar Augustus is used to denote Claudius at Rome (*CIL* 6, 5539 = *ILS* 1786) and either Claudius or Nero at Rome (*CIL* 6, 8943 = *ILS* 1838) and Atina (*CIL* 10, 5056 = *ILS* 977). If either were intended here, this would put the inscription almost a century before the earliest datable example of *num. Aug.* in Britain (*RIB* 824f.)—possibly even longer before the formula became common on the continent. In that case so early a usage of this abbreviation would hardly affect the argument regarding its expansion during

⁴⁴ Deininger (above, note 4) 139f. with statistical data.

the later period when the cult was so widespread in Britain.⁴⁵ But it is very questionable whether a dedication of this kind could actually have been made to Claudius or Nero. If the stone was set up by the province of Britain this would surely imply the existence of a provincial council (cf. *CIL* 13, 3162), which if it existed at all in the first century would have had its seat at Colchester rather than at London.⁴⁶ Inscriptions attesting two provincial patrons (*CIL* 11, 383: Hadr./Ant. Pius; 14, 2508: Caracalla) may indirectly point to the organisation of a provincial council in the mid-second and early-third centuries;⁴⁷ but the only real evidence to connect the council with London is the possibility that *provinc(ialis)* is equivalent to *servus provinciae* in *RIB* 21.⁴⁸ Whatever the merits of this hypothesis, it may be doubted that Caesar Augustus can refer to any second-, much less any third-century emperor. Furthermore, although the formula *numen Caesaris Augusti* occurs in *CIL* 12, 4333 (= *ILS* 112), where the reference is to Augustus himself, the altar dedicated at Narbo in A.D. 12/13 was to the *numen Augusti*, not the *numen Caesaris Augusti*; cf. *CIL* 11, 3303 (= *ILS* 154): *numini Augusto* (A.D. 18). A dedication *numini Caesaris Augusti* is, in fact, unparalleled.⁴⁹ Nor for that matter do there seem to be any instances where *numen/numina* is combined with *Caesaris/Cesarum*: which would tell against Hübner's suggested restoration: *num(ini) C[aes(aris) et genio] | prov[inciae] | Brita[nniae]*. Equally unlikely would be *num(ini) C[laudi...]* since Claudius would undoubtedly have been styled Ti. Claudius... In the circumstances, then, there is ample room to doubt that *C* (?) is the initial letter of *C[aes(aris)]* - at least if *num.* is an abbreviation for some form of *numen* rather than the middle or final syllable of some other word (though the sketch certainly seems to show that the text began with *num*). With the original stone lost the problem is probably incapable of satisfactory solution. For present purposes it is sufficient to have shown that this inscription does not materially affect the argument over the proper expansion of *num. Aug.*

The same point also applies to the second text, a dedication set up at Netherby by the First Aelian cohort of Spaniards. The relevant section of the transcript reads:

⁴⁵ One might compare the Cogidubnus inscription (*RIB* 91), which is also very early (? reign of Vespasian) and records the rare formula *pro salute domus divinae*; cf. *RIB ad* 89, 1922. See further "*Domus Divina*", below, p. 423.

⁴⁶ Cf. I. A. Richmond in M. R. Hull, *Roman Colchester*, London, 1958, xxv-xxviii.

⁴⁷ A. R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain*, Oxford, 1981, 215, 433f. For evidence on the *concilium* following the division of Britain see now M. Beard, "A British Dedication from the City of Rome", *Britannia* 11 (1980), 313f.

⁴⁸ Hübner read *provinc(iae servus)*; cf. Haverfield in *JRS* 1 (1911), 151; *RCHM*: London 3 (1928), 59, 173, no. 16. For further discussion see D. Fishwick, "The Imperial Cult in Roman Britain", *Phoenix* 15 (1961), 159-173 at 165-167.

⁴⁹ The nearest may be *IRT* 324a: *numini Imp. Caesaris Divi f. Aug.*

...*pro* | [*pietate ac*] | *devotione* | [*communi*] | *num(ini) eius* | (*RIB* 976).

Here again the singular *eius* requires that *numen* be singular. Two points are worth making none the less. In the first place the dedication is now lost and known only from a manuscript copy. To judge from the facsimile reproduced in *RIB* from Cotton Julius MS. the reading *num.* (as opposed to *numini*) is far from certain—at least *pro* | [- - -] *devotione* [- - -] | *num. eius* is written with dots below the line. Secondly, this is not a dedication of the *num. Aug.* type but an example of *numen* followed by the relative pronoun; cf. *RIB* 978, 1706 (*nu[m]i[ni] eius*). For both reasons, therefore, this inscription also would hardly seem to prejudice the conclusion that in Britain *num. Aug.* is more likely than not an abbreviation for *num(inibus) Aug(ustorum)*.

It must be stressed, however, that this thesis holds true only for Britain and the north-west: it does not follow that *num.* is necessarily to be taken for the plural throughout the Empire. What one would expect is a fairly consistent usage within a province or within several provinces of a particular area. Thus in Africa *N* is certainly to be interpreted *n(umini)* in the formula *D.N.M.Q.E.* (or a variant);⁵⁰ yet, where this formula is written *in extenso*, *numini* appears as *num.*⁵¹ The interesting feature of the cult here, however, is that there seem to be no dedications *at all* to the *numina Augustorum*. Instead, as noted earlier (above, p. 399, cf. p. 395), it takes the form of dedications to the *numen Augustorum* or, in one instance, *numen divorum Augustorum* with the *numen* of the living emperor mentioned in addition.⁵² Hence, if one applies the same principles in Africa as in Britain, one would expect *num.* to be short for *num(ini)*.⁵³ Similarly in the north-east and the east, where there is little evidence for the cult in any form apart from the *devotus* formula, there is a single example in which *num.* must be an abbreviation for *num(ini)*:

I.O.M. | *et num. Aug. n.* | *et ... A.D. 182 (CIL 3, 752 = 7435 = ILS 1856).*

Once again, however, it is striking that the cult of the *numina Augustorum* tout court does not seem to be attested at all in *CIL* 3.⁵⁴ The situation seems to be then that the only examples where *num. Aug.* is definitely to be expanded in the singular occur in areas where there is little or no trace of

⁵⁰ Cf. *CIL* 8, 7009f., 18905, 22076, 23415.

⁵¹ Cf. *CIL* 8, 8476, 12061, 15421, 15644, 23114, 25849.

⁵² Cf. *CIL* 8, 958, 5177 (= *ILAlg* 1, 533), 14395. See now D. Fishwick, "Le *numen* impérial en Afrique romaine," *115e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Avignon, 1990, Ve Colloque sur l'histoire et l'archéologie d'Afrique du Nord*, forthcoming.

⁵³ Cf. *ILAlg* 1, 3991; *ILTun* 1501; *IRT* 315 (a).

⁵⁴ In *CIL* 3, 1127, the emperors are mentioned by name: *numinib(us) A[ugg.] Severi et Antonini et Getae Caes. et Deae Dianae....* Whether *Aug.* is singular or plural in *CIL* 3, 3487 is indeterminable: *numini Aug. et genio imp. Caes. T. Ae[lf]. Hadr. Antonini* (A.D. 138). On either expansion *numen* is singular, as commonly in African inscriptions.

the cult of the *numina Augustorum*.⁵⁵ Where this cult occurs in great numbers, as in Britain and the north-west, the odds seem overwhelmingly in favour of expanding *num. Aug.* in the plural.

The discussion thus points to the conclusion that, where epigraphical abbreviations are used to record the cult of the Imperial *numen* in Britain, their expansions fall into two main categories: certain and probable. To the former belong:

nn(uminibus) Augg(ustorum)
num(inibus) Augg(ustorum)
numinib(us) Aug(ustorum)/ Augg(ustorum)/ Augustor(um)
numinibus Aug(ustorum)/ Augg(ustorum)

Probable expansions, which can in many cases be determined only by analogy are:

n(umini) Aug(usti)
numini Aug(usti)
num(inibus) Aug(ustorum)

There is also a single example of a further abbreviation, of which the expansion *numin(ibus)* seems certain:

Deae Su|li Min(ervae) et nu|min(ibus) Augg. (RIB 146).

That a province or group of provinces should attest the operation of definite conventions regarding abbreviations is perhaps a surprising conclusion; certainly it has wider implications for epigraphy in general. Contrary to the standard view it would appear that the choice of some particular form was not left to the mason guided by the length of the line, physical characteristics of the stone, etc.; for, if it were, one would have to attribute to sheer chance the fact that, wherever one can tell, these abbreviations do seem to conform to a standard system. The argument would seem to be particularly relevant to the thesis first established by J. Mallon.⁵⁶ On this hypothesis the lapicide

⁵⁵ *Num.* must also indicate the singular in the following example, since a singular *numen* is always attributed to the *domus Augusta*: *Num. dom. Aug. | sacrum ... (CIL 6, 236 = ILS 3668)*. This again is not an abbreviation of the *num. Aug.* type.

⁵⁶ *Paléographie romaine (Scripturae Monumenta et Studia 3)*, Madrid, 1952, 103ff.; cf. *id.*, "Pièrres fautives", *Libya 2* (1954), 187-204, 435-459; "L'ordinatio des inscriptions", *CRAI* (1955) 126-137. See further G. Susini, *Il lapicida romano. Introduzione all'epigrafia latina*, Rome, 1966, 30f.; A. Donati, *Tecnica e Cultura dell'Officina epigrafica brundisiana*, Faenza, 1969.

simply chiselled out the letters already spaced and marked on the stone by the *ordinator*, who worked from an original text written (on papyrus or a tablet?) not in capitals but in cursive script. Furthermore there is little likelihood that an *ordinator* would have decided upon any particular abbreviation himself. From the way he misread such standard abbreviations as *H.S.E.* (the misreading then being beautifully engraved to the confusion of epigraphists) it seems that the abbreviations were given already in the original cursive text. Granted such a system, it would be reasonable enough that, when it was necessary to distinguish between singular and plural, there should be standard abbreviations for *numini* or *numinibus* rather than a whole range of possibilities that could be used indiscriminately for either. This is not, of course, to say that some particular convention was standard throughout the empire: in Africa, as we have seen, *num.* seems consistently to denote the singular rather than the plural. Nor would it conflict with the fact that the same abbreviation (*V.V., D.D.*) can on occasion mean very different things.⁵⁷

3. *The Cult of the Imperial Numen*

A few observations may be appropriate at this juncture on the general character of the cult in Britain. The most obvious point arises from the foregoing discussion and has already been touched upon more than once, namely the profusion of the cult throughout the north-west in general and Britain in particular. In no other quarter of the Roman world are dedications to the Imperial *numen* so plentiful. The popularity of the cult was matched by its longevity. The earliest datable inscriptions in Britain are from A.D. 133-37 (*RIB* 824f.),⁵⁸ after which time the cult is attested in one form or another until the second half of the third century.⁵⁹

The following list includes inscriptions that can be dated precisely by consuls or for which some direct or indirect indication of date can be drawn from the text. The basis for the date given is in many cases provided by the commentary in *RIB*; the letter C or M in brackets denotes civilian or military:⁶⁰

⁵⁷ It is true that *an.*, for example, can be short for either *anno* or *annis*, but here there would normally be no question of any misunderstanding since the figure is usually given as well.

⁵⁸ E. Birley, "Britain after Agricola and the End of the Ninth Legion" in *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, Kendal, 1961, 20-30 at 28.

⁵⁹ For a survey of the subject see now Birley (above, note 9) 34-36 with new readings of several texts.

⁶⁰ Under military are included dedications by soldiers acting as units or in a private capacity (individuals or groups of individuals), since the latter must largely reflect the practice of the former. Indeed, civilian cult as a whole must have been largely influenced by military in a province like Britain. This is true at least of northern Britain, as of Belgica and the Germanies.

Living Emperor(s)

n./n.Aug./numini Aug:

<i>RIB</i>	919: A.D. 222-35	(M)
	949: A.D. 222-35	(?M)
	1593-4: A.D. 222-35	(M)
	1074: A.D. 238-44	(M)
	1983: A.D. 241	(M)
	1882: ca. A.D. 259	(M): cf. <i>RIB</i> 1883; E. Birley, <i>Roman Army</i> 62, n. 15.
	1100: Commodus or later	(?M)
	1904: 3rd century	(M); cf. E. Birley, <i>Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Arch. Soc.</i> , n.s. 39 (1939), 225; <i>Roman Army</i> 168.
	152: ?3rd century	(M)
	1987: ?3rd century	(M)
	459: ?3rd century	(M)
	1225: ?3rd century	(M) cf. E. Birley, <i>Roman Army</i> 84.

“devotus” formula:

<i>RIB</i>	2066: ?A.D. 212	(C)
	976: A.D. 213	(M)
	978: A.D. 222	(M)
	1706: A.D. 223	(M)
	[?1202: A.D. 213	(M)]
	[?1235: A.D. 213	(M)]

nn.Augg./num.Augg./numin.Augg./numinibus Augg.

<i>RIB</i>	627: A.D. 208	(C)
	327: A.D. 244	(M)
	2042: A.D. 253-8	(M)
	146: ?3rd century	(M) (A late 2nd-century pair of emperors would also be possible).

undated:

n.Aug. etc. 623 (C), 640 (M), 1692 (?C), 1991 (M), 2040 (M), 2063 (?C); *JRS* 53 (1963), p. 161, no. 7 (M); *JRS* 55 (1965), p. 221, no. 3 (?C); *JRS* 59 (1969), p. 235, no. 1 (?C)

numinibus Augg./ etc. 459 (?M).

Totality of Emperors

num.Aug.

<i>RIB</i>	824: <i>ca.</i> A.D. 133-7	(M)
	825: <i>ca.</i> A.D. 133-7	(M)
	309: A.D. 152	(C)
	181: ?A.D. 155	(C)
	815: ?mid 2nd century	(M) ⁶¹
	1083: <i>ca.</i> A.D. 175-178	(M)
	2264: A.D. 212-17	(milestone)

numinib./numinibus Aug./Augustorum

<i>RIB</i>	707: ?A.D. 140-4	(C) ⁶²
	1330: A.D. 139-61	(M)
	274: ?mid 2nd century	(C)
	1327: ?mid 2nd century	(M) ⁶³
	1584: ?2nd century	(M)
	1585: ?2nd century	(M)
	1586: ?2nd century	(M)
	1587: ?2nd century	(M)
	1588: ?2nd century	(M)
	1041 (primary): ?before 3rd century ⁶⁴	
	2042: A.D. 253-8	(M) cf. M. P. Speidel, <i>ANRW</i> 2, 3
	? <i>AEpig</i> (1983) no. 643:	(1975) 210.
	A.D. 221	(C)

undated:

num.Aug. 657 (?C), 940 (M), 2103 (C); *JRS* 47 (1957), p. 230, no. 19 (milestone).

numinib. Aug. etc. 193 (C), 235 (M), 247 (C), 611 (C), 656 (C), 918 (C), ?1056 (M), 1227 (M), 1596 (M), 1700 (C), 1786 (C), 2217 (?C); *JRS* 52 (1962), p. 192, no. 8 (C); *Britannia* 8 (1977), p. 429, no. 16 (C); cf. 13 (1982), p. 302f.

⁶¹ Birley, *o.c.* 35, n. 128, rejects the date A.D. 155 as based on a false interpretation of the abbreviated text on the moulding below the die.

⁶² Birley, *o.c.* 23, n. 47, cf. 35, n. 117, offers a new reading of the text, which he dates to A.D. 139.

⁶³ *Contra* E. J. Phillips, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Great Britain 1, 1*, Oxford, 1977, p. 81, no. 230, restricting *numina Augustorum* to dead emperors.

⁶⁴ On the view of Birley, *o.c.* 39, n. 156, cf. 35, n. 118, there is only a single text, not a primary and a second.

What is immediately clear from the above is that the chronological development of the cult is consistent with the expansions suggested for the various abbreviations. Dated or datable inscriptions attest the collective *numina Augustorum* from well before the middle of the second century and continue thereafter for over a hundred years. The cult of the *numen* of the living emperor or emperors seems, on the other hand, to be exclusively third-century, and within this to have flourished particularly in the period from Alexander Severus to Valerian. As a result, the abbreviation *n.* is restricted to the third century, whereas *num.* appears in the second and third centuries with the cult of the *numina Aug.*, but also in the third century with that of the *numina Augg.* To expand *num.* in the singular would surely be impossible in the case of texts belonging to the second century, a period when there is no firm evidence for a cult of the living emperor's *numen*. The table also throws light on the distribution of inscriptions between soldiers and civilians. In Britain both are represented in roughly equal numbers in dedications to the *numina Augustorum*, but to judge from surviving stones the cult of the *numen* of the living emperor or emperors seems to have been a predominantly military practice. This contrasts sharply with the picture on the continent where datable evidence begins somewhat later.⁶⁵ In the Three Gauls and the Germanies the *numina Augustorum* were paid cult by civilians on a very wide scale; but there are more than twice as many inscriptions from Lugdunensis and Aquitania as from Belgica and the Germanies and not a single dedication by soldiers. The cult of the *numen Augusti*, if this is how *n. Aug.* is to be interpreted on the continent, is very poorly attested and what little there is may well be first- or second-century (above, p. 407). There is certainly no evidence for a third-century cult of the *numen Augusti* comparable to what is observable in Britain and no dedication *n. Aug.* by the military. What one does find is a score or so examples attesting the *devotus* formula— normally after the emperor has been mentioned by name. But Britain also has yielded four, perhaps six, examples of this type, a number that compares not unfavourably in proportion to the total number of inscriptions found in either area.

This difference in practice raises an important question. What on the north-west frontier has taken the place of the third-century vogue of the *numen Augusti* in Britain? The obvious answer is inscriptions honouring the *domus*

⁶⁵ For dated inscriptions with the formula *numinibus Augustorum* see F. Stähelin, *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*, Basel, 1948, 360, n.1. While this list seems complete for *CIL* 13, it omits several from Britain given above. Furthermore, in the Gauls and the Germanies a great many dedications to the *numina Augustorum* are undated and it is not impossible that in some cases these may have been set up in the earlier part of the second century. Editorial observations on the letter-forms of some inscriptions tend to strengthen this hypothesis. One would hesitate to claim, therefore, that the formula *numinibus Aug./Augustorum* indicates of itself a date *ca.* A.D. 200, even though most of Stähelin's list belong to this period. *Contra* E. Howald and E. Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz*, Zurich, 1941, *ad.* no. 54; cf. 81.

divina,⁶⁶ which appear on the continent in very great numbers indeed—close to a hundred set up by soldiers and over two hundred and fifty by civilians. Here again it is notable that far more instances of the formula *in h.d.d.*, or a variant, occur in Belgica and the Germanies than in Aquitania and Lugdunensis—where conversely the cult of the *numina Augustorum* was stronger. Furthermore, the bulk of these belong to the first half of the third century, relatively few dating from the second century or later than the middle of the third.⁶⁷ This contrasts sharply with the situation in Britain,⁶⁸ where only five references to the divine house by civilians have been recovered (*RIB* 89, 91, 707, 1700, 2066) and three by the military (*RIB* 897, 916, 919); to which can now be added a fragmentary text from Kirby Hill (*Britannia* 9, 1978, p. 474, no. 6). Again, while several of these in Britain are also from the first half of the third century, three at least are very much earlier: *RIB* 91 (?reign of Vespasian), 707 (A.D. 140-4); *Britannia* 9, no. 6 (Antoninus Pius or Caracalla).⁶⁹ It would therefore appear that whereas the cult of the *numina Augustorum* was popular with civilians on both sides of the Channel, there was no continental counterpart to the military cult of the *numen Augusti* in third-century Britain. The *devotus* formula might be said to have partly filled the gap in Belgica and the Germanies, but the same formula is also attested in Britain in proportionately comparable numbers. The most popular practice on the north-west frontier was to honour the divine house and military practice and civilian were clearly interrelated. This would seem to imply a difference of emphasis at least in the first half of the third century. For while the *domus divina* included *all* members of the imperial family,⁷⁰ the cult of the *numen Augusti* in Britain focused attention directly upon the emperor or emperors in person. How this phenomenon should be interpreted is difficult to say, but Britain is also notable for the evidence it has yielded for the cult of *disciplina*, at least two instances of which belong to the third century; *RIB* 1127, 1978.⁷¹ Perhaps then similar factors contributed to the development of both cults,

⁶⁶ *RIB* 1700, quoting Haverfield in *Roman Britain in 1914*, p. 31, no. 5.

⁶⁷ For chronological analysis see M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, "La datation des inscriptions latines dans les provinces occidentales de l'empire romain d'après les formules "IN H(ONOREM) D(OMUS) D(IVINAE)" et "DEO, DEAE", " *ANRW* 2, 3 (1975) 232-282.

⁶⁸ Birley (above, note 9) 23f., 103, suggesting that the army of Britain developed its own preferences in religious dedications.

⁶⁹ The earliest dedication to the Divine House on the Continent is from Nasium in Belgica: *CIL* 13, 4635. Two other examples which may belong to the first century come from Divodorum (Metz): *CIL* 13, 4324f.

⁷⁰ On the *domus divinae* see below, pp. 423f.

⁷¹ For discussion and references see Fishwick (above, note 48) 213-229 at 219f.; E. Birley, "The Religion of the Roman Army: 1895-1977", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1506-1541 at 1513-1515, noting African examples. To the British texts can be added *Britannia* 10 (1979), p. 346, no. 7 (= *AEpig*, 1979, no. 388): reign of Hadrian. See now Birley (above, note 9) 23.

namely the uncertain loyalty of troops stationed in Britain and the chequered career of the island province in dynastic upheavals.

Beyond this it is difficult to isolate any further features of the cult that are peculiar to Britain. Both the collective *numina Augustorum* and the *numen* of the living emperor or emperors are attested with gods and godlings of every kind and there is nothing to show that one or the other was particularly associated with traditional Roman, imperial, oriental or Celtic divinities. It is interesting to observe that at Caerleon in A.D. 244 the senior centurion made a dedication to the *numina* of the two living *Augusti* and to the *genius* of the second Augusta in honour of the Eagle (*RIB* 327), and that a few years later (A.D. 253-8) Caelius Vibianus, commander of the unit of Aurelian Moors, associated the *numina* of the two *Augusti* with Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the *genius* of the unit in a similar dedication at Burgh-by-Sands (*RIB* 2042). Again, the *numen* of the living emperor is associated with the standards in a third-century dedication by the first Aelian cohort at Birdoswald (*RIB* 1904). In the third quarter of the second century, on the other hand, a comparable dedication at Lanchester had associated the *genius* of the First Loyal Cohort of Vardullians with the collective *numina Augustorum* (*RIB* 1083). Similarly at Maryport the formula *num. Aug.* is linked with Jupiter Optimus Maximus on a series of second-century altars apparently erected in connection with the annual renewal of the oath of allegiance to the emperor on January 3rd (*RIB* 815, 824f.; but see 1983: January 1st, A.D. 241 - Castlesteads).⁷² Attention might also be drawn to a formal difference in the style of dedication. Whereas the plural *numina Augg.* and *numina Aug.* occur both in first and in second position when combined with another deity or deities, in only two (*RIB* 458, 1991) out of twenty examples does the singular *numen* of the living emperor stand first. This would be a further consideration against expanding *num.* in the singular whenever it stands first, though further discoveries may of course alter the picture in this respect. One final point of more general interest might be raised here in passing. At least four British inscriptions (*RIB* 919, 949, 1593-4) attest the *numen Augusti* and two (*RIB* 978, 1706) the *devotus* formula during the reign of Alexander Severus, A.D. 222-35. Yet in the *Feriale Duranum*,⁷³ which probably dates from A.D. 223-27 and has been interpreted

⁷² L. P. Wenham, "Notes on the Garrisoning of Maryport", *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, n.s. 39 (1939), 19-36 at 21; Birley (above, note 71) (1978) 1510. See further P. Herz, *Untersuchungen zum Festkalender der römischen Kaiserzeit nach datierten Weih- und Ehreninschriften* (Diss. Mainz), Mainz, 1975, 94; J. Helgeland, "Roman Army Religion", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1470-1505 at 1479, noting the custom of burying the altar from the preceding year. See further below, Appendix I, "Dated Inscriptions and the *Feriale Duranum*", pp. 595f.

⁷³ R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey and W. F. Snyder, "The *Feriale Duranum*", *YCS* 7 (1940), 1-222. See further H. W. Benario, "The Date of the *Feriale Duranum*", *Historia* 11 (1962), 192-6; Herz (above, note 72) 87-93; Helgeland (above, note 72) 1481-1488 with bibl.

to be one copy of regulations issued to every camp and garrison and applicable throughout the empire,⁷⁴ the ruler cult prescribed for the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* takes the traditional form of the worship of the emperor's *genius*⁷⁵ and of the imperial *divi*. There is no certain trace in Britain of the military worship of the *divi*⁷⁶ and only a single example of a military dedication to the *genius*, here that of the two Philippi (*RIB* 915); whereas the cult of the *numen Augusti* is particularly well attested in the first half of the third century, especially so it would seem during the reign of Alexander Severus.⁷⁷ How this evidence relates to the Feriale Duranum may best be reserved for later discussion in the context of evidence drawn from the Empire as a whole.⁷⁸

4. *Transcription of Abbreviations*

It remains to suggest modifications to the transcripts of a number of texts given in *RIB*. As had been emphasized throughout, what we are dealing with in many cases is simply the probable expansion of an abbreviation based entirely on analogy. For this reason the generous use of the question mark may be suggested wherever an expansion is at best only probable. The treatment follows the division set out above (p. 442) into *A* certain, *B* probable expansions.

A. nn.Augg./num.Augg./numinib.Aug./Augg./Augustor. numinibus Aug./Augg.

The expansions given by *RIB* are unexceptionable in the transcripts of 193, 235, 247, 274, 327, 459, 627, 707, 918, 1041, 1056, 1227 (Pl. LXXIX b), 1327, 1330, 1584-88, 1596, 1786, 2042.

656. The transcript should read *numini(bus) Aug(ustorum) et Deae Ioug [...]*. That *Aug(usti)* is a misprint is made clear by the note: "For the expansion of *Aug.* as *Aug(ustorum)* see note to *RIB* 152".

611 (Pl. LXXVII a). The reason why the expansion *Aug(usti)* is impossible

⁷⁴ *Contra* R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, New Haven, 1981, 110. For a trace of standard instructions in religious matters to military units in different parts of the world see *RIB* 1579 with refs.

⁷⁵ See "Augustus and the West", above, Vol. I, 1, 84f. Evidence for the general cult of the *genius* in Britain is assembled by Birley (above, note 9) 25f.

⁷⁶ A posthumous dedication to either Antoninus Pius or Caracalla, *Britannia* 9 (1978), p. 474, no. 6 (above, p. 417) is too badly weathered to be positively identified as either military or civilian.

⁷⁷ On the British evidence see Fishwick (above, note 48) 213-229 at 222f. See further M. Ziolkowski, "Il culto dell'imperatore nella religione degli eserciti romani in Britannia (I-III sec. d.C.)", *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 142 (1983-84), 267-278 at 273ff.

⁷⁸ Below, Appendix I, pp. 594f.

was stated at the outset (above, p. 398). Mommsen, on *EphEp* 7, 946, suggested *numinibus* | *Augg. et Victoriae et Genio*..., which also is unlikely, if for no other reason, for the fact that there are no examples in Britain where a deity is sandwiched between a dedication to the *numina Augustorum* and some *genius*; cf. *RIB* 327, 657, 1083. The only instance where *Victoria* is associated with the *numina Augustorum* is *RIB* 1596: *Deo* | [*M*]arti et | *Victoriae* | et *numinib(us) Augg(ustorum)* | ... cf. 627. This leaves the much more likely expansion suggested by E. Birley in *CW*² 46 (1946), 138f.: [*nu*]minib(us) | [*Aug(ustorum)*] *n(ostrorum)* et ge|[*ni*]o.... Birley is surely right in giving the plural *Aug(ustorum)* after [*nu*]minib(us), but a double difficulty arises over *n(ostrorum)*. If a single *n.* is to be read here, it was presumably preceded by a single *g.* in *Aug.* (*Augg. n.* is hardly possible).⁷⁹ *Aug.* can occasionally refer to double emperors (*Th.L.L.* 2, 1385 s.v.) and *n.* sometimes denotes the plural (for example: *CIL* 5, 8056); but the far more frequent form is *Augg. nn.* and there seems to be no other example in Britain where *Aug. n.* could denote more than one living emperor. (*N.* does, of course, restrict the discussion to the living emperor or emperors). More decisive, perhaps, is the circumstance that *n.* or *nn.* is unprecedented in association with the plural formula *numinib(us) Augg. N.* occurs in connection with the *numen* of a single living Augustus in 1100, where the emperor is also styled Pius and Felix, and in 1225 we have *n(umini) d(omini) n(ostri) Aug(usti)*; cf. 1692; *CIL* 3, 752 = 7435. There is also *RIB* 1983, where the text is much restored, though *n.* can be read with certainty: [*I.O.M.*] | et *numi[ni Aug(usti)]* | *n(ostri)*.... But there seems to be no parallel to *numinib(us) Aug. n./Augg.nn.* (cf. 326, 1452). In fact *n.* is so awkward with the plural *numinibus* that it may be questioned whether this reading is, indeed, correct in 611. As we now have it, the text is based on Machell's drawing of the stone at a time when it was used as a seat in High Street, Kirkby Lonsdale, and (presumably) worn and weathered. Furthermore, the facsimile reproduced from Machell MS II seems to show that the mason may have blundered in the first place with the engraving of *coligni*. Even more significantly, a diagonal stroke connects *IB* in [*nu*]minib(us) thus] MINNB; which in turn suggests the possibility that what looks like *NE* in line 2 may be nothing of the kind. In the circumstances it may be suggested that what we have in 611 are the traces of an original mason's blunder for *Aug.* or *Augg.* or an imperfect reading of the stone made by Machell under difficult circumstances—or a combination of the two. All analogy would seem to suggest that the original dedication was simply to the *numina Aug./Augg.* and the *genius* of the college. The following transcript may come close to what was first intended:

⁷⁹ *Augg. n.* seems unparalleled with *numinibus*; for *Augg. n.*, *Augustorum n.*, *Auggg. n.* with *servus* / *verna* see H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser*, Wiesbaden, 1967, 232f.

[Nu]minib(us) | [Aug(ustorum)?] et ge|[ni]o ...

B. *n./n. Aug.*

The general practice of *RIB* is to expand the abbreviation in the singular: *n(umini) Aug(usti)*. This concurs with the conclusion of this paper and the only suggestion would be to insert the question mark—*n(umini?) Aug(usti)*—wherever there is less than absolute certainty that the *numen* of a singular living emperor is intended. That would be the case in 623, 640, 1593f., 1882, 1904, 1987, 1991, 2063.

913 (Pl. LXXIX c). Here *RIB* breaks its own practice and restores [et *n(uminibus)*] in line 2 where the left hand section of the stone is broken off. If *n.* cannot be short for the plural, we must rather supply [et *num.*] since the plural is required by the following formula “...of our Lords Valerianus and Gallienus and of Valerianus, most noble Caesar, Pii Felices Augusti, ...” This restoration would be two letters longer (the initial D of DJDNN must be supplied on either view), but one notes that the suggested restoration for the beginning of line 3 is *Va|[leri]ani* and for line 4 *G|[allie]ni*—this despite the fact that the width of the missing left-hand section in these lines gets progressively shorter; cf. line 5: *Vale|[ria]ni nob....* There seems no physical reason, therefore, against the more likely restoration [et *num.*], which would be all the easier if one supposes ligatures in *num.*; cf. *Au* in *Aureli(ani)* (l.8) and *Aug(ustae)* (l.9); *it in do|[n]avi(t)* (l.10). (There is no ligature in *et*: ll.3-4). An entirely different possibility is that one should rather supply [et *g(enio) d)dnn.* as in *RIB* 915. But if an abbreviation for *numinibus* is to be restored, the transcript would read:

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) | [et num(inibus) d]d(ominorum) nn(ostrum)...
(cf. 815, 824, 825; also 235, 1584-88, 2042).

Numini Aug.

RIB is surely right in expanding this to *numini Aug(usti)*. Caution might suggest the expansion *numini Aug(usti?)* in 458, 2040, but the possibility of a plural is remote given that the formula *numini Augustorum* has yet to be attested in Britain. This point applies also to *JRS* 55 (1965), p. 221, no. 3, where a singular expansion of *A[ug.]* is more likely.

Num. Aug.

RIB normally expands this abbreviation to *num(ini) Aug(usti)* with reference to the statement of doctrine *ad RIB* 152. In 181, however, there is a departure from this practice and we are given an expansion in the plural. One would agree with the transcript in this case except for a possible question mark: *num(inibus?)* (see above, p. 408). Similarly the plural expansion of *num.* in the partial restoration of 940 and on the two milestones, *RIB* 2264,

JRS 47 (1957, p. 230, no. 19, agrees with the view developed above. On the interpretation of *RIB* 5 see the remarks on pp. 409f. The transcript of 976 is acceptable as it stands, though *numini* may originally have been written in full; cf. 1706 and above, p. 411. For the remaining examples of the formula *num. Aug.* the following transcriptions may be suggested:

309. [Deo] Marti Leno|[s]ive Ocelo Vellaun(o) et num(inibus?) Aug(ustorum) | ...
 657. Num(inibus?) Aug(ustorum) | et ...
 815. I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et num(inibus?) | Aug(ustorum) ...
 824. Iovi Op(timo) M(aximo) | et num(inibus?) Aug(ustorum) | ...
 825. I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et num(inibus?) Aug(ustorum) | ...
 940. [Num(inibus?) A]ug(ustorum) vex(illatio) | ...
 1083. Num(inibus?) Aug(ustorum) et | ...

Here a plural expansion can be adopted without compromising the historical note in *RIB*. While the name of the governor of Britain, (Q.) Antistius Adventus, has been thought to place the inscription *ca.* A.D. 175- *ca.* 178 (*RIB* quoting Birley in Askew, *Coinage* 81),⁸⁰ *leg. Aug.* (with one G) still serves to date the stone before 27th November, 176, when Commodus became *Augustus* with Marcus Aurelius. On this view the *Augusti* of *num(inibus) Aug(ustorum)* would be the living emperor Marcus Aurelius in conjunction with deified *Augusti*.⁸¹

2103 (Pl. LXXIX d). *Num(inibus?) Aug(ustorum) | deo Merc(urio) | ...*

The modifications⁸² suggested are offered in the hope that they may be constructive in solving some of the difficult problems arising from the use of these abbreviations in Britain.⁸³ How far the discussion is indebted to the superb draughtmanship that has gone into every page of *RIB* will be apparent throughout.

⁸⁰ But see now Birley, *Fasti* (above, note 47) 129-132, tentatively assigning the governorship of Adventus to *ca.* A.D. 173-6.

⁸¹ Cf. above, note 13.

⁸² All other instances of the cult give the full formula *numinibus Augustorum*. The only point that calls for comment here is the translation of 1700: *Pro domu | divina et nu|minibus Aug|ustorum...* "For the Divine House and the Deities of the Emperors..." As one can hardly make a dedication *on behalf of* the *numina*, the translation should surely be: "For the Divine House and to the Divine Powers of the Emperors..."

⁸³ The present discussion, which only the publication of *RIB* has made possible, supersedes an earlier treatment of the Imperial *numen* in *Phoenix* (above, notes 48, 77). The expansions of the various abbreviations given there were largely based on those of Hübner and Haverfield and should now be partly revised in light of the conclusions reached above.

IV. DOMUS DIVINA

The earliest record of the *domus divina* occurs at Nasium in Belgica, where an altar, apparently inscribed soon after the fall of Sejanus, reads ... *pro | perpetua salute | divinae domus* (CIL 13, 4635).¹ A year or two later the formula *in honorem domus divinae*, here given *in extenso*, appears on an inscription from Lucus Feroniae set up by a freedman *sevir Augustalis* and dated by consuls to A.D. 33 (*AEpig*, 1978, no. 295). At some point within the lifetime of Claudius' namesake Ti. Claudius Cogidubnus, a temple at Chichester was dedicated to Neptune and Minerva [*pr*]o salute dom[us] divinae (*RIB* 91) (Pl. LXXX a; cf. Vol. 1, Pl. XLI).² Again an inscription from Corinth of the time of Nero records that the statue of C. Iulius Spartiacus was set up *ob virtutem eius ... | ... erga domum | divinam*,³ while the form Θεὸς ἱερᾶς οἰκίας crops up already in a Greek inscription from Adadae thought to date from the middle of the first century A.D. (*IGRR* 3, 374; see also ὅτιω θεῶ *ibid.* 1, 682: Serdica; cf. *SEG* 1, 1923, 303). The first instance in literature appears to be Phaedrus' allusion "*superbiens honore divinae domus*" in 5, 7, 38, a phrase probably written under Gaius rather than Tiberius; but Ovid had earlier used the term *sacra domus* (*Fasti* 6, 810; *Pont.* 4, 6, 20) and Statius was similarly to refer to the *domus divina* in *Silvae*, 5 *praef.* There can be no question, therefore, of the early origin of the expression nor of the fact that it was in currency at least as soon as the second half of the reign of Tiberius.⁴

Despite Mommsen's grumble that no definition is to be found of the word *domus*⁵—not at least in the strict sense of agnate descent—it seems clear that this was an elastic term that could include all members of the Imperial house:⁶

¹ Hirschfeld and Zangemeister *ad loc.*; further M. P. Charlesworth, "Providentia and Aeternitas", *HThR* 29 (1936), 107-132 at 112, n. 14; Taeger, *Charisma* 249, cf. 274.

² For the date see A. A. Barrett, "The Career of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus", *Britannia* 10 (1979), 227-242 (mid-60's); J. E. Bogaers, "King Cogidubnus in Chichester: Another reading of *RIB* 91", *ibid.* 243-254 (? Flavian); further P. Salway, *Roman Britain*, Oxford, 1981, 748-752. For *domus divina* in Britain see now E. Birley, "The Deities of Roman Britain", *ANRW* 2, 18, 1 (1986) 3-112 at 23f.

³ *AEpig* (1927) no. 2 = A. B. West, *Corinth* 8, 2 (1931), p. 50, no. 68; cf. L. R. Taylor and A. B. West, "The Euryclids in Latin Inscriptions from Corinth", *AJA* 30 (1926), 393-400; G. W. Bowersock, "Eurycles of Sparta", *JRS* 51 (1961), 112-118 at 117.

⁴ Cf. J. Bousquet, "Inscriptions de Rennes", *Gallia* 29 (1971), 109-122 at 120 with n. 27.

⁵ *Röm. Staatsrecht* 2, 2 (1887) 818, n. 2.

⁶ E. Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium romanum*, Leipzig, 1930, 67f.; S. Eitrem "Zur Apotheose; 4: *domus divina*", *SO* 15-16 (1936), 111-137 at 135f.; S. Weinstock, "Treueid und Kaiserkult", *MDAI(A)* 77 (1962), 306-327 at 317 citing *IGRR* 4, 144, 3f.: αἰώνιος οἶκος (*domus aeterna*). *Domus* first appears in this sense in Ovid, *Fasti* 1, 701; cf. F. Bömer and P. Herz, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*, Wiesbaden, 1981, 208 (Zu S. 65, Anm. 1). For οἶκος in the same sense see *IGRR* 1, 1119f., 1150, 1264, 1287, 1289 *et passim*.

coniuge, liberis, genteque eius, as defined on the altar dedicated to the Numen Augusti at Narbo (CIL 12, 4333 = ILS 112). Thus from 87 A.D. the Acts of the Arval Brethren record *vota* on behalf of the “whole house” of the emperor⁷ and the phrase *totiusque domus divinae eius/eiorum* or variant commonly follows the formula *pro salute imperatoris/um*.⁸ An occasional inscription reveals the membership explicitly, as at Puteoli: ...*pr[o salute | i]mp(eratoris) Domitian[i divi f(ili) Caes(aris) Augusti] Germ(anici) et [Domitiae Aug(ustae) | Domitiani A]ug(usti) et Iulia[e Augustae | totiusque domus] divinae [... (CIL 10, 1632).*⁹ With this may be compared the formula on an altar from Chisiduo: *pro salute imp(eratoris) | Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli | Antonini Augus[tí] | Germanici Sarmat(ici) | liberorum domusque | eius divinae | ... (CIL 8, 1267);* or on an altar found at Old Carlisle: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | pro salu[te] imperatoris | M(arci) Antoni Gordiani P(ii) [F(elicis)] | Invicti Aug(usti) et Sab[in]iae Fur[iae] Tranquil(lin)ae coniugi eius to[ta]que domu divin(a) (sic) eorum (RIB 897; Pl. LXXX b).* More difficult to interpret is the implication of *divina*. As applied to *mens*, *manus*, *princeps* and the rest by the authors,¹⁰ the word can have no other meaning than “divine”. Valerius Maximus had no scruples about using “*divinitas*” of Tiberius and, whereas Seneca had ridiculed Gaius’ claims to be “our god Caesar”, the medical writer Scribonius Largus, writing before A.D. 48, addresses the emperor on no less than three occasions as *deus noster Caesar*;¹¹ even an entry in the *AFA* refers to Claudius as *[d]ivini principis*.¹² All the same, to describe the imperial family en bloc as “divine” would be a startling usage in an inscription of the latter years of Tiberius, especially when the term had not yet become established even in the poets.

The true implication of *divina* as applied to the *domus imperatoria* (at least initially) can best be understood by analysis of the parallel term *domus Augusta*, which though rarer than *domus divina* occurs contemporaneously and must be considered analogous.¹³ That a close correspondence exists

⁷ Henzen, *AFA* (1874) CXVI ff. cf. p. 484, nn. 56-9 *et passim*

⁸ *Diz. Epig.* 2, 2 (1910) (1961) 2063f. (Calza).

⁹ Cf. CIL 6, 360: *Iunoni Lucinae | pro salute domus Augustorum...* followed by the names of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, Lucius Verus and Lucilla *liberorumque eorum*.

¹⁰ For *divina mens* see Vitruvius, *Prol.* 1 (Augustus); *divinae manus*: Seneca, *ad Polybium* 13, 2 (Claudius); Scribonius Largus, *Praefatio* p. 5, l. 30 (Claudius); *divinus princeps*: Valerius Maximus 5, 1, 10 (Caesar; cf. *divinorum Caesaris operum*: *ibid.*); *divinus vigor*: Suet., *Aug.* 79, 2 (Augustus’ eyes). See further *ThLL* 5, 1623, 34-71.

¹¹ Valerius Maximus, 1 *praef.*; Seneca, *De tranquill. animi* 14, 9; Scribonius Largus, *Compos.* 60, 163; *Ep. deol.* 13. Cf. M. P. Charlesworth, “*Deus Noster Caesar*,” *CR* 39 (1925), 113-115; M. Hammond, *The Antonine Monarchy* (Papers and Monographs of the American Acad. in Rome 19), Rome, 1959, 234, n. 73.

¹² Henzen, *AFA* LVII, 8; LVIII, 24: 28th June, A.D. 50/54; cf. p. 123, n. 1.

¹³ *Diz. Epig.* 2, 2, 2061f.; *RE* 5, 1 (1903) 1527 (Neumann) quoting Suet., *Aug.* 58: *quod bonum faustumque sit tibi domuique tuae, Caesar Auguste*. For an early (?) example of the formula *gens Augusta* see R. Cagnat, “Un temple de la Gens Augusta à Carthage,” *CRAI* (1913), 680-686; M.

between the two expressions is clear from the circumstance that *pro salute domus Augustae* conforms with *pro salute domus divinae*, just as *in honorem domus Augustae* matches *in honorem domus divinae*. Then there is Philo's phrase ἅπας ὁ Σεβαστὸς οἶκος (*In Flacc.* 4, 23)—clearly the Greek equivalent of *omnis Augusta domus*, which is itself a close parallel to *tota domus divina*.¹⁴ What is self-evident in these expressions is that the adjective “Augusta” means not “august” or “revered” but “of Augustus”. Ovid makes the meaning explicit in *Ex Ponto* 2, 2, 74: *ceteraque Augustae membra valere domus* (cf. 3, 1, 135), but the implication of *Augusta* reveals itself equally in the inscriptions. Thus a dedication from Coela dated A.D. 55 reads *numini domus Augustae* (*CIL* 3, 7380), whereas a similar inscription from Ostia uses the form *numini | domus | Augusti* (*CIL* 14, 4319; cf. *numini domus Aug., ibid.* 4320). In other inscriptions from Rome the formula *numini domus Augusti/Augustorum* is frequent,¹⁵ while *saluti/pro salute domus Augustae* is interchangeable with *pro salute domus Augustorum*, as is *in honorem domus Augustae* with *in honorem domus Augusti*. On the other hand the form *domus Augustae* seems the norm after *flamen, flaminica, sacerdos, pontifex, cultores*.¹⁶ Of particular interest is the inscription of C. Iulius Spartiacus (above, p. 423), recording that his career was crowned by the post of *archiereus domus Aug. [in] perpetuum primus Achaeon*; that is, he was the first to be chosen by the *koinon* of Achaeans as high priest *in perpetuum* of the Imperial house.¹⁷ That *domus Aug.* (whatever the expansion) must mean the house founded by Augustus is confirmed by the title given Spartiacus in two Greek inscriptions. The formula given in one from Athens is ἀρχιερεὺς Θεῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ γένους Σεβαστῶν... (*Dittenberger, Syll.* 2⁴, 790 = *IG* 3, 805); in an inscription from Sparta the title reads, as restored, ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν (*IG* 5, 1, 463). Spartiacus was therefore priest of the deified and living members of the imperial house,¹⁸ the Latin title *archiereus domus Aug.* being an umbrella formula which omits the details we have in the Greek versions. The interpretation is confirmed by a further inscription in which Spartiacus' title at Corinth

Pippidi, “*Dominus Noster Caesar...*” in *Recherches sur le Culte impérial*, Paris, 1939, 121-148 at 129 (= *Athenaeum* [Jassy], 1, 1935, 637ff.); Taylor, *Divinity* 169 with refs.; M. Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs 116), New York, 1950, 93, nn. 14f. with bibl.; Taeger, *Charisma* 147; “*Roma et Augustus*”, above, Vol. I, 1, 128 with note 214.

¹⁴ Cf. *IGRR* 4, 1608, ll. 17f.: καθυμνοῦντες τὸν Σεβαστὸν οἶκον...

¹⁵ In addition to Calza's examples (above, note 8) 2062 see *AEpig* (1971) no. 29: *numini domus | Augustorum sacr(um)...*; cf. *Herculi domus Augusti sacrum...* *CIL* 6, 30901.

¹⁶ *Diz. Epig.* 2, 2, 2062; J. Toutain, *Les Cultes païens dans l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1905-07 (1967), 1, 43f., 69f.; Cagnat (above, note 13) 684f.; Etienne, *Culte impérial* 301f.

¹⁷ For tenure of office by imperial priests see now S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, 1984, 63.

¹⁸ See D. Fishwick, “*Flamen Augustorum*”, above, Vol. I, 2, 270 with note 8. Weinstock, *DJ* 405 takes *domus Augusta* to stand for successive *divi*.

finds a parallel in that of an Athenian priest styled ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν (*IG* 3, 1085).¹⁹

If, then, *domus Augusta* must be taken to mean *domus Augusti/Augustorum*, all analogy suggests that the same will be true of *domus divina*; that is, the meaning ought originally to have been “the house of the *divus*”, later “the house of the *divi*”.²⁰ To take *domus divina* as equivalent to *domus divi* would certainly be defensible in terms of Latin usage. In the first place *divinus* is clearly the corresponding adjective to the noun *divus*,²¹ which was originally, like *deus*, the word for *any* god before it came to have the restricted sense of a deified mortal (Varro, *De ling. lat.* 3, 2 fr. (4 [6]); Servius, *ad Aen.* 12, 139).²² Secondly, to replace the genitive of a noun with the corresponding derivative adjective is common practice. It occurs with priesthoods based on the names of gods:²³ *flamen Dialis*, *Martialis*, *virgo Vestalis*, *sacerdos Veneria*; with place-names, especially in poetry: *Tuscula tellus*, *Amiterna cohors*; above all with personal names: *domus Augustana*, *Augustiana*, *Tiberiana*, *ostium Tiberinum*, *sevir Augustalis*, *horti Sallustiani*, *horrea Galbiana*, *tempora Neroniana*, *Venerius nepotulus*, *pars Herculanea*, *bellum Iugurthinum*. Sometimes the actual name is used in what had been its original function as an adjective: *lex Antonia*, *basilica Aemilia*, *Via Appia*, *Via Flaminia*, *Forum Iulium*—hence by analogy *mensis Augustus*, *domus Augusta*, *forum Augustum*; also in such formulations as *filius erilis*, *ferrea aetas*, *patria domus*, *flaminia aedes*. One peculiarity here is that the genitive rather than the adjective is found with *aedes*, *fanum*, *templum*—showing that these were thought to be properly in the possession of a god since they were dedicated to him. Otherwise when a building or locality was simply named after its founder the adjectival usage is preferred. This is particularly true of the Classical period when such forms as *colonia Agrippinensis* (as opposed to *oppidum Ubiorum*) were the vogue. Similarly the adjective was normally preferred to the genitive as a means of indicating the type, characteristics, origin of the noun it limits.

¹⁹ Cf. Taylor and West (above, note 3) 395, n. 4, citing as further parallels *IG* 5, 1, 1172; 7, 2234; *IGRR* 3, 374, 382f.; 4, 180; further M. Piérart, *BCH* 98 (1974), 777 with n. 13.

²⁰ Originally proposed by R. Mowat, “La *Domus Divina* et les *Divi*”, *Bull. Epig.* 5 (1885), 221-240, 308-316; 6 (1886), 31-36; cf. 4 (1884), 252; followed by Pippidi (above, note 13) 132-134; M. Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius* (above, note 13) 97; Latte, *RRG* 316, n. 3; cf. J. P. V. D. Baisdon, *The Emperor Gaius (Caligula)*, Oxford, 1934, 171.

²¹ W. M. Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, Oxford, 1894, 244, 326; R. Kühner-F. Holzweissig, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, Hannover, 1912-14 (1966), 998; *ThLL* 5, 1619, s.v. *divinus*; cf. 1623 (35). The adjective *divus*, *a*, *um* is derived from the use of *divus*, *diva* with the names of emperors and Imperial women and does not occur before the third century; cf. *ThLL* 5, 1658 (62).

²² Weinstock, *DJ* 391f., attributing the distinction in meaning to Caesar.

²³ W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin, 1904, 9f., 486f., 510f., 535f.; J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, Basel, 1926 (1957), 59f., 71, 73-75; E. Löfstedt, *Syn-tactica*, Lund, 1942, 1, 107-124.

On this analogy, therefore, *domus divina* could very well mean "the house of (that is, founded by) the *divus*".²⁴ Such a derivation of *divina*²⁵ would also be appropriate to an expression having its origins under Tiberius, who emphasized his link with Divus Augustus in the same way as his adoptive father had stressed his own connection with Divus Iulius.²⁶ The problem would appear in a different light were *domus divina* found only in the literary sources, but the fact that an expression, so common in later epigraphical formulae, is attested in provincial dedications soon after the death of Augustus suggests it must be imitated from an official or semi-official coinage—just as to style a local deity Augustan was copied from the practice begun by Augustus himself of appropriating divinities for the Imperial house. The inscription of Cogidubnus in particular could be expected to have correctly followed the official line.²⁷ If this is the case, then *domus divina* can originally have hardly had any other meaning than that suggested.²⁸ What is conclusive here is Tacitus' report that Tiberius objected violently when a courtier referred to the emperor's duties as *divinas occupationes* (*Ann.* 2, 87). Suetonius has the same story but in his version the offending word is *sacras*, for which Tiberius pointedly substituted *laboriosas* (*Tib.* 27). Even if the term first occurs in the provinces, therefore, the appearance of *domus divina* in the reign of Tiberius must be placed in the same context as the construction of the temple of Divus Augustus by the Palatine, or the permission given the Spaniards to erect a temple to Divus Augustus at Tarraco.²⁹ In other words it echoes the fact that the primary concern of official policy was with the cult of Tiberius' predecessor, now duly enrolled among the State gods.³⁰

Despite the fact that *divina* refers notionally to Divus Augustus, at least initially, there can be no question that the emphasis of the term is squarely upon living members of the house. That is self-evident in dedications on

²⁴ The expression would therefore be unlikely to occur under Vespasian, when the reference would still have been to Divus Augustus; cf. Barrett (above, note 2) 235. Under Titus and Domitian the allusion would be presumably be to Divus Vespasianus; cf. *CIL* 10, 1632 (above, p. 424). For the later development see below, pp. 429ff.

²⁵ Tacitus uses the word in the sense suggested in *Ann.* 4, 52: *divinum spiritum* (sc. *divi Augusti*); cf. *Ann.* 16, 6: *divinae infantis* (sc. *divae Claudiae*).

²⁶ See further D. Mannsperger, "ROM. ET AVG. Die Selbstdarstellung des Kaisertums in der römischen Reichsprägung" *ANRW* 2, 1 (1974) 919-996 at 946, cf. 949-951.

²⁷ S. S. Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*, London, 1978, 363.

²⁸ So M. P. Charlesworth, "Some Observations on Ruler-Cult especially in Rome", *HTHR* 28 (1935), 5-44 at 30; cf. Mannsperger (above, note 26) *l.c.*; H. Temporini, *Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans*, Berlin, 1978, 36ff. cf. 56; G. Radke, "Quirinus. Eine kritische Überprüfung der Überlieferung und ein Versuch", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 276-299 at 295.

²⁹ See "Divus Augustus", above, Vol I, 1, pp. 150-152, 161-163.

³⁰ Cf. P. Herz, *Untersuchungen zum Festkalender der römischen Kaiserzeit nach datierten Weih- und Ehreninschriften*, Mainz, 1975, 75, noting that the Julio-Claudian dynasty, with whom the term originated, could trace their ancestry through Divus Augustus and Divus Iulius to the gods themselves.

behalf of the *salus* of the *domus divina*:³¹ the formula occurs already in the early inscriptions from Nasium (*pro perpetua salute*) and Chichester (above, p. 423), also later at Minnodunum (*CIL* 13, 5042).³² Under Domitian, however, and especially in the late-second and third centuries, it resurfaces in the form *pro salute imperatoris/um totiusque domus divinae* or variant,³³ though occasionally one finds simply *pro salute et incolumitate d(omus) d(ivinae)*.³⁴ On the other hand a Severan inscription from Rome reads *pro salutem* (sic) *et victorias* (sic) | *dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum)* | *Imp(eratorum) Severi et Antonini Aug(ustorum)* | *et Iuliae Aug(ustae) matri* (sic) *Aug(ustorum) totiusq(ue)* | *domus divinae eorum*;³⁵ another expands the formula to *pro salute et reditum* (sic) | *et victorias* (sic) *Imp(eratorum) Caess(arum)* | *L(uci) Septimi Severi Pii Pertin(acis)* | *Aug(usti) Arab(ici) Adzab(enici) Part(hici) Max(im)i* | *et M(arci) Aurell(i) Antonin(i) Aug(usti)* | *et P(ubli) Septim(i) Getae Cae(s)aris* | *fil(i) et frat(r)is Aug(ustorum) nn(ostrorum)* | *totiusque domus divinae*...³⁶ In each of these instances it is plainly the *salus*, *incolumitas*, *victoria* or *reditus* of living members of the *domus divina* that is in question³⁷—we have seen that inscriptions sometimes give their names explicitly in addition to that of the emperor himself.³⁸ In other texts the point can be inferred from less obvious formulations. Thus a dedication from Geneva reads *numinibus* | *Aug(ustorum)* | *et dom(us) div(inae)* (*CIL* 12, 2596). If we take it that this is the correct expansion—rather than *dom(ui) div(inae)*—then the term presumably refers to the living members of the house other than the

³¹ For dedications *pro salute* see R. Turcan, “Le culte impérial au III^e siècle”, *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 996-1084 at 1056-1059.

³² The point holds likewise for e.g. *pro i(ncolumitate)* | [*domu*]s *aeternae Aug(ustorum)* (*AEpig*, 1917/18, no. 111: A.D. 152); that is “for the safety of (living members of) the eternal house of (present and past) *Augusti*”.

³³ *Diz. Epig.* (above, note 8) 2063. For a Greek equivalent see *IGRR* 1, 1264. The rare formula *pro domu divina*... occurs at Chesterholm (*RIB* 1700).

³⁴ *CIL* 13, 520, 7996, 76763; *CIL* 8, Index 17, p. 337; cf. *AEpig* (1917/18) no. 111 (above, note 32); *CIL* 13, 7587: *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae)* | *pro perpetua in(columitate) imp(eratoris)*...: A.D. 212.

³⁵ *CIL* 6, 461 (= *ILS* 3361). For commentary see R. E. A. Palmer, “Severan Ruler-Cult and the Moon in the City of Rome”, *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1978) 1085-1120 at 1088-1092.

³⁶ *AEpig* (1926) no. 116; cf. Palmer, *ibid.* 1092-1094.

³⁷ Cf. “*Numina Aug(ustorum)*”, above, p. 393.

³⁸ Herz, *Festkalender* (above, note 30) 76f. suggests that the *domus divina* could encompass a larger circle than living members of the imperial family. He points to a dedication at Rome on behalf of the *salus* of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, Julia Domna, Plautilla, Plautianus and all the *domus divina* (*CIL* 6, 226: 13th September, A.D. 202) and asks what other living members could be meant—hardly Geta, the brother of Septimius Severus, or relatives of Julia Domna, none of whom are known to have received honours that would be in keeping with the term *domus divina*. But by this time *domus divina* seems to have meant little more than “godlike house”, a commonplace formula for the *domus imperatoria* (below, pp 430f.), and it is difficult to think that other than living persons could be included after the *pro salute* formula. The stereotype *totiusque domus divinae* was clearly intended to cover remaining members of the imperial house not explicitly mentioned in a particular inscription.

emperor; for the reigning emperor and the deified deceased are included under *Aug(ustorum)*.³⁹ In light of these various testimonia one would have thought that a similar emphasis is plain on an altar from Lambaesis with the dedication *domui divinae Auggg* (*CIL* 8, 2563): with its triple G this surely refers to Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta with other (living) members of the *domus divina* (see further below). The same conclusion might be drawn whenever *IN H.D.D.* is coupled with *numinibus Augg.* (cf. *AEpig*, 1891, no. 142: A.D. 245) or *pro salute imperatoris* follows immediately upon *IN H.D.D.* (cf. *CIL* 13, 8019: A.D. 295).

The question consequently arises whether *divinus* shifted at some stage, perhaps quite early, from its initial meaning.⁴⁰ While the central role of the *divi* in the later development of the ruler cult might be thought to support the original implication of the word,⁴¹ one point beyond question is that in contrast to, say, *Neronianus*, which is plainly analogous to *Neronis*, *divinus* means not only “of the *divus*” but also (and more commonly) “divine”. We have seen that in the literary sources this sense of the word is usually self-evident, also that Tiberius was alive to its political dangers. One would suspect, too, that when Phaedrus first refers to the *domus divina* (5, 7, 38) he means “divine” not “of the *divus*” (cf. Appendix Perottina 12, 6; 28, 7). Similarly the context of Statius’ remarks in *Silvae* 5, *praef.* makes it extremely likely that *divina domus* means “divine house”, a phrase appropriate to the court of Domitian. There can at any rate be no mistaking the sense of *ἱερὰ οἰκία* or *οἶκος θεῶς* in Greek inscriptions (above, p. 423).⁴² Even granted that the term began its career with the meaning suggested, then, the possibility of a different interpretation would have been obvious from the first and the more usual sense of *divina* could be expected to have predominated. The authors in particular will have been quick to take advantage of a *double entendre* that allowed them to give vent to their adulation by deliberate hyperbole.⁴³

³⁹ “*Numina Augustorum*”, above, pp. 391f.

⁴⁰ So Mowat (above, note 20) 226; Pippidi (above, note 13) 134; Eitrem (above, note 6) 135.

⁴¹ Under the Antonines and the Severi ancestors were of critical importance to the authority of the regime and inscriptions record an ever-expanding litany as the list of *divi* and *divae* steadily grew to the total of twenty-three it apparently reached with the deification of Alexander Severus. For discussion see Hammond, *Ant. Mon.* (above, note 11) 203-209, 219-232, especially nn. 56-58; J. F. Gilliam, “On Divi under the Severi” in *Hommages à Marcel Renard* (Collections Latomus 102), Brussels, 1969, 284-289; P. Petit, “Le IIe siècle après J.-C.: Etat des questions et problèmes”, *ANRW* 2, 2 (1975) 354-380 at 360.

⁴² For *ἱερὰ οἰκία* with its natural meaning at Delos see S. Molinier, *Les ‘maisons sacrées’ de Delos au Temps de l’Indépendance de l’Ile, 315-166/5 av. J.-C.*, Paris, 1914.

⁴³ For increasing adulation see A. D. Nock, “Religious Development from Vespasian to Trajan”, *Theology* 16 (1928), 152-160 at 154f.; Charlesworth, “Observations” (above, note 28) 31f.; M. L. Paladini, “L’aspetto dell’imperatore-dio presso i Romani”, *Contributi dell’Istituto di Filologia Classica* (Pubb. dell’Univ. Cattolica del Sacro Cuore) 1 (1963), 1-65 at 51ff. with n. 253, noting that the divinization of Domitian is reflected in the erection of his statue in gold and silver.

A number of considerations appear to bear upon the issue. In the first place the sacred basis of the family is clear from the inclusion of the Imperial house in the formulae of oaths and official *vota*.⁴⁴ Furthermore, just as the emperor, who was himself related to a line of *divi*, could normally expect posthumous apotheosis, so Gaius, Nero, Titus, Domitian, the Antonines and the Severi extended the same right to a widening circle of their own nearest relatives, particularly females.⁴⁵ As a result, the *domus imperatoria* already possessed in life a kind of right by relationship to divinity after death,⁴⁶ so to speak of the "divine house" by prolepsis would befit a family destined for eventual divinity. Equally, it would be in keeping with the fashion of comparing the emperor and his kin with Olympic and other deities already in their lifetime. The origins of this practice go back to the early principate but it reached its climax under the Severi and is of a piece with the development of an official vocabulary that hedged the emperor, his house and everything he touched with divine character.⁴⁷ Typical of the age is the inflation of official language with such terms as θειώτατος, ἱερώτατος, ὁσιώτατος, *sanctissimus*, *sacratissimus*, and the like, which now became common stock.⁴⁸ The underlying idea appears to be that, since the emperor is like a god, whatever he does is thought of as godlike,⁴⁹ and it is significant that such amplification of official phraseology coincides with a period of increasing central intervention on the one hand and diminished imperial credibility on the other. Of particular interest in the present context is the use of the word *divinus*. The term seems to have come into more general use in the later Flavian period but now is applied broadly to everything with which the emperor has to do, particularly in administrative documents. With the Greek equivalent θεῖος, it can be used not just of the emperor's qualities but also of his proposals, pronouncements, decisions, orders and rescripts, his palace, finances, arrival, expeditions, constructions

⁴⁴ Mommsen (above, note 5) 819, n. 5; 825f.; Eitrem (above, note 6) *ibid.*; A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Darmstadt, 1970, 204; J. M. Reynolds, "Vota pro salute principis" *PBSR* 30, n.s. 17 (1962), 33-36.

⁴⁵ For details see above, note 41; further Beaujeu, *Rel. Rom.* 417, 419-23 with refs.

⁴⁶ Eitrem (above, note 6) *l.c.* draws attention to the practice at other levels of society whereby the son or mother, for instance, of some honoured individual would also be given a statue simply by virtue of being a near relative. Cf. statues of the high priests set up with those of their near relatives within the sanctuary of the Three Gauls: "*Roma et Augustus*", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 136, note 267; also the association of wives and other family members in honours paid to Roman promagistrates in the East. See K. Tuchelt, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien I: Roma und Promagistrate* (MDA I[1] Beiheft 23), Tübingen, 1979, 57.

⁴⁷ See "The Severi and the Provincial Cult of the Three Gauls", above, Vol. I, 2, 327f.; Turcan (above, note 31) 1035ff., especially 1051f.; Price, *Rituals and Power* (above, note 17) 245f.

⁴⁸ Taeger, *Charisma* 410-412, 416ff.; A. Mastino, *Le Titolature di Caracalla e Geta attraverso le Iscrizioni (Indici)* (Studi di Storia Antica 5), Bologna, 1981, 131f., 172. On the use of θειώτατος see J. Rougé, "Ο ΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ", *RPhil* 43 (1969), 83-92.

⁴⁹ F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 B.C.-A.D. 337)*, London, 1977, 468.

and fortifications, even in the panegyrist's of his spirit, head and steps.⁵⁰ Strictly speaking, the word ought to mean "holy", "sacred",⁵¹ but so banal did the usage become that in some cases it may have signified little more than "imperial".⁵² One may compare the same evolution in the use of *sacer*⁵³ or of *Augustus* as applied to Augustan gods⁵⁴—Turcan aptly compares the word "holy" as used today of the Pope or the Vatican.⁵⁵ It follows that dedications *pro salute domus divinae* now mean on behalf of the well-being of living members of the "godlike house" rather than of the "house of the *divus*". In practice therefore what Eitrem considered the "kultische Ungereimtheit" of praying for the *salus* of the *domus divina* disappears once the formula is seen to be appropriate of the Imperial family in purely human terms.⁵⁶

This development in the sense of *divinus* is of special significance for its relevance to the stereotypes *IN H(onorem) D(omus) D(ivinae)* or, very rarely, *OB HONOREM DOMUS DIVINAE*, which seems to be a variant confined to Britain.⁵⁷ The formula is not so much a specialization of the ruler cult as

⁵⁰ For references see L. Brehier and P. Battifol, *Les Survivances du Culte impérial romain*, Paris, 1920, 23f., 49f.; W. Ensslin, "Gottkaiser und Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden", *SBAW* 6 (1943), 71-74; L. Robert, "Inscription d'Athènes", *REA* 62 (1960), 316-324 at 317 with n. 2; F. Burdeau, "L'empereur d'après les panégyriques latins" in F. Burdeau et al., *Aspects de l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1964, 17f.; J. Béranger, "L'expression de la divinité dans les panégyriques latins", in *id.*, *Principatus*, Geneva, 1973, 429-444; P. Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, Paris, 1976, 575, n. 86; J. R. Fears, *Princeps a diis electus: The Divine Election of the Emperor as a political concept at Rome* (Papers and Monographs of the American Acad. in Rome 26), Rome, 1977, 179 with n. 74; Millar (above, note 49) 98, 100; further *ThLL* (above, note 10) *l.c.* See now T. Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft* (Das römische Herrscherbild: Abt. 3; 5), Berlin, 1985, 108f, cf. 57, n. 175.

⁵¹ So rightly Hammond (above, note 41) *l.c.* J.-C. Richard, "Recherches sur certains aspects du culte impérial: Les funérailles des empereurs romains aux deux premiers siècles de notre ère". *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1121-1134 at 1132, follows Pippidi (above, note 13) in holding that under Domitian *domus divina* (that is, the Gens Flavia) proclaims the divine nature of all the members of the house already in their lifetime. He links this with Domitian's construction of a *templum gentis Flaviae* on the site where he had been born. "Cette décision impliquait qu'avant même l'apothéose, tous les Flaviens devaient être considérés comme des dieux". But see E. Bickerman, "Consecratio" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 18, noting that this "temple" (in practice a family mausoleum) was a shrine of the gentilitial cult of the Flavian family, the state cult of the Flavian *divi* being celebrated elsewhere in Rome; cf. Habicht, *ibid.* 93. For the gentilitial cult of the Gens Julia see "Divus Augustus", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 162, note 78.

⁵² Robert (above, note 50) *l.c.*; cf. A. Deissman, *Licht vom Osten*, Tübingen, 1923, 295f; Pekáry, *Bildnis* (above, note 50) 13, n. 8.

⁵³ O. Hiltbrunner, "Die Heiligkeit des Kaisers (Zur Geschichte des Begriffs *sacer*)", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2 (1968), 1-30 especially 7-9.

⁵⁴ A. D. Nock, "The Emperor's Divine comes", *JRS* 37 (1947), 102-116 at 103.

⁵⁵ Above, note 31, 1052.

⁵⁶ Above, note 6. This is surely an easier explanation than to argue that a prayer for the *salus* of the "divine house", while certainly illogical, was hardly senseless if gods had to sacrifice to gods.

⁵⁷ Cf. *RIB* 707 (Brough-on-Humber: Antoninus Pius); *Britannia* 9 (1978), p. 474, no. 6 (Kirby Hill: Antoninus Pius or Caracalla). *Domus divina* is infrequent in Britain: see "The Imperial Numen in Roman Britain", above, p. 417; but in *honorem domus divinae* occurs at Chichester (*RIB* 89) and *IN H.DD. (sic)* at Old Penrith (*RIB* 916).

a straightforward declaration of loyalty to the reigning house analogous to *in honorem legionis/civium/pagi* and so on.⁵⁸ As most examples of *IN H.D.D.* date from the late-second and third centuries,⁵⁹ the sense must surely be that honour is paid to the "godlike house". The point reinforces what has emerged earlier, namely that the emphasis of the term *domus divina* is squarely upon living members of the house; for if the *divi* were involved one would have expected cult rather than honour. What is equally pertinent, the vast majority of these inscriptions comes from the north-west: Britain, Belgica, the Germanies and Raetia;⁶⁰ that is, the formula was of special significance in a region where civilians and soldiers were presumably of little or no education and could hardly be expected to have grasped an obscure reference to descent from a line of *divi*.⁶¹ It might also be observed that a great many (though certainly not all) examples are military and that, to judge from the dedications they have left, troops took little interest in the cult of the deified deceased;⁶² also that in Britain contemporary dedications to the imperial *numen* stress the *numen* of the *living* emperor(s).⁶³ Why the formula should be abundant in the north-west but almost entirely wanting elsewhere is difficult to say. What the evidence could suggest is that the formula took hold among the military and spread from the camps to the civilian population; but, if so, it remained a localized fashion that had a relatively restricted range.⁶⁴ One may compare the formula *Aug. sacr(um)* which was popular in Gallia Lugdunensis but much less frequent elsewhere.⁶⁵ The bulk of the inscriptions of this type are Severan,⁶⁶ yet the possibility that the Severi deliberately propagated such formalized expressions of loyalty seems remote.

⁵⁸ Cf. *CIL* 13, 1670; 8626; 2002A, 6671, 8038; cf. 7741, 8253, 3148-51, 6800, 11518, 7587, 3363.

⁵⁹ Inscriptions begin to accumulate from a decade or so before the middle of the second century, though still remaining limited up to the reign of the Severi or thereabouts. So Calza (above, note 8) 2063f.; M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, "La datation des inscriptions latines dans les provinces occidentales de l'empire romain d'après les formules 'IN H(ONOREM) D(OMUS) D(IVINAE)' et 'DEO, DEAE'", *ANRW* 2, 3 (1975) 232-282. Taeger, *Charisma* 250, noting an early example under Antoninus Pius (*CIL* 13, 7458), suggests that the formula had its origin earlier in official documents. The point is now confirmed by *AEpig* (1978) no. 295 (A.D. 33; above, p. 423) where the expression (*in extenso*) must mean "in honour of the house of the *divus*".

⁶⁰ The Germanies, particularly Germania Superior, provide the bulk. For traces in Dacia see I. I. Russu, "Domus Divina in Dacia", *Studii Classice* 9 (1967), 211-218.

⁶¹ For the popularity of the *domus divina* in comparison to Augustan gods and other forms of the ruler cult see Herz, *Untersuchungen* (above, note 30) 77.

⁶² This stands in sharp contrast to the emphasis on the *divi* in the Feriale Duranum. See D. Fishwick, "The Imperial Cult in Roman Britain", *Phoenix* 15 (1961), 213-229 at 223 cf. 213; cf. R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, New Haven, 1981, 110.

⁶³ "The Imperial Numen in Roman Britain", above, p. 416.

⁶⁴ Taeger, *Charisma* 251; Herz, above, note 30, *ibid*.

⁶⁵ See "Augusto ut deo", below, pp. 443-445.

⁶⁶ Taeger 249.

As Taeger has pointed out, the formula could in that case have been expected in Africa, which was so closely associated with the fortunes of the Severi. More fundamentally, the evidence for *all* inscriptions is most plentiful in the Severan period, when the epigraphic habit was evidently at its height.⁶⁷ In any event the overall impression is that the formula was mechanically copied to the point where it became a stereotype often barely understood.⁶⁸ Herz points to a dedication at Köngen beginning *I.O.M. | I.N.H.D.D.* (*CIL* 13, 11728),⁶⁹ and a similar instance of senseless division between the I and the N occurs at Neustad: *I.N.D.D.* (*CIL* 13, 6116—following *IN H.D.D.*); cf. *I.HO.NO.REM.D.D.* (*CIL* 13, 7360: Heddernheim; cf. 8493).

While the word *divinus* became commonplace and the loyalty formula *IN H.D.D.* a stereotyped convention, occasional inscriptions throw a very different light on the significance of the *domus divina* within the imperial cult. These are traces that plainly attest the cult of the “divine house” as an entity on a par with the emperor himself.⁷⁰ In the first place one finds *numen* attributed to the *domus Augusta/Augusti/Augustorum*, which we have seen to be equivalent to the *domus divina*. Such a step clearly lifts the Imperial House above the ordinary human level by ascribing the intrinsic property of a god.⁷¹ We have seen that at Coela in the Thracian Chersonese (above, p. 425) a *balneum* was dedicated in A.D. 55 *numini domus Augustae* (*CIL* 3, 7380). With this can be compared dedications from Rome to the *numen* of the *domus August(a?)*⁷² or *domus Aug./Augustorum*⁷³—or from Ostia to the *numen* of the *domus Augusti/Aug.*⁷⁴ again an inscription from Apamea dated A.D. 129 records a dedication *numini domus Augustor[um] | et | imp. Caesari ... | ... Hadriano Au[g.]* (*CIL* 3, 6992; cf. 8, 4199: A.D. 147/8). Equally significant are epigraphical records of priests and priestesses of the *domus Augusta*,⁷⁵ apparently also of the *domus divina*.⁷⁶ On the other hand the cult of the *domus divina* is plainly attested by an inscription from Nola: *Augusto*

⁶⁷ See “The Severi and the Provincial Cult of the Three Gauls”, above, Vol. I, 2, p. 317, note 6; cf. MacMullen, “Paganism” (above, note 62), 115f.

⁶⁸ Much would depend, of course, on the circumstances under which an inscription was drafted. See the useful remarks of G. Susini, *Il Lapidario romano*, Rome, 1966, 70f.

⁶⁹ Herz, *Untersuchungen* (above, note 30) 78.

⁷⁰ For the attribution of a *genius* to the “divine house” see a Severan inscription from Ulpia Trajana (*Arch. Anzeiger*, 1913, 335); cf. *AEpig* (1914) no. 114 (Sarmizegetusa). This again places emphasis on the living members of the house; cf. Weinstock, *DJ* 214 with n. 6.

⁷¹ “Genius and Numen” above, pp. 383f.

⁷² *CIL* 6, 541 (A.D. 88), 542 (A.D. 112), 543 (A.D. 115).

⁷³ *CIL* 6, 236, 240, 338, 30983, 30985; cf. *CIL* 8, 4199.

⁷⁴ *CIL* 14, 4319f.

⁷⁵ Above, note 16; cf. *CIL* 6, 2010. See further C. H. V. Sutherland, “Aspects of Imperialism in Roman Spain”, *JRS* 24 (1934), 31–42 at 34; C. C. García, “Städte und Personen der Baetica”, *ANRW* 2, 3 (1975) 601–654 at 629f.

⁷⁶ *CIL* 2, 1978 + *AEpig* (1917/18) no. 10.

| *sacrum* | *restituerunt* | *Laurinienses* | *pecunia sua* | *cultores d(omus) d(ivinae)* (CIL 10, 1238) and similar groups of *cultores* turn up elsewhere in Italy⁷⁷—more recently, for example, at Milan, where a marble *herma* gives notice of a *sevir Augustalis* who is described at one stage of his career (if the expansion is correct) as *c(ultori) d(omus) d(ivinae)* (AEpig, 1974, no. 345).⁷⁸ Inscriptions likewise record *cultores domus Aug.*⁷⁹ and, just as one finds *cultores imaginum Caesaris n(ostri)* (ILS 7215), for example, or *socii cultor(es) Larum et imaginum August(i)* (CIL 6, 307), so there are *imaginum domus Aug. cultores* (CIL 6, 471) and *cultores Larum et imaginum domus Augustae* (CIL 6, 958).

Of particular interest are dedications made directly to the *domus divina*. In some cases where the dative is employed, honour rather than worship is surely implicit. At Old Penrith, for example, a dedication slab reads *Deabus Matribus Tramarinis | et N(umini) Imp(eratoris) Alexandri Aug(usti) et Iul(iae) Mam|meae matr(i) Aug(usti) n(ostri) et castrorum to|[tique eorum] domui divin(a)e...* (RIB 919; Pl. LXXVIII c). Even if one overlooks the fact that the author of such a text was hardly attuned to precise theology, the use of the dative can be easily explained.⁸⁰ As Nock has shown, dedications can be made *to* a god but *for/in honour of* men, both recipients going into the same (ambiguous) case; in double datives of this kind cult is paid to the deity whereas the human individual receives only honour—that is, the dative is simply a variant of *in honorem*. The point looks also to be true of a Graeco-Latin inscription from Aspendus beginning *Dis patris [e]t domu Aug. | ...* (CIL 3, 231)⁸¹ but more problematical is a stone from Langres apparently reading *domui divin[ae] | Herculi s[a]cr(um) ...* (CIL 13, 5666). Here the order of words could imply that *sacrum* goes equally well with *domui divinae* as with *Herculi*, in which case this would be a dedication to the “divine house” *ut deo*; cf. *do[mui] divin[ae] | ...[o] sacrum | ...* (CIL 13, 5485: Diblio). All doubt disappears, however, with an altar set up in the legionary camp at Lambaesis by L. Caecilius Urbanus: *domui | divinae | Auggg* (CIL 8, 2563) (Pl. LXXX c); in this case, the altar is dedicated to the house of Septimius Severus, Caracalla or Geta in exactly the same way as to a god.⁸² A text from

⁷⁷ CIL 5, 6657f. (Vercellae); ILS 6741 (Novaria); CIL 14, 3561 (Tibur); CIL 6, ?253.

⁷⁸ See further Taeger, *Charisma* 250.

⁷⁹ CIL 6, 956; 8, 21825; 11, ?6071. See in general J. M. Santero, “The ‘Cultores Augusti’ and the Private Worship of the Roman Emperor”, *Athenaeum* 61 (1983), 111–125.

⁸⁰ See “*Augusto ut deo*”, below, pp. 439–442.

⁸¹ One would have a similar example at Geneva (above, p. 428) by completing *dom. div.* in the dative rather than the genitive: *numinibus | Aug(ustorum) | et dom(ui) div(inae) | ...* (CIL 12, 2596).

⁸² See further D. Fishwick, “Une dédicace à la *domus divina* à Lambaesis”, *110^e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes*, Montpellier, 1985; *111^e Colloque sur l’histoire et l’archéologie d’Afrique du Nord*, 367–372.

the territory of the Elusates, on the other hand, is too defective for one to tell whether it records a similar votive dative—followed by the dative of the colony (*CIL* 13, 546). At all events what these examples make clear is that the imperial house as a whole came to be paid the same divine honours as the emperor himself, a development of considerable significance for the history of the Roman ruler cult.⁸³ Unofficially, at least, the *domus divina* evidently acquired the status that under the early principate was attributable to the emperor alone.⁸⁴

⁸³ Cf. Chr. Habicht, "Die augusteische Zeit und das erste Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 41-88 at 88.

⁸⁴ This is surely a reflection of the fact that the empire was in the hands not just of the emperor but of the imperial family as a whole; cf. Price, *Rituals and Power* (above, note 17) 162.

V. AUGUSTO UT DEO

A number of inscriptions from the provinces of the Latin West attest the association of the living emperor with some local or Roman divinity in a dedication or the payment of a vow. The familiar combination of Roma and Augustus (certainly in the dative case) appears on coins portraying the great altar at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls by Lugdunum (Vol. I, 1, Pls. I, XII-XVII).¹ Whether this corresponds to an actual dedication formula in bronze letters, clamped onto the altar itself,² must remain uncertain, but it is likely enough that the altars at Ara Ubiorum and Arae Flaviae were similarly dedicated, perhaps also the altar before the temple at Camulodunum. In a few instances the emperor is linked with a deity other than Roma such as Mercurius or some local godling, with *Augustus* standing now in first place, now in second—in some cases one even finds *Augustus* replaced with a roster of personal names and secular titles. But by far the largest group is made up of inscriptions beginning *Aug(usto) sacr(um)* followed by the dative of a deity. Most examples of the latter that happen to survive are in the form of “ex-voto’s”; the rest are dedications on statue-bases or from temples or other structures. Apart from their number, inscriptions of this type are remarkable for the fact that the great majority originate in the same general area of Gallia Lugdunensis.

How such evidence is to be interpreted raises a number of questions of central interest to the cult of the Roman emperor. Toutain took the view that an official Imperial divinity (*Augustus*) is here associated with another deity: in other words the emperor is in all cases paid cult *ut deus*.³ If so, the vast majority of these inscriptions would be in conflict with the rule laid down by Augustus that he might be worshipped only in company with Dea Roma (Suet. *Aug.* 52)—not that such a development would be so very surprising in itself. Both communities and individuals were free to worship the ruler as they saw fit (even without Roma)⁴ and to link the emperor with a variety of gods in dedications would be no more irregular *per se* than to set up a statue assimilating him to a particular deity. But is Toutain’s analysis, followed in large part by others, wholly acceptable? Does the emperor invariably appear

¹ “*Roma et Augustus*” above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 104 with note 50, 125f.

² “The Temple of the Three Gauls”, above, Vol. I, 2, p. 308, note 1.

³ J. Toutain, *Les Cultes païens dans l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1905-07 (1967), 1, 225f., 232. He treats dedications to the *numen Augusti* or *numina Augustorum* as a variant on those to the emperor invoked under the title *Augustus* or even with his human names. The cult of the *numen* should surely be kept separate; cf. “*Genius and Numen*”, above, pp. 378-382.

⁴ Chr. Habicht, “Die augusteische Zeit...” in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 41-99 at 42f., 45.

in what Taeger calls his “göttliche Wesenheit”?⁵ If not, what is one to make of the various categories of inscriptions distinguished above?

Wherever it is clear that an altar or a statue serves the cult of the emperor, a dedication *Augusto* must naturally be understood as the dative appropriate to dedications to a god. It will be convenient to use the regular term “votive dative” in this context, though in practice the emperor seems not to have been the recipient of gifts dedicated *ex voto*.⁶ The way the votive dative had evolved needs no elaboration.⁷ Greek statues are known to have been originally in the nature of ἀναθήματα with an inscription on their bases to the effect (usually) that A has dedicated (the statue of) B to the god C. But when statues came to be erected elsewhere than in the sanctuary the name of a particular deity gave way to a loose notice of the gods in general (θεοῖς), which itself was eventually dropped, leaving an honorific formula in the accusative: A has set up (a statue of) B or honoured B (with a statue). On the other hand with true dedicatory inscriptions—dedications to a god, that is—the dative of the deity was retained as the natural way of signifying that A has dedicated X to be god B. The usage was subsequently copied by Latin inscriptions to show that the object dedicated—a vase, tablet, metal plate, statue, altar, temple—has been given over to the deity.⁸ In both Greek and Latin inscriptions the genitive can also be used to signify that the deity is now the owner.

The force of *Augusto* in the double dedication formula at Lugdunum is therefore not in question: the altar is plainly dedicated to the emperor *ut deus* alongside the goddess Roma, with whom he shares the services of a priest. The same combination, originally in bronze lettering, occurs on the architrave of the municipal temple at Pola, where Augustus is also styled *Caesar, divi filius*, and *pater patriae: Romae et Augusto Caesari divi f(ilio) patri patriae* (CIL 5, 18 = ILS 110; Pl. LXXXI a, b, c).⁹ Similarly a private dedication from Tarracina, now lost, reads:¹⁰ *Romae et Augusto Caesari divi [f(ilio)] | A.*

⁵ *Charisma* 252f.

⁶ D. Fishwick, “Votive Offerings to the Emperor?”, *ZPE* 80 (1990), 121-138. See further “Liturgy Ceremonial”, below, p. 535, note 363 *ad* CIL 13, 1366.

⁷ See in general W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, 322-341; G. Gerlach, *Griechische Ehreninschriften*, Halle, 1908, 43-57; G. Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik*², Göttingen, 1966, 63; A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, Cambridge, 1967, 41f.; P. Veyne, “Les honneurs posthumes de Flavia Domitilla et les dédicaces grecques et latines”, *Latomus* 21 (1962), 49-98 at 68f., 84-94. For the Ptolemaic background to dedications see above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 34f.

⁸ For the dative of dedication on coins see Mattingly, *BMC* 1, lxix, clxxi, n. 3, cxc, *et passim*.

⁹ The dedication is flanked by twin Victories bearing respectively a crown and a palm-branch, a combination that recalls the arrangement at the Altar of the Three Gauls within the federal sanctuary by Lugdunum. See further H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Archaeologica 39), Rome, 1985, 149-152.

¹⁰ For the temple to Roma and Augustus, evidently erected by private means, see Hänlein-Schäfer, *o.c.* 135-140, with Taf. 10-12.

Aemilius A.f. ex pecunia sua f(aciundum) c(uravit) (CIL 10, 6305);¹¹ and there is one instance (apparently private) from Mograwa in which Tiberius is given his personal names with the *imperator* title: *Romae et imp. Ti. Caesari | Augusto sacrum* | ... (CIL 8, 685 = 11912 = ILS 162). Presumably this is to be explained by the fact that ruler worship was at an early stage of development and the simple *Augusto* would still have meant Augustus himself; the combination of the emperor with Roma is in any case very rare in Africa.¹² In a sense to couple the votive dative *Augusto* with the dative of the deity is the epigraphical counterpart of placing the cult statue of the emperor (ἄγαλμα, simulacrum) beside that of a deity, thus making him *synnaos*;¹³ a good example of this combination occurs in the joint temple of Roma and Augustus at Caesarea (Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 15, 339; *Bell. Iud.* 1, 414).¹⁴ One might also compare the juxtaposition of emperors with gods in iconography, as commonly in the third century.¹⁵

Dedications to Augustus alone (*Augusto*) seem of infrequent occurrence in the West but a temple to Augustus is attested at Puteoli (CIL 10, 1613),¹⁶ while the language of a dedication from Ilici seems to imply that the Emperor is put on the same level as a god: *Augusto divi f. | [C.] Maecius C. f. Celer | [d]edit dedicavit* (CIL 2, 3555). With these may be compared an inscription on a marble *cippus* at Perusia: *Augusto | lucus | sacer.* (CIL 11, 1922 = ILS 5434). Then there is the formula *Aug(usto) sacr(um)* with which the *centuria Petronia* begins a dedication at Puteoli (CIL 10, 8178 = ILS 6321); also at Nola where the *Laurinienses cultores d(omus?) d(ivinae?)* have restored an earlier monument at their own expense (CIL 10, 1238; cf. CIL 11, 1923). A similar example is provided by the dedication of the freedman *sevir* C. Iulius Martialis at Narona (CIL 3, 1769). All these texts could well refer to Augustus himself whereas similar instances of *Aug. sacr.*, particularly in Lugdunensis, look to be mostly of a later period (see below, pp. 443f.). What the formula implies is clear from the definition of Gallus Aelius in Festus (Lindsay, p. 424, 14): *sacrum est... quod dis dedicatum atque consecratum est*; so also Macr. *Sat.* 3, 7, 3: ... *nam, quidquid destinatum est dis, sacrum vocatur* (cf. 3, 3, 2). *Sacrum* is therefore appropriate to whatever is held to be the property of

¹¹ Cf. Mommsen *ad loc.*: "Augustus Caesar pro solito Caesare Augusto ibi ponitur, ubi numen magis intellegitur quam princeps, maxime in templis ei vivo consecratis (cf. vol. V, n. 18)." See further CIL 10, 823 (Pompeii): *Aug[us]to Caesari | parenti patriae*; *ibid.* 830: ...*Augusti Caesaris sacer.*

¹² Cf. "The Foundation of the Provincial Cult of Africa Proconsularis", above, Vol. I, 2, p. 265 with notes 45-47.

¹³ "Isotheoi Timai", above Vol. I, 1, pp. 22f.; H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Monumenta Artis Romanae 7) Berlin, 1968, 29f.; cf. 23f.

¹⁴ Hänlein-Schäfer, *o.c.* 201-203.

¹⁵ See R. Turcan, "Le culte impérial au III^e siècle", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 996-1084 at 1025ff.

¹⁶ Hänlein-Schäfer, *o.c.* 278f.

a god and so, in effect, is equivalent to inscribing the name of the god in the genitive on the object dedicated.¹⁷ One might justifiably conclude, then, that the above dedications are indeed to Augustus in his “göttliche Wesenheit”.

But the ambiguous position of the emperor—above men but below the gods—plainly led to incongruities. This is shown by a sample of dedications in which *sacrum* ought to imply an offering to a god, yet the emperor is given his normal roster of secular titles. Significantly several examples seem to refer to altars: [i]mp. Caesari | divi f. Augusto | pontf. maxim. (sic) | [t]rib. potest. XXXVII | cos. XIII p.p. *sacrum* (CIL 5, 852: Aquileia); imp. Caesari divi f. Aug. | pont. max. trib. pot. XXI | *sacrum* | ... (EphEp 8, p. 504, no. 280 = ILS 8895: Bracara Augusta); imp. Caesari Augusto divi f. | cos. XIII imp. XX pont. max. | patr. patriae trib. pot. XXXII | ////| //// *sacrum* (CIL 2, 2703; Cabo Torres).¹⁸ Similarly a Caesareum at Beneventum was dedicated by Augustus' friend, P. Veidius Pollio: ... imp. Caesari Augusto | ... (CIL 9, 1556, = ILS 109).¹⁹ With these one may compare the following: imp. Caesari divi f. Augusto | pontifici maximo cos. XII | trib. potestate XVIII | Vicanus Bouti f. | *sacrum* (CIL 2, 5182: Salacia); imp. Ti. Caesari A[ugusto sacr]um | (CIL 8, 26518 = ILAfr 519 = AEpig, 1969-70, no. 651: Thugga); imp. Caesar. Ti. | Aug. | *sacrum* (CIL 3, 10918: near Savaria). Again, what looks to be a purely honorific dedication to Augustus, Gaius and Lucius by two *magistri* of the *pagus Stellatinus* ends: ...[a]edem et signa de sua pecunia faciunda curarunt (CIL 11, 3040 = ILS 106). Despite the level of the divine evoked by *sacrum* or the purpose of the structures and objects dedicated or financed, the wording of these various epigraphical texts makes clear that the emperor is addressed in his “menschliche Wesenheit”.

The association of the emperor with a deity other than Roma can present a rather different situation. The original Greek votive dative seems to have eventually weakened to the point where in many cases it became no more than an expression of honour or respect.²⁰ Thus there are inscriptions where (a

¹⁷ Wissowa, *RuKR*² 385 with n. 4, cf. *RE* 1A (1920) 1627 s.v. *sacer* (Ganschietz); Latte, *RRG* 38; H. Fugier, *Recherches sur l'Expression du Sacré dans la Langue Latine*, Paris 1963, 65f., 418; O. Hiltbrunner, “Die Heiligkeit des Kaisers (Zur Geschichte des Begriffs *sacer*)”, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2 (1968), 1-30 at 18f., 21f. See now T. Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft* (Das römische Herrscherbild: Abt. 3; Bd. 5), Berlin, 1985, 107f.

¹⁸ For the Bracara Augusta and Cabo Torres inscriptions see R. Syme, “A Governor of Tarracoenensis”, *EpigStud* 8 (1969), 125-133, further (on CIL 2, 2703) M. Pastor Muñoz, “El Culto imperial en el ‘Conventus Asturum’”, *Hispania Antiqua* 4 (1974), 203-223 at 207 with bibl., n. 17.

¹⁹ Hänlein-Schäfer, *o.c.* 141f.

²⁰ The way this came about was presumably that an altar would be dedicated to a god *on behalf* of some individual or group; but, since the object dedicated was for the person and thus in his honour or a sort of gift, the construction with *ὑπέρ* gave way to the simple dative. Dedications *τῷ θεῷ* or *τῇ πόλει* are thus original votive datives that have lost their force. Veyne (above, note

statue of) a god, an altar or a temple is dedicated to the city or the people or simultaneously to a deity (or the gods in general) and the people or the city. The most frequent combined ascription is to a deity and the emperor, with whom the people (or the city) can also be associated.²¹ In examples such as these it is clear that piety to a deity is combined with a declaration of Imperial or local patriotism, parallel language being used to express worship on the one hand and honour or respect on the other. Just occasionally the distinction is confirmed by the word order as in *IG* 7, 2234: Γένει Σεβαστῶν | καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν ναὸν | Ἀρτέμιδι Σωτείρᾳ | Σκύλαξ Σκύλακος | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκε; cf. *IGRR* 4, 1352: Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ | ἱερᾷ συνκλήτῳ καὶ | δῆμῳ Ῥωμαίων ἡ Δα|ρειουκομητῶν κατοὶ | κία τῇ διασημοτάτῃ θεᾷ | Δήμητρὶ Καρποφόρῳ τὸν | ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν.... Latin inscriptions benefited from this long evolution in that they were copied from Greek models at a time when the honorific dative already existed alongside the votive dative. From about the time of Sulla inscriptions on marble tablets or statue bases, originally formulated in the accusative case after the Greek fashion, begin to have the name of the person honoured in the dative, which was to become the standard form of *tituli honorari*.²² The usage is extremely common in buildings of all kinds, where it appears as a copy of a degraded or laicized form of an original votive dative.²³ In consequence, inscriptions of this type—dedications to the emperor in the extended sense of the word—ought properly to be translated “for” rather than “to”, especially in double ascriptions. For while the dedication or votive offering is *to* the god in question, it is clearly *for* the emperor, who is simply accorded an honorific mention.²⁴ In terms of the analogy drawn

7) 83, compares the modern practice of inscribing a book with the name of the recipient or of dedicating to someone a thesis, for example; cf. Rouse (above, note 7) 332.

²¹ A. D. Nock, “Synnaos Theos”, *HSCP* 41 (1930), 1-62 at 48-52 with refs. (= A. D. Nock [ed. Z. Steward], *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1972, 1, 239-242); Veyne, *o.c.* 66f. For other examples see L. Robert “Inscriptions d’Aphrodisias”, *LAC* 35 (1966), 377-432 at 417, n. 1; M. Le Glay, “Hadrien et l’Asklépieion de Pergame”, *BCH* 100 (1976), 347-372 at 354. The Caesareum at Beneventum (above, p. 439) was dedicated *imp. Caesari Augusto | et coloniae Beneventanae*.

²² R. Cagnat, *Cours d’Epigraphie latine*⁴, Paris, 1914, 257-263, cf. 252ff.; I. C. Limentani, *Epigrafia latina*, Milan, 1968, 242, cf. 181-195; E. Meyer, *Einführung in die lateinische Epigraphik*, Darmstadt, 1973, 66-69, cf. 64-66.

²³ Veyne, *o.c.* 95-98, notes that one must also allow for the relation of the dative to a suppressed verb. The usage also appears in Greek inscriptions under the influence of the Latin practice: cf. Woodhead (above, note 7) 42f., 49; Veyne *o.c.* 69, 75-81.

²⁴ Nock (above, note 21) 51f. (= *Essays* 241f.). The underlying notion of respect or homage is made self-evident when, instead of the dative, one has the stereotype *IN H.D.D.* H. Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, Mainz, 1981, 187-192f. gives a selection of inscriptions of the type: *Fortunae sacrum | Claudiae Iustae* (*CIL* 6, 3679; cf. *CIL* 6, 12892 = *ILS* 8064; *CIL* 10, 6300 = *ILS* 8066a *et passim*). He suggests (187, cf. 233) that the text attempts to express an assimilation or identification. While such may be implied by the statue of Claudia, the word order surely combines the dative of honour (*Claudiae Iustae*) with the votive dative of the deity (*Fortunae*). This looks confirmed, for example, by *CIL* 2, 23 (= *ILS* 3175), cited by Wrede (p. 192): *Veneri | victri | ci Aug. sacr. | in honorem Lu | ciliae Lepidinae | Flavia Titia filiae | pientissimae*; cf. *CIL* 2, 46; 5026.

above, one might compare the practice of placing an honorific statue of an emperor—a statue not designed to receive cult—within the temple of a deity.²⁵ Such a statue (εἰκών, *statua*, *imago*) honours the emperor and its placing within the temple can come within the meaning of the term *synnaos* (Cic. *ad Att.* 12, 45, 2),²⁶ but it is not on level terms with the cult image as would be the case in a joint cult of the emperor and a deity.

In most instances where the emperor is given his personal names in a combined dedication it seems likeliest that the dative should be treated as one of honour rather than of worship. This interpretation is sometimes supported by the word order such as when the names of the emperor appear in first place and are not connected by *et* with the votive dative of the deity. Thus an inscription from Vindonissa records the dedication of an arch in honour of Vespasian and to various divinities: *imp. T. Vespasiano | Caesar. Aug. VII cos. | Marti Apolloni Minervae | arcum | vicani Vindonissenses | cur. T. Urbanio Mattoni ... | ...* (there follows a *laterculus* of names) ... (CIL 13, 5195). A similar example should possibly be recognized on one of four altars from Paris: *Tib. Caesare | Aug. Iovi Optum[o] | Maxsumo[...] | nautae Parisiac[i] | publice posieru|n[t] (sic)* (CIL 13, 3026a = ILS 4613d).²⁷ It is true that the name of the emperor appears in the ablative but, as Mowat noted long ago,²⁸ normal practice would have called for the number of the consulship or the *trib. pot.* if a date had been intended. One might preferably treat the ablative as a provincialism (cf. *maxsumo, posierunt*) intended for the honorific dative alongside the votive dative of the deity. Again a fragmentary inscription from Abusina (Raetia) begins with a dedication to [Caracalla, Geta] and Julia (all in the honorific dative)²⁹ followed (without *et*) by a votive dedication to the Capitoline Triad and the *genius* of the Cohors III Britanorum, to whom the prefect T. Flavius Felix has set up an altar on 1st Dec., 211 in fulfilment of his vow (CIL 3, 5935). There can at any rate be no doubt of the dative of honour in a third dedication where the (abbreviated) name of Gaius is linked with the votive dative of the local deity Etnosus, to whom Anavus had paid his vow by erecting a statue: *[C.] Caesari Ger|manici [f.] Aug. | p.p. et Etnoso | Anavus Attici lib. | v.s.l.m.* (CIL 13, 1189 = ILS

²⁵ Nock, *o.c.* 3 (= *Essays* 204).

²⁶ "Divius Iulius", above, Vol. 1, 1, pp. 58f.

²⁷ Cf. CIL 13, 3570: *Ti. Caesari Augusti f. | Divi nepoti Adventui | eius sacrum ...* Here the personal names of Tiberius are coupled with the votive dative of the deified abstraction *Adventus* (cf. *sacrum*).

²⁸ "Remarques sur les inscriptions antiques de Paris", *Bull. epig. de la Gaule* 1 (1881), 51; cf. E. E. A. Desjardins, *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine*, Paris, 3, 261. Mowat understands an ablative absolute: "Under Tiberius Caesar Augustus, to Jupiter Optimus Maximus"; cf. CIL 11, 3303.

²⁹ Cf. A. D. Nock, "Deification and Julian", *JRS* 47 (1957), 115-123 at 115, n. 5 (= *Essays* 834, n. 5).

4675: Avaricum Biturigum). Similarly M. Vibius Martialis, centurion of the Legio X Gemina and his fellow soldiers of the *vexillum* of the same legion under his care associated Vespasian, Titus and Domitian with Hercules Saxsanus, to whom he set up an altar in accordance with his vow: *Herculi Saxsano et | imp. Vispasiano* (sic) | *Aug. et Tit. imp. et | Domitiano Caesari* | ... (CIL 13, 4624 = ILS 3453: Mediomatrici). The essential point of these inscriptions is that in associating the emperor with a deity they combine an expression of homage with an act of divine worship.

That dedications linking (*et*) a deity with *Augusto* tout court should also be treated in the same way is one possibility which certainly deserves consideration. *Augusto* (usually in second place) would then be as much the dative of honour as *imp. T. Vespasiano Caesar(i) Aug(usto)* above and the combination of an honorific with a votive dative would not be in conflict with the Augustan regulation (above, p. 436). There can at any rate be no question of a joint cult as would certainly be the case if, say, priests of Augustus and Mercurius had left their traces.³⁰ But inscriptions of such a kind are few in number and this fact, together with the circumstance that they mostly occur in a region of Lugdunensis where we find a concentration of dedications beginning *Aug. sacr.*,³¹ strongly suggests that they should rather be treated in conjunction with the much larger class. As it happens, the term *sacrum* is occasionally recorded: *Iovi et Aug(usto) | sacrum* (CIL 13, 2583b: Matisco; Pl. LXXXII a); cf. *Mercurio | et Augusto | sacrum* (*ibid.* 1514: Ager Arvernorum), so it is not impossible that one should understand *sacrum* in other inscriptions where it is not actually engraved. If such were the case, it would accord with the general practice of *tituli sacri*, which attest the votive dative both with and without *sacrum*. As for the implication of the term, there can be no doubt that, formally at least, it puts the emperor in the category of a deity by applying to him the same dedicatory formula as would be appropriate to a god.³² On the face of it, *Aug(usto)* before *sacr(um)* is a true votive dative, parallel to *Iovi sacrum*, and the same looks to be true of inscriptions of the type *Mercurio et Augusto* (without *sacrum*).³³ Significantly the formula is applied to

³⁰ On the difficulty of telling whether the emperor actually shares a cult or is simply associated with a deity out of homage see Veyne, *o.c.* 83, n. 3 with examples.

³¹ Taeger, *Charisma* 252f.; Toutain (above, note 3) 45, noting examples in Tarraconensis and Dalmatia, 226; cf. CIL 2, 471 (Emerita). See in general C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Paris, 1907-1926, 6, 75-77.

³² Above, note 17. Cf. Turcan (above, note 15) 1017. So also presumably with ILS 115, despite the incongruous use of *sacrum* with Tiberius' name: *Divo Caesari Divi Iulii f. Augusto | Ti. Caesari Divi Augusti f. Augusto | sacrum*; cf. ILTG 147: [*Io*]vi [*O*]ptim(o) Max(im)o | [*Ti*]b. Caesari Aug(usto) | *sacrum* | ...

³³ For example CIL 13, 1575: *Adidoni et Augusto | Sex. Talonius Musicus d.s.p.p.* (Anicium). For *Augusto* in first place see ILTG 343 f; CIL 13, 1124, for example. G. Ch. Picard holds that the reference in such cases is to a deified emperor: "Une patère dédiée à César divinisé près de Bourges", *BSAF* (1982), 152-155.

the emperor under the title of Augustus;³⁴ that is, as a man enjoying a special relationship with the gods and playing a role more than human.³⁵ Certainly it would be impossible to take *Augustus* adjectivally with the following deity in the sense of an Augustan god, though Hirschfeld does so interpret *CIL* 12, 2373 (cf. Index p. 926, s.v. Mercurius)—this despite the use of a punctuation stop after *sacrum*.

As for the formula *Augusto sacrum*, commonly abbreviated *Aug. sacr.*,³⁶ one point self-apparent is that it is mostly a conventional formality. In some instances this feature is clear from the physical layout of the inscription such as when *Aug. sacr.* is inscribed on a part of the stone away from the main body of the inscription. On a small column from Gisésey-le-Vieil, for instance, the formula appears *supra capitulum* removed from the main text, which is an “ex-voto” dedication to *dea Rosmerta* (*CIL* 13, 2831 = *ILS* 4611). Again on the bronze base of a statue presumably of *deus Bellatunus*(?) both *Aug. sac.* and *v.s.l.m.* appear on the back whereas the principal inscription appears on the front (*CIL* 13, 11224: Cavillonum). Here one has the impression that the formula is added almost as an afterthought since it hardly makes sense at this point in the word order; in the majority of cases it appears at the beginning of the text, very often on a line to itself³⁷ though this is naturally determined by the shape and size of the stone.³⁸ It follows that in the many instances where the inscription ends *v.s.l.m.*, the vow is paid to the deity in question and has no relation whatsoever to the emperor, a circumstance occasionally recognized in the Corpus when the text is given *in extenso* with a period after *Aug(usto) sacr(um)* (cf. *CIL* 13, 2840 = *ILS* 4657). Thus in an inscription from Fontes Sequanae *Aug. sac.* is set apart on the upper portion of a stone on which Flavius Flavialis pays to *dea Sequana* the vow he had vowed on behalf of the *salus* of Flavius Lunaris(?), his *nepos* (*CIL* 13, 2862; cf. 2863). Then there is the text pricked out on a bronze *lagoena* in which Sextus Mart(ius?) Cocillus specifically states that he pays his vow to *Deus Albius* and *Damona ex iussu eius* (sc. *eorum*); the inscription nevertheless

³⁴ Above, note 11.

³⁵ G. Dumézil, “Remarques sur *augur, augustus*”, *REL* 35 (1957), 126-51; “Augustus and the West,” above, Vol. I, 1, 84, note 8 with bibl.; Habicht (above, note 4) 90f.

³⁶ A first-century inscription from Bourdigala shows that the formula was transferred at an early period to the initial position, where it became a stereotype: *Augusto sacrum | et genio civitatis | ...* (*CIL* 13, 566 = *ILS* 7038). C. Jullian, *Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, 1887, 1, 3-13, suggests that the association of the emperor with the *genius* of the *civitas* implies the emperor is himself considered a tutelary *genius*. The situation is surely that the emperor is treated *ut deus*—on level terms with the *Genius Civitatis*.

³⁷ So *CIL* 13, 566, 2608f., 2636, 2656, 2887, 2891, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2903f., 11223, 11225f., 11233 (= 2840), 11240, 11239a; *ILTG* 314; cf. *Gallia* 10 (1952), 67f.

³⁸ The formula is in the initial position but does not occupy a line to itself in *CIL* 13, 2812, 2863, 2892, 2895, 2901f., 2906, 2921, 3104, 11241; *ILTG* 338 gives the formula in two lines: *Aug. | sacr. | Neptuno Hesp(erio)...*

begins *Aug. sacr.* (*CIL* 13, 11233 = 2840: Ager Haeduorum). Again at Intaranum, on a bronze tablet which the coppersmiths have given ex voto to Deus Borvo and Candidus, the text begins conventionally *Aug. sacr.* (*CIL* 13, 2901); similar examples occur *passim*.³⁹ This interpretation will be equally valid of “ex-voto’s” beginning *Mercurio et Augusto* or vice versa (without *sacrum*),⁴⁰ where the vow is surely paid not to the emperor and the god but to the god, alongside whom the emperor is given a reverent mention: cf. *ILTG* 344: fragmentary but apparently reading [*Aug(usto)*] *et* | *M[art]i Mu[l(loni)]* | *ex c(onsilio)* or *c(onsulto) dei...*

The point becomes all the plainer in the case of statue-bases bearing a dedication to a deity since the statue of the god will in most instances have stood above. The statue with its base has no direct connection with the emperor—there is again no question of joint cult—yet the inscription includes the *Aug. sacr.* formula. Thus the base of a statue of Apollo (of which only the feet survive) has the dedication: *Aug. sacr[um]* | *deo Apo[l]lini* (*CIL* 13, 2898: Ager Senonum) and much the same text is inscribed on the bases of the two statues which Sextus Orgius Suavis set up to *deus Mercurius* and *deus Hercules* respectively (*CIL* 13, 2608f.: Cavillonum).⁴¹ With these one may compare the dedication *Mercurio* | *et Augusto* | *sacrum* engraved on the torso of a bronze statue of Mercury bearded, holding the *marsupium* (*CIL* 13, 1514: Ager Arvernorum). The argument applies *a fortiori* to the dedication of a temple to the Celtic deity Epona, goddess of horses (*CIL* 13, 2902 = *ILS* 4839: Intaranum), or to the dedication of a wall between two arches by Mediusacer, son of Mediannus, who associates with *dea Clutoida* the *vicani Masavenses*⁴² (*CIL* 13, 2895 = *ILS* 4702). The conclusion to be drawn is that, although the formula does formally imply a cult act, it is nevertheless a stereotype much resembling *IN H.D.D.*, which can also preface a dedication to a god. Despite the fact that, technically speaking, *sacrum* puts the emperor on equal terms with a deity, the phrase is no more than a formal gesture—as though some sort of obligation was felt to make a reverent nod in the direction of the ruler.⁴³ The psychology underlying these inscriptions is essentially the same as that at work behind the conversion of gods of all kinds into Augustan gods;⁴⁴ and, just as with the epithet Augustus, it may be suspected that the

³⁹ Cf. *CIL* 13, 2636, 2887, 2891, 2899, 2903f., 11223, 11225f.

⁴⁰ Cf. *CIL* 13, 1124, 11070a; *ILTG* 343. Similarly *CIL* 13, 2583b, which includes *sacrum* (above, p. 442), was also set up ex voto (cf. 2583a).

⁴¹ For dedications of similar form see *CIL* 13, 2812, 2892, 2900, 2921, 2906, 3104; 11239, 11241; *ILTG* 314, 338.

⁴² The dative of honour here presumably corresponds to dedications “to the city”, in which case it would mean that Mediusacer makes a gift of the wall to the *vicani Masavenses*.

⁴³ Cf. R. G. Collingwood’s comparison with the way rich men would leave part of their fortune to the emperor hoping to dispose of the rest in their own way: *Roman Britain*, Oxford, 1932, 131.

⁴⁴ Cf. “Augustan Gods”, below, 454.

full implication of *Aug. sacr.* was dimly realized, if at all.⁴⁵ Its frequency in Lugdunensis⁴⁶ presumably testifies to the very positive impression made by the federal cult.

There remain one or two oddities that call for comment. The base for a statue of a three-horned bull found near Augustodunum is inscribed *Aug. sacrum | Boiiorix | dae (sic) sua pe|cunia (CIL 13, 2656)*. On the face of it the piece is dedicated to the Augustus; in practice this is more probably a repetition of the stereotype and the name of the animal deity to whom it was dedicated has simply not been inscribed. The same point applies to an altar from Poetovio inscribed *Aug. sac[r.] | C. Novelliu[s] | Vitalis Aug(ustalis) | col(oniae) Poet(ovionensis) cum | Valeria | Satonia con|iuge | v.s.l.m. (AEpig, 1948, no. 239)*. Here again *Aug. sacr.* must be simply the stereotyped formula set at the head of the text. The dedicants Vitalis and his wife then record the payment of a vow to some divinity whose name is not disclosed. The meaning cannot be that the vow has been paid to the Augustus. Lastly, an epigraphical poem from Bonn is of particular significance for the ideological background of the ruler cult; it records that [C.?] Fulvius Maximus, *leg. Aug. pr. pr.*, dedicated an altar: *...[S]ospiti, Concordiae, | [G]ranno, Camenis, Mar|tis et Pacis Lari, qui[n] | [e]t deorum stirpe | genito Caesari (CIL 13, 8007 = ILS 1195; Pl. LXXXII b)*. What is of interest here is that the list of gods reaches its climax with the name of Caesar, who, as Domaszewski observes, has his place among the gods; formally at least the emperor is on the same level as the other deities. One might compare the association of the emperor with the gods by the placing of his statue in the *cella* of some divinity—even beside the idol,⁴⁷ or the way in which Roman emperors are placed uncompromisingly on a par with the Olympian gods in the panels of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.⁴⁸ There is no indication of date, but it has been proposed that Fulvius Maximus might have been one of the *consules ordinarii* for A.D. 227 or 263.⁴⁹ If so, the poem illustrates how a high Roman official could refer to Caesar at a period characterized by the outright identification of the imperial family with a wide range of divinities and by the increasing application of sanctifying terminology to the emperor.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Taeger's suggestion (above, note 5) that *Aug. sacr.* is a local variant on *numini Aug.* runs into the difficulty that inscriptions to the Imperial *numen* are generally of a much later date.

⁴⁶ Occasional instances occur in Aquitania; cf. *CIL* 13, 566.

⁴⁷ "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, pp. 540-550.

⁴⁸ R. R. R. Smith, "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias", *JRS* 77 (1987), 88-138 at 135f.

⁴⁹ *PIR* 3², F 551. All that seems certain is a date under one emperor in the period Marcus to Gordian.

⁵⁰ See "The Severi and the Provincial Cult of the Three Gauls", above, Vol. I, 2, pp. 336-345.

VI. AUGUSTAN GODS

The term “Gods” applies in the first instance to the major deities of the Olympian circle that are styled ‘Augustan’ on inscriptions; but with the extension of the fashion to Celtic and other regions of the empire it later includes Greek, Oriental, and astrological divinities together with an endless proliferation of local gods and godlings. Not included under the normal definition of Augustan Gods are Augustan Blessings and Virtues even though these too are certainly minor deities.¹ A god could be made Augustan in either of two ways: by attaching the genitive *Augusti/Augustorum* or by applying the epithet *Augustus/Augusta*. That any subtle distinction was intended seems most unlikely when both forms are found with a particular deity: for example: *Herculi Augusti* (CIL 3, 3305); *Herculi Augusto* (*ibid.* 3390).² The average Roman or provincial who set up an inscription was neither a semanticist nor a theologian, nor for that matter were the officials responsible for the legends on coins. Still, the use of the genitive clearly referred the deity to the emperor more directly, less equivocally,³ and it may well be for that reason that the form was considered too outspoken or extravagant for Roman tastes. At all events what the bulk of the evidence we have suggests is that the adjectival usage was the preferred form with major deities.⁴

The significance of the adjective *Augustus/a* has given rise to a good deal of discussion. In an occasional case, preserved under the Republic, the word seems to mean nothing more than ‘august’ or ‘sacrosanct’,⁵ but in most cases the reference must be the reigning emperor;⁶ to label a deity ‘Augustan’, that is, stamps that deity as profoundly associated with the emperor. Wissowa’s interpretation was that to add *Augustus* to Hercules, for example, implied that the god was paid cult in the same way as the devout emperor worshipped

¹ See “Augustan Blessings & Virtues”, below, pp. 455ff.

² For other examples of the genitive see CIL 13, 1728: *deo Apollini Augusti*; CIL 3, 10914: *Spincibus Augg.*; CIL 3, 10975: *Fortun(a)e Mercurio Silvano Augg.*; perhaps also CIL 12, 2595; CIL 3, 5531: see below, note 19. The adjectival form is commonplace.

³ So Otto in RE 7 (1910) 36 s.v. *Fortuna*.

⁴ *ThLL* 2, 1393-1402 s.v. *Augustus (dii)*. The frequent use of abbreviations makes it often impossible to tell what was originally intended. For the genitival use with abstractions see “Augustan Blessings & Virtues”, below, pp. 462-465.

⁵ Cf. [A]ug(ustus) Laribus: Betriacum, 59 B.C. (CIL 5, 4087 = Degraffi, *ILLRP* 200).

⁶ Latte, *RRG* 324, n. 2. On the use of the name Augustus as an adjective see W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*², Berlin 1966, 510f.; J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*², Basel, 1957, 60f., 71; A. D. Nock, “Studies in the Graeco-Roman beliefs of the Empire”, *JHS* 45 (1925), 84-101 at 92, n. 73 (= A.D. Nock [ed. Z. Stewart] *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1972, 42, n. 73), notes that the Greek equivalent *σεβαστός* seems rarely to be used with deities other than abstractions.

Hercules in his *Hauskult*.⁷ Some justification for this view might be found in such formulations as *Herculi domus Augusti sacrum...* (CIL 6, 30901), yet even if this explanation could be partly right in origin,⁸ it is hardly appropriate to barbarous local divinities similarly termed 'Augustan'.⁹ In these cases it is impossible to believe that local dedicants thought they were following the cult paid their own pet deity by the emperor in Rome. As a rule, the more remote or outlandish a divinity, the less likelihood there is that those who set up the dedication had any real understanding of the purpose or implication of the Augustan qualification.

By far the most satisfactory theory is that to apply the qualification *Augustus/a* is a continuation of a custom that already had a long history at Rome—one for which there is a good deal of earlier precedent. Radke, now followed by Fears, has shown that a god's epithet was a necessary means of defining the sphere of his or her peculiar powers: for example, Lucina, Sospita or Matuta applied to Juno specify the characteristic activity of the goddess.¹⁰ In other cases a suffix drawn from the name of another deity creates a link between their individual spheres—Ianus Quirinus or Quirini, for example. Of particular interest are examples where a family name was attached to that of some god or goddess: Ianus Curvatus or Lares Hostilii.¹¹ The implication of the gentile adjective was that the deity operates within the sphere of the family, which consequently enjoys the special protection or assistance of its patron deity; hence the occasional use of such epithets as *meus, suus, domesticus* indicating a privileged association with the deity. So

⁷ *RuKR* 85. Cf. M. P. Charlesworth, "Pietas and Victoria: the Emperor and the Citizen", *JRS* 33 (1943) 1-10 at 8.

⁸ But see Nock's reservations (above, note 6) *ibid*.

⁹ W. M. Green, "Notes on the Augustan Deities", *CJ* 23 (1927-28) 86-93 at 87. For examples see *ThLL* (above, note 4) *l.c.*

¹⁰ G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens*² (Fontes et Commentationes, Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Epigraphik an der Universität Münster 3), Münster, 1979, 10-12, 24-38; Cf. J. R. Fears, "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology", *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 827-948 at 886-889, cf. 837ff. with bibl.

¹¹ W. F. Otto, "Römische 'Sondergötter'", *RhM* 64 (1909), 449-468; A. von Blumenthal, "Zur römischen Religion der archaischen Zeit II", *RhM* 90 (1941), 310-334 at 317-322. For further examples see *ILS*, Index viii; Nock (above, note 6) 91, n. 61 with refs. (= *Essays* 41, n. 61); cf. *id.*, "Notes on Ruler Cult, I-IV", *JHS* 48 (1928), 21-43 at 41f. (= *Essays* 156f.), noting a possible Hellenistic parallel, Zeus Seleukeios; cf. "Divus Iulius", above, Vol. 1, 1, p. 66, note 80; Fears "Virtues" (above, note 10) 889, n. 290 with refs. So also perhaps Zeus Philippios, Apollon Pasparios, Aphrodite Stratonikis. Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschen und Griechische Städte*² (Zetemata 14), Munich, 1970, 14, n. 2, takes the personal epithet to imply hypostasis rather than protection; cf. 260, n. 3; *id.*, "Die augusteische Zeit und das erste Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 41-99 at 52, n. 1. But see E. A. Fredricksmeyer, "Divine Honors for Philip II", *TAPA* 109 (1979), 51f; E. Badian, "The Deification of Alexander the Great" in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* (Publ. Inst. Balkan Studies 158), Thessaloniki, 1982, 40f. Etienne, *Culte impérial* 344, nn. 4 f. notes Nock's observation that a divinity could likewise be appropriated by military and religious associations, towns and countries.

extensive was the usage that, while major gods such as Fortuna, Hercules or Silvanus might be made particular to an individual family, other divinities are known to us only by the *nomen gentilicium*. This has been thought to be the case with such strange deities as Caeculus, possibly the god of the *gens Caecilia* or deus Visidianus, perhaps the god of the *gens Visidia*;¹² similar gentile gods may be Sentinus, Edusa, Potina, Statilinus, and many others.¹³ On this view, therefore, the original intention of the epithet *Augusta/a* will have been to personalize the deity, to appropriate its powers for the emperor and his family.¹⁴ In confirmation of this interpretation a number of instances occur where an accompanying formula spells out the basic idea of invoking the god's help or protection: *He[rculi] Tut[atori] | A[ug]. sacr[um]...* (CIL 6, 343); *Iovi omnipotenti Aug(usto) ... [con]|servatori Augustorum...* (CIL 8, 6353); cf. *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | conserva|tori d(omini) n(ostri) imp(eratoris)...* (CIL 8, 2347); *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | con[s](ervatori) | Augg(ustorum) | nn(ostrorum)* (CIL 8, 2618); so also *Marti Aug(usto) protec|tori d(omini) n(ostri) | imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Antonini Gordiani...* (CIL 8, 895); *Marti Aug(usto) con|servatori...* (CIL 8, 2345); *Marti Aug(usto) con|servat[o]ri salutis* (CIL 8, 8390; see further 17835, 19124); *[Her]culi Aug(usto) | conservatori | d(omini) n(ostri) imp(eratoris) M(arci) Aureli | Valeri M[a]x[im]ia[ni]...* (CIL 8, 2346). Whether they understood it or not, then, those using the epithet were loyally asking the deity to bless the emperor, whose welfare was vital to every member of the empire.¹⁵ But what one suspects is that in the great majority of cases this was simply not understood and that the adjectival form, like the genitive *Augusti*, came as a result to mean simply 'Royal' or 'Imperial'.¹⁶ Thus the habit of making a god 'Augustan' must be viewed as little more than a mechanical process, a conventional gesture that flattered the emperor or expressed passive sympathy with the state and its policies.

What seems to be beyond question on this interpretation is that, in a dedication to an Augustan god, the subject pays cult to a particular deity, whose protection is simultaneously invoked for the emperor. The view has never-

¹² *Contra* Blumenthal (above, note 11) 322.

¹³ Whereas Otto proposed that the name of the deity will have been formed from that of the *gens*, Blumenthal makes a strong case for the contrary. So also Radke, *Götter Italiens* (above, note 10) 11.

¹⁴ Cf. Nock (above, note 6) 91: "In a measure the deity is assimilated to the person for whom his protection is sought..." On the personalization of deities (particularly Victoria) see T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana*, Mainz, 1967, 144f.; J. R. Fears, "The Theology of Victory at Rome: Approaches and Problems", *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 736-826 at 772f., 796ff., 808ff.

¹⁵ Cf. Nock, *o.c.* 92; Latte, *RRG* 325.

¹⁶ A. D. Nock, "Σύνναος Θεός" *HSCP* 41 (1930), 1-62 at 59 (= *Essays* 248); cf. *id.*, "The Emperor's Divine Comes", *JRS* 37 (1947), 102-16 at 103, 107 (= *Essays* 655, 661). For the interchange between adjective and genitive see Schulze (above, note 6) *ibid*; Nock (above, note 6) *ibid*.

theless enjoyed considerable currency that in a dedication to, say, Mercurius Augustus, not Mercury but Augustus is the recipient of cult, that Mercurius Augustus means Augustus in the guise of Mercury,¹⁷ the emperor identified with the god.¹⁸ In that case, since Augustus certainly came to mean the current reigning emperor, one would have to hold that not only was Octavian identified with Mercury but so too was any subsequent emperor whose reign happened to coincide with the date of a particular dedication *Mercurio Augusto*.¹⁹ The argument would apply equally to other major divinities, not to mention the scores of little gods similarly styled 'Augustan' in the provinces. The astonishing range of Augustan deities, some of them known only from a single record, can only increase as inscriptions accumulate and new gods are attested.²⁰ Surely what was uppermost in the mind of the worshipper setting up a local dedication was not the emperor, but Acionna (*CIL* 13, 3063), Haos (*CIL* 8, 4641), or Gesacus (*CIL* 13, 3488), *Augustus* being added mechanically as a standard convention. Even with the Olympians the case for identification is very dubious wherever an Augustan divinity is associated with a temple. For example the temples of Minerva Augusta at Tarraco (*CIL* 2, 4085) or of Jupiter Pantheus Augustus at Nescania (*CIL* 2, 2008)²¹ must be the shrines of Minerva or Jupiter Pantheus, not of the Roman emperor. Objections become overwhelming whenever a dedication to an Augustan deity is coupled with the *pro salute* formula.²² What sense would there be in paying cult to the emperor in the guise of Aesculapius (*CIL* 8, 12228) or Hygia (*CIL* 8, 14874) on behalf of his own *salus*? Such a combination rather confirms the view that an Augustan god is one whose protection is sought for the emperor—here explicitly *pro salute imperatoris*. This interpretation is strengthened and outright identification simultaneously excluded in an inscription from Pisaurum where Hercules Augustus is stated to be the *consors* of Aurelian (*CIL* 11, 6308).²³ The point would also apply to formulations

¹⁷ F. Stähelin, *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*³, Basel, 1948, 505, n. 2 with refs. Cf. M. M. Ward, "The Association of Augustus with Jupiter", *SMHR* 9 (1933), 203-224 at 220f. *ad CIL* 3, 9982, 9994.

¹⁸ On identification see "Isotheoi Timai", above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 29-31; "The Severi and the Provincial Cult of the Three Gauls", above, Vol. I, 2, pp. 339-342.

¹⁹ The formulation *Mercurio Aug. n.* occurs in *CIL* 12, 2595; cf. *CIL* 3, 5531: *Herculi Aug. n.* Stähelin (above, note 17) *ibid.* argues that this is decisive for the view that the emperor is here identified with Mercury. But in both instances the genitive may well be intended—*Aug(usti) n(ostris)*—thus associating the deity to whom the vow is paid (v.s.l.m.) with the emperor. Alternatively the use of *noster* might correspond to that of *meus*, *suus*, domesticus (above, p. 447) if the meaning is *Mercurio/Herculi Aug(usto) n(ostro)*.

²⁰ Green observes (above, note 9) that there are one hundred and eleven gods modified by the word *Augustus* in the *ThLL*.

²¹ Etienne, *Culte impérial* 338.

²² For example, *CIL* 8, 4674, 12094, 14465, 14546, 14791, 14874, 15512, 17837: 3, 8086.

²³ Identification is also impossible in a dedication to *Hercules Augustus* on behalf of the *salus* of the three *Augusti*: *CIL* 3, 3390: cf. 3427.

such as that apparently on an inscription from Narbonne: [Ap]oll[i]ni Au[gusto] | [et num]ini [Augusto]rum | sac[r]um | ... (CIL 12, 4332). Here it is surely impossible to understand a dedication to Apollinian Augustus and to the *numen* of the *Augusti*;²⁴ the right interpretation must be “to Augustan Apollo...”.

These considerations help to clarify a number of variations on the standard formula of an Augustan deity that occur with some frequency, particularly in the provinces of the north-west. A glance through the examples listed in *ThLL* will show that *Augustus* sometimes precedes the deity: for example Augustus Acionna, Augustus Rudiobus (Pl. LXXXIII a), Augustus Apollo, Augustus Mars Mullo, Augusta Minerva;²⁵ and the fact that this occurs in regions where the epithet more often follows the god's name rules out any possibility of a basic theological distinction between the two. Augustus Mercurius can be no more than a stylistic variation on Mercurius Augustus. But what one frequently finds both in the Celtic world and elsewhere is that the word *deus* is placed before the name of the divinity, a practice that is usually taken to indicate a local god, not a Roman.²⁶ There is no difficulty then in recognizing *deus Mercurius Augustus* (CIL 13, 2606), or *deus Mars Augustus* (CIL 12, 2653) as the local Mercury or Mars made into an Augustan god by the epithet *Augustus*.²⁷ It follows that the same must be true of such formulations as *Augustus deus I.O.M.* (CIL 13, 3184), which is simply a variant form of an Augustan Celtic divinity.²⁸ But what if the name of the god was not known or at least not given?

Of particular interest in this connection is a group of African inscriptions with the bare formula *Dis Augustis*,²⁹ among them the dedication from the frieze of a small temple that was constructed in the open area of the portico behind the theatre at Lepcis.³⁰ As the dedication can be assigned to A.D. 43

²⁴ So rightly M. Gayraud, “Les inscriptions de Julia Natalis à Narbonne”, *RAN* 3 (1970), 115-127 at 122.

²⁵ CIL 13, 3063, 3071, 3073f., 3096, 3100¹⁶.

²⁶ Wissowa, *RuKR*² 85; R. Egger, “Der hilfreiche Kleine im Kapuzenmantel”, *JOEAI* 37 (1948), 90-111 at 102; M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, “La datation des inscriptions latines dans les provinces occidentales de l'empire romain d'après les formules ‘IN H(ONOREM) D(OMUS) D(IVINAE)’ et ‘DEO, DEAE’”, in *ANRW* 2, 3 (1975) 232-282 at 237. For the use of θεός, θεά with the names of deities in the Imperial period see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13, Paris, 1965, 176; cf. J. Bousquet, “Inscription d'Abdère”, *BCH* 62 (1938), 51-54 at 52, n. 2.

²⁷ Cf. CIL 8, 2643, 12001, 12377, 19121; 12, 1566; 13, 1749, 1780 *et passim*. See also *dīvo* (= *devo*) *Aug.* | *Moceti* | ...: CIL 13, 11280.

²⁸ Cf. CIL 13, 1676, 3197.

²⁹ CIL 8, 11193, 25512f, 25934; *ILAFr* 546; *AEpig* (1966) no. 509; cf. *AEpig*. (1977) no. 855: *Dis Caesarum sacrum* ...; ?*AEpig* (1976) no. 737 *bis*.

³⁰ *Dis Augustis* | *Q(uintus) Marcius C(aii) f(ilius) Barea co(n)s(ul) XVvir s(acris) f(aciundis) f(etialis) proco(n)s(ul) II patronus dedicavit* | *Iddibal Magonis f(ilius) Tapapius Lepcitanus de sua pecunia fecit* (IRT 273). For the connection between theatre and temple see R. Etienne, “Un complexe monumental du culte impérial à Avenches”, *Pro Aventico* 29 (1985), 5-26 at 21.

by the second year of the proconsulship of Q. Marcius Barea, it has been suggested that the temple was one of Augustus and Livia, who finally achieved deification on 17th January, A.D. 42;³¹ the inclusion of Caesar has also been proposed,³² not that he belongs among imperial *divi*, the list of which begins with Divus Augustus.³³ While it is true that we have two Claudian statue bases inscribed *Divo Augusto* and *Divae Augu(stae) (sic)* from the rear of the temple of Roma and Augustus in the Old Forum (*IRT* 326f., cf. 325), the correspondence of the dedication formula with examples elsewhere strongly suggests that all these traces refer rather to anonymous Augustan gods, the gods in general who collectively operate within the sphere of the Imperial family³⁴—just as a gentile god sees to the interests of the *gens*.³⁵ The same interpretation would apply to the parallel formula *Dis Caesarum* in a recently published inscription from Jebel Mansour (*AEpig*, 1977, no. 855).³⁶ One might therefore compare the Di Augusti³⁷ with the Di Conservatores (*CIL* 8, 10178, 17620), Di Militares (*AEpig*, 1966, no. 355) or Di Iuvantes (*CIL* 8, 2226); also to some extent the vague Di Mauri, who presumably combine the

³¹ Degraffi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, p. 401. So also T. Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft* (Das römische Herrscherbild: Abt. 3; Bd. 5), Berlin, 1985, 32, cf. 109.

³² See A. Di Vita, "Gli Emporia di Tripolitania dall'età di Massinissa a Diocleziano: un profilo storico-istituzionale" *ANRW* 2, 10, 2 (1982) 515-595 at 559, n. 104 with bibl.

³³ "Augustus and the West", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 83.

³⁴ This interpretation is strongly supported by the circumstance that the dedication *Diis Augustis* is accompanied by the *pro salute* formula in *CIL* 8, 11193 (re Antoninus Pius) and 25934 (re Caracalla and Julia Domna). Attention might also be drawn to *CIL* 8, 25510: *Apollini Aug.* [...] and 25511: *Deo | patrio | Apollini | Aug. | sac.* With these inscriptions from Bulla Regia may be compared two further dedications from the local temple of Apollo: *deo patrio Apollini et Diis A[u]g [sacrum (25513); Apol[lini] Genio Col. Bull[ens. regior.] et Diis A[u]g. sacrum (25512)*. Clearly the Di Augusti collectively perform the same function at Bulla Regia as Augustan Apollo. At Lepcis the temple is presently unique in being dedicated solely to the Di Augusti.

³⁵ Above, note 11.

³⁶ See N. Ferchiou, "Note sur deux inscriptions du Jebel Mansour (Tunisie)", *CT* 25 (nos. 99-100) (1977), 9-20.

³⁷ Which particular gods might lie behind the formula *Dis Augustis* (or *Dis Caesarum*) is revealed at Dougga by *IL Afr.* 546: *Dis. Aug. sacr. | Genio Thug. Aescula[pio], | Saluti, Victoriae, | Ti. Claudius Abascantus | suo et sodalium nomine | s.p.f.* The meaning is surely that, after the general dedication *Dis Augustis*, the dedicant goes on to mention some particular Augustan gods; so L. Poinssot, *Nouv. Arch. des Miss. Scient. et Litt.* 21 (1916), 4f. The list of deities given seems to support the proposed interpretation of *Augusti* in that all are very much gods whose nature it was to extend protection or help. At Dougga the *genius* of the town was identified with Pluto; cf. *IL Afr.* 550 with 547. Attention may also be drawn to broadly similar testimony at Bulla Regia. The inscriptions cited above (note 34) refer to Apollo as the *genius* of the colony or *deux patrius* along with the Di Augusti (*CIL* 8, 25512f.). From the statues found either in the sanctuary or beneath the portico it appears that these Augustan gods were Ceres and Aesculapius, Saturn and Minerva; see A. Merlin, *CRAI* (1906), 556. As is evident from *CIL* 8, 25510f., Apollo, the *genius* of Bulla Regia, was also an Augustan god. Taken together, then, these various traces at Dougga and Bulla Regia reveal the specific gods one might have in mind in referring generally to the Di Augusti. See further D. Fishwick, "Di Caesarum", *AntAfr* 25 (1989), 111-114.

various local gods of the Mauretanian tribes.³⁸ Much the same psychology lies behind the *Dis culto|ribus huius| loci* on an altar from Risingham (*RIB* 1208) and the qualification *[s]ive deo si|ve d[e]ae* on a pedestal from Hadrian's Wall (*RIB* 2071) or *de|o sive deae [nu]|mini sancto* in an inscription from the region of Aflû (*CIL* 8, 21567); so also the unknown god of *Acts* 17, 23.³⁹ If this view is correct, it is possible that a similar interpretation is to be put on an inscription of two members of the *seviri* and *seviri Augustales* at Pisaurum apparently recording that they have paid the costs of *signa Deorum Augustorum* and given a banquet to mark their dedication (*CIL* 11, 6306).⁴⁰ Augustan gods are certainly attested in the town (*ibid.* 6308, ?6315) and *signum* is a term one would associate with 'real' gods (cf. *Silvani signum: ibid.* 6316) rather than members of the imperial family, for whose representation the term is rather *imago*.⁴¹ Unless the reading is wrong, it might also be the Numen of Augustan gods that is venerated at Rome (*CIL* 6, 540; cf. 539: *numini deorum...*) and such must surely be the meaning at Dougga: *num(ini)|Deor(um)|Aug(ustorum)sac(rum)* (*ILTun* 1501).

An example of the term in the singular—*Deo Augusto*—does not yet seem to be attested but such a form would open up the possibility of the reverse formula *Augusto deo*, which would thus be a stylistic variant closely paralleled in Celtic practice (above, p. 450) and likewise denoting an unnamed Augustan god. Against this background must be viewed a well-known dedication set up by Roman citizens trading at Thinissut on the Gulf of Hammamet: *Augusto deo | cives Romani | qui Thinissut | negotiantur | curatore L. Fabricio*. This was originally taken by A. Merlin to honour Augustus as a god⁴² and his interpretation was later followed by Dessau, who adduced other inscriptions in support, though none of them gives the word *deus*.⁴³ What the discussion suggests is that *Augusto deo* could simply be a variant on *deo Augusto* and hence a further instance of a dedication to an (unnamed) Augustan god, unique in that it is the only example we have of the reverse for-

³⁸ For discussion and bibliography see N. Benseddik, *Les Troupes auxiliaires de l'Armée romaine en Maurétanie Césarienne sous le Haut Empire*, Algiers, 1983, 136f., noting that this collectivity can be qualified *Conservatores, Prosperes, Salutares*, also *Sancti* or *Augusti*; further E. Fentress, "Dii Mauri and Dii Patrii", *Latomus* 37 (1978), 507-516.

³⁹ Cf. R. M. Ogilvie, *The Romans and their Gods in the Age of Augustus*, London, 1969, 27. On the formula *sive deus sive dea* and variants see H. S. Versnel, "Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayers" in H. S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in The Ancient World* (Studies in Greek & Roman Religion 2), Leiden, 1981, 1-64 at 15f.

⁴⁰ E. Meyer, "Augusti", *Chiron* 5 (1975), 393-402 at 394, understands an allusion to the emperors and their families as in Ovid, *Pont.* 3, 6, 16 (*Augusti dei*): A.D. 13; cf. G. Cresci Marone and G. Mennella, *Pisaurum I. Le iscrizioni della colonia*, Pisa, 1984, no. 17, pp. 155f., suggesting defunct emperors and other members of the *domus Augusta*.

⁴¹ See "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, pp. 532-540.

⁴² *CRAI* (1911), 836-839.

⁴³ *ILS* 9495, citing *CIL* 9, 1556 (= *ILS* 109); *CIL* 13, 566 (= *ILS* 7038).

mula.⁴⁴ In no way would it illustrate what most previous commentators have taken it to show—the outright worship of Augustus in his own lifetime; whether the bare terminology *Augusto deo* could ever mean ‘to Augustus, the god’ seems most unlikely.⁴⁵ Such a formulation would be more in keeping with the practice in the Greek East, where it is not uncommon to find θεός applied to the emperor as a cult epithet during his lifetime.⁴⁶ In the Latin West comparable uses of the term *deus* are extremely rare.⁴⁷

What clearly emerges from all this is that none of the above formulations can be taken as an epigraphical record of the identification of the emperor with a god. Exactly how an inscription, as opposed to a statue or relief, would in practice indicate his outright identification with, say, Mercury or Hercules raises an interesting question since secure examples where one can observe the process in operation seem infrequent in Latin inscriptions. But the way will undoubtedly have been by simply attaching the name of a deity to that of the emperor in question, as commonly in the Greek world.⁴⁸ Thus, in the bilingual dedication of an altar(?) from Cos, Mercurius follows the titles of Augustus: *Imp. Caesari Divi f. Aug. | Mercurio scrutarei | Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Θεοῦ | υἱῶι Σεβαστῶι Ἑρμῇ...*⁴⁹ As a similar example can be cited *Hercules Romanus* following the titulature of Commodus: *imp. Caes. L. Aelio Aurelio Commodo Aug. | Sa[rmatice], Germanico, maximo, Brittanico, | [p]aca[t]or[is] orbis, felici, invicto, Romano Herculi | ...* (CIL 14, 3449 = ILS 400: Treba Augusta, A.D. 192), while a stone from Mogontiacum evidently reads *Juliae Augustae | Caelesti Deae | ...* (CIL 13, 6671).⁵⁰ Again the deified Augustus

⁴⁴ D. Fishwick, “Augustus Deus and Deus Augustus” in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, Leiden, 1978, 1, 375-380, cf. T. Kotula, “L’épigraphie latine et le culte impérial au 1er siècle de l’Empire”, *Géron* 1 (1983), 215-218, noting that the adjective *Augustus* usually follows the name of the deity.

⁴⁵ Perhaps the nearest parallel would be the term *deus* applied to Aurelian; cf. *deo Aureliano* (CIL 2, 3832); *L. Dom[itio] Aureli[ano] deo* (AEpig, 1972, no. 284); so also *deo Caesari Augusto* (AEpig, 1958, no. 244; end of 3rd century).

⁴⁶ M. Le Glay, “Hadrien et l’Asklépieion de Pergame”, *BCH* 100 (1976), 347-372, especially 352, n. 26.

⁴⁷ A Latin equivalent at Haluntium presumably refers to the deified Livia: *Liviae Augusti, | deae, | municipium* (CIL 10, 7464 = ILS 119). An example at Stobi may be influenced by Greek practice: *deo Caesari Aug. | p.p. ...* (AEpig, 1939, no. 113).

⁴⁸ See “Isotheoi Timai”, above, Vol. I, 1, p. 29; A. Benjamin and A. E. Raubitschek, “Arae Augusti”, *Hesperia* 28 (1959), 65-85 at 72, n. 29; Le Glay (above, note 46) 354-357. So also in Egypt Ζεύς Ἐλευθέριος Σεβαστός is commonly attached to the Roman nomenclature of Augustus; cf. F. Blumenthal, “Der ägyptische Kaiserkult” *APF* 5 (1913), 317-345 at 329f.

⁴⁹ A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge epigraphica di Rodi e Cos*, Florence, 1925, p. 168, no. 466.

⁵⁰ The stone was inscribed by an officer of the Legio XXII Antoniniana Primigenia who for some personal reason may have been a devotee of Dea Caelestis; cf. I. Mundle, “Dea Caelestis in der Religionspolitik des Septimius Severus und der Julia Domna”, *Historia* 10 (1961), 228-237 at 231ff; further G. H. Halsberghe, “Le culte de Dea Caelestis”, *ANRW* 2, 17, 4 (1984) 2203-2223 at 2211f.; E. Birley, “The Deities of Roman Britain”, *ANRW* 2, 18, 1 (1986), 3-112 at 79f. A dedication to Caracalla at Mogontiacum reads not *D(eo) invi[cto] Soli* ... but *[D] N*

looks to be equated with Apollo in a dedication from Luceria: *Apollini Divo Aug[usto]* (CIL 9, 783).⁵¹ What such a procedure amounts to is identification by apposition. The qualification *Augustus*, on the contrary, in no way confirms that whoever set up a particular dedication wished to pay cult to the emperor in the guise of the god. As the argument has tried to show, *Augustus* rather implies that the power of a divinity is appropriated for the Imperial house, that the god's *numen* is invoked for the protection of the emperor and his family. Such was the original implication of any family name attached to that of a Roman deity and the validity of this interpretation stands, despite the indubitable fact that to qualify every kind of divinity as Augustan must in most cases have been an uncomprehended and hence meaningless, empty practice.⁵²

invi[ctissimo] ... as interpreted by M. Christol, "CIL XIII, 6754 (Mayence). Caracalla en Germanie Supérieure: empereur-soleil ou empereur victorieux?", *BJ* 175 (1975), 129-139.

⁵¹ *Contra* M. L. Palladini, "L'aspetto dell' imperatore-dio presso i Romani", *Contributi dell' Istituto di Filologia Classica* 1 (1963), 1-65 at 11f., holding that Augustus is identified with Apollo in his lifetime.

⁵² Latte, above, note 13; cf. K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Sociological Studies in Roman History, 1), Cambridge, 1978, 230f.

VII. AUGUSTAN BLESSINGS AND VIRTUES

The deification of concepts or qualities is a phenomenon characteristic of both Greek and Roman religious belief.¹ At what stage such entities found a place in Roman religious development is very much debated. Wissowa theorized that abstractions (to use the conventional term) set out in life as auxiliary functions of major deities and became detached, the functions then being worshipped as independent godheads.² Specialized activities, identified by epithets, were at first attributed to Jupiter or Mars, only to split off in the course of time and become separate divinities as the specializations became increasingly prominent—Victoria, for example, began as an off-shoot of Jupiter Victor. Firm evidence for such a process is nevertheless very thin and J. R. Fears in particular has made a strong case against assigning Fides, Victoria, Iuventas or Fortuna to the earliest stratum of Roman religion.³ Against this explanation must be weighed the doctrine more popular among modern scholars of the original concept of an impersonal, all-pervading divine power or *numen*, as it came to be called, with special agencies—*numina*—that produced the condition or performed the function which their name describes.⁴ The attraction of this view is that it chimes with the way “Blessings” and “Virtues”⁵ look to have come into existence: as a response to the community’s need for some particular condition or quality. Thus Concordia arose from the need to end the civil conflict brought on by the Licinian-Sextian laws.⁶ Such *Sondergötter* were continually recognized as historical experience dictated and are typical products of the Roman religious mentality.

1. *Historical Development*

The history of Roman personified abstractions would therefore begin with the establishment of Concordia as a state divinity; according to tradition her

¹ See now the basic survey of J. R. Fears, “The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology”, *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981)827-948 at 828ff.

² *RuKR*² 52-55, 327-338. For the background to Wissowa’s view see Fears “Virtues” (above, note 1) 940f.

³ *O.c.* 846, n. 76.

⁴ Cf. Servius, *ad Georg.* 1, 21: *nam ut supra diximus, nomina numinibus ex officiis constat imposita...* For discussion see H. L. Axtell, *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions* (Diss. Chicago), Chicago, 1907, 59-67; H. Mattingly, “The Roman Virtues”, *HTHR* 30 (1937), 103-117 at 109; M. Grant, *Roman Imperial Money*, Edinburgh, 1954, 153. On *numen* see Latte, *RRG* 57; “Genius and Numen”, above, p. 383f. with note 38; Fears, “Virtues” 839f., 869, 941; A. Wallace-Hadrill, “The Emperor and his Virtues”, *Historia* 30 (1981), 298-323 at 314 with refs., cf. 316.

⁵ For the terminology see below, pp. 459f.

⁶ Fears, “Virtues” 833f., 841ff.

temple was vowed by Camillus and dedicated on the east slope of the Capitol in 367 B.C.⁷ Most later deified concepts owed their cult to the fulfilment of war-time vows, made in reaction to the challenge of Rome's fight to survive and eventually to expand in Italy and the Mediterranean.⁸ The extent of Roman borrowing from the Greek world in this respect is relatively clear. Personifications had been deified in early Greek poetry and represented in art as early as the archaic period but in the city-states of classical Greece they were objects of cult as well as political slogans.⁹ Of greatest significance is the place of such concepts in the ideologies of Hellenistic monarchies. Confronted by the achievements of Alexander and the Diadochi, men could only believe that their deeds were manifestations of divine favour; hence the development of a philosophy of kingship that emphasized the god-like qualities of the ruler, through the exercise of which the state was made prosperous, efficient, safe and victorious.¹⁰ From the second Samnite war onwards the Romans came more and more into contact with such Greek concepts as Homonoia, Eunomia, Eirene, Tyche, Dike, Nike and many more, a programme of ideas that they imaginatively took over and adapted to their own purpose through the medium of the cult of abstractions. The most striking example is the introduction of Nike-Victoria¹¹ but, as Fears has demonstrated, other deified abstractions at Rome also reflect the influence of Greek political theory and statecraft: Genius Publicus, Mens, Iuventus, Salus, Spes, Fortuna, Fides, Libertas, Pietas.¹²

The most important development for present purpose is the personalization of abstractions, their attachment to a particular statesman or general rather than to the Roman people as a whole.¹³ By the end of the Republic the practice of associating specific concepts with the charismatic individual was an established tradition. The Roman development looks to have taken a different path in this respect from the Greek. That the Hellenistic world linked particular

⁷ Wissowa, *RuKR*² 328; Axtell, "Deification" (above, note 4) 9-31. But see J. R. Fears, "The Theology of Victory at Rome: Approaches and Problems", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 736-826 at 741, n. 6; *id.*, "Virtues" 848, n. 77.

⁸ Fears, "Virtues" 846-869.

⁹ See in general L. Petersen, *Zur Geschichte der Personifikation in griechischer Dichtung und bildender Kunst*, Würzburg, 1939; T. B. L. Webster, "Personification as a mode of Greek thought", *JWI* 17 (1954), 10-21; Fears, "Virtues" 829f., 849f., with bibl.; J. Duchemin, "Personification d'abstractions et d'éléments naturels: Hésiode et l'Orient" in *eadem* (ed.), *Mythe et Personnification* (Actes du Colloque du Grand Palais: Paris, 1977), Paris, 1980, 1-15.

¹⁰ E. R. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship", *YCS* 1 (1928), 55-102; W. Schubart, "Das Königsbild des Hellenismus", *Die Antike* 13 (1937), 272-288; Fears, "Virtues" 850, n. 79 with bibl. On the cult of Abstractions in the Hellenistic period see Dittenberger, *Syll.* 3⁴, 114, n. 7 *ad* no. 985 with bibl.

¹¹ Fears, "Theology of Victory" (above, note 7) 740-742, 773-778. See further "Roma et Augustus", above, Vol. I, 1, 113f.

¹² "Virtues" 850-869.

¹³ For a detailed account see Fears, "Virtues" 875-885, on which these remarks draw heavily.

divine entities with the person of the monarch is shown by such sobriquets as *Nikator*, *Soter*, *Eusebes*, *Dikaïos*. The concepts that stood behind these names found expression in the earthly deeds of the monarch, entitling him to be paid extraordinary honours, but there seems to be no example in the Hellenistic Age of the cult of the king's Virtues parallel to later Greek cults of the Virtues of a Roman emperor;¹⁴ one honoured the monarch himself rather than his qualities. The reverse idea was more in tune with Roman conservatism. So Fabius Maximus was early associated with *Mens*, Scipio Africanus Maior with *Pietas*, and from the time of the Gracchi leading families sought to link their *gens* with a specific concept: the Scipio's with *Virtus* for example. Sulla advertized the favour of *Felicitas*, to whom he attributed his rise to power, by taking *felix* as *cognomen* and appropriating her attribute the *caduceus* on coins. The name of Metellus Pius likewise played on his connection with *Pietas*. But the dissociation of abstractions from the state and their transfer to an individual is seen most closely in Cicero's *De lege Manilia*, where the qualities of Pompey are the justification for the unprecedented powers conferred upon him. Lastly, Caesar's achievements are commemorated by celebrating his qualities on coins or in the names of the colonies he has established. Above all a new Virtue is created, *Clementia Caesaris*, and *Victoria* is made the companion deity of an individual: *Victoria Caesaris*.¹⁵ The stage was set for the culmination of the process under the principate, when all such concepts were henceforth made personal to the emperor by the epithet *Augustus/a* or the genitive *Augusti/Augustorum*.¹⁶

The role of abstractions in the ideology of the principate and later is an enormous subject.¹⁷ For the emperor emphasis upon his personal virtues or the blessings brought by his reign was a way of enhancing his charisma—of creating belief, as Charlesworth put it: propaganda of this kind helped to consolidate the position of the princeps by securing the respect and trust of his subjects.¹⁸ What made the system so workable was that it could equally well

¹⁴ For the cult of the Virtues of a Republican magistrate see below, p. 472.

¹⁵ See "*Roma et Augustus*", above, Vol. I, 1, 115.

¹⁶ Even without the Augustan label, an association with the emperor is implicit in the appearance of the emperor's head on the obverse; cf. Wallace-Hadrill (above, note 4) 315.

¹⁷ A summary of the career of abstractions on coins with convenient frequency chart is given by Wallace-Hadrill (above, note 4) 310ff., 323. For a broader-based analysis see Fears' useful outline 889–910. See in general Wissowa, *RuKR*² 334–338; J. Béranger, *Recherches sur l'Aspect idéologique du Principat* (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 5, 6) Basel, 1953, 169–217. For a gallery of Hadrianic Virtues and Blessings see, for example, Mattingly, *BMC*, 3, cxlf., clxivf.; further D. Mannsperger, "ROM ET AUG. Die Selbstdarstellung des Kaisertums in der römischen Reichsprägung", *ANRW* 2, 1 (1974) 919–996 *passim*.

¹⁸ M. P. Charlesworth, "The Virtues of a Roman Emperor: Propaganda and the Creation of Belief", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 23 (1937), 105–133; F. Burdeau, "L'empereur d'après les panégyriques latins" in F. Burdeau *et al.*, *Aspects de l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1964, 25–29; Wallace-Hadrill (above, note 4) 299, 317.

give the tone of official policy in general, its continuity or break with that of the previous administration¹⁹, or highlight a specific feature, characterizing a reign by emphasizing a particular quality, whether a traditional value or a newly created one.²⁰ Thus Clementia and Moderatio are the hallmarks of Tiberius' reign²¹, Constantia that of Claudius'.²² As an extreme example can be noted the invention of Nobilitas to justify the accession of Commodus, born to the throne and a Roman.²³ In the same way appropriate concepts could celebrate particular events of a reign: Salus, Libertas and Providentia the deliverance of Tiberius from conspiracy, Fecunditas Poppaea's production of a child; or one could discreetly build the image of female members of the dynasty by assimilating them to particular concepts—Gaius' sisters to Securitas, Concordia and Fortuna, for instance.²⁴ How far coins were the vehicle of such a policy is very debatable;²⁵ too little is known of how coin types were selected, though they can hardly have been out of line with official thinking.²⁶ In any event monumental reliefs, literature and specialized cults could all carry a similar message and public festivals, imperial anniversaries, or religious feasts were obvious occasions when abstractions associated with the emperor could be celebrated in oratory or pageant.²⁷ The effect of such propaganda is best seen in the second century, when the qualities of the princeps recur in the so-called unofficial titulature, the honorific epithets that subjects attached to the emperor's name.²⁸ It follows that under Augustus, for

¹⁹ See now the penetrating paper of E. S. Ramage, "Denigration of Predecessor under Claudius, Galba and Vespasian", *Historia* 32 (1938), 201-214.

²⁰ Beaujeu, *Rel.Rom.* 424f.; Axtell, *Deification* (above, note 4) 31-43; Fears, "Virtues" 896, 901.

²¹ G. Downey, "Tiberiana", *ANRW* 2, 2 (1975) 95-130 at 98-105; B. Levick, "Mercy and Moderation on the Coinage of Tiberius" in B. Levick (ed.), *The Ancient Historian and his Materials. Essays in Honour of C. E. Stevens on his seventieth birthday*, Farnborough, 1975, 123-137.

²² Fears, "Virtues" 894; Mannsperger (above, note 17) 951-954; Ramage (above, note 19) 204f.

²³ Beaujeu, *Rel.Rom.* 383, n. 3 with refs.; Fears, "Virtues" 906.

²⁴ Fears, "Virtues" 892-895; Wallace-Hadrill (above, note 4) 310f.

²⁵ J. Beaujeu, "Politique religieuse et propagande numismatique sous le Haut-Empire" in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire offerts à André Piganiol*, Paris, 1966, 1529-1540 at 1537 with bibl.; D. Fishwick, "Coins as Evidence: Some Phantom Temples", *EMC*, n.s. 3 (1984), 263-270 at 264, n. 4 with bibl.; Fears, "Virtues" 910-913 with nn. 393-395; Wallace-Hadrill 307f. For the view that, apart from the emperor's head, pictorial representations on coins had little or no impact on the general public see M. H. Crawford, "Roman imperial coin types and the formation of public opinion", in C. N. L. Brooke et. al. (eds.), *Studies in Numismatic Method presented to Philip Grierson*, Cambridge, 1983, 47-64 with bibl., n. 2. He argues that the officials of the mint rather than the emperor himself were largely responsible for the choice and design of appropriate types.

²⁶ See "The Severi and the Provincial Cult of the Three Gauls", above, Vol. I, 2, 336 with note 100.

²⁷ So Fears, *l.c.* See in general M. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues, An Exploratory Study of the Numismatic and Medalllic Commemoration of Anniversary Years 49 B.C.—A.D. 375*, Cambridge, 1950, throughout.

²⁸ Wallace-Hadrill 313.

example, Victoria, Pax, Fortuna Redux and Concordia along with the cardinal virtues of the ideal statesman, Virtus, Clementia, Iustitia, Pietas, are slogans of the imperial order representing him as the source of public good or a model of virtue;²⁹ to these was to be added retrospectively the quality of Providentia.³⁰ For a present-day observer, then, deified abstractions offer a guide to official ideology, an outline of its central themes.³¹ Yet things are not always what they seem. At times of crisis Disciplina might represent wishful thinking on the part of the Roman authorities, while Clementia could arguably have a sinister ring on occasion, implying the very opposite of the quality it named.³² Given the flexibility of the medium, the attraction of abstractions must have been very strong in an age when such circumlocutions as *parvitas mea* were an acceptable literary affectation.³³

2. The Theology of Deified Concepts

The main concern of the present discussion is with the theology of deified concepts as applied to the Roman emperor. A preliminary minor difficulty arises over terminology. "Personification" is clearly unsatisfactory. Fears rightly criticizes the word as too rational and too broad, while the modern invention "abstraction" or "abstract idea" he rejects as out of keeping with the Roman conception of concrete divinity.³⁴ Mattingly had earlier hit upon the term "Virtues", though recognizing its inappropriateness to words describing a desirable state.³⁵ His suggestion was nevertheless followed by Charlesworth and Nock³⁶ and is now adopted by Fears, who emphasises the propriety of "Virtue" in its archaic sense of "the power or operative influence inherent in a supernatural being". Though the usage has much in its favour,

²⁹ H. Markowski, "De quattuor virtutibus Augusti in clupeo aureo ei dato inscriptis", *Eos* 37 (1936), 109-128; Charlesworth (above, note 18) *l.c.*; Wickert in *RE* 22, 2 (1954) 2231-2253; Weinstock, *DJ* 228-259; Downey (above, note 21) 95-97, 103; H. W. Benario, "Augustus Princeps", *ANRW* 2, 2 (1975) 75-85 at 80ff.; Fears, "Virtues" 885f.; Wallace-Hadrill 300-307, 318f., argues strongly against a set canon of virtues.

³⁰ On the creation of Providentia see "The Altar of Providentia on Coins of Emerita", above, Vol. I, 1, 182; J. P. Martin, *Providentia Deorum. Recherches sur certains aspects religieux du pouvoir impérial romain* (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 61), Rome, 1982, 103-128.

³¹ R. Syme, *Tacitus*, Oxford, 1958, 2, 754. Wallace-Hadrill 316, notes that emphasis on different qualities in different contexts reflects the contrast between the rational and charismatic image of the emperor.

³² Charlesworth (above, note 18) 112f.; C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy 31 B.C.-A.D. 68*, London, 1951, 117, 119; Grant, *Anniversary Issues* (above, note 27) 48f.; *id.*, *RIM* (above, note 4) 154.

³³ Latte, *RRG* 321.

³⁴ "Virtues" 830-833.

³⁵ Above, note 4, 104.

³⁶ Charlesworth, "Virtues" (above, note 18) throughout; A. D. Nock, "The Emperor's Divine Comes" *JRS* 37 (1947), 102-116 at 113 (= A.D. Nock [ed. Z. Stewart], *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1972, 2, 671).

it nevertheless requires considerable mental adjustment on the part of the modern interpreter to think of Victoria, Pax, Aeternitas or Securitas, for example, as "Virtues", even if bestowed by the emperor; *a fortiori* Annona or Adventus. No label is entirely satisfactory but it will be convenient for present purposes to appropriate Cicero's distinction between *res expetendae* and *virtutes*, despite the difficulties this sometimes raises (*De leg.* 2, 11, 28).³⁷ The more prominent "Blessings" or "desirable conditions" would then be Abundantia, Adventus, Aeternitas, Annona, Bonus Eventus, Concordia, Disciplina, Fortuna, Fecunditas, Felicitas, Hilaritas, Laetitia, Libertas, Pax, Perpetuitas, Quies, Salus, Securitas, Spes, Tranquillitas, Victoria. The list of "Virtues" would presumably include Aequitas, Clementia, Constantia, Fides, Indulgentia, Iustitia, Liberalitas, Maiestas, Moderatio, Munificentia, Nobilitas, Patientia, Pietas, Providentia, Pudicitia, Virtus and the like.

Some features of these deified abstractions are hardly in contention. The suggestion has been made that, as mental concepts, impersonal qualities or states unsupported by myth, they can never have passed for supernatural beings—that they were "a non-descript and shadowy crowd" in whom no intelligent pagan, educated or not, could possibly believe.³⁸ Yet the very fact that Arnobius ridicules the Romans for turning the blessings they prayed for into divine powers or that Lactantius had to insist such qualities were not of themselves divine surely confirms that at least some people did believe in them.³⁹ Absurd as they were to the sophisticated intellectual, Virtues and Blessings were evidently felt to be real, independent godheads, deities in the full sense of the word, who could be the object of sincere cult paid both by state colleges and private worshippers.⁴⁰ That no essential difference was made between them and the Olympians is clear from the way they were recognized and treated in cult practice. Just as temples were founded under the Republic to Concordia, Victoria, Salus, Fortuna, Spes, Honos, Virtus, Mens and the rest (above, pp. 455f.), so under Augustus and Tiberius altars were raised to Fortuna Redux, Pax Augusta, Providentia Augusta, Pietas, Amicitia and Clementia.⁴¹ In the same way their festivals are indistinguishable from those of other deities in the calendars⁴²—even priests are occasionally

³⁷ For discussion see Wissowa, *RuKr*² 327f.; Axtell, *Deification* (above, note 4) 7f.; Mattingly (above, note 4) 104. The above list differs in several respects from that of Cicero.

³⁸ Axtell, *Deification* 86-98 at 97; Beaujeu, *Rel. Rom.* 425; cf. Fears, "Virtues" 926; Wallace-Hadrill 314.

³⁹ Wallace Hadrill, *ibid.* nn. 73f., citing Arnobius, *Adv. Nationes* 4, 1-12; Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 4, 21 *et al.*; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*, Oxford, 1979, 177, citing Lact., *Div. Inst.* 1, 20 *et al.* See further Fears, "Virtues" 928, n. 482, citing also Pliny, *N.H.* 2, 5(!), 14.

⁴⁰ Fears, "Virtues" 834, 837-841.

⁴¹ I. Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (MAAR 12), Rome, 1955, 33-80; Platner-Ashby, *Topog. Dict.* s.vv.

⁴² Wissowa, *RuKr*² 568-593; Latte, *RRG* 433-444.

attested.⁴³ The clearest testimony to their place in the state religion is provided by the Acts of the Arval Brethren. These confirm that from the Julio-Claudians to the Severi such abstractions as Felicitas, Salus Publica, Providentia, Concordia, Aeternitas Imperii, Honos, Clementia, Fortuna Redux and Victoria were invoked or received sacrifice on the same footing as "real" gods; in other words they ranked alongside the Capitoline Triad, Mars, Neptune, Vesta, Divus Augustus, the Genius of the Emperor or of the Roman People as major deities, whose goodwill and favour were vital to the well-being of the state.⁴⁴ Significantly, such recognition was accorded by leading senators in their capacity as *Fratres Arvales*.⁴⁵

Private cult presents a comparable picture. The best index to popular piety is the offerings made to Virtues and Blessings in fulfillment of a vow. Whereas in the Republican period one finds private *ex voto*'s to Fortuna and Victoria in particular, but also to Felicitas, Honos, Spes and other qualities, under the empire it is Imperial abstractions that attract widespread devotion.⁴⁶ Augustan Fortune and Victory in particular receive dedications and *ex voto*'s not just from those in the emperor's service but from men and women of all manner of occupation and at every level of society. What is more significant such vows were made for the private intentions of the individual as well as for the emperor's *salus*. Similar worship is likewise attested of Augustan Concordia, Salus, Virtus, Pietas, Fides, Pax, Providentia and many others. There can be no question, then, that deified abstractions excited intense fervour on the part of those who sought to tap their power. It is true that the bulk of the evidence comes from the western provinces⁴⁷ but, at the municipal level at least, evidence from the Greek East presents a comparable picture, if with a different emphasis.⁴⁸ On the other hand, although these divinities can all be represented with the conventional figure of a woman and all be provided with appropriate attributes—Fortuna a rudder, for instance, Pax an olive branch,

⁴³ For example: *sacerdos in perpetuum Providentiae Aug. et Salutis Publicae* (A. B. West, *Corinth* 8, 2, 1931, no. 110, cf. no. 15: *Corinth*; cf. *AEpig*, 1971, no. 442 = *AEpig*, 1978, no. 778); *sacerdos Romae et Salutis* (*CIL* 3, 399). On the cult of Roma and Salus at Pergamum see M. Le Glay, "Le Culte de Rome et de Salus à Pergame, ou l'annonce du culte impérial" in Sencer Şahin *et al.* (edd.), *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens* (Festschrift Karl Dörner), Leiden, 1978, 546-564.

⁴⁴ Hensen, *AFA* Index s.vv.; cf. Fears, "Virtues" 929 with documentation. On the development of Aeternitas see now R. Etienne, "Aeternitas Augusti-Aeternitas Imperii" in *Les grandes Figures religieuses* (Lire les polythéismes 1); *Fonctionnement pratique et symbolique dans l'Antiquité* (Annales littéraires de l'Univ. de Besançon 329), Paris, 1986, 445-454.

⁴⁵ Wallace-Hadrill 317.

⁴⁶ Fears, "Virtues" 837, n. 50, 931-939; *id.*, "Theology of Victory" (above, note 7) 743.

⁴⁷ For an overview see Vol. III, 2-3 (in preparation). For statues of the emperor's virtues see, for example, *CIL* 8, 7095 (= *ILS* 2933).

⁴⁸ To the extensive material collected by Fears, "Virtues" 936-939, add L. Robert, "Inscriptions grecques de Sidé en Pamphylie", *RPh* 32 (1958), 15-53 at 24f. *ad* Ἀνατολή Αὐγούστα.

Pietas a sacrificial dish and so on⁴⁹—they lack the personal histories of anthropomorphic deities. Essentially they are a separate class of godheads recognized simply from the manifestation of their *numen* and invoked by the name of the benefit the worshipper is seeking.⁵⁰ In consequence it is surely right to characterize such functional *numina* as shadowy, less substantial entities than the Olympians. How precisely would the average Roman have conceived of the deity Tempestates?⁵¹

Theological issues become more complex once Blessings and Virtues are made specifically Imperial. This can be achieved in either of two ways: by qualifying the abstraction *Augusti/Augustorum* or *Augustus/Augusta*. Both forms correspond to the standard Roman practice of designating the function of a god by the addition of an attributive epithet, of defining in this way the sphere in which the god performs his special function. “Die zweiten Glieder eines Doppelnamens vermögen also den funktionalen Bereich der im ersten Gliede genannten Gottheit anzugeben”.⁵² The Blessing or Virtue is thus intimately associated with the emperor, just as major Olympian or other deities are made the *ἐμπροσθέν* *Sondergötter* by the defining suffix *Augustus/a* or the genitive *Augusti/Augustorum* (usually the former).⁵³ As archaic practice makes clear, either form can be employed to this end: for example Ianus Quirini occurs with Ianus Quirinus, Nerio Martis with Numisius Martius, Moles Martis with Heres Martea; Fears adds that the same holds for later creations such as Genius Publicus, Genius Populi Romani.⁵⁴ It seems clear then that no significant distinction in usage can be made between the two, and the same must be true of *Augusti/Augustorum* and *Augustus/a*.⁵⁵ Both forms equally well declare and define the Victory, Peace, Virtue, Clemency, Justice, Providence and so on that operate within the

⁴⁹ Mattingly, *BMC* 2, xxxvii; 4, xxvi.

⁵⁰ Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* (above, note 39) 177, citing Cic., *De nat. deor.* 2, 23 (61); Fears, “Virtues” 837f., 926f., 941 with bibl.

⁵¹ For background see Fears 839.

⁵² G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens*² (Fontes et Commentationes. Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Epigraphik an der Universität Münster 3), Münster, 1979, 34.

⁵³ “Augustan Gods”, above, pp. 446–448.

⁵⁴ Fears, “Virtues” 888.

⁵⁵ Radke, *Götter* 31 with bibl., cf. Fears 888, n. 285. Fears suggests that “for Augustus’ contemporaries, *augustus* connoted that fullness of numinous, increscent power inherent in those things consecrated to the divine, as by means of augural activity”. But evidence for the republican use of *augustus* as the epithet of a divinity seems to be very slight (cf. *ThLL* 2, 1393, 1.53, referring to *CIL* 5, 4087 = Degraffi, *ILLRP* 200: Bedriacum, *a.u.c.* 695) and, given the profound impression made by Augustus upon contemporaries, the immediate association will surely have been with the emperor. One would doubt, for instance, that Ceres Augusta “proclaimed the divine power manifested in the imperial *annona*” (Fears 894). The meaning is surely Ceres, who is a special god of Augustus, giving him assistance in everything connected with the grain supply. A. D. Nock, “Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire”, *JHS* 45 (1925), 84–101 at 93, n. 79 (= *Essays* 43, n. 79), notes Seltman’s view that Ceres Augusta must at times mean “Augusta who is Ceres”, the Empress identified with the deity. But see below, p. 465.

sphere of the emperor and his undertakings.⁵⁶ As a result, it has been concluded more often than not that both forms are identical in meaning, that *Pax Augusti* and *Pax Augusta*, for instance, mean exactly the same thing.⁵⁷

The contrary case has been argued by Mattingly, who holds that the genitive relates the personification directly to the emperor, whereas the adjective implies a looser association with the imperial system in general:⁵⁸ on this view *Pax Augusti* would be "the Peaceableness of the reigning Emperor" and *Pax Augusta* "Imperial Peace". This is really an adoption of Strack's thesis that the genitive has a close and clear reference to the emperor, the adjectival form being looser.⁵⁹ For example, Strack would interpret *Felicitas Augusti* as the goddess that watches over the Augustus and his undertakings, *Felicitas Augusta* as the blessed circumstance that goes out from the Augustus.⁶⁰ Whether such a distinction between the genitive and adjectival forms would have been recognized by the general public is an open question but the point that *Augusti* makes a Blessing or Virtue very personal is surely correct.⁶¹ It is substantiated in a negative way by the fact that the genitive rarely appears with major deities, presumably because so close a link between the emperor and a deity would have given offence;⁶² instead the adjective is preferred. Similarly Augustus opted for the more general *Victoria Augusta* rather than the personal *Victoria Augusti*, consciously breaking with the practice of Caesar in this respect,⁶³ and under Tiberius the altar erected on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his adoption by Augustus was that of *Providentia Augusta*.⁶⁴ On the coins it is likewise the adjectival form that first takes the field and an early departure from this practice could be seen as a deliberate

⁵⁶ For example, on the suppression of Sejanus in A.D. 31 dedications were made at Interamna to *Salus Perpetua Augusta* along with *Libertas Publica Populi Romani*, the Genius of the municipality, and the *Providentia of Tiberius* (*ILS* 157). Here the implication is surely that *Salus Augusta* has saved the Imperial family, just as the providence of Tiberius has saved the state; cf. Le Glay (above, note 43) 563. For a pictorial illustration of the idea see *BMC* 2, p. 112, +; p. 124, +; p. 190, no. 782: *Spes Augusta* giving her attribute, the flower, to Vespasian (cited by Fears 899). For the view that *Spes Augusta* represented both the hope of the people in the emperor or his successor and the hope of the emperor in his heir see M. E. Clark, "Spes in the Early Imperial Cult: 'the Hope of Augustus'", *Numen* 30 (1983), 80-105.

⁵⁷ W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*², Berlin, 1966, 511; J. Gagé, "La Victoria Augusti et les auspices de Tibère", *RA* 32 (1930), 1-35 at 3, n. 3; Nock, "Studies" (above, note 55) 92, n. 73 (= *Essays* 42, n. 73); Latte, *RRG* 324, n. 1; I. Kajanto, "Fortuna", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1(1981) 502-558 at 517.

⁵⁸ *BMC* 1, lxxiiiif.; *id.*, *Roman Coins*², London, 1960, 160.

⁵⁹ P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1931, 1, 49-56.

⁶⁰ *O.c.* 174.

⁶¹ Otto in *RE* 7 (1910) 36f. s.v. *Fortuna*; cf. Ramage (above, note 19) 208f.

⁶² "Augustan Gods" above, p. 446, notes 3f.

⁶³ Weinstock in *RE* VIII, A2 (1958) 2520 s.v. *Victoria*; *id.*, *DJ* 111f.

⁶⁴ Above, note 30. Note that the temple at Tarraco was of *Aeternitas Augusta*: "Divus Augustus", above, Vol. 1, 1, 151.

attempt to link a particular quality with the emperor—whoever was responsible for the legend (above, p. 458).⁶⁵ Thus Fears notes that Constantia Augusti on coins of Claudius seems to set him apart from Gaius in this respect.⁶⁶ Conversely under Nero, from whose reign the genitive becomes the norm when the word is given in full, Concordia Augusta may proclaim concord in the imperial family at large, other qualities being linked directly to the emperor by the genitive form.⁶⁷ Instances of this kind are nevertheless very few and it is difficult to believe that in Galba's short reign a difference in meaning was deliberately intended between Salus Augusti and Salus Augusta or Pax Augusti and Pax Augusta.⁶⁸ On the other hand Galba's Ceres Augusta may well be intended to mark a clear contrast with Nero's Annona Augusti Ceres.⁶⁹

We may conclude that the practice of Augustus does suggest that a distinction between the two forms was appreciated and deliberately exploited for political and ideological purposes. Aberration from the norm under his immediate successors may also attest a perceived difference, but even under Augustus exceptions to the adjectival usage suggest that the distinction very early broke down or at least was not generally recognized. Weinstock notes that an altar at Capua was dedicated to Victoria Caesaris Augusti, as also were games at Iguvium.⁷⁰ Thereafter the regular practice is for Victoria to be coupled with the name of the reigning emperor in the genitive (Victoria Claudii, Galbae, Othonis, Vespasiani), just as *Augusti* is applied to abstractions on coins. On the other hand both forms seem to be used without distinction in inscriptions⁷¹ and the frequent use of the ambiguous abbreviation *Aug.* on both coins and inscriptions tells strongly against any intended difference in meaning.⁷² Certainly it is hard to think that any was understood.⁷³ What is clearly inadequate on the above argument is to hold that *Augusta* simply denotes an Augustan Blessing and *Augusti* an Augustan Virtue, that *Pietas Augusta*, for instance, is a Blessing inherent in the imperial system, whereas

⁶⁵ Above, notes 25f.

⁶⁶ "Virtues" 887, n. 284, citing *BMC* 1, p. 164 no. 1, cf. 894. This is really part of the denigration of predecessor on coins that Ramage has traced: above, note 19, 204-206.

⁶⁷ Fears, *ibid.* with documentation.

⁶⁸ Salus: Mattingly, *BMC* 1, p. 361, no. 265; p. 328, no. 119. Pax: *ibid.* p. 360, nos. 261f.; p. 331, nos. 131ff.

⁶⁹ So Ramage (above, note 19) 208f., noting a change of emphasis from the emperor to the people in such forms as Victoria Populi Romani, Victoria Imperi Romani, Genius Populi Romani, Securitas Populi Romani.

⁷⁰ Above, note 63. He suggests that the inscription on the swordsheath of "Tiberius" will have been the personal "*Vic(toria) Aug(usti)*"—by analogy with "*Felicitas Tiberi*".

⁷¹ For example see Nock (above, note 57) *ibid.*; Fears 889, n. 284.

⁷² Wallace-Hadrill (above, note 4) 309, n. 55; Fears 887.

⁷³ Cf. Nock, "Studies" (above, note 55) 93, n. 81 (= *Essays* 43, n. 81) "In any case we must allow for much vagueness of thought on these matters; perhaps many who used these epithets had no clear-cut views of their precise meaning".

Fortuna Augusti is a Virtue of the emperor himself.⁷⁴ The distinction between Blessings and Virtues is surely inherent in the abstraction itself, not in the way it is qualified. It is very doubtful, too, whether *Augusta*, as applied to an abstraction, could allude directly to Livia, who was herself consecrated *Augusta* after death. Even should Livia be identified on coins with *Pietas Augusta* or *Salus Augusta*,⁷⁵ *Augusta* is surely feminine because it refers to the deity, where it has the implication we have seen—not because of any primary reference to Livia.⁷⁶ Even when a lady of the imperial household bears the title *Augusta* in her lifetime and is identified or associated with, say, a Virtue qualified *Augusta*, the epithet must still apply in the first place to the abstraction, though it will naturally have had the secondary connotation of a title.⁷⁷

Critical to the theology of Augustan Blessings and Virtues is the precise way in which these were conceived to exercise their divine influence upon the emperor. Here it is possible to distinguish between two different ideas. Which way a particular Blessing or Virtue was imagined to function would appear to depend at least to some extent on the degree to which it was personified, but in many instances evidence is insufficient to allow one to determine either way, in others the testimony we have is conflicting.

In the first place a Blessing or Virtue can be conceived as the emperor's *comes* or guiding star, a tutelary deity that accompanied him and under whose protection he stood.⁷⁸ The comparison with the personal *genius* is very obvious; in fact abstractions imagined along these lines appear almost as specializations of the *genius*. The concept of a guardian deity can best be illustrated by citing a number of examples where the theology seems reasonably clear. Of all examples of the *comes* the most similar to the *Genius Augusti* is *Fortuna Augusti*—*Fortuna comes*, as Lucan calls her (*Phars.* 5, 510).⁷⁹ *Fortuna Aug.* first appears on the coinage of Galba,⁸⁰ who had a personal devotion to her and kept a bronze statue of the goddess, more than a

⁷⁴ Grant, *Imperial Money* (above, note 4) 155, 162, 167.

⁷⁵ *Pietas Augusta*: Weinstock, *DJ* 255, n. 8 with refs.; *Salus Augusta*: *ibid.*, 172, n. 7, cf. Fears, "Virtues" 891, nn. 298f. Livia and other Imperial women are sometimes expressly identified with an Augustan abstraction in Greek inscriptions: P. Veyne, "Les honneurs posthumes de Flavia Domitilla et les dédicaces grecques et latines" *Latomus* 21 (1962), 49-98 at 54.

⁷⁶ The same point would apply to *Diva Domitilla Augusta* (obv.), who is associated with *Pietas Augusta* on the reverse of a type struck under Titus: Mattingly, *BMC* 2, lxxv, p. 246, no. 138.

⁷⁷ For example, *Matidia Augusta* as *Pietas Augusta*: Mattingly, *BMC* 3, lxxxiii, 127f.

⁷⁸ See in general Nock (above, note 36) 112-114 (= *Essays* 669-672); further R. Turcan, "Le culte impérial au III^e siècle", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 996-1084 at 1022-1025.

⁷⁹ Cf. Cicero, *De Leg.* 2, 11, 28: *Fortunaque sit vel Huiusce Diei: (nam valet in omnes dies) vel Respiciens ad opem ferendam vel Fors, in quo incerti casus significantur magis, vel Primigenia a gignendo comes*. For the general development of *Fortuna* see Weinstock, *DJ* 112-127; Fears, "Virtues" 843, n. 67 with bibl.; Kajanto (above, note 57) o.c.

⁸⁰ Mattingly, *BMC* 1, p. 352, no. 241.

cubit high, in a room of his house at Tusculum (Suet., *Galba* 4, 3, cf. 18, 2; CD 64, 1); subsequently she appears on the coins of Vespasian and most later rulers.⁸¹ The character of the goddess is best brought out by the story that in the bed chamber of some emperors stood a gold statuette of Fortuna, such as Antoninus Pius is said to have transferred to Marcus Aurelius to mark the succession (SHA, *Ant. Pius* 12, 5, cf. *Marcus* 7, 3). The story is repeated of Septimius Severus, who reportedly thought of having two statues made but in his last hours had the one figure alternate daily between his two sons (SHA, *Sev.* 23, 5f.). Such a representation of a deity was a talisman that could be worshipped and offered sacrifice (cf. Suet., *Galba* 4, 3). Its reported existence emphasizes the role assigned to Fortuna Augusti as a divine companion, who attached to each individual ruler during his reign, then passed to his successor when he died.⁸² Through the favours of Fortuna came Felicitas;⁸³ in fact it has been argued that in some respects the ideas of Fortuna and Felicitas overlap or approach identity, though in general the two terms seem to have been kept apart.⁸⁴ At all events Felicitas was clearly imagined as *daimon*—*hic habitat Felicitas* (CIL 4, 1454)—and Felicitas Augusti, like Fortuna Augusti, seems to have been conceived a goddess that accompanied the emperor on his enterprises and brought him luck.⁸⁵ This is particularly true of military successes; cf. the inscription *Felicitas Tiberi* on the shield shown on the sword-sheath of “Tiberius” from Mainz (Pl. LXXXIV).⁸⁶

The supernatural companion par excellence was Victoria Augusti, who was personal to each ruler in turn (see below, 471f.) and went before to render functional assistance;⁸⁷ victories won in the field would thus be attributable to the working of her *numen*. Gagé has made much of the fact that the emperor’s subordinates fought under his *auspicia* (cf. Tac., *Ann.* 2, 41: *ductu Germanici*,

⁸¹ Weinstock, *DJ* 127; A. D. Castro, *Tacitus and the “Virtues” of the Roman Emperor: The Role of Imperial Propaganda in the Historiography of Tacitus* (Diss. Indiana), Fort Wayne, 1972, 347–358.

⁸² For a slightly different view see Strack, *Untersuchungen* (above, note 59) 77. He takes Fortuna Augusti not as the Fortuna of an individual Augustus but as that of the Roman Emperor in general.

⁸³ Fears, “Virtues” 931; cf. Weinstock, *DJ* 113.

⁸⁴ H. Erckell, *Augustus, Felicitas, Fortuna: Lateinische Wortstudien* (Diss. Göteborg), Gothenburg, 1952, 43ff., 109; Taeger, *Charisma* 19–32, especially 23, cf. 45. See further H. Wagenvoort, “Felicitas Imperatoria”, *Mnemosyne* 4 (1954), 300–322; Kajanto (above, note 57) 521ff.; Fears, “Theology” (above, note 7) 747.

⁸⁵ Strack, *Untersuchungen* (above, note 59) 174. See in general Roscher, *Lexicon* 1, 2, 1473–1475; further Fears, “Virtues” 878.

⁸⁶ For discussion see T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana*, Mainz, 1967, 112–115. See further K.-V. Decker and W. Selzer, “Mongontiacum: Mainz von der Zeit des Augustus bis zum Ende der römischen Herrschaft”, *ANRW* 2, 5, 1 (1976) 457–559 at 476f. with bibl.

⁸⁷ Hölscher, *Victoria* 173–177. See now in general Fears, “Theology of Victory” (above, note 7) 736–826, especially 808ff. For the later development see now M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphant Rulership in late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the early medieval West*, Cambridge, 1986.

auspiciis Tiberii),⁸⁸ and it is possible that this may have given rise to the idea that the emperor had powers that could be effectual even in his physical absence.⁸⁹ At all events Victoria was clearly conceived as a divine adjunct of the emperor.⁹⁰ So Ovid portrays her as the companion deity ready to hover over the commander through whom the emperor does battle:

*Sic adsueta tuis semper Victoria castris,
Nunc quoque se praestet notaque signa petat,
Ausoniumque ducem solitis circumvolet alis,
Ponat et in nitida laurea sarta comis
Per quem bella geris, cuius nunc corpore pugnas
Auspicium cui das grande deosque, tuos,
Dimidioque tui praesens es et aspicias urbem,
Dimidio procul es saevaue bella geris.*

(*Trist.* 2, 169-176)

The character of Victoria is likewise brought out in the poet's description of the war between Minos and Nisus:

*Et pendebat adhuc belli fortuna, diuque
Inter utrumque volat dubiis Victoria pennis.*

(*Met.* 8, 12f)

Literary imagery aside, it is surprising that she is not called *comes* more often, but the term appears on coins of the emperors of Gaul, Postumus, Victorinus and Tetricus I and II, also on those of Carausius and Allectus in Britain.⁹¹ With these may be compared two late inscriptions: *Victori|ae divinae | Virtutis | comiti Auggg. r(es) p(ublica) c(oloniae) L(ambaesitanae)* (CIL 8, 18240 = ILS 3811; Lambaesis: time of Constantine?); *Victoriae Augustae | comiti dominorum | principumque nostrorum* (um) | ... (CIL 6, 31403f; Valentinian and Valens). The text that best illustrates her nature perhaps is *Pan.Lat.* 6 (7) 5, 4, (Baehrens p. 204): "*ita pervectus ut non comitata illum sit sed praestolata Victoria*". It is worth recalling in this connection that already under the late Republic a statuette of Victory was born before an *imperator*.⁹² Furthermore,

⁸⁸ Gagé (above, note 57) throughout; Weinstock, *DJ* 112. For coins of Augustus reflecting the fact that victories won by subordinates belong to the emperor see A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeer-bäume des Augustus* (Antiquitas 14), Bonn, 1973, 8.

⁸⁹ Nock (above, note 36) 114 with n. 105 (= *Essays* 671f., n. 105).

⁹⁰ Hölscher, *Victoria* (above, note 86) 115, 173, stating the case against Gagé's conception of *Victoria Augusti* as a power or property: above, note 57, 11f. But Gagé himself puts the idea in terms of a supernatural companion: *id.*, "La théologie de la Victoire", *RH* 171 (1933), 1-43 at 9.

⁹¹ Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC* 5, 2, pp. 355 (Postumus), 395f. (Victorinus), 403, 407, 413 (Tetricus I), 421 (Tetricus II), 465, 481f., 502, 527 (Carausius), 558 (Allectus). Cf. Nock, "Comes" 102, n. 3 with bibl. (= *Essays* 653, n. 3). See further Turcan (above, note 78) 1023.

⁹² A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Darmstadt, 1970, 240.

in as much as each successive emperor had the help of Victoria,⁹³ it is noticeable that, when there is more than one Augustus, Victories can be multiplied. Thus three plaster Victoriolae, inscribed with the names of Septimus Severus and his sons, were placed on the emperor's balcony in the circus (SHA, *Sev.* 22, 3)⁹⁴ and inscriptions attest multiple, triple, even quadruple Victoriae.⁹⁵

Other evidence for Blessings and Virtues as *comites* is scattered very thinly. Cicero classifies *Spes*, *Salus* and *Ops* with *Victoria* as faculties to be sought from the gods, though it is by no means clear that he envisions them as companion deities.⁹⁶ Valerius Maximus portrays the *sanctissimum Pietatis numen* as accompanying Tiberius en route to Drusus,⁹⁷ while a coin of Carausius provides a late and isolated instance of *Providentia* as *comes*.⁹⁸ As Fears notes, *Virtus*, *Honos* or *Concordia* can be represented in imperial art as companions attendant, like *Victoria*, upon the emperor. The theme is exploited typically on the Arch of Titus, one of the Cancellaria Reliefs, and the Arch at Lepcis Magna⁹⁹—*Salus*, too, is often associated with *Victoria* in iconography.¹⁰⁰ Similarly the Lambaesis inscription (above, p. 467) links *Virtus* with *Victoria*, as does a bronze medallion of Severus Alexander showing Victory crowning the emperor, who is accompanied by *Virtus*.¹⁰¹ On the other hand Cicero clearly treats *Virtus*, like *Fides*, *Mens* or *Concordia*, as an immanent deity,¹⁰² and in Statius *Virtus*, though a *comes* of Jupiter, seems to be immanent rather than concomitant once she has descended to earth:

*Diva Iovis solio iuxta comes, unde per orbem
rara dari terrisque solet contingere, Virtus,
seu pater omnipotens tribuit, sive ipsa capaces
elegit penetrare viros...*

(*Thebaid* 10, 632-635)

⁹³ Cf., for example, an issue of Vitellius showing (rev.) the emperor receiving a statue of *Victoria* from Roma: *BMC* 1, p. 377, no. 57⁺.

⁹⁴ See further S. Eitrem, "Zur Apotheose", *SO* 10 (1932), 31-56 at 45f.

⁹⁵ Weinstock in *RE* (above, note 63), citing *CIL* 8, 25836 (= *ILS* 8926), 5290 (= *ILS* 5477), 25371 (= *ILS* 5472), 4764 (= *ILS* 644). Note that, when a dedication to *Victoria* celebrated a military success won by multiple *Augusti*, the singular form was the norm: *Victoriae Armeniacae, Parthicae, Medicae Augustorum* (*CIL* 8, 965); *Victoriae Parthicae maximae Auggg.* (*CIL* 8, 20149); further examples in Roscher, *Lexicon* 6, 3, 299f.

⁹⁶ *De nat. deor.* 3, 88: *Quamvis licet Menti delubra et Virtuti et Fidei consecremus, tamen haec in nobis ipsis sita videmus; Spei, Salutis, Opis, Victoriae facultas a dis expetenda est; cf. ibid.* 61: *Aut enim in nobismet insunt ipsis, ut Mens, [ut Spes,] ut Fides, ut Virtus, ut Concordia, aut optandae nobis sunt, ut Honos, ut Salus, ut Victoria.*

⁹⁷ *Sed eum tum maximo labore et periculo implicatum mortaliumque frequentia defectum sanctissimum pietatis numen et di fautores eximiarum virtutum et fidissimus Romani imperi custos Iuppiter comitatus est* (5, 5, 3).

⁹⁸ Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC* 5, 2, p. 527, no. 752.

⁹⁹ Fears, "Virtues" 929.

¹⁰⁰ Hölscher, *Victoria* (above, note 86) 111.

¹⁰¹ Fears, *ibid.*, citing Carson, *BMC* 6, p. 193, no. 785.

¹⁰² Above, note 96.

In any event the concept of a companion deity seems not to have become prominent before the latter part of the third century,¹⁰³ when the qualification *comes Augusti* was given to various deities—Hercules par excellence but also Serapis, Neptune, Mars, Sol and Minerva along with Victoria (above, p. 467)—underlining the privileged lines between a particular god and the reigning emperor or emperors. On the interpretation of R. Turcan it was under the Empire of the Gauls that the political theology of the *Di Comites* was enlarged and defined more precisely, anticipating in a way the Jovian-Herculean theology of the Tetrarchy.¹⁰⁴ Conversely the deceased emperor Divus Claudius II can himself be described in panegyric as *deorum comes* (*Pan. Lat.* 6 [7], 2,2).

On the whole, then, the notion of a Blessing or Virtue as a companion deity must be considered the exception rather than the rule. In the great majority of cases, where no firm evidence for the idea of *comes* exists, it seems best to think in terms of the general theory of the emperor as a θεῖος ἄνθρωπος through whom divinity can function.¹⁰⁵ On this view the Augustus would be a kind of vessel in whom and through whom a deified quality or condition finds earthly expression.¹⁰⁶ Thus Cicero categorizes Mens, Virtus, Fides and Concordia as deities having their seat within ourselves¹⁰⁷ and, in applauding the arbitrary deification of Mens, Pietas, Virtus and Fides, he remarks that temples have been publicly dedicated to these at Rome... *ut illa qui habeant... deos ipsos in animis suis conlocatos putent* (*De leg.* 2, 11, 28). Again in the Antiochene version of the Passion of St. Ignatius, when Ignatius represents himself as θεοφόρος, Trajan retorts ἡμεῖς οὖν σοι δοκοῦμεν κατὰ νοῦν μὴ ἔχειν θεούς, οἷς καὶ χρώμεθα συμμάχοις πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους; (Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* 2, 2, 1; p. 478). The passage doubtless corresponds to pagan thinking despite its lateness. We have already seen that Statius pictures Virtus as taking root in the heart of Menoeceus (above, p. 468). In the same way Fides is portrayed by Silius Italicus as a divine power residing in the breasts of men and Plutarch can speak of the great Justice dwelling within Numa.¹⁰⁸ A deified quality would thus be immanent in the emperor, whose actions will be manifestations

¹⁰³ Taeger, *Charisma* 450. The idea itself occasionally appears earlier. For example, a coin of Commodus (?A.D. 189) shows Hercules with the legend *Herculi C[omit]i S C: BMC* 4, clxxvi, p. 816, no. 616. A dedication *Deo Herculi | Comiti et | Conservatori | dominorum | nostrorum* (*CIL* 6, 305), dated by Rostovtzeff as later than Caracalla, may belong under the Tetrarchy; cf. Nock, "Comes" (above, note 36) 102 (= *Essays* 654).

¹⁰⁴ *I.c.* (above, note 78). See further Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* (above, note 39) 240-243.

¹⁰⁵ See "Divinity and Worship", above, Vol. I, 1, 41f.; Nock, *Essays* (above, note 36) 1022, Index s.v.

¹⁰⁶ Taeger, *Charisma* 131f.; Latte, *RRG* 321.

¹⁰⁷ Above, note 96.

¹⁰⁸ Fears, "Virtues" 928, citing Sil. Ital. 2, 475-525; Plut. *Numa* 6, 2; also, in the same vein, Statius, *Theb.* 12, 493f. (Clementia); 10, 780f. (Pietas, Virtus).

of its working through his person as an intermediary.¹⁰⁹ In this respect immanent Blessings and Virtues have the appearance of facets or specializations of the immanent, higher *numen* of the emperor, not that such a concept can be documented in the ancient sources. A development of the same imagery can be seen in Celsus' picture of the emperor as the great mediator between the supreme god and the inhabitants of the world.¹¹⁰ The emperor has become a channel of grace, an intercessor between gods and men,¹¹¹ and the effect can only have been to enhance his charismatic authority.

What the above discussion has tried to show is that ideas differed as to the precise way in which a particular deified concept was conceived. Careful sifting of all the relevant literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence might reveal further traces of Virtues and Blessings conceived as *comites*, but clearly one must be prepared for a good deal of flexibility in the way these god-heads were imagined.¹¹² In practice it may be doubted whether the distinction between a concomitant and an immanent deity is of any real significance. If a more strongly personified abstraction, such as Victoria, accompanies the emperor, then it is through the help of his *comes* that the emperor wins victories. Yet, even if her *numen* is not exactly within him, it is through the victories of the emperor that Victoria manifests herself. His deeds are "epiphanies of victory" and it is still the emperor that is credited with victories won by his generals.¹¹³ Similarly, if the emperor is accompanied by Felicitas, it is still the emperor who is responsible for the *felicitas* of the times.¹¹⁴ For one who receives the help or the favour of Felicitas and is therefore *felix*, can also bring felicity to his army or people.¹¹⁵ The difference is surely, a vanishing one between this notion of an assistant *comes* and, for example, the working of the immanent Providentia Augusti or Clementia Augusti, both of which express themselves in the emperor's outward acts.

¹⁰⁹ Mattingly, *BMC* 2, xxif. (re Salus Augusti); cf. Fears, "Virtues" 874 *et passim*; Wallace-Hadrill (above, note 4) 315. See further Nock, "Comes" (above, note 36) 115 (= *Essays* 674), citing Menander Rhetor's remark that one can speak of a ruler as an effluence of higher powers (Bursian p. 97; Spengel p. 370).

¹¹⁰ J. Beaujeu, "Les apologistes et le culte du souverain" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 103-136 at 131f., citing Origen, *Contra Celsum* 8, 67: Δέδοται γὰρ τούτω τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ ὁ τι ἂν λαμβάνῃς ἐν τῷ βίῳ, παρὰ τούτου λαμβάνεις. See further H. Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum*, Cambridge, 1965, 503, n. 5 with bibl. For similar ideas in Pliny see Fears, *o.c.* 918, cf. 913. He recognizes an iconographic reflection of Pliny's sentiments in the reliefs of the arch at Beneventum.

¹¹¹ Cf. Turcan (above, note 78) 1000.

¹¹² For the view that Fortuna, say, or Virtus both accompanies and is immanent in the Augustus see L. Berlinger, *Beiträge zur inoffiziellen Titulatur der römischen Kaiser* (Diss. Breslau), Breslau, 1935, 14; Charlesworth, "Virtues" (above, note 18) 112.

¹¹³ Fears, "Theology of Victory" (above, note 7) 745; "Virtues" 895; Hölscher, *Victoria* 159, cf. 152.

¹¹⁴ Erckell (above, note 84) 125, 128. Similarly Fears re Sulla: "Virtues" 878-880.

¹¹⁵ Mattingly, *BMC* 4, I, n. 5, quoting Servius, *ad Aeneid* I, 330; *felix enim dicitur et qui habet felicitatem et qui facit esse felicem*; Beaujeu, *Rel. Rom.* 67f.; H. Fugier, *Recherches sur l'Expression du Sacré dans la Langue latine*, Paris, 1963, 41-44.

Whatever precise theological concept applies in a particular instance, the end result is very much the same.

One subordinate question merits passing notice at this point, since the theory has attracted a considerable following over the years. Gagé has argued that, just as victory belongs to each individual victor (*Victoria Sullae*, *Caesaris*), so the *Victoria Augusti* is the personal victory of Octavian, not of his successors.¹¹⁶ As a result, *Victoria Augusti* became the object of a dynastic cult under succeeding Julio-Claudian rulers, and this continued to be the case under the following dynasty except that the *Victoria Augusti* was now adopted by the house founded by Vespasian, who in this way laid claim to the victorious power by which the empire was governed. Thus even under the Flavians *Victoria* is the goddess that had helped Octavian and *Augusti* still refers to Augustus himself, long since deified. Only at the end of the century, when the dynastic principle gives way to the adoptive, does *Victoria* become autonomous and *Augusti* apply to each current emperor in turn, who has his individual Victory watching over him.

The difficulty with this view is that it rests too much on the unprovable interpretation of uncertain details, particularly in the artistic composition of the sword-sheath of "Tiberius", the Grand Camée de France, or the Camée de Vienne;¹¹⁷ the literary sources offer no help on the point whatsoever. Nothing in Gagé's arguments proves conclusively that *Victoria Augusti* was believed to be the Victory of Divus Augustus, the power of which continued to work after Augustus' death by raining down from heaven upon one ruler after another. Nor does there seem any reason to doubt that *Augusti* denotes, as usual, the current reigning emperor rather than the first Augustus, who would surely be described after death as Divus Augustus.¹¹⁸ What the discussion suggests is that *Victoria Augusti* was not a companion of Octavian exclusively but a *comes* who gave her help and was attached to each successive ruler in turn.¹¹⁹ Like the name Augustus, *Victoria*, too, became transmissible, assuming an important place in the legal formulation of an emperor's powers. The simple fact that *Victoria Claudii*, *Galbae*, *Othonis*, *Vespasiani* and so on

¹¹⁶ Gagé (above, notes 57, 90) throughout; cf. *id.*, "Divus Augustus. L'idée dynastique chez les empereurs Julio-Claudiens", *RA* 34 (1931) 11-41 at 30-34. See further *id.*, "Un thème de l'art impérial romain: La Victoire d'Auguste", *MEFR* 49 (1932), 61-92. So also M. Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius. Historical Comments on the Colonial Coinage issued outside of Spain*. (Numismatic Notes and Monographs 116), New York, 1950, 72-77; K. Scott, *The Imperial Cult under the Flavians*, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1936, 28; R. O. Fink, "*Victoria Parthica* and Kindred *Victoriae*", *YCS* 8 (1942), 81-101 at 86. See further Fears, "Theology" (above, note 7) 737-739, nn. 2f. with bibl.

¹¹⁷ See the arguments of Hölscher, *Victoria* 112-115, 157; Weinstock in *RE* (above, note 63) 2527.

¹¹⁸ So Mattingly, *BMC* 3, xxxix, noting that something of the spirit of Augustus will nevertheless have been inherited along with his name.

¹¹⁹ Hölscher, *Victoria* 164f.

occur alongside *Victoria Augusti* surely demonstrates the true character of the latter as something personal to each princeps.¹²⁰ Similarly with other blessings there can be no doubt that each was individual to every single ruler. If the *Providentia Augusti* of Augustus himself provided for the succession of Tiberius, it was the *Providentia Augusti* of Vespasian or Nerva that provided for a suitable successor. *A fortiori* it was certainly the *Providentia* of the reigning Augustus that was evinced in different ways under succeeding emperors.¹²¹

3. *Abstractions and the Imperial Cult*

It remains to stress once more the key place of deified abstractions within the Roman imperial cult. The rule was for direct worship of the emperor to be withheld until after death, when he had been enrolled among the state gods by due process of deification.¹²² In life his role was that of a superman who occupied an ambiguous, intermediary position between Heaven and Earth, between gods and men. As such, he was venerated through the cults of his *genius* and *numen* or of Augustan Virtues and Blessings, which we have seen to resemble the *Genius Augusti* or *Numen Augusti* insofar as they were conceived as concomitant or immanent. To pay cult to the deified qualities of a man was something new, apparently without precedent in the Hellenistic World (above, p. 457), though it is possible that a Republican forerunner is to be seen in the cult of a magistrate's virtues by Greek cities in Asia Minor, a practice attested in the case of Cicero's brother Quintus (*Ad Q. Fr.* 1, 1, 31).¹²³ This was the system the first Augustus hit upon and it was developed and extended by later rulers, especially the Antonines, who invented and multiplied Imperial abstractions.¹²⁴ To worship the godheads whose *numen* found expression in the activities of an individual was clearly more moderate than to worship the man himself and afforded an effective outlet for the emotions felt towards an emperor whose personal characteristics were vital to the well-being of his subjects. Yet to exalt the *princeps* in this way was more than just an advanced form of flattery. On the theological level the emperor was clearly set above the rank of an ordinary mortal by having divinized Blessings and Virtues as his special companions or immanent within him; in one way or the other he is brought near to or associated with a special class of divine

¹²⁰ Weinstock, *DJ* 112, n. 3 with refs.; cf. Hölscher, *ibid.*

¹²¹ For *Providentia* under emperors from Claudius to the Severi see Martin, *Providentia* (above, note 30) 143-420.

¹²² See "Divus Augustus", above, Vol. I, 1, 159f.

¹²³ Fears, "Virtues" 876f., noting that such cults provided a mutually acceptable means by which a community could offer and a cautious magistrate could accept suitable expressions of esteem and gratitude.

¹²⁴ Fears, "Virtues" 889-910.

being. It can thus be seen that Blessings and Virtues played an integral part in the attempt to portray the emperor as a charismatic, beneficent monarch.¹²⁵ They contributed to the imperial mystique just as did the assimilation or identification of the emperor with gods or the placing of his head on the obverse of a coin, the side of honour reserved for gods up to the time of Julius Caesar.¹²⁶ Popular belief might well conclude that the emperor enjoyed the special protection of his divine companions or was divinely inspired by the gods who had their seat within his soul.¹²⁷

In conclusion it is worth calling attention, in passing, to the final development of Blessings and Virtues into titles. Already in the first century A.D., when the legal character of the emperor's titlature was uppermost, honorific titles are already apparent in his "unofficial titlature"; even *Augustus* or *pater patriae* belong more to the sphere of veneration or adulation.¹²⁸ The trend from legalistic to honorific, from positive to superlative, becomes more prominent with the conferral on Trajan of the titles *optimus* and *maximus* linking the emperor and his rule with the supreme god Jupiter.¹²⁹ The contribution of imperial abstractions to the development is very clear. Thus the title *piissimus*, sometimes attributed to Nerva, has an obvious connection with *Pietas*.¹³⁰ *Felix* begins its career as a title with Commodus and is associated thereafter with almost every emperor, often in conjunction with *pious* or *fortissimus*; in the 3rd century A.D. *pious*, *felix* and *invictus* occur alongside *imperator* and *Augustus* as a regular part of imperial titlature.¹³¹ A similar development can be seen in the case of other virtues. *Providentia* develops

¹²⁵ Fears, *o.c.* 938, cf. 889.

¹²⁶ Beaujeu, *Rel. Rom.* 425f.; Wallace-Hadrill (above, note 4) 315f. For assimilation and identification see "The Severi and the Provincial Cult of the Three Gauls", above, Vol. I, 2, 339-342. Note also the connection of Blessings and Virtues with other forms of imperial propaganda. In particular *Victoria Augusta* is linked with dedications *pro victoria* and the epithets *victor*, *invictus* and so on. See further M. Imhoff, "Invictus", *MH* 14 (1957), 197-215; Weinstock in *RE* (above, note 63) 2485-2500; *id.*, "Victor and Invictus", *HTHR* 50 (1957), 211-247; Hölscher, *Vic-toria* 159ff., cf. 152; Turcan (above, note 78) 1002f.

¹²⁷ Cf. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* (above, note 39) 76.

¹²⁸ H. Instinsky, "Kaiser und Ewigkeit", *Hermes* 77 (1942), 313-355 at 347; further "Augustus and the West", above, Vol. I, 1, 85-87 with bibl. For the contribution of acclamations to the general development see Alföldi, *Repräsentation* (above, note 92) 79-88.

¹²⁹ Beaujeu, *Rel. Rom.* 71-80. For Trajan as the earthly vice-regent of Jupiter see J. R. Fears, "The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 3-141 at 72f., 80-85; *id.*, "Virtues" 879.

¹³⁰ Instinsky (above, note 128) 348, n. 1; Charlesworth "Virtues" (above, note 18) 113f. See in general J. Liegle, "Pietas", *ZN* 42 (1932), 59-100 = H. Opperman (ed.), *Römische Wertbegriffe*, Darmstadt, 1974, 229-273.

¹³¹ Erckell (above, note 84) 115-119; Alföldi, *Repräsentation* 206-209; Instinsky, *o.c.* 349; M. P. Charlesworth, "Pietas and Victoria: the Emperor and the Citizen", *JRS* 33 (1943) 1 = H. Kloft (ed.), *Ideologie und Herrschaft in der Antike*, Darmstadt, 1979, 473; Weinstock, "Victor and Invictus" (above, note 126) 242-246. For such epithets under Caracalla and Geta see A. Mastino, *Le Titolature di Caracalla e Geta attraverso le Iscrizioni (Indici)* (Studi di Storia Antica 5), Bologna 1981, *passim*.

from the natural attribute of a good emperor into the court title *providentissimus*; Trajan, like Diocletian, is the most provident prince.¹³² On the other hand the phrase *aeternitas tua*, which appears in the letters of Pliny, can hardly be testimony to court language in Rome and there seems to be no firm evidence in the West for *aeternitas mea* or *aeternitas vestra* until the usage found currency under the emperors of the fourth century.¹³³ This final stage saw a reversion from the adjective back to the abstract noun which enjoyed a new vogue as a title of court etiquette.¹³⁴ Mattingly has well observed that the old pagan virtues now underwent an *interpretatio christiana*; *invictus*, for example, gave way to *victor*, *victoriosus*, *victor semper*, possibly because of the association of *invictus* with Mithras.¹³⁵ The cult of imperial Virtues and Blessings was clearly incompatible with Christian doctrine, yet so accustomed had men become to the Virtues of the ruler that these abstractions were perpetuated as styles of address. By the fourth century A.D. such forms were common as *Providentia Tua*, *Clementia Nostra*, *Vestra Pietas*, *Vestra Tranquillitas*. To trace the later evolution of Blessings and Virtues into ministering angels would be beyond the scope of the present discussion. Suffice it to say that Augustan abstractions still cling on to a tenuous existence today in such grandiloquent titles as His Holiness, Her Majesty, Your Excellency.

¹³² Charlesworth, "Virtues" 117f., 125; Berlinger, *Beiträge* (above, note 112) 86; Martin, *Providentia* (above, note 30) 227-259.

¹³³ Instinsky, *o.c.* 336 *ad* Pliny, *Ep. ad Trai.* 59, 83; cf. 345-355. For *perpetuus*, *perpetuitas* see further Alföldi, *Repräsentation* 209.

¹³⁴ Nock, "Comes" (above, note 36) 113, n. 99 (= *Essays* 671, n. 99).

¹³⁵ Mattingly (above, note 4) 114-117; Charlesworth (above, note 131) 8; Weinstock (above, note 131) *ibid.*

VIII. LITURGY AND CEREMONIAL

Literary evidence on the forms and observances of the ruler cult in the Latin provinces is practically non-existent, no more than a few half-sentences scattered in authors mostly of a late period. Such direct testimony as we happen to have is restricted to sundry echoes in the inscriptions and bas-reliefs, which of themselves are insufficient to provide a basis for reconstruction. Nevertheless by comparing these fleeting traces with evidence from Rome, Italy and the eastern provinces, where the picture is often much clearer, it becomes possible to piece together a reasonably clear outline of the liturgy and ceremonial of the Western imperial cult.¹ While it would be dangerous to assume that the development in the Latin West was necessarily parallel to that in the East², cautious inference from the rites of the Greek-speaking provinces is surely in order, particularly when similar usages can already be identified in the ritual practices of Rome and Italy or when Roman practices have been adopted locally in the East.

1. *Insignia and Costume*

Tacitus records that Segimundus, provincial priest at the Ara Ubiorum, dramatized his defection from the Roman cause by tearing his fillets: *quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles*. (*Ann.* 1, 57, 2). These *vittae*³ must correspond to the woollen bandalettes with which a Roman *flamen* had to bind his head out of doors whenever he did not wear his distinctive hat—for example, because of hot weather (*Serv. ad Aen.* 8, 664). Such fillets were mystic attributes and a badge of priesthood; hence the significance of Segimundus' action. But on festival days—and necessarily when sacrificing—a Roman *flamen* donned a skin hat (*galerus, pileus*) ending in a spike of olive-wood (*apex*), which was itself enveloped by a thread of wool (*apiculum*).⁴ The term *apex* came to be applied to the entire headgear and one of the quainter restrictions on the

¹ Military rites are omitted from consideration except for comparative purposes as they are best treated in the context of military ruler cult in general (Vol. III, 4).

² Cf. S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, 1984, 20, 77, 87f., 189f., noting that in Greece and Asia Minor the imperial cult was rooted in Greek tradition.

³ *Oxford Latin Dictionary* p. 2081 s.v. (2a); *Dar.-Sag.* 5 (1919) (1963) 950-957 s.v., citing in particular (n. 20) *Serv., ad Aen.* 3, 81: *vittae sacerdotis sunt*; *Der Kleine Pauly* 5 (1975) 1313 s.v. The ends of the *vitta* hung down over the cheeks or onto the shoulders of the priest and might be combined with an *infula*. Whether the *vitta* was purple, like that of the municipal *flaminica* (below, p. 481), is not in evidence.

⁴ *RE* (1894) 2699f. s.v.; *Dar.-Sag.* 2, 2 (1896) (1963) 1167-1169.

flamen Dialis was that he might never appear without his *apex* in the open air (Aulus Gellius 10, 15, 17).

That the hat of the provincial high priests closely followed the Roman fashion is confirmed by iconographic evidence from the temple at Tarraco, where a frieze is decorated with the *apex* of the provincial *flamen*; cheek straps for tying under the chin are clearly displayed (Vol. I, 1, Pls. XXXI, XXXII a).⁵ Municipal priests, too, wore a similar cap, as attested by the *apex* shown on the *cippus* of a local *flamen* at Apta (CIL 12, 1114), also by the base of C. Antonius Rufus, *flamen Divi Iuli* at Alexandria Troas (CIL 3, 386 = ILS 2718) (Pl. LXXXV a);⁶ a similar example is barely visible on a stone at Narbonne (CIL 12, 5115 = Espérandieu, *Recueil général des Bas-Reliefs de la Gaule romaine* 1, no. 674). The model from which the head-gear of imperial priests was copied is well exemplified on the Ara Pacis, where what are evidently the three *Flamines Maiores* and the new *flamen* of Divus Iulius wear the *galerus* with *apex*.⁷ From a passage in Fronto it would appear that priests had to wear their hats within the city (*Ad M. Caes.* 4, 4, 1: Naber p. 67): at least he reports seeing an inscription on the city gate of Anagnia (Italy) reading *flamen sume samentum*—a local Hernican word for the pelt of the sacrificial animal which the priest placed on his *apex* when entering the city.⁸ As the provincial priesthood looks to have been modelled in many respects upon the flamine of Juper (below, p. 478), it can hardly be doubted that imperial high priests were likewise expected to wear their peaked caps out of doors. Whether these were white in colour, like that of the *flamen Dialis* (Aulus Gellius 10, 15, 32), we have no idea.⁹

⁵ See "Divus Augustus", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 154 with Pl. XXXII a. For the lustral or propitiatory qualities of the *vitta* and *apex* see Dar.-Sag. 3, 2 (1904) (1963) 1411 s.v. *lustratio*; cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 2, 21-26.

⁶ Weinstock, *DJ* 405, n. 4 with refs.; *ThLL* 1, s.v. *apex*; P. Veyne, "Ordo et Populus, génies et chefs de file", *MEFR* 73 (1961), 229-274 at 236, n. 1 with refs. The terminal *apex* is missing from the *galerus* worn by a municipal *flamen* at Villevieille (Espérandieu, *Recueil* 3, no. 2707). The *apex* held exceptionally in the right hand of a figure on a grave relief at Melito Irpino presumably shows that the occupant of the grave held the flamine at some point of his career: T. Schäfer, "Flaminat und hasta. Bemerkungen zur Selbstdarstellung eines munizipalen Magistraten", *Scritti in Ricordo di Graziella Massari Gaballo e di Umberto Tocchetti Pollini*, Milan, 1986, 123-130.

⁷ I. Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (MAAR 22), Rome, 1955, 44, cf. 14, 18; cf. Wissowa, *RuKR*² 499 with nn. 5f.

⁸ D. Ladage, *Städtische Priester- und Kultämter im lateinischen Westen des Imperium Romanum zur Kaiserzeit* (Diss. Köln), Cologne, 1971, 107f.

⁹ Dar.-Sag. (above, note 4) 1179, cf. 1169, 1172. See further below, note 20. Like the *apex*, the laurel tree of Augustus is occasionally associated with imperial priests, presumably as an ensign of their office. See A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus* (Antiquitas 14), Bonn, 1973, 37f., noting iconographical traces over the house entrance of an *Augustalis* at Pompeii and on the grave-altar of a *flamen* by Tunis. For the *fasces* carried by the licitor attending a *flamen* see below, note 23. The association of the *hasta* with a *flamen*, as occasionally shown on reliefs, looks to be secondary or indirect: cf. Schäfer (above, note 6) 129.

The most striking feature of the insignia of imperial priests in the Greek East was a gold crown adorned with the emperor's likeness.¹⁰ The origins of this custom go back to the Hellenistic period, when the practice is attested of priests of the Seleucid ruler cult; in particular an edict of Antiochus III (Eriza: 204 B.C.) prescribes that the high priestesses of Laodice shall wear a golden crown bearing a likeness of the queen.¹¹ It has been suggested that priests of the state cult of the Ptolemies will have worn a similar crown, and crowns with a likeness of the god they served are a common attribute of priests of various oriental cults.¹² We have ample evidence for the custom in the imperial cult of the Eastern provinces. Epictetus, for instance, advises that wearing such a crown is not worth the money it will cost (1, 19, 26-29)¹³ and the golden crown bearing the image of Caesar is at the centre of the story of Thecla, who committed sacrilege by knocking it from the head of the Syrian Alexander, priest of the imperial cult at Pisidian Antioch (*Acts of SS. Paul and Thecla* 26-39).¹⁴ Above all, statues of high priests and priestesses, fragments of the crowns themselves, and representations on coins reveal that the crown could display a whole series of imperial busts, in three instances as many as fifteen (Pl. LXXXV b).¹⁵ How soon such priestly crowns may have passed into the Western cult is difficult to determine. A well-known passage in Suetonius

¹⁰ L. Robert, "Une inscription et les bains d'Augusta Trajana", *StudClas* 16 (1974), 53-88 at 57 with nn. 22-26 and bibl.; T. Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft* (Das römische Herrscherbildnis: Abt. 3; Bd. 5), Berlin, 1985, 43, n. 11 with refs. On the purple robe, gold crown and ceremonial white shoes of priests in general in the Greek East see further L. Robert, "Une vision de Perpetue martyre à Carthage en 203", *CRAI* (1982), 228-276 at 258ff.

¹¹ L. Robert, "Nouvelles remarques sur l'édit d'Eriza", *BCH* 54 (1930), 262-267 (= *Opera Minora Selecta* 2, 966-971); U. Wilcken, "Zur Entstehung des hellenistischen Königskultes", *SPAW* 28 (1938), 298-321 at 319, cf. 309; S. Giet, *L'Apocalypse et l'Histoire*, Paris, 1957, 127, n. 4 with bibl.; J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und Frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei*, Mainz, 1979, 46.

¹² For similar crowns in Roman Britain see M. Henig, *Religion in Roman Britain*, New York, 1984, 136f. with fig. 59. Cf. a superb gold crown of the priest of Serapis (early second century A.D.), recently discovered at the oasis of Khargeh: M. Reddè, "Le trésor de Douch", *CRAI* (1989), 427-445; also a bronze crown from Vetera, near Xanten: H. H. von Prittwitz und Gaffron, "Die Kultkrone aus Vetera", *BJ* 189 (1989), 121-137.

¹³ F. Millar, "Epictetus and the Imperial Court", *JRS* 55 (1965), 141-148 at 147.

¹⁴ For commentary see Price, *Rituals* (above, note 2) 170 with bibl., n. 1. The evidential value of the text is doubted by R. M. Grant, *CPh* 82 (1987), 177.

¹⁵ Robert (above, note 10) 57, n. 26; *id.* (above, note 11) 265f. (= *Op.Min.* 969f.); Inan-Rosenbaum (above, note 11) 38-47; Price, *Rituals* 171, nn. 3f. A good illustration of an ἀρχιερατικός στέφανος shaped like a *polos* is provided by a statue of an imperial priest in the museum at Adana: H. von Hesberg, "Archäologische Denkmäler zum römischen Kaiserkult", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 911-995 at 926f. = J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*, London, 1966, 204f., no. 282 (pl. 157). A lower band of the crown supports busts of five bearded figures, while the upper cylindrical part is adorned with five letters ΓΜΑΚΒ, each corresponding to one of the busts; an alpha in the centre is crowned by two Victories. Flat *taeniae* hang down upon the priest's neck and shoulders (Pl. LXXXV b). See further E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, "Kaiserpriester" in H. Beck and P. C. Bol (edd.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Ausstellung im Liebighaus Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt-am-Main), Frankfurt-am-Main, 1983, 34-39. See further Addenda, below, p. 617.

reveals that at the Capitoline games Domitian wore a crown of gold with representations of the Capitoline Triad, whereas the crowns of the priests around him bore likenesses of the emperor: *certamini praesedit crepidatus purpureaque amictus toga Graecanica, capite gestans coronam auream cum effigie Iovis et Iunonis Minervaeque, adsidentibus Diali sacerdote et collegio Flavialium pari habitu, nisi quod illorum coronis inerat et ipsius imago* (Domit. 4, 4). One might have expected the fashion to catch on in the West but, so far at least, traces are very few.¹⁶ A recently discovered inscription at Italica refers to the *corona aurea flaminialis* of the local priestess Vibia Modesta, who originated from Mauretania (*AEpig*, 1982, no. 521). Otherwise Tertullian refers to the golden crowns of provincial priests (*De idolol.* 18, 1) and inscriptions from Dacia and Africa begin to attest the term *coronati* from the third century.¹⁷ Actual examples of a crown of this type in the West are provided by two statues, now in the Louvre, believed to represent the later emperor Julian (Pl. LXXXV c). On Piganiol's interpretation he wore as Caesar in Gaul the crown he had worn at Athens as *archiereus agnothetes*.¹⁸ To these can be added the crown worn by an imperial priest, who is represented as presiding at the games he has given, on an ivory *diptychon* of ca. A.D. 400, likewise in the Louvre (Pl. LXXXVI a, b).¹⁹

By far our most informative source on the provincial priesthood is the fragmentary *Lex Narbonensis* (CIL 12, 6038 = ILS 6964; above, Vol. I, 2, Pl. XLIII), the provisions of which confirm that the office was closely modelled on that of the Roman *flamen Dialis*,²⁰ though one should naturally allow for variations of local character.²¹ Relevant to the present discussion is that the *flamen* appears to have worn the *toga praetexta*²² at the games (ll. 16),

¹⁶ M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1926, 598f., recognizes Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta in the three busts on the diadem of the *flamen* (?) of Aquileia represented in the mosaic published by G. Brusin, "Aquileia", *NSA* (1923), 224-31. The identification is doubted by Alföldi-Rosenbaum (above, note 15), who draws attention to a similar crown (without wearer) on a gladiator mosaic from the Baths of Caracalla (time of Constantine), now in the Vatican museum.

¹⁷ Dacia: CIL 3, 1433: *sacerdos arae | Augusti) n. | coronatus Dac(iarum) | trium...*; cf. *AEpig* (1969-70) no. 548; cf. L. Balla "Epigraphica Dacia", *Könyv és Könyvtár* 7, 2 (1969), 11-29. Africa: CIL 8, 17896 (ll. 9f.): reign of Julian. See further Kornemann, *Herrscherkulte* 115.

¹⁸ A. Piganiol, "La couronne de Julien César", *Byzantion* 13 (1938), 243-248. The statues originate from Italy.

¹⁹ Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *l.c.* 36f., Abb. 4.

²⁰ See O. Hirschfeld, "Zur Geschichte des römischen Kaisercultus", *SPAW* (1888), 857-60; Dar.-Sag. (above, note 4) 1179, cf. 1169, 1172; Weinstock, *DJ* 409. For the taboos attached to the wife of the provincial priest, and hence presumably to the priest himself, see M. Gayraud, *Narbonne antique des Origines à la Fin du IIIe Siècle* (RAN Suppl. 8), Paris, 1981, 396; further C. H. Williamson, "A Roman Law from Narbonne", *Athenaeum* 65 (1987), 173-189 at 182-184, noting that the law is technically a *constitutio*.

²¹ For a summary of the law see Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 108f.

²² This seems to follow from ll. 15f., where it is laid down that a past *flamen* has the right to wear the *praetexta* at public spectacles. See Williamson (above, note 20) 186f. For parallels at Oenoanda see Addenda, below, p. 617.

when he was accompanied by lictors (l. 2) and had the right to a seat of honour (l. 5; cf. the *προεδρία*, above, Vol. I, 1, p. 32)²³. In this he followed the precedent set by the *flamen Dialis*, who likewise wore the *praetexta*, a purple-fringed robe that was really the costume appropriate to a magistrate and hence reflects the close association of the priesthood with the magistracy.²⁴ From the *Lex Narbonensis* it is clear that in subsequent years a past provincial priest was entitled to parade in his robes on the days of public spectacles (ll. 15f.): which will have meant in practice a whole block of clergymen wearing the *praetexta*. A further privilege is that a former *flamen* had the right to wear his vestment on the anniversaries of the days when he had performed rites during his year of office (l. 16), but unfortunately the text is defective at the critical point. Mommsen, Hirschfeld and others read ...*veste pu[blice]...*;²⁵ that is, the past *flamen* will have worn his *praetexta* just as when sacrificing during his year. The restoration is supported by the circumstance that the *flamen Dialis* seems always to have worn the *praetexta*, also by the fact, for example, that the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* accords municipal *pontifices* and *augures* the right to wear the *praetexta* at sacrifice (CIL 2, 5439: LXVI = ILS 6087).²⁶ On the other hand the literary authorities confirm that at the moment of sacrifice a *flamen* wore (on top of his *toga praetexta*?) the woollen *laena*, a shorter vestment folded double and evidently of purple; this *laena* was placed on his shoulders on the day of his inauguration and served as his religious attribute.²⁷ Tertullian in particular mentions both the *praetexta* and the *trabea* (similar to the *laena*), also a third *toga*, pat-

²³ Gayraud, *Narbonne* (above, note 20) 395 with n. 123, understands a reference to the *lictiores viatores* attested at Narbo (CIL 12, 4447f.). See further Dar.-Sag. 3, 2 (1904) (1963) 1242 s.v. *lictor* (Lécrivain). The *fascies* carried by the lictor attending an imperial *flamen* (rather than a *sevir*) may be represented on a relief at Nîmes: Espérandieu, *Recueil* 1, no. 462. For the presence of the lictors at a sacrifice see the scene shown on the altar before the municipal temple of Vespasian at Pompeii: Scott Ryberg, *Rites* (above, note 7) 83 with fig. 38a. For seats of honour at Oenoanda see Addenda, below, pp. 617f.

²⁴ Wissowa, *RuKR*² 498f., 507; S. Weinstock, "The Image and Chair of Germanicus", *JRS* 47 (1957), 144-154 at 150, n. 55.

²⁵ Followed by Gayraud, *Narbonne* 395 with n. 127 and refs., cf. 409. But see now Williamson (with M. H. Crawford), *o.c.* 178f., reading *pe*[...]; no restoration is proposed. The difficulty is to decide whether a tilted horizontal at the top of a partially preserved upright (Γ) is the upper part of an E (or F) or simply a slightly larger version of the similar tag on top of numerous letters throughout the inscription. If the latter is the case, the upper part of the vertical could still be the top left-hand section of a V, as executed for example in 1.6 (second *v* of *purpurea*), 1.7 (*invita*) or 1.17 (*civitate*). While clearly a strong possibility, the new reading does not seem to rule out the standard *pu*[....]

²⁶ Wissowa, *RuKR*² 498, nn. 7f.; Williamson, *o.c.* 186.

²⁷ Dar.-Sag (above, note 4) 1167, nn. 4-16 with refs.; cf. *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v. Note in particular Serv., *ad Aen.* 4, 262: *togam autem duplicem, quam purpuream debere esse non dubium est...* See further Scott Ryberg, *Rites* (above, note 7) 44, n. 29 with refs. Whether the *flamines* on the Ara Pacis wear the *laena*, as she claims (*ibid.*), is open to question; their garment is certainly not short.

terned with palm leaves (*palmata*), and adds the interesting detail that the priest's ensemble was completed by a gold ornament worn round the neck.²⁸ As the wording of the *Lex Narbonensis* could be taken to imply a contrast between *ea veste pu[* and the *praetexta* worn at shows,²⁹ the balance of the argument tends to favour the older view that the proper restoration should be ...*veste pu[r]purea*,³⁰ especially when the wife of the *flamen* could appear in white or purple (l. 6). In the East at any rate the purple robes of the high priest are very much in evidence³¹ and it looks to have been the purple *himation* in the Greek style that Domitian sported at the Capitoline games (above, p. 478). The discussion would be put on a different footing if the letter after *p* is in fact an *e*, as has recently been proposed.

The attire of municipal priest likewise followed closely the Roman fashion. Thus a sentence in Pacatus records that, when Theodosius visited the city of Emona, he was met by ...*conspicuous veste nivea senatores, reverendos municipali purpura flamines, insignes apicibus sacerdotes* (*Paneg. Lat.* 2[12]: 37, 4). With this one may compare a comment of Minucius Felix: *templa ut busta despiciunt, deos despuunt, rident sacra, miserentur miseri (si fas est) sacerdotum, honores et purpuras despiciunt, ipsi seminudi* (*Octav.* 8, 4). The wording of Pacatus, particularly the contrast with the white robes of the senators, could imply an all-purple garment rather than just purple-fringed,³² perhaps therefore the *laena* or *trabea*. We have no information on the dress of the wife of the municipal *flamen* or the *flaminica*³³ but it is reasonable to suppose that, like the wife of the provincial *flamen* (above), she will have worn white or purple. What we do have is a bust from Nîmes showing that her coiffure was enveloped by bandelettes corresponding to those around the hair of the *flamen* when he took off his *apex* (Espérandieu, *Recueil* 1, no. 478

²⁸ *De Idolol.* 18, 1: *igitur purpura illa et aurum cervicis ornamentum eodem more apud Aegyptios et Babylonios insignia erant dignitatis, quo more nunc praetextae, vel trabeae, vel palmatae, et coronae aureae sacerdotum provincialium, sed non eadem condicione.* For the *trabea* see Dar.-Sag. 5 (1919) (1963) 382 s.v. (Courby), noting that the *trabea* was entirely of purple; Serv. *ad Aen.* 7, 612, citing Suetonius' distinction of three kinds of *trabeae*.

²⁹ ...*item spectaculo publico in provincia [edito, inter decuriones esse prae]|textato eisque diebus quibus cum flamen esset sacrificium fecerit ea veste pu[...]* ll. 15f. The term *vestis* is certainly appropriate to the *laena*; cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 4, 262: *Laena genus est vestis*; further *ibid.* 263.

³⁰ Gayraud, *Narbonne* 395, n. 126 with refs.; add Jullian in Dar.-Sag. (above, note 4) 1167, n. 11.

³¹ Robert (above, note 10) 57 with literary and epigraphical texts attesting the purple robes of high priests; cf. *id.* (above, note 11) 262, n. 3 (= *Op. Min.* 966, n. 3); F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 B.C.-A.D. 337)*, London, 1977, 37, n. 66, 389; Price, *Rituals* 129 with n. 154 and refs. See now F. Quass, "Ein fragwürdiger Senator aus Prusias ad Hypium (Bithynien)", *ZPE* 50 (1983), 187-194 at 191f. See further Addenda, below, p. 617.

³² Ladage, *Städtische Priester* (above, note 8) 106.

³³ For the point that the *flaminica* is not necessarily the wife of the *flamen* or vice versa see "The Institution of the Imperial Cult in Roman Mauretania" above Vol. I, 2, p. 293, nn. 67f.; further Williamson, *o.c.* 183.

= *CIL* 12, 3175; Pl. LXXXVI c). The name given to this striking hair style was *tutulus*, perhaps in origin the term for a sort of bonnet covering the hair.³⁴ According to Festus, the *vitta* of the municipal priestess was purple: *tutulum vocari aiunt flaminicarum capitis ornamentum, quod fiat vitta purpurea innexa crinibus, et extractum in altitudinem* (Lindsay, p. 484, 32). To this evidence can be added the golden crown of Vibia Modesta (above, p. 478) corresponding to the crowns worn by high priestesses of the imperial cult in the East.³⁵

The counterpart to the vestments of priests and priestesses is the holiday dress of the common people. What form this took in Rome and Italy is frequently described by the literary authorities. Thus at supplications, when the whole community participated, the men wore wreaths and carried a laurel branch, the women went with loosened hair.³⁶ Similarly in 42 B.C. a law was passed that Caesar's birthday should be celebrated by everyone, each wearing a laurel wreath and making merry; sanctions were imposed on those who failed to comply (*CD* 47, 18, 5).³⁷ Suetonius describes the scene in the bay of Puteoli, when passengers aboard a ship from Alexandria paid their respects to Augustus shortly before his death: ...*candidati coronatique et tura libantes...* (*Aug.* 98, 2);³⁸ while Dio describes the arrival of Tiridates in Rome to make submission to Nero, with the people drawn up in tribes and wearing white clothes and laurels (*CD* 63, 4, 2). We have a similar picture of festive garb in Herodian's account of how the Italian cities sent out delegations of their prominent citizens, clad in white and wearing laurel wreaths, to meet Pupienus Maximus at Aquileia in 238 (8, 7, 2). Tertullian on several occasions condemns the wearing of garlands, particularly military garlands, as idolatrous³⁹ and it is clear that on the occasions of both private and state festivals doorposts too were decked with laurels.⁴⁰ Even though no direct testimony has accrued, then, one can hardly doubt that similar attire will have been typical of imperial occasions celebrated in the western provinces.⁴¹

³⁴ Dar.-Sag. (above, note 4) 1170 with fig. 3106 (= *CIL* 12, 3175). Cf. Espérandieu 1, no. 555 (Béziers).

³⁵ Above, note 15.

³⁶ Weinstock, *DJ* 62 with numerous references.

³⁷ H. Heinen, "Zur Begründung des römischen Kaiserkultes", *Klio* 11 (1911), 129-177 at 136 with n. 3; Weinstock, *DJ* 207, 397.

³⁸ For the religious significance of wearing white clothes and the power of crowns to ward off evil and bring good luck, see G. Rocca-Serra, "Une formule cultuelle chez Suétone (*Divus Augustus* 98, 2)" in *Mélanges de Philosophie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Ancienne offerts à Pierre Boyancé* (Coll. École franç. de Rome 22), Rome, 1974, 671-680 at 672 with nn. 1f.; further *RE* 21 (1952) 1911 s.v. *pompa* (Bömer).

³⁹ T. D. Barnes, *Tertullian. A Historical and Literary Study*², Oxford, 1985, 132-135.

⁴⁰ Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* (above, note 9) 4-6.

⁴¹ For the crowns and white robes appropriate to Greek religious festivals see Price, *Rituals* (above, note 2) 102 with n. 5 and bibl., cf. 111. For the wearing of crowns in Egypt on an imperial occasion see below, note 109 with refs.

2. Calendar and Anniversaries

We have seen that one clause of the *Lex Narbonensis* (above, p. 479) enables a former *flamen* to wear his priestly vestment on the days he had made sacrifice when still in office (l. 16). A second stipulation (ll. 19f.), while partly dependent on a restoration, lays down that the replacement for a *flamen* shall perform rites for the remaining part of the year in the order followed by the annual *flamen*.⁴² Both provisions clearly suppose a calendared order of observances.⁴³ The precise occasions are not revealed in the Narbonese charter but the presumed Antonine copy of the inscription of the Ara Numinis Augusti at Narbo (*CIL* 12, 4333 = *ILS* 112) preserves regulations prescribing cult acts on certain anniversaries: the Kalends of January, Augustus' first assumption of the *fascēs* (7th January), his reconciliation of the people and decurions of Narbo (31st May), and the two days when his birthday was celebrated (23rd–24th September).⁴⁴ What this brief list makes clear is that, apart from the occasional local anniversary, the festivals celebrated in the civic cult of Narbo were based upon those observed in religious practice at Rome. As the discussion will show, the Roman calendar did in fact provide the pattern not only for municipal cult in Italy but also for festivals celebrated in the provincial and municipal cults of the empire as a whole. Even where direct evidence is lacking, therefore, it becomes possible to sketch a general picture of the imperial anniversaries that will have been observed both in the eastern and in the western provinces, though the precise selection of festivals will naturally have differed to some extent from one locality to another.⁴⁵ Fortunately, the manner in which the ruler cult was observed at Rome can be largely reconstructed from the surviving Acts of the Arval Brethren.⁴⁶ These cannot have been the

⁴² ... *Narbōne sacra facito [eaeque secundum hanc legem per reliquam] partem eius anni eo ordine habito quo annuorum flamin[um] sacra habentur...*

⁴³ Gayraud, *Narbonne* (above, note 20) 393f. with n. 117, cf. 409; Williamson (above, note 20) 187.

⁴⁴ For analysis of the inscription see recently P. Kneissl, "Entstehung und Bedeutung der Augustalität. Zur Inschrift der ara Narbonensis (*CIL* XII 4333)", *Chiron* 10 (1980), 291–326; further D. Chante, *Le Culte impérial en Narbonnaise sous le Haut Empire* (D.E.S. Montpellier), 1967, 31–40. See now J. Cels-Saint-Hilaire, "Numen Augusti et Diane de l'Aventin: le témoignage de l'ara Narbonensis" in *Les grandes Figures religieuses. Fonctionnement pratique et symbolique dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1986, 455–502. For the thesis that the altar was restored in the second century see Gayraud, *Narbonne* 264f., 366 with refs.

⁴⁵ K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Sociological Studies in Roman History, 1), Cambridge, 1978, 207, n. 14.

⁴⁶ To the standard works of G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt*, Berlin, 1874 (1967); and E. Pasoli, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium quae post annum MDCCCLXXIV reperta sunt* (*Studi e Ricerche* 7), Bologna, 1950; add E. Pasoli, "Additamenta Actorum Fratrum Arvalium", *Mem. Accad. delle Scienze di Bologna* (Cl. di Scienze Mor. Ser. 5a) 6, 1953, 73–92. See further E. Olshausen, "'Über die römischen Ackerbrüder.' Geschichte eines Kultes", *ANRW* 2, 16, 1 (1978) 820–832 with bibl., 831 (C,D); J. Scheid and H. Broise, "Deux nouveaux fragments des actes des frères arvaux de l'année 38 ap. J.-C.", *MEFRA* 92 (1980), 215–248: see above, Vol. I, 1, p. 182; P. Herz, "Die Arvalakten des Jahres 38 n. Chr.", *BJ* 181 (1981), 89–110 with Korrekturzusatz p. 110; cf. *JRS* 7 (1981), 135, n. 196 with refs. For a general survey of the

only confraternity to celebrate public rites on imperial occasions⁴⁷ but, apart from the testimony of the Arvals, our sources provide very little information on the activities of the four great priestly colleges, the *sodales Augustales* and the like, or the priests of individual *divi* and *divae*.⁴⁸ On the other hand the official festival list is reflected in the literary sources and fragmentary Italian *fasti* together with sundry inscriptions, the iconographic record and two late calendars.⁴⁹ Similar evidence also occurs in Italy and the provinces, where it serves the double purpose of filling out the picture in Rome and at the same time documenting the extent to which Roman festivals were adopted and celebrated outside the capital.

a) Rome

In the Roman state calendar a number of occasions were singled out on which special honours were paid to the living emperor and members of his family, later also to deified members of the imperial house.⁵⁰ On these days sacrifices were offered by the Arvals on the Capitoline hill.⁵¹

The prototype of such celebrations would appear to have been the public sacrifices decreed for Caesar's birthday in 45 B.C.⁵² Nothing is known of these but, when Augustus' birthday was made a public festival in 30 B.C., it was celebrated, like that of Caesar *post mortem*, in the form of a *supplicatio*.⁵³ Subsequently the birthday of Gaius Caesar, the grandson of

Arval Acta see recently M. Beard, "Writing and Ritual", *PBSR* 53 (1985), 114-162, suggesting the possibility that no other major college kept similar written records (126f.).

⁴⁷ So J. Gagé, "Divus Augustus. L'idée dynastique chez les empereurs Julio-Claudiens", *RA* 34 (1931), 11-41 at 24; cf. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*, Oxford, 1979, 79. He cites no evidence to support the claim that all the priestly colleges at Rome celebrated the emperor's birthday, likely though this is.

⁴⁸ A restored entry in the *Fasti Praenestini* records that on 17th January the four great priestly colleges sacrificed at the altar of the Numen Augusti: Degraffi, *InscrIt* 13, 2; p. 115, 401. The priestly colleges also took part in the annual celebration of Caligula's Clementia: Suet., *Gaius* 16, 4; CD 59, 16, 10; cf. Weinstock, *DJ* 241. On the priesthoods see J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Leipzig, 1885 (1975), 3, 463-475; M. W. Hoffman Lewis, *The Official Priests of Rome under the Julio-Claudians* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 16), Rome, 1955, 7-23, 102-108, *et passim*.

⁴⁹ P. Herz, "Kaiserfeste der Prinzipatszeit", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1135-1200 at 1137f.

⁵⁰ For detailed treatment see Herz, "Kaiserfeste" (above, note 49) throughout; *id.*, *Untersuchungen zum Festkalender der römischen Kaiserzeit nach datierten Weih- und Ehreninschriften* (Diss. Mainz), Mainz, 1975. See further Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* (above, note 47) 64f.

⁵¹ Taylor, *Divinity* 193, suggests that the rites performed at the emperor's household shrine on the Palatine might have been of more than local significance. Until his own temple was completed under Gaius, cult was paid to Divus Augustus at the temple of Mars Ultor (CD 56, 46, 4). The altars from the *vici* likewise depict public sacrifice, presumably on the appropriate days of the calendar: Scott Ryberg, *Rites* (above, note 7) 55ff., especially 59f.

⁵² See Weinstock's analysis, *DJ* 206-211.

⁵³ For the old form of *supplicatio* see R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey, W. F. Snyder, "The Feriale Duranum", *YCS* 7 (1940), 1-222 at 193f. For the significance of Augustus' *natalis* see Herz,

Augustus, became an annual festival, as also did the *natales* of further members of the imperial house—among others Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, Livia, Antonia, even Sejanus.⁵⁴ Other celebrations added to the calendar under Augustus included such anniversaries as his victories in Sicily and at Actium, his entry into Alexandria, the death of Anthony, Augustus' return to Rome in 19 B.C. (the *Augustalia*), the constitution and dedication of various altars, the dedication of the temples of Apollo and Mars Ultor, steps in Augustus' own career such as his first assumption of the *fasces*, his investiture as *pontifex maximus* or the granting of the title *pater patriae*, the victories of Caesar, the adoption, birthday and other anniversaries of Tiberius.⁵⁵ How the list of these occasions had expanded under the Julio-Claudians is shown by the surviving *AFA* for the reign of Nero.⁵⁶ In addition to the annual *vota* for the *princeps* and his wife, which were made and paid by the Arvals on 3rd January, these now include Nero's adoption, his *comitia consularia*, *dies imperii*, and *tribunicia potestas*, as well as special occasions such as his return to the city or the detection of conspiracies.

Festivals of the deified emperor developed along very similar lines. The senate's grant of celestial honours to Augustus in 14 A.D. was marked by *feriae* on 17th September, and after Gaius dedicated the temple of Divus Augustus (30th August, A.D. 37; Pl. LXXXVII a), the Arvals marked the two-day festival of Augustus' *natalis* (23rd–24th September) by sacrifices on the Capitol the first day and at his new temple on the second.⁵⁷ Similar rites to Divus Augustus were performed on various other days, notably that of the dedication of his temple,⁵⁸ so it would appear that a significant development

Festkalender 6, 43; "Kaiserfeste" 1147, n. 71; M. Le Glay, "Le culte de Rome et de Salus à Pergame..." in Sencer Şahin *et al.* (ed.), *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien* (Festschrift F. K. Dörner), Leiden, 1978, 522f. with bibl. With the addition of games—first held in 20 B.C., annually from 8 B.C.—the festival was raised to the level of that of major deities. For Augustus' birthday as the new *natalis* of several temples see P. Gros, *Aurea Tempia. Recherches sur l'Architecture religieuse de Rome à l'Epoque d'Auguste* (Bibl. Ecole franç. d'Athènes et de Rome 231), Paris, 1976, 32f.

⁵⁴ Herz, *Festkalender* (above, note 50) 41–44. For some particular birthdays see W. Suerbaum, "Merkwürdige Geburtstage", *Chiron* 10 (1980), 327–355.

⁵⁵ For the full list see Herz, *Festkalender* 8–10; "Kaiserfeste" 1147–1155.

⁵⁶ Henzen, *AFA* LXI–LXXXIX. For the development of the calendar reign by reign see Herz, *Festkalender* 6–41; "Kaiserfeste" 1155ff.

⁵⁷ The order was apparently reversed in A.D. 38, cf. Henzen, *AFA* XLVI, 51. For the origin of the two-day celebration see "Fer. Dur." (above, note 53) 159 with n. 724. Further sacrifices to Divus Augustus, perhaps connected with his *natalis*, were offered under Gaius at the temple of Concordia, on the Palatine, and at the altar of Providentia: Herz, *Festkalender* 19; "Kaiserfeste" 1162. On the temple of Divus Augustus see now H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Archaeologica 39), Rome, 1985, 113–128.

⁵⁸ Also on 3rd January, 18th March, 23rd April (at the Theatre of Marcellus), 12th October; cf. 1st January, A.D. 39: Henzen XLI–XLIX.

of his cult took place under Gaius.⁵⁹ As for other deified personages, by a decree of A.D. 40 the birthdays of Tiberius and of Gaius' dead sister Drusilla⁶⁰ were now to be celebrated in the same way as that of Augustus (CD 59, 24, 7). Following her consecration in A.D. 42, Livia was made *σύνναος* with Divus Augustus (CD 60, 5, 2) and on this anniversary (17th January) along with other occasions such as Augustus' birthday, the Arvals sacrificed to her and to Divus Augustus at their joint temple on the Palatine.⁶¹ Again, after Claudius was deified, the *Acta* record that, on various anniversaries, he received sacrifice along with Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta,⁶² and a similar picture seems to hold true for Diva Claudia and Diva Poppaea.⁶³ It seems clear, then, that under the Julio-Claudians each *divus* or *diva* became the object of similar rites on similar occasions just as the *sodales Augustales* were broadened to become the *sodales Augustales Claudiales*.

Much the same picture is observable under Galba, Otho, and (inferentially) Vitellius, though now only Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta and Divus Claudius are named;⁶⁴ but from the accession of Vespasian the *Acta* omit all mention of these various rites of the consecrated dead.⁶⁵ This might be explained in terms of the political purposes of the new regime were it not that sacrifices on the birthdays of living members of the *domus imperatoria* also disappear and from A.D. 81 even the commemoration of special days such as the *dies imperii*. One might therefore suppose simple retrenchment on the part of the Arvals in order to save expense—especially when there are other grounds for believing that the principal festivals of the imperial house will have kept their place in the public calendar along with the anniversaries of a

⁵⁹ Gagé (above, note 47) 11-41; cf. Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 19, 87 and a bronze *sestertius* of A.D. 37-38 showing reverse: Gaius sacrificing from the *patera* as a preliminary to animal sacrifice at a garlanded altar before what is generally taken to be the hexastyle temple of Divus Augustus (but see Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* [London, 1929] 63); obverse: seated figure of Pietas symbolizing the emperor's affection and loyalty in honouring Divus Augustus; Mattingly, *BMC* 1, p. 153, no. 41, cf. cxlvi; Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC* 1, pp. 113, 117, nos. 35, 37; A. S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet*, University of Glasgow, London, 1962, 1, p. 83, no. 17.

⁶⁰ Herz, *Festkalender* 18; "Kaiserfeste" 1161, noting that this marks the beginning of the process by which divine honours were extended to other members of the imperial family. For the exceptional celebration of Drusilla's birthday *post mortem* in the manner of the Megalesia in A.D. 38 see Weinstock, *DJ* 211; P. Herz, "Diva Drusilla", *Historia* 30 (1981), 324-336 at 329f.

⁶¹ G. Grether, "Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult", *AJPhil* 67 (1946), 222-252 at 249; Henzen LV.

⁶² Henzen LXIII (1st January); LXVII (3rd January); LXIX (12th, 13th October); LXXI (3rd January); LXXV (12th October); LXXVII (3rd January).

⁶³ Henzen LXXXII; cf. LXXXIVf.

⁶⁴ Henzen XC-XCVI.

⁶⁵ Wissowa, *RuKR* 346, 447; "Fer. Dur." (above, note 53) 179. Deified members of the Flavian house are similarly neglected in the *AFA* in the later years of the dynasty.

growing list of *divi* and *divae* (see below, pp. 487-89).⁶⁶ Evidence of a general kind for the later forms of the state ruler cult is provided by the creation of sodalities (*Flaviales*, *Flaviales Titiales*, *Hadrianales*, *Antoniniani*),⁶⁷ the erection of temples to individual *divi* down to that of Antoninus Pius (a comprehensive *templum divorum* stood on the Palatine from the middle of the second century), the nomination of *flamines* of each *divus* up until ca. A.D. 200⁶⁸— and of course by the various coin issues commemorating the consecration of individuals. There are also scattered notices in the fragmentary *Fasti Ostienses*⁶⁹ which attest or at least can be inferred to attest the observance of new or established imperial festivals. But for a more detailed picture one may best turn to the evidences of dated inscriptions and documentary sources.

If one considers the number of dated inscriptions that fall on days of no known significance,⁷⁰ it can be seen that the coincidence of a recorded date with some important imperial or other festival⁷¹ of the Roman calendar may often enough be no more than accidental. Furthermore, the Kalends, Nones and Ides had the character of fixed days and consequently must in some cases

⁶⁶ Flavian religious policy itself suggests that Julio-Claudian *divi* can hardly have been dropped. Thus Vespasian rebuilt the temple of Divus Claudius, which had been begun by Agrippina and pulled down by Nero (Suet., *Vesp.* 9), and a "restored" series of the Divus Augustus type was issued under Titus and Domitian: Mattingly, *BMC* 2, lxxviii., lxxxiv, 281-285, 414f.; these series will have emphasized the link between the new dynasty and its predecessor. For the possibility that the symbols on coins shown on two series of Flavian *aurei* and *denarii* (A.D. 80-81) may have represented deified Julio-Claudians as well as Divus Vespasianus and Diva Domitilla see A. L. Abaecherli, "Imperial Symbols on certain Flavian coins", *CP* 30 (1935), 131-140 at 134, 139. On the calendar under the Flavians and later dynasties see Herz, "Kaiserfeste" 1166ff. Beard (above, note 46) 135 sees the disappearance of imperial celebrations from the Arval record as a reaction to the trend by which the traditional cults of the city became increasingly focused on the imperial house.

⁶⁷ On the senatorial *sodales Antoniniani* see in general G. Alföldy, "Gallicanus noster", *Chiron* 9 (1979), 507-544.

⁶⁸ Wissowa, *RuKR*¹, 346f.; Latte, *RRG* 318, n. 1; Herz, *Festkalender* 68. For the building programme of Domitian on the Campus Martius see Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* (above, note 10) 92 with Wissowa, *o.c.* 347, n. 2; M. Torelli, "Culto imperiale e spazi urbani in età flavia dai rilievi Hartwig all'arco di Tito" in *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et Histoire (Ier siècle av. J.C.-IIIe siècle ap. J.C.)* (Coll. de l'Ecole franç. de Rome 98), Rome, 1987, 563-582 at 571f.

⁶⁹ Degraffi, *InscrIt* 13, 1, pp. 173-241; L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* (Rozprawy Československé Akademie Věd 67, 6), Prague, 1957; cf. Herz, *Festkalender* 23, 26-30, 52.

⁷⁰ See the basic collection by W. F. Snyder, "Public Anniversaries in the Roman Empire", *YCS* 7 (1940), 225-317 with the comments of A. D. Nock, "The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year", *HTHR* 45 (1952), 186-252 at 229-238 (= A. D. Nock [ed. Z. Stewart], *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1972, 2, 772-778). For helpful commentary on the relevance of individual inscriptions see now Herz, *Festkalender* (1975) 114-403, who includes dated inscriptions published in the interval since 1940. The following discussion is largely dependent on these two works.

⁷¹ For examples of dated inscriptions from Rome that may reflect the continued celebration of old festivals from the Republican period see Herz, *Festkalender* 45-48 and s.v. 1st March, 17th March, 19th April, 21st April, 23rd May, 4th June, 9th June, 23rd July, 17th August, 23rd August. For oriental festivals of the Roman calendar see Herz 49-52 and s.v. 15th March, 27th March, 4th April, 5th April, 25th April.

have been chosen for that reason alone as appropriate days to make a dedication or to set up an honorific inscription⁷²—even though a festival happens to fall on the date in question. But, where the wording or context confirms or strongly suggests an intentional connection between the date of an inscription and the event prescribed for celebration on that day, it is clear that such an inscription testifies to the continued observance of a festival of the Roman calendar.⁷³ Even when a dated inscription has no apparent relation to the relevant anniversary in the calendar—for example, an honorific inscription to a worthy fellow-citizen—one may be justified in inferring from the social status of the dedicant that such a day as the emperor's *natalis* has been chosen quite deliberately—just as in the *Fasti Ostienses* buildings are dedicated or games held on recognizable anniversaries. Testimony of this kind is of marginal interest so long as we have the various local calendars, all of which (despite individual variations) go back to an official Roman archetype. But once this source of evidence dries up *ca.* A.D. 50—a notable exception is the *Fasti Ostienses* relating to 49 B.C.–A.D. 154—dated inscriptions assume a very much greater importance. In practice dated inscriptions from Rome of the time of Augustus and his immediate successors are limited to stones that seem to echo various military occasions⁷⁴ or the birthdays of Tiberius and Claudius.⁷⁵ Even fewer inscriptions accrue from the Flavian period but there are sufficient to suggest that imperial birthdays and the *dies imperii* of the living emperor⁷⁶ continued to hold their place in the public calendar notwithstanding the reticence of the *AFI*. A similar picture can be better documented at Rome under the Antonines and the Severi,⁷⁷ while from the beginning of

⁷² For evidence from Rome see the fixed days (Kalends, Nones, Ides) appropriate to each month in Herz, *Festkalender passim*.

⁷³ Of course there is always the possibility that a festival might still be celebrated locally when no longer in the official calendar—just as inscriptions falling on days of no apparent significance may echo festivals so far unknown to ourselves; cf. Herz, *Festkalender* 34f., 317.

⁷⁴ 1st August, entry into Alexandria: *CIL* 6, 283, 445-7 (7 B.C.); 3rd August, Tiberius' victory in Illyricum: possibly echoed in *CIL* 6, 852 (A.D. 12); 26th May, German triumph of Germanicus: *CIL* 6, 811 (A.D. 38); 28th May, Drusus' triumph in Illyricum: *CIL* 6, 251 (A.D. 27), perhaps also *AEpig* (1936) no. 95 (cf. Herz, *Festkalender* 215).

⁷⁵ 1st August, *natalis* of Claudius: *AEpig* (1953) no. 24 (*ca.* A.D. 45); 16th November, *natalis* of Tiberius: possibly reflected *post mortem* in *CIL* 6, 853 (A.D. 57). See also *CIL* 6, 343 (?26th June, A.D. 26), which may reflect the day of Tiberius' adoption.

⁷⁶ 17th November, *natalis* of Vespasian: *CIL* 6, 200 = 36747 (*ca.* A.D. 71); (On the problem of Vespasian's *dies imperii* see Herz, "Kaiserfeste" 1166); 24th June, Titus' *dies imperii* as sole emperor: perhaps reflected *post mortem* in *CIL* 6, 622 (A.D. 107); cf. Herz, "Kaiserfeste" 1167.

⁷⁷ 28th January, *dies imperii* of Trajan: *CIL* 6, 42-44 (A.D. 115), perhaps also *CIL* 6, 791 (A.D. 115), cf. Herz, *Festkalender* 136; "Kaiserfeste" 1169; 9th April, *dies imperii* of Septimius Severus: perhaps echoed in *CIL* 6, 862 (A.D. 202); 24th January, *natalis* of Hadrian: *CIL* 6, 31125 (A.D. 135); 15th December, *natalis* of Lucius Verus: possibly reflected in *CIL* 6, 1119b (A.D. 161); 19th September, *natalis* of Antoninus Pius: *CIL* 6, 855 (A.D. 150), *AEpig* (1917/18) no. 111 (A.D. 152); 26th April, *natalis* of Marcus Aurelius: *AEpig* (1971) no. 29 (A.D. 161), perhaps also *CIL* 6, 971 (A.D. 129); 4th April, *natalis* of Caracalla: *CIL* 6, 1027 (A.D. 199), 1054

the second century onwards we have dated inscriptions that witness to the continued observance of the occasions of deceased rulers following their consecration.⁷⁸

Helpful though such evidence is, its significance is obviously less than would be that of a regular list of festivals. The gap in our knowledge is partly bridged by the testimony of two calendars preserved on papyri from Tebtunis (reign of Marcus Aurelius)⁷⁹ and Oxyrhynchus (?late second century),⁸⁰ and to these can be added a record from Arsinoe⁸¹ of expenses associated with the celebration of largely Roman festivals at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in the reign of Caracalla (see below, p. 494).⁸² But by far our most valuable source of information on the state ruler cult within the entire period from 70 B.C. down to the middle of the fourth century is a calendar of festivals discovered at Dura-Europus on the Euphrates.⁸³ Officially prescribed for observance by the 20th cohort of Palmyrenes in the time of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235), the list is of outstanding interest since it appears to be one

(A.D. 200), 2130 (A.D. 215); 25th September, ? *natalis* of Julia Domna (Snyder, "Anniversaries" [above, note 70] 314-316): perhaps reflected in *CIL* 6, 218 (A.D. 202); 25th February, adoption of Antoninus Pius; also of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus: *AEpig* (1948) no. 97 (A.D. 179); 31st July, ?unknown festival of Commodus (Herz, "Kaiserfeste" 1180): perhaps echoed in *CIL* 6, 414 a + b (A.D. 191); 26th June, Severus Alexander named Caesar, received *toga virilis*: *CIL* 6, 2799 = 32543 (A.D. 227), perhaps also 30961 (reign of Severus Alexander). See further P. Herz, "Der *dies imperii* unter den Severern", *ZPE* 31 (1978), 285-290; R. E. A. Palmer, "Severan Ruler-Cult and the Moon in the City of Rome", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1085-1120 at 1097-1113.

⁷⁸ 23rd September, *natalis* of Augustus: *CIL* 6, 253; perhaps also *AEpig* (1975) no. 115 (A.D. 393) (for the date see Herz, *Festkalender* 276); 1st August, *natalis* of Claudius: perhaps echoed indirectly in *CIL* 6, 29691 (A.D. 206); ?24th January, *natalis* of Hadrian (cf. *CIL* 6, 33885, ll. 9f.): restored in *AEpig* (1971) no. 33 (A.D. 149) by Herz, "Kaiserfeste", 1171, n. 246; 10th July, *dies imperii* of Antoninus Pius: *CIL* 6, 2835 (A.D. 233); 31st August, *natalis* of Commodus: perhaps reflected in *CIL* 6, 716 (A.D. 205; cf. Herz, *Festkalender* 265; "Kaiserfeste" 1176); 11th April, *natalis* of Septimius Severus: *CIL* 6, 1063 (A.D. 212). *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* (20th July) are indirectly attested by *CIL* 6, 37834, l. 36 (reign of Trajan; cf. Herz, *Festkalender* 9, 242; "Kaiserfeste" 1150). For possible echoes of Germanicus' birthday (24th May) under Trajan see Herz, *Festkalender* 212f.

⁷⁹ S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen (ed.), *Papyri Osloenses* 3, Oslo, 1936, pp. 45-55, no. 77.

⁸⁰ J. W. B. Barns, P. Parsons, J. Rea, E. G. Turner (ed.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XXXI*, London, 1966, pp. 72f., no. 2553.

⁸¹ U. Wilcken, "Arsinoitische Tempelrechnungen aus dem J.215 n.Chr.", *Hermes* 20 (1885), 430-476 = *BGU* 2, no. 362 = U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, Leipzig, 1912 (1963), 1, 2: no. 96; cf. 1, 1, pp. 116f., 119f.

⁸² An illustrated fresco calendar found in 1966 beneath the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, while of great intrinsic interest, adds nothing to the present discussion, though preserving notices of victories over the Sarmatians and the Marcomanni. See recently M. R. Salzman, "New Evidence for the Dating of the Calendar at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome", *TAPA* 111 (1981), 215-227, arguing for a date within the period A.D. 176-224/275.

⁸³ "Fer. Dur." (above, note 53) throughout; C. B. Welles, R. O. Fink, J. F. Gilliam, *The Excavations at Dura-Europus, Final Report V, 1: The Parchments and Papyri*, New Haven, 1959, no. 54, 191-212; see further J. F. Gilliam, "The Roman military ferial", *HTHR* 47 (1954), 183-196; R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, Princeton, 1971, no. 117, pp. 422-429; J. Helgeland, "Roman Army Religion", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1470-1505 at 1481-1488.

of several dispatched from Rome to troops stationed in various parts of the empire.⁸⁴ It must therefore correspond closely to the official calendar of the period,⁸⁵ on which it thus throws unexpected light. By comparing occasions of the living emperor with similar anniversaries in the early *AFA* it can be seen how the accompanying rites had been maintained or modified in the long interval from A.D. 70 down to the reign of Alexander.⁸⁶ What stamps the *Feriale Duranum* as a unique document, however, is the preponderance of festivals relating to the *divi* and the *divae*—some 21 out of 41 extant entries.⁸⁷ As this makes abundantly clear, contemporary state religion must have preserved the cult of consecrated members of the imperial families far more extensively than was once thought to be the case.⁸⁸ And whereas dated inscriptions reflect only individual festivals or the *AFA* give occasional notices of a single celebration for all deified personages in common (each receiving an individual victim), the *Dura feriale* provides a composite picture of the place of this large and important class of anniversaries in the state calendar as it had evolved down to the period of Alexander Severus.

For the final development of the state ruler cult we have the evidence of two late calendars both preserved in manuscript: the *Fasti* of Philocalus (written in A.D. 354) and the *Fasti* of Polemius Silvius (written in A.D. 448/9).⁸⁹ These confirm that even at this late date some occasions of the living emperor were still observed, in particular the birthday, the *dies imperii*, and various victories of Constantius II and the *natales* of Theodosius II and Valentinian III.⁹⁰ More surprisingly, the birthdays were kept up of a remarkable number of *divi* going back to Julius Caesar, Augustus, and other emperors of the first century; even the *natalis* of Faustina, wife of Antoninus, has an entry in the *fasti Silviani*.

⁸⁴ For evidence in support of this thesis see below, "Dated inscriptions and the *Feriale Duranum*" Appendix I, pp. 593-608.

⁸⁵ For the character of the *feriale* see "Fer. Dur." (above, note 53) 26-39. The list naturally includes other festivals of particular interest to the army, such as the Rosaliae Signorum (Col. II, 8, 14), perhaps also the *natalis* of Divus Iulius (Col. II, 21). See further Herz, "Kaiserfeste" 1138, 1193-1199.

⁸⁶ "Fer. Dur." 176-181. For the ritual at Dura see now T. Pekáry, "Das Opfer vor dem Kaiserbild", *BJ* 186 (1986), 91-103.

⁸⁷ *O.c.* 181-190.

⁸⁸ Wissowa, *RuKR*² 347. A reaction to this state of affairs is possibly to be seen in the emperor Tacitus' reported plan to erect a *templum divorum* in which likenesses of only *principes boni* had a place (SHA, *Tacit.* 9, 5); sacrificial cakes were to be set before these on their birthdays, the Kalends and 3rd January, and the Parilia (For similar rites to Divus Augustus at Pergamum see below, p. 514). See R. Turcan, "Le culte impérial au IIIe siècle", *ANRW*, 2, 16, 2 (1978) 996-1084 at 1012f.; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* (above, note 10) 96, n. 61.

⁸⁹ Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, nos. 42, 43; pp. 237-276; A. K. Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic*, Princeton, 1967, 143f.

⁹⁰ Wissowa, *RuKR*², 459f.

b) Italy

That the state-religious practices followed in Rome provided the model for municipalities elsewhere in Italy is confirmed by a clause contained in a decree from Pisa: *quod ad cetera | sollemnina... | ...id sequendum quod de iis senatus p.R. censuisset* (CIL 11, 1420 = ILS 139: ll. 31-33). One may compare the preamble to the late Feriale Campanum stating that this is a list of imperial festivals (cf. *Cod.Iust.* 3, 12, 3(4): *administrante Romano iun(iore) sacerdote | feriale dom(i)norum (sic)* (Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, no. 46). As is clear, however, from the *lex coloniae Genetivae*: LXIII (CIL 2, 5439 = ILS 6087), municipalities could set their own list of festivals and accompanying rites, so that the extent to which these followed or diverged from the Roman calendar will be arbitrary.⁹¹ How the observances of the capital might be followed elsewhere is graphically illustrated by a calendar from Cumae dated A.D. 4-14 (CIL 10, 8375 = ILS 108 = Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, no. 44). This has usually been connected with the municipal temple of Augustus, though in the absence of evidence for such a building Degrassi suggested it could be the *feriale* of some local *collegium*.⁹² At all events the selection of imperial festivals to be celebrated relates to Augustus and his family and marks such events as Augustus' own birthday and those of Divus Iulius, Tiberius, Germanicus, and the Younger Drusus, along with other anniversaries of the living emperor, in particular his assumption of the *toga virilis* and the *fascēs*, his first consulship, his first victory and imperial acclamation,⁹³ his appointment as Pontifex Maximus, and the bestowal of the name Augustus. The year itself may now have had its start at Cumae on some imperial occasion. Other entries copied from the state calendar include the dedications of the Ara Pacis, the Ara Fortunae Reducis, and the temple of Mars Ultor, also the day on which Lepidus' army surrendered. Presumably the entry for 3rd January will have been marked by *vota*— for the safety of the emperor (Plut., *Cic.* 2, 1)—as in the Feriale Campanum (above). Much the same occasions were also observed at Forum Clodii in A.D. 18, when Augustus was four years dead (CIL 11, 3303 = ILS 154): the *natales* of Augustus (23rd–24th September: a two-day festival), of Tiberius (16th November) and of Livia (30th January), also the anniversary of the (local) dedication of statues of the Caesars and Livia, to

⁹¹ Nock (above, note 70) 193 (= *Essays* 741).

⁹² Degrassi, *InscrIt* 278. One would doubt that so elaborate a calendar would have been in the hands of a college instituted in honour of Augustus. Any such hypothetical corporation would presumably have been organized on the lines of the *cultores* attested elsewhere and have paid a similar form of cult. See below, pp. 537f.

⁹³ Degrassi, correcting Mommsen by one day, gives 15th April as the day of Octavian's first victory and 16th April for his first acclamation as *imperator*. As W. den Boer has noted in conversation, these dates coincide with the earlier engagement at the village of Forum Gallorum rather than with the later battle of Mutina on 21st April.

be kept on the day Tiberius was made Pontifex Maximus (10th March).⁹⁴

Further evidence is restricted to a wide range of individual notices, which, however, give no clue to the actual rites marking the particular occasion. As could be expected, the *natalis* of Augustus⁹⁵ is recorded in various municipal calendars belonging to the early Principate,⁹⁶ but so also are his first assumption of the *fascēs*⁹⁷ (the day seems to have been regarded as a quasi *dies imperii*), the capture of Alexandria,⁹⁸ his election as *pontifex maximus*,⁹⁹ and the adoption of Tiberius;¹⁰⁰ so also the *natalis* of Claudius.¹⁰¹ Similar anniversaries¹⁰² are also reflected in a small number of dated inscriptions mostly from the first half of the first century,¹⁰³ after which epigraphical evidence becomes more plentiful: in particular we have testimony to the local observance of various imperial birthdays,¹⁰⁴ the *dies imperii* of Hadrian,¹⁰⁵ the

⁹⁴ For these various dates see Herz, "Kaiserfeste" 1147, 1151, 1153, 1156. The *Caesares* are surely Augustus and Tiberius rather than Caesar and Augustus, as held by Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 110f.

⁹⁵ *Fasti Pinciani, Maffeiani, Vallenses, Pighiani: InscrIt* 13, 2, pp. 48, 80, 151, 219: marked *epulum*.

⁹⁶ To the forty-three *fasti* and three *ferialia* published by Degraffi add two fragmentary *fasti* assigned to the first century A.D. by S. Panciera: "Due nuovi Frammenti di Calendario Romano", *ArchClass* 25-26 (1973-4), 481-490. On the supposed *feriale* at Bolsena see H. Solin, "Ein 'Feriale Rusticum' in Volsinii?", *Arctos* 8 (1974), 145-171 at 164f.

⁹⁷ *Fasti Praenestini: InscrIt* 113.

⁹⁸ *Fasti Praenestini, Amiternini, Antiates Ministrorum: InscrIt* 135, 191, 208.

⁹⁹ *Fasti Maffeiani, Praenestini: InscrIt* 74, 121.

¹⁰⁰ *Fasti Amiternini: InscrIt* 187.

¹⁰¹ *Fasti Antiates Ministrorum: InscrIt* 208 (before his accession to the throne). For the possibility that the birthdays of the Elder Drusus, Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar are recorded in a fragment of a Julio-Claudian calendar from Spello see S. Priuli, "Osservazioni sul feriale di Spello", *Tituli* 2 (1980), 47-80; *contra* P. Herz, "Das Kenotaph von Limyra. Kultische und juristische Voraussetzungen", *MDAI(I)* 35 (1984), 178-192 at 189ff.

¹⁰² Omitted from discussion are Roman and Oriental festivals. The celebration of these in the municipalities of Italy is likewise signalled by dated inscriptions, exactly as in Rome (above, note 64). For examples see Herz, *Festkalender: Roman Festivals* s.v. 1st March, 17th March, 23rd March, 12th April, 19th April, 23rd May, 9th June; Oriental Festivals s.v. 20th March, 24th March, 28th March, 4th April, 5th April, 9th April, 11th October. For fixed days see Herz *passim*; cf. above, note 72.

¹⁰³ 23rd September, *natalis* of Augustus: *AEpig* (1969/70) no. 110 = *Epigraphica* 34 (1972) 137 (Calles/Reg. I: A.D. 28); 4th May, ?*natalis* of Marcellus: *CIL* 11, 3806 (Veii/Reg. VII: A.D. 44); 26th June, adoption of Tiberius: *AEpig* (1964) no. 154 (Ostia: A.D. 51); 30th January, *natalis* of Livia (*CIL* 6, 29681: A.D. 108).

¹⁰⁴ 24th May, Germanicus: possibly echoed under Trajan in *CIL* 14, 2636 (Tusculum: A.D. 131); 30th December, Titus: *CIL* 14, 4148 (Ostia: A.D. 166); 18th September, Trajan: *AEpig* (1874) no. 129 = *EphEp* 9, 767 (Praeneste: A.D. 101/2); *CIL* 14, 4057 (Fidenae: after A.D. 105); *CIL* 11, 3936 (Capena/Reg. VII: A.D. 162), 3876a (*ibid.*: A.D. 198); *AEpig* (1954) no. 164 (*ibid.*: A.D. 198); 19th September, Antoninus Pius: *CIL* 14, 4553 (Ostia: A.D. 145); 26th April, Marcus Aurelius: *CIL* 9, 4957 (Cures/Reg. IV: A.D. 147); 15th December, Lucius Verus: *CIL* 14, 4554b (Ostia: A.D. 166); 11th April, Septimius Severus: *CIL* 14, 168f. (Ostia: A.D. 195), *CIL* 11, 1322 (Luna: A.D. 200), perhaps also *CIL* 5, 4449 (Brixia/Reg. X: year uncertain); 4th April, Caracalla: *CIL* 14, 4388 (Ostia: A.D. 211), 119 (*ibid.*: A.D. 212), 24389 (*ibid.*: year uncertain).

¹⁰⁵ 11th August: *CIL* 14, 2408 (Bovillae: A.D. 169), cf. *CIL* 14, 4235 (Tibur: reign of Hadrian).

adoption of Antoninus Pius,¹⁰⁶ and conceivably the recognition by the senate of Septimus Severus.¹⁰⁷ Despite their very scrappy nature,¹⁰⁸ these traces collectively illustrate the gradual development of local calendars modelled to varying degrees on the official Roman *feriale*.

c) East

From the municipalities of Italy we may turn to the provinces of the East, where imperial festivals were celebrated both in response to particular events and as part of a regular cycle assigned to specific days during the year. Thus official directives, preserved on papyri, give detailed prescriptions for the celebration in Egypt of such special occasions as the accessions of Nero, Avidius Cassius or Pertinax.¹⁰⁹ Athens celebrated the accession of Geta, Aphrodisias that of Decius and Herennius, while at Ephesus the beginning of Antoninus Pius' reign was marked by a decree establishing a festival on his birthday.¹¹⁰ But other imperial celebrations took place on a regular basis, often annually but also every two or four years.¹¹¹ Sometimes the emperor would be joined to a local deity and the two celebrated together; a good example occurs at Ephesus, where one of the inscriptions relating to the donations of Gaius Vibius Salutaris shows how the imperial cult was grafted on to that of Artemis.¹¹² In other cases the emperor might be honoured alone at *Sebasteia*, *Kaisareia* or similar festivals named after a particular emperor.¹¹³ In many instances these coincided with important imperial occasions such as the emperor's birthday, especially that of Augustus, but it is clear that other recurring imperial anniversaries were also celebrated locally in the East on the model of the state-religious practices we have seen to be followed in Italy.

To begin with documentary evidence, we possess papyri which give firm indication of the role of the ruler cult in Egypt. A religious calendar, probably

¹⁰⁶ 25th February: ?*AEpig* (1940) no. 62 (Ostia: A.D. 143), cf. Degraasi, *InscrIt* 13, 2; p. 416.

¹⁰⁷ 1st June: *CIL* 14, 4570 (Ostia: A.D. 205); see further Snyder, *Anniversaries* (above, note 70) 258-260. So also perhaps *CIL* 10, 5796 (Verulae/Reg. I: A.D. 197).

¹⁰⁸ Whether Severus' *dies imperii* (9th April) could be reflected in *CIL* 14, 230 (Ostia: year uncertain) must remain uncertain.

¹⁰⁹ Nero: *P. Oxy.* 7, 1021 = Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* (above, note 81) no. 113; Avidius Cassius: *P. Amsterdam* 22; Pertinax: *BGU* 2, 646 = *Chrestomathie* no. 490. See further Herz, *Festkalender* 57; and below, p. 530. Similarly a papyrus confirms the celebration in Egypt of the proclamation of Maximus, son of Maximinus Thrax, as *princeps iuventutis*: Turcan (above, note 88) 1050, n. 432 with refs.

¹¹⁰ Price, *Rituals* (above, note 2) 213 with nn. 32f., cf. 57 with n. 15.

¹¹¹ Price, *o.c.* 104f.

¹¹² J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia* (Hesperia Suppl. 6), Baltimore, 1941, p. 55, no. 3 = I Ephesus 1a 27.

¹¹³ Turcan (above, note 88) 1080f.; Price, *ibid.* with refs. At Gytheum a different member of the *domus imperatoria* was honoured on each of five days during the imperial festival (*SEG* 11, 1954, no. 923); Nilsson, *GGR* 2, 387f.; cf. Price 106.

originating in a local *Καίσαρεῖον* or *Σεβαστεῖον*¹¹⁴ at the village of Tebtunis (where it was presumably in the keeping of the priest of the imperial cult), is of outstanding interest in preserving a list of imperial festivals and their associated ceremonies during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹¹⁵ One would suppose that this too must have had the prior approval of the Roman authorities, whether in Rome or locally,¹¹⁶ but, in contrast to the later *Feriale Duranum*, it appears to be of purely local application, valid only in Egypt.¹¹⁷ Only some of the occasions of December and part of the list for January are preserved but there is enough to show that these include no Egyptian or even old Roman civic festivals—not that anniversaries of this kind were necessarily neglected at other times of the year. As the record stands, it is mostly the *natales* and memorial days of the living ruler and deified personages that are celebrated, even including Hadrian's *vicennalia* (l. 15).¹¹⁸ Quite clearly, the list was based upon the official calendar of festivals in Rome, with events such as the ἐπίβασις of some emperor whose name is lost having their place (l. 11).¹¹⁹ Interestingly, the birthday is commemorated (l. 21) of L. Aelius Caesar, who was not celebrated as *divus* in the Roman calendar, as also is that of Vesta (l. 13f.), who looms so large in the *Feriale Cumanum*. A similar calendar in force in the late-second or early-third century A.D. appears to originate from Oxyrhynchus.¹²⁰ The two fragments preserve notices relating to the deification of Antinous, his birthday and that of Divus Verus,¹²¹ victories of the deified

¹¹⁴ C. Kunderewicz, "Quelques remarques sur le rôle des ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑ dans la vie juridique de l'Égypte romaine", *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 13 (1961), 123-129; further in general K. Tuchelt, "Zum Problem 'Kaisareion-Sebasteion'. Eine Frage zu den Anfängen des römischen Kaiserkultes", *MDAI(I)* 31 (1981), 167-186. See now Hänlein-Schäfer (above, note 57) 10f.; further R. Etienne, "A propos de quelques basiliques de Gaule et de la péninsule ibérique", *Quaderni* 10, 11, 12 (Atti del Convegno "Studi Lunensi e prospettive sull' Occidente romano" Lerici, settembre 1985), 1987, 37-52 at 37-39.

¹¹⁵ Above, note 79.

¹¹⁶ In Egypt the ruler cult seems to have been controlled by the "high priest of Alexandria and all Egypt": cf. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 1, 1, 121, 126f. with refs.; but there appears to have been no provincial κοινόν; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 35 with n. 5; Nilsson, *GGR* 387. For the ruler cult in Egypt see in general P. Herz's bibliography, *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 893; add M. Stead, "The High Priest of Alexandria and All Egypt" in *Proceedings of the 16. International Congress of Papyrology*, New York 1980, Chicago, 1981, 411-418.

¹¹⁷ Cf. The festival of γενέθλιος Ἑστίας (11th December: l. 13) known also at Naucratis: Athen. 4, 149D; cf. Eitrem (above, note 79) 50; "Fer. Dur." 36, 75, n. 230; Latte, *RRG* 314. A similar festival list can nevertheless be expected elsewhere in the empire.

¹¹⁸ 13th December. On the choice of date see Herz, "Festkalender" 27; *Kaiserfeste* 1172.

¹¹⁹ Eitrem, *o.c.* 48f., takes the term to mean "landing" and understands a reference to Hadrian's visit in Egypt. In view of the date (1st December), a more likely interpretation might be Marcus Aurelius' entry into joint office by receiving the *trib. pot.* (1st December, A.D. 147); cf. Herz, *Festkalender* 418, n. 44 with *Fasti Ostienses* 28, 14f.; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1174. Salzmann (above, note 82) 220 suggests the event celebrated is the *ludi Sarmatici* that followed the entry of Marcus Aurelius into Rome on 27th November, A.D. 176; but this overlooks the entry in the *Fasti Ostienses* for 1st December (Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 1, p. 207).

¹²⁰ Above, note 80.

¹²¹ Antinous: 30th November; Verus: 15th December.

Aurelius Antoninus (?Marcus Aurelius), and apparently the entry of Hadrian into the city during his visit to Egypt (l. 11).

With these local calendars of the imperial cult may be compared the surviving financial records from the Arsinoe temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the only Roman god on whose cult in Egypt we have precise data.¹²² The entries are for the year A.D. 215 and cover income and expenditures of the temple for various days throughout the months of January to June. Apart from local Egyptian celebrations such as the Νειλαῖα and the festival of the town god Suchos (Pag. VI, 22f.), the occasions celebrated are predictably Roman with a preponderance of imperial anniversaries. In addition to the Kalends of January (Pag. I, 4) and the *natalis* of Roma (Pag. XII, 8), the days observed include the *natales* of Caracalla (Pag. X, 9f) and of his father Septimius Severus (Pag. XI, 8), perhaps also, if Wilcken's restoration can stand, the day when Caracalla was named M. Aurelius Antoninus and elevated to the rank of Caesar (frag. I, 10f.). Local recognition of Septimius Severus in Egypt may lie behind an entry for 13th February (Pag. IV, 6-8),¹²³ while the entry for 19th February clearly refers to the victory at Lugdunum, A.D. 197 (Pag. IV, 11-13). In addition there are various days honouring Severus or Caracalla;¹²⁴ and the conferring of the title *mater castrorum* on Julia Domna is commemorated on 14th April (Pag. XI, 15-17).

To these festival lists from Tebtunis, Oxyrhynchus (?), and Arsinoe can be added the collective evidence of 'Augustan days' (ἡμέραι Σεβασταί) as recorded in minor Egyptian documents of the period down to the Antonines.¹²⁵ The days occur both with and without numerals in the dating formula, where they mark both the monthly and the yearly commemoration of special events in the life of the *domus imperatoria*, thus continuing the Hellenistic practice of celebrating in this way the King's birthday, day of accession, and so on.¹²⁶ The record is very thin—on Snyder's figures (up to 1964) no more than 90 items scattered over 164 years and culled from thousands of documents unevenly distributed—yet there is enough to show how the observances of the Roman calendar were imported into Egypt in line with the general picture observable elsewhere in the Empire. The anniversaries celebrated include the *natales* of

¹²² Above, note 81. See further F. Blumenthal, "Der ägyptische Kaiserkult", *APF* 5 (1913), 317-345 at 337; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 118.

¹²³ A. Birley, *Septimius Severus. The African Emperor* London, 1971, 176; Herz, *Festkalender* 36, 142, n. 2; "Kaiserfeste" 1182; *id.* (above, note 77) (1978) 285, n. 5.

¹²⁴ Cf. 31st March (Pag. x, 3); 8-9 April (Pag. xi, 3). On the difficulty of distinguishing between father and son see Herz, *Festkalender* 421, n. 13. He suggests (p. 37) that the entry for 31st March could refer to Issos.

¹²⁵ W. F. Snyder, "Ἡμέραι Σεβασταί", *Aegyptus* 18 (1938), 197-233; cf. 44 (1964), 143-169; J. Schwarz, "Dies Augustus", *REA* 46 (1944), 266-79; Herz, *Festkalender* 439, nn. 45f. For imperial months in Asia see Price, *Rituals* 106.

¹²⁶ Cf. Blumenthal (above, note 122) 337-344; Herz 43, 85. For the attachment of imperial names to Egyptian months see Blumenthal 344f.; Taylor, *Divinity* 205.

the Julio-Claudian¹²⁷ and Flavian houses and special events such as Augustus' marriage with Livia, the conferring of the title Augustus on him, the Augustalia, his consecration, the *dies imperii* of Nero, the adoption of Hadrian. As a whole, they constitute an evolving *feriale* of imperial festivals—the complement to our two calendars of particular years—and to the extent that they were officially inspired show how the state list in Rome was continually updated from reign to reign.

While papyrological evidence is naturally restricted to Egypt,¹²⁸ both here and elsewhere in the Greek East we have numerous inscriptions that can be seen to reflect the observances of the Roman calendar exactly as in the municipalities of Italy. Thus the whole chronological system of Asia was remodelled in 9 B.C. on the proposal of the proconsular governor, Paullus Fabius Maximus: the year was now to begin on 23rd September, the anniversary of Augustus' birthday and "the beginning of all things" (*OGIS* 458).¹²⁹ Many municipal calendars in the province followed suit. Even more striking is an epigraphical list of anniversaries from Gortyn dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (*IGRR* 1, 1509 = *I Crete* 4, 333, no. 300).¹³⁰ With the help of the foundation bequeathed by T. Flavius Xenion the city is to celebrate the *natalis* of Urbs Roma together with various festivals of the imperial house: the *natales* of Commodus, Lucius Aurelius Verus (now *divus*), and his wife Lucilla, the *dies imperii* of M. Aurelius Antoninus (cf. *Fer. Dur.*, Col. 1, 21). The birthdays of Flavius Xenion himself and several others are also to be observed but there can be no question that the list was compiled in the first place by drawing upon the Roman calendar.¹³¹ One may compare the Roman and imperial festivals among the days kept by the hymnodes at the Pergamene temple of Roma and Augustus:¹³² the annual celebration of the *natalis* of Divus Augustus observed in conjunction with Livia's birthday (moved to 21st September) as a three-day festival; the monthly commemoration of Divus Augustus' birthday on the first day (*Sebaste*) of each month; the annual

¹²⁷ Note that among the honours accepted by Claudius from the Alexandrians (A.D. 41) was the keeping of his *natalis* as a *dies Augusta*: *P. Lond.* 1912 (= Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, no. 370) Col. 2, 11. 29f.; cf. H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (Westport, Connecticut, 1924) 5.

¹²⁸ For the celebration of the birthday of Alexander Severus (1st October) at Elephantine see *P. Paris* 69 = *Chrestomathie* no. 41 (A.D. 232); discussed below, pp. 589f.

¹²⁹ See Taylor, *Divinity* 205, 273; Snyder, "Anniversaries" (above, note 70) 227, n. 5; Weinstock, *DJ* 210; Herz 276, n. 1; Le Glay (above, note 53) 553. See the commentary by U. Laffi, "Le iscrizioni relative all' introduzione nel 9 A.C. del nuovo calendario della provincia d'Asia", *SCO* 16 (1967), 5-98; further Price, *Rituals* (above, note 2) 54f., 106.

¹³⁰ Nilsson, *GGR* 2, 545, n. 4; Price, *Rituals* 105.

¹³¹ For a fragment of a Severan calendar at Miletus with days celebrating either deified emperors or local benefactors see now N. Ehrhardt, "Ein milesischer Festkalender aus severischer Zeit", *MDAI(I)* 34 (1984), 371-404.

¹³² Price, *o.c.* 61, 90, 118, 191 with refs. For the temple at Pergamum see Hänlein-Schäfer (above, note 57) 166-8.

observance of other *dies natales imperatorum* (unspecified); the Kalends of January; the three-day festival of the Rosalia (*IGRR* 4, 353 = *I Pergamon* 374). Other inscriptions refer explicitly to imperial festivals—the birthday of Augustus, par excellence, celebrated at Mytilene, for example, every month¹³³—or bear the dates of the *natales*¹³⁴ or *dies imperii*¹³⁵ of other emperors, along with notable events in the lives of Augustus and his successors.¹³⁶ To this body of evidence¹³⁷ can be added two early-third century coins from Ephesus showing sacrifice before the imperial temple on what may well be the occasion of the annual *vota* of 3rd January.¹³⁸ If so, these constitute rare numismatic testimony to the performance of the rites associated

¹³³ For discussion of *OGIS* 456 = *IGRR* 4, 39 see Price 55, 105, 218. For the copy of the decree at Tarraco and elsewhere see “The Altar of Augustus at Tarraco”, above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 171f. with Price 74, 127f. The birthday of Antoninus Pius was likewise celebrated at Ephesus (*OGIS* 493: A.D. 138) as was that of Commodus at Syros (*IG* 12, 5, 663: A.D. 183).

¹³⁴ 16th November, Tiberius: *IGRR* 3, 933 (Lapethus, Cyprus: A.D. 29); 24th January, Hadrian: *AEpig* (1952) no. 159 (Luxor, Egypt: A.D. 126); 19th September, Antoninus Pius: *IGRR* 1, 1156 = F. Preisigke et al., *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, Strassburg, 1915-, 5, 8909 (Ptolemais Hermiu, Egypt: A.D. 147), cf. Snyder, *Anniversaries* 245, n. 29; 26th April, Marcus Aurelius: *CIL* 3, 14120 (Gortyn, Crete: A.D. 169); 11th April, Septimius Severus: perhaps reflected in *IGRR* 4, 1017 (Minoa, Asia: A.D. 207); 4th April, Caracalla: *IGRR* 1, 1288 = *Sammelbuch* 8831 (Ombos, Egypt: A.D. 214).

23rd September, Divus Augustus: *IGRR* 4, 1615 (Philadelphia, Asia: A.D. 40); 30th January, Diva Augusta (Livia): possibly echoed in *IGRR* 1, 1161 = *Sammelbuch* 8807 (Abydos, Egypt: A.D. 49); 8th November, Divus Nerva, possibly reflected in *IGRR* 1, 1321 = *Sammelbuch* 1015 (Egypt: A.D. 165) and *IGRR* 1, 1064 = *Sammelbuch* 8277 (Alexandria, Egypt: A.D. 212); 4th July, Diva Matidia perhaps reflected in *IGRR* 1, 1102 = *Sammelbuch* 8912 (Xois, Egypt: A.D. 181).

¹³⁵ 28th January, Trajan: *Sammelbuch* 4383 = *AEpig* (1936) no. 60 (Gebel Tukh, Egypt: A.D. 113); 11th August, Divus Hadrianus: *IGRR* 1, 1264 = *Sammelbuch* 8443 = *OGIS* 702 (Tchonemyris, Egypt: A.D. 140); 7th March, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus: ?*SEG* 2 (1925) no. 872 = *Sammelbuch* 6672 (Karanis, Egypt: ?A.D. 179; for date see Snyder “Anniversaries”, above, note 70, 252).

¹³⁶ 8th January, ?some festival of Augustus: possibly echoed in *IGRR* 1, 1109 = *Sammelbuch* 982 (Mahemdieh, Egypt: 4 B.C.; cf. Herz, *Festkalender* 125); 13th January, granting of *corona quercea* to Augustus: possibly echoed in *IGRR* 1, 1160 = *Sammelbuch* 684 (Abydos, Egypt: A.D. 31); 6th March, his investiture as *pontifex maximus*: *OGIS* 532 = *IGRR* 3, 137 (Neoclaudiopolis, Galatia: 3 B.C.); 2nd September, victory at Actium: conceivably reflected in *IGRR* 4, 751 = *MAMA* 4, 309 (Motella, Asia: A.D. 137); for the beginning of a new era in Asia from this date see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton, 1950, 1289, n. 37); 18th October, execution of Sejanus by Tiberius: *CIL* 3, 12036 = *I Crete* 4, 272 (Gortyn, Crete: A.D. 32 +); 25th February, games celebrating the granting to Trajan of title Parthicus: possibly reflected in *IGRR* 4, 623 (Traianopolis, Asia: A.D. 120); adoption of Antoninus Pius: possibly echoed in *IGRR* 1, 1142, = *Sammelbuch* 8908 (Antinoupolis, Egypt: A.D. 137). Other possible epigraphical echoes suggested by Herz, *Festkalender* 51, look less certain.

¹³⁷ For other festivals of the Roman calendar reflected in dated inscriptions from the eastern empire see Herz, *Festkalender*: Roman Festivals s.v. 1st March, 23rd March, 1st April, 21st April, 28th April, 25th May, 29th June, 23rd July. Oriental Festivals: s.v. 20th March, 27th March, 25th April, 28th October. For fixed days see Herz *passim*.

¹³⁸ *BMC, Ionia* p. 89, nos. 293f. Cf. the word *vota* transcribed into Greek on the temple pediment. See further Price, *Rituals* 214f., 256f. (Cat. no. 36) with commentary and bibl.; Pl. 3a. For the temple at Ephesus see Hänlein-Schäfer (above, note 57) 168-172.

with an imperial festival. We have it on Pliny's authority that on this day the governor of a province supervised and participated in *vota pro incolunate principis* (*Epp.* 10, 35f., 100f.).¹³⁹

d) West

To return to the Western Empire, it will be clear from the discussion that here, too, the festivals of the imperial cult can be expected to have followed the Roman model;¹⁴⁰ indeed the argument would apply with particular force in the Latin provinces, where pre-Roman experience with the cult of the ruler was entirely lacking. Such direct evidence as there is has already been cited: the feast days that are listed in the regulations recorded on the altar of the Numen Augusti at Narbo (above, p. 482). No other schedule of imperial celebrations has yet come to light, but we do have a small number of dated inscriptions which show that the anniversaries of the ruler cult¹⁴¹ were more deeply ingrained in provincial life than might have been supposed.¹⁴² At Tarraco and Massilia, it will be recalled, a paradigm for the monthly celebration of Augustus' birthday was actually on public view in the form of a copy of the decree of Mytilene (above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 171f.).

Imperial *natales* are particularly in evidence. For example, at Marsal in Belgica an honorific inscription to Claudius was set up publicly by the *vicani Marosallenses* on the anniversary of the *natalis* (23rd September) of Divus Augustus in A.D. 44 (*CIL* 13, 4565).¹⁴³ Hadrian's birthday (24th January) was likewise the occasion for the erection of a monument in his honour at Antipolis in Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 169: A.D. 124),¹⁴⁴ while municipal festivities at Nîmes marked the *natalis* (26th April) of Marcus Aurelius (*CIL* 12, 5905: A.D. 161; Pl. LXXXVII b).¹⁴⁵ The same anniversary was the occa-

¹³⁹ Also on Trajan's *dies imperii* (*Ep.* 52f., 102f.); cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny*, Oxford, 1966, 611f. For the *vota* of 3rd January see Weinstock, *DJ* 219 with n. 1 and bibl.; Degraisi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, p. 391; further Herz, "Kaiserfeste" (above, note 49) 1193.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Herz, *Festkalender* 2f., 50-52, stressing the validity of imperial festivals for the whole empire.

¹⁴¹ Some dates are ambiguous. For example at Tpusuctu, Mauretania Sitifensis, Q. Iulius Secundus, *legatus pro praetore*, chose 1st August, A.D. 55, to conclude ties of hospitality with the decurions and *coloni* of *colonia Iulia Augusta legionis VII Tpusuctu* (sic) (*CIL* 8, 8837). The date is a fixed day but also the anniversary of two imperial occasions: Octavian's victory at Alexandria and the *natalis* of Divus Claudius.

¹⁴² Nock (above, note 70) 234 (= *Essays* 775) believes that the choice of particular days for dedications, etc. was a restricted phenomenon, except for imperial anniversaries.

¹⁴³ For the possible choice of Claudius' birthday (1st August) at Tpusuctu see above, note 141.

¹⁴⁴ Whether Hadrian's *natalis* could be echoed in a late inscription from Warn, Moesia Inferior, is very uncertain: *AEpig* (1928) no. 147 = *IGBulg* 47 (24th January, A.D. 215).

¹⁴⁵ See further below, pp. 578f. The inscription seems to attest a three-day festival (24th-26th April).

sion of a private dedication at Skelani, Dalmatia, in which Titus Fl(avius) Rufinus honoured his father Similis, a *duumvir quinquennalis* who was the first of the local *ordo* to have his statue set up in the basilica (*CIL* 3, 14219¹⁴⁶: A.D. 169 = *ILS* 5490); as with other inscriptions of this nature, the choice of date may imply that Titus Fl(avius) Similis had supported the costs of cult observances associated with this particular day.¹⁴⁶ Again at Leiria in Lusitania, Q. Talotius Allius Silonianus, an *evocatus* of the *cohors VI praetoria* whom the *ordo* of Collipo had made *decurio* without requiring the usual *summa honoraria*, commemorated the birthday (19th September) of the deified Antoninus Pius by dedicating a base (presumably with a statue) in the name of the *ordo* to his former emperor (*CIL* 2, 5232 = *ILS* 6898: A.D. 167).¹⁴⁷ The only *dies imperii* echoed in a civilian inscription is that of Severus Alexander: on this anniversary (13th March) C. Iulius Barbarus, quaestor and aedile at Cirta, Numidia, dedicated the statue (?of the emperor) which he had promised on 9th January *ob honorem aedilitatis* (*CIL* 8, 6942: A.D. 224).¹⁴⁸ Other imperial occasions are more problematic, but there is an outside possibility that the adoption of Antoninus Pius or of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (25th February) may be reflected at Cologne (*AEpig*, 1903, no. 146: A.D. 164) and at Cirta (*CIL* 8, 6979: A.D. 168), and the day Commodus took the *toga virilis* (7th July) at Ulmetum, Lower Moesia (*AEpig*, 1922, no. 70: A.D. 191). Some festival of the late second century (?Issos) appears to be celebrated by games on 31st March at Rusicade, Numidia (*CIL* 8, 7988: A.D. 225)¹⁴⁹ and an unknown Severan festival of 5th November could be echoed at Lugdunum (*AEpig*, 1913, no. 124: A.D. 207), Königen in Upper Germany (*CIL* 13, 6385: A.D. 217), and at Brigetio, Upper Pannonia (*AEpig*, 1944, no. 110: A.D. 217).¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Snyder, "Anniversaries" (above, note 70) 229. The *natalis* may also be echoed in *CIL* 3, 3157 = 8663 (Salona, Dalmatia: A.D. 179).

¹⁴⁷ The date (19th September) also appears on a dedication to Regina Aug(usta) at Apulum, Dacia (*CIL* 3, 1161: year unknown). Whether the *natalis* of Divus Nerva (8th November) was deliberately chosen at Arba, Dalmatia, is very uncertain; on this occasion a water supply was dedicated to the Nymphae Augustae (*CIL* 3, 3116: A.D. 173). The possible connection of a freedman inscription from Lugdunum with the *natalis* of Commodus (31st August) depends upon a restoration (*CIL* 13, 2020: A.D. 216); cf. Herz, *Festkalender* 265.

¹⁴⁸ If the choice of day is not just coincidence, a private dedication at Heddernheim, Upper Germany, by a decurion of the *civitas Taunensium* and his family may show that the *dies imperii* of Severus Alexander was still celebrated in A.D. 240 (*CIL* 13, 7352). For the suggestion that *CIL* 8, 8331 (Cuicul; 10th July, A.D. 196) may echo the *dies imperii* of Divus Antoninus Pius see Herz, *o.c.* 239.

¹⁴⁹ See above, note 124.

¹⁵⁰ A fragmentary text recording *vota publica* (by the *concilium III Daciarum*?) at Sarmizegetusa (reign of Marcus Aurelius?) may refer to some extraordinary occasion (a campaign?) rather than the annual *vota* of 3rd January. See L. Mărghită and C. C. Petolescu, "Vota pro salute imperatoris in an inscription at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa", *JRS* 66 (1976), 84-86.

Lastly, two inscriptions fall into a special category. A notice from a wall of the baths at Lambaesis records that annual *gymnasia* were provided on the anniversary of the *natalis* (11th April) of Septimius Severus (*AEpig*, 1912, no. 19). Whether these are gymnastic displays¹⁵¹ or free distributions of supplies required for gymnastic exercises (oil, for instance),¹⁵² it is clear that the *gymnasia* add to the enjoyment of festival occasions. With this brief text may be compared a Severan inscription at Tebessa (*ILAlg* 1, 3041) preserving an extensive calendar of *dies gymnasiorum* when *gymnasia* were provided to the general public through the benefaction of 250,000 sesterces which had been willed to the city by C. Cornelius Egrilianus, Prefect of the *legio XIII gemina* (*ibid.* 3040).¹⁵³ Some sixty-four days appear to have been originally set aside through the year, many of them coinciding with imperial occasions (principally *natales* or *dies imperii*) or other public festivals of the Roman calendar, others perhaps feast days of purely local interest. There is no reference to any cult acts in honour of the emperor but the very existence of this epigraphical *feriale*, added to the calendars from Egypt and Dura we have reviewed above, strongly supports the thesis that calendars of various kinds and at various levels were in use in the Western provinces just as in the East.¹⁵⁴ One might note in this connection a (?Severan) pictorial calendar of the months found at Thysdrus in Tunisia,¹⁵⁵ and it is also relevant that in the Roman period a calendar in the Gallic language, with lunar months of 29 or 30 days, was inscribed on a bronze plate found at Coligny (Pl. LXXXVIII a).¹⁵⁶ To this can be added the fragment of a calendar in marble found in a Gallo-Roman context at Villeneuve-les-Maguelonne with the figures XV to [XXVI?]II (*AEpig*, 1971, no. 248; Pl. LXXXVIII b). The point is further emphasized by inscriptions manifestly dated to coincide with Roman or Oriental festivals¹⁵⁷—also by the deliberate selection of fixed days in so many instances.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵¹ *RE* 7 (1912) 2026 s.v. (Oehler); *Diz.Epig.* 3 (1906) (1962) 596.

¹⁵² *ThLL* 6, 2380 (Brandt).

¹⁵³ Snyder, "Anniversaries" 297-317. Hopkins (above, note 45) *ibid.*, n. 15.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Snyder, *o.c.* 305. For calendars in private use see, for example, the fragment (for the month of February) of the calendar of M. Verrius Flaccus found at Praeneste (*AEpig*, 1905, no. 45).

¹⁵⁵ J. Beaujeu, "Le paganisme sous le Haut Empire" in *ANRW* 2, 16, 1 (1978) 3-26 at 8 with nn. 34-36 and bibl.; add H. Stern, "L'image du mois d'Octobre sur une mosaïque d'El-Djem", *CT* 12 (1964), 20-32 = *JS* (1965), 117-131.

¹⁵⁶ See now J.-P. Parisot, "Les phases de la lune et les saisons dans le calendrier de Coligny", *Etudes Indo-Européennes* 13 (1985), 1-18; P.-M. Duval and G. Pinault, *Recueil des Inscriptions gauloises* (Gallia, Suppl. 45), Paris, 1986, 3, especially 415-417.

¹⁵⁷ For examples see Herz, *Festkalender: Roman Festivals* s.v. 21st April, 28th April, 3rd May, 9th June, 24th June, 23rd July, 23rd August, 7th September; the observance of Roman festivals would, like the cult of the emperor, naturally serve to consolidate provincial sympathy with the occupying power. Oriental Festivals s.v. 24th March, 25th March, 26th March.

¹⁵⁸ See Herz *passim*.

The conclusion to which the discussion points, therefore, is that the imperial cult in the Latin West will have been geared to an official calendar of anniversaries.¹⁵⁹ Such a *feriale* must have corresponded to the fragmentary calendars found in Egypt and will presumably have been in the hands of the cult priests at both the provincial and municipal levels. It would be idle to attempt any detailed reconstruction but one could reasonably expect every festival list to have included the *natales* of living and deified emperors and other members of the imperial house, select *dies imperii*, imperial salutations, and the commemorations of victories. Various Roman festivals will also have had their place: for example, the Kalends of January,¹⁶⁰ 3rd January (marked by rites *ob salutem imperatoris*)¹⁶¹ and—from the time of Hadrian—the *natalis* of Roma on 21st April. Local calendars may have observed the anniversaries of events of local interest,¹⁶² such as the foundation of the federal cult at Lugdunum (1st August)¹⁶³ and the advent of Augustus at Tar-raco or of Hadrian in Tres Galliae, Britain and elsewhere. We have seen that at Narbo Augustus' reconciliation of the people and the decurions was celebrated on 31st May, while at Forum Clodii 10th March was the anniversary of the dedication of the statues of the Caesars and of Livia. Festivals of local gods (?Lug) might also have been incorporated, though we have no evidence for joint festivals as in the East (above, p. 492). No doubt the whole

¹⁵⁹ For the suggestion that the list of imperial festivals celebrated in a province will have been regulated by the provincial governor see Herz, *Festkalender* 57f.; cf. Price, *Rituals* 70f. on the role of the governor in the East.

¹⁶⁰ For the significance of the day see Herz, *o.c.* 91, 115f. In the West the festival is reflected in *CIL* 8, 8780 (A.D. 247/48), 9014 (A.D. 224), 20602 = *AntAfr* 6 (1972), 145 (A.D. 239).

¹⁶¹ Herz 119f., cf. above, note 139; attested by *CIL* 8, 6985 (A.D. 206), 7966 (A.D. 221), 7988 (A.D. 225), 6986 (A.D. 233), 6339 (year uncertain); *AEpig* (1917/18) no. 44 (A.D. 221/22). The date can be restored in *CIL* 3, 5788 (?A.D. 180 +); *CIL* 8, 24118 (A.D. 181); *AEpig* (1959) no. 308 (A.D. 215); see further Herz 122, noting that many inscriptions attesting the fulfilling of a vow on different dates may go back to an original *votum* on 3rd January.

¹⁶² Thus Suetonius reports that deputies of the *civitates Galliarum* performed annual rites at the cenotaph of the Elder Drusus on the Rhine: *Ceterum exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit, circa quem deinceps stato die quotannis miles decurreret Galliarumque civitates publice supplicarent* (*Claud.* 1, 3, cf. CD 55, 2, 3). On the monument see H. U. Instinsky, "Historische Fragen des Mainzer Drususdenkmals", *JRGZ* 6 (1960), 180-196; H. Bellen, "Das Drususdenkmal apud Mogontiacum und die Galliarum Civitates", *JRGZ* 31 (1984), 385-396, especially 390ff. For rites performed in connection with the nearby triumphal arch of Germanicus see J. González, "Tabula Siarensis, Fortunales Siarenses et Municipia Civium Romanorum", *ZPE* 55 (1984), 55-100 at 60, 68f.; cf. *id.*, *ZPE* 60 (1985), 146; further W. D. Lebek, "Schwierige Stellen der Tabula Siarensis", *ZPE* 66 (1986), 31-48; *id.*, "Die drei Ehrenbogen für Germanicus", *ZPE* 67 (1987), 129-148. On the annual supplication *ad tumulum Drusi* see now *id.*, "Die Mainzer Ehrungen für Germanicus, den älteren Drusus und Domitian (Tab. Siar. Frg. I, 26-34; Suet., *Claud.* 1, 3)", *ZPE* 78 (1989), 45-82, especially 51-56, 67-76; "Die posthumen Ehrenbögen und der Triumph des Drusus Caesar," *ZPE* 78 (1989), 83-91, especially 87.

¹⁶³ For the day see Herz 248 and above, note 142. Cf. Suetonius' emphasis (*Claud.* 2, 1) on the coincidence of Claudius' day of birth with the date of dedication of the altar at Lugdunum: "Roma et Augustus", above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 97-99.

will have been modified and up-dated from reign to reign as imperial policy dictated.¹⁶⁴ The *natales* of the *divi*, for instance, may have been given special emphasis under the Antonines, and the final victory of Septimius Severus over Albinus at Lugdunum in 197 A.D. can hardly have been overlooked in the Gauls and elsewhere, given that it was celebrated in Africa Proconsularis at Theveste,¹⁶⁵ and in Egypt at Arsinoe.¹⁶⁶ That calendars of this kind were disseminated in the Western empire is a hypothesis which remains to be proved but there seems good reason to believe that their use may underlie the rites performed by the high priest at Narbo, as attested in the *Lex Narbonensis*. It is at any rate certain that imperial anniversaries were well-known and considered appropriate occasions on which to set up an honorific inscription or dedicate an altar or statue. To infer the existence of corresponding calendars is no more unreasonable than to suppose a western counterpart to the *Feriale Duranum* and its predecessors on the basis of military inscriptions bearing significant dates.¹⁶⁷

3. *Imperial Celebrations*

The ceremonies by which imperial festivals were observed can likewise be expected to have followed the Roman model—the calendars themselves, which we have assumed to be in the hands of imperial priests in the West, may well have indicated the rites appropriate to a particular occasion. Such is certainly the case with the fragmentary list from Oxyrhynchus,¹⁶⁸ and the *Feriale Duranum* confirms that even the conventions of Roman religion were to be followed by the military with prescribed offerings on particular days.¹⁶⁹ Beyond a handful of inscriptions and occasional iconographical and numismatic echoes very little direct evidence for imperial rites has survived in the western provinces, but by setting what we have in the context of religious practice in Rome and Italy it becomes possible once again to sketch a rough outline of the probable features of imperial ritual in the Latin West.

i) *Sacrifices*

The central act of worship in an ancient cult was the sacrificial offering. That this was true of the worship of the Roman emperor is confirmed, among

¹⁶⁴ Above, p. 489. See further in general Herz, *Festkalender* 52f.

¹⁶⁵ *ILAIg* I, 3041: Col. 1, 8; cf. Snyder, "Anniversaries" (above, note 70) 306f.

¹⁶⁶ Above, p. 494. Issos may also have been marked in the West; cf. above, note 124 with *CIL* 8, 7988.

¹⁶⁷ See below: "Dated Inscriptions and the *Feriale Duranum*", Appendix I, pp. 593-608.

¹⁶⁸ Above, note 80. In addition to a list of temples, there is a verb against each date: [he] 'sits', 'sacrifices', 'offers incense'.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *b m*, *b f*, *taurus*: "Fer.Dur." 191

other testimony, by Gaius' explicit command that temples should be built and sacrifices offered to him as to a god (CD 59, 4, 4). Gaius' approach to the imperial cult went well beyond the bounds of established Julio-Claudian practice but the fact of sacrifice in the western empire is established by a fragmentary clause of the *Lex Narbonensis* (CIL 12, 6038 = ILS 6964) referring to sacrifices performed by the provincial high priest (l. 16, cf. 19f.). There is no clue to the form these may have taken at the provincial centre but very exact regulations are laid down in the inscription of the municipal Ara Numinis Augusti at Narbonne (above, p. 482). These prescribe what sacrifices shall be made by the corporation of three *equites Romani a plebe* and three *libertini*, also by the *coloni* and *incolae*. On major anniversaries the corporation is to offer victims (23rd September, 31st May) or incense and wine and victims (7th January),¹⁷⁰ each member one animal, but they have also to supply incense and wine to the *coloni* and *incolae* for supplications on every anniversary—including 1st January.¹⁷¹ In keeping with the vow made in perpetuity by the inhabitants of Narbo (*numini Augusti votum susceptum a plebe Narbonensium in perpetuum (sic)*: ll. 4-6) these offerings are made each year in renewal of the *deorum placatio* (*qui se numini eius in perpetuum colendo obligaverunt*: ll. 11f.) and addressed to the Numen Augusti (*ad supplicandum numini eius*: ll. 18f., 32f.).¹⁷²

The directives preserved at Narbo seem to be the only explicit information we have on imperial rites at the corporate level in the Latin provinces, though the ritual itself has a parallel in the annual *supplicatio* performed by deputies of the *civitates Galliae* at the *tumulus* of the Elder Drusus (Suet., *Claud.* 1, 3).¹⁷³ The gap is filled to a limited extent by a small number of iconographical traces. For example, the faces of an early imperial *cippus* from Nescania in Baetica have been thought to represent a scene of sacrifice to the emperor (Pl. LXXXIX).¹⁷⁴ On the front a semi-nude male figure, represented seated on a

¹⁷⁰ A preliminary *supplicatio* was, of course, standard procedure before the offering of a victim: Henzen, *AFA* 92f.; "Fer.Dur." 198, 202. A good illustration of this occurs on one of the panels of the Arch of Beneventum (no. 13). See Veyne (above, note 6) 231, with pl. 1, 1.

¹⁷¹ For the connection of the day with the Lares Augusti see V. von Gonzenbach, "Genius Augusti-Theos Sebastos", *Opuscula* (Stockholm Stud. in Cl. Arch. = Festschrift K. Kerényi) 5 (1968), 81-117 at 108. In Rome and Italy offerings were made on this day to the Lares (Cato, *De agr.* 143, 2) and the Genius Augusti.

¹⁷² For the background see G. Freyburger, "La supplication d'action de grâces sous le Haut-Empire", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1418-1439 at 1434-1436.

¹⁷³ Above, note 162. Bellen, *o.c.*, 388f., attributes the annual supplication to a decision of the federal *concilium* taken in August, 8 B.C., and suggests that the entire council including the high priest may have participated. But see now Lebek (above, note 162) (1989) 67-70, arguing that the tribal communities were acting under orders. Cf. the rites apparently performed at Germanicus' monument by the Gauls and the Germans.

¹⁷⁴ A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal*, Madrid, 1949, pp. 407f., no. 408 (pl. 290); Scott Ryberg, *Rites* (above, note 7) 95f.; Veyne (above, note 6) 236-238, citing *AEpig* (1940) no. 26 (where the seated figure is surely the emperor).

throne, shakes hands with a female figure to the left who raises her own left arm in greeting or homage; to the right a winged Victory, foot on globe, places a wreath on the emperor's (?) head. Other faces show two *camilli* with sacrificial utensils, a flute player and two attendants standing about a veiled celebrant who pours a libation from the left upon an altar, and a *victimarius* leading a small bull, behind which the *papa* raises his axe on high. A damaged marble plaque from Emerita in Lusitana¹⁷⁵ likewise portrays a sacrificial scene (Pl. XC a), the composition of which looks to be related to that sculpted on the altar before the temple of Vespasian at Pompeii, and similar scenes occur on reliefs at Tarraco (Pl. XC b)¹⁷⁶ and Rusicade in Algeria.¹⁷⁷ In none of the latter examples is a connection with the cult of the emperor directly in evidence but *bucrania* on the municipal altar of Tarraco, as shown on coins (above, Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXVII b), presumably testify to victims offered there; even if this common motif is simply borrowed from Roman models, it makes sense only as testimony to imperial sacrifices.¹⁷⁸ In any event Augustus' tart reply to the Tarraconians—*apparet quam saepe accendatis* (Quint., *De inst. orat.* 6, 3, 77)—draws attention to the fire (in a portable *foculus* or on the altar) which consumed the *exta* of victims or offerings of incense and wine, and we have seen that the decree of the Mytileneans (*OGIS* 456 = *IGRR* 4, 39), displayed here as at Brundisium and Massilia in the West, provides for sacrifices in celebration of Augustus' monthly birthday as well as special yearly sacrifices.¹⁷⁹ With these traces at Tarraco one might also compare the sacrifice represented on one of the faces of the well-known altar found at Carthage near a shrine of the Gens Augusta (Pl. XC c).¹⁸⁰ This again shows a priest standing at a low, tripod altar in the company of a flute player and two *camilli* who carry an incense box and pitcher; crowded in to the right is the *victimarius* and bull, intended for sacrifice perhaps to the clan *genius*.¹⁸¹

For the supplication of incense and wine, on the other hand, we have excellent iconographical evidence in a series of reliefs at Ptuj in Yugoslavia showing, in varying completeness, three figures *capite velato* who pour libations or sprinkle incense upon a small, square altar before them; in the left hand each carries a laurel (?) branch (Pl. XCI a).¹⁸² As an inscription from Unter-Haidin with part of a similar relief confirms, the figures are to be linked

¹⁷⁵ Bellido, *Esculturas* p. 402, no. 403 (pl. 284); Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 195f.; Veyne, *o.c.* 239.

¹⁷⁶ Bellido, *Esculturas* p. 403, no. 404 (pl. 285); Etienne, *Culte impérial* 174f. with pl. II, 2, 3.

¹⁷⁷ Veyne, *o.c.* 239f.

¹⁷⁸ D. Fishwick, "The Altar of Augustus and the Municipal Cult of Tarraco", *MDAI(M)* 23 (1982), 222-233 at 231.

¹⁷⁹ Above, note 133.

¹⁸⁰ For the date see "Roma et Augustus" above, Vol. I, 1, 128 with n. 214. For the dedication of the nearby temple see *AEpig* (1914) no. 87.

¹⁸¹ So Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 89f. with bibl.

¹⁸² V. Skrabar, "Denkmäler des Larenkultes aus Poetovio", *JOEAI* 20 (1919), *Beiblatt* 279-94.

with the cult of the Lares Augusti (*CIL* 3, 10873), an interpretation supported by similar scenes on reliefs at Rome and Aquileia (Pl. XCI b) or wall-paintings at Pompeii (below, p. 511). Evidently Poetovio, like other municipalities in the provinces, was divided into *vici* on the Roman and Italian pattern,¹⁸³ and provincial *magistri vicorum* performed rites comparable to those in use at Rome and elsewhere in Italy. A similar scene is portrayed on a relief at Nîmes, where a veiled figure, holding the folds of his *toga* in the left hand, pours a libation with his right hand upon an altar placed to the right (Espérandieu, *Recueil* 1, no. 432 = *CIL* 12, 3076).¹⁸⁴ To fill the picture out the use of incense in imperial rites is confirmed at Lugdunum by a small figure of an imperial priest carrying an incense box (above, Vol. I, 1, Pl. XIX).

Further iconographical testimony takes the form of sacrificial implements, sometimes portrayed in combination with an inscription. Thus an altar of the Numen Augusti at Tarraco bears representations of the *urceus*, *patera* and *lituus*, all beautifully executed (Alföldy, *RIT* 48; Pl. LXXIV b, c). At Nîmes an altar to Augustus Mars Britovius has below the dedication a headless bull and a headless ram while the lateral faces of the stone show an incense box and sacrificial knife to the right, a *patera* and part of an *aspergillum* to the left (*CIL* 12, 3082 = Espérandieu 1, no. 467; Pl. XCII a-c). The *aspergillum* and a vase for libations are also represented at Nîmes on a further fragment, now lost and known only from a manuscript sketch (Espérandieu 1, no. 465), and a stone at Narbonne again has the sprinkler. Neither of these two examples are specifically linked with the ruler cult but the temple frieze at Tarraco preserves a very similar *aspergillum*, certainly in connection with the regalia of the imperial *flamen* (above, (above, Vol. I, 1, Pls. XXXIf.).¹⁸⁵ The various utensils and paraphernalia of an imperial priest look to be similarly represented in combination on a further stone from Nîmes showing the *fascēs*, presumably of the priest's attendant lictor,¹⁸⁶ a sacrificial knife, a lustration vase and vestiges of an *aspergillum* (Espérandieu 1, no. 462; cf. 432; Pl. XCII d). Lastly, a local bell at Tarraco is usually thought to have been employed in ceremonies connected with the well-being of the Augusti, as its inscription could imply (Pl. XCIII a-c).¹⁸⁷ If so, it was presumably apotropaic in purpose,

¹⁸³ Cf. *CIL* 3, 10875 = *ILS* 3302.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. *CIL* 12, 3074f., 3077, et *passim*. See further Chante (above, note 44) 140-146.

¹⁸⁵ Etienne, *Culte impérial* 166.

¹⁸⁶ Espérandieu *ad loc.* takes the *fascēs* to be rather those of a *sevir*; for which see Ladage, *Städtische Priester* (above, note 8) 66 with n. 5. Their combination with various religious implements points rather to an association with the imperial *flamen*. See above, note 23.

¹⁸⁷ *DEP* | *Cacabulus salvis Augustis vernaculus nuntius iunior* | *s(aj)eculum bonum s(enatui) p(opulo)q(ue) R(omano) et populo Romano* (sic), *felix Tarraco* (*RIT* 369). But see now C. Castillo, "Un triennio de epigrafía latina en Hispania: logros y perspectivas" in *Unidad y Pluralidad en El Mundo Antiguo* (Actas del VI Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos), Madrid, 1983, 105-125 at 115-117 reading *D(edit?) e(x) p(ollicitatione?)*. | *Vernaculus nuntius iunior* | *Cacabulus, salvis Augustis* | *et populo Romano, Felix Tarraco. seculum bonum s(enatui)*

like other bells in religious usage,¹⁸⁸ and a link with the municipal cult of the city would be possible in view of its find-spot in the lower city, not far from the small forum, the probable site of the municipal altar (Pl. XCIV).¹⁸⁹ Evidence for the *ritus Romanus* is, of course, plentiful enough in the iconography of the Latin West¹⁹⁰ and what the traces above confirm is that the rites of the western ruler cult were likewise modelled upon Roman practice in the capital and in Italy. A glance at this, together with comparable evidence from the East, will therefore provide the appropriate background against which one can fill out such fragmentary evidence from the West as happens to have been preserved.

(a) Rome

The importance of animal sacrifice as a central feature of the emperor cult in Rome is attested particularly by the Acts of the Arval Brethren. That other colleges and groups had a similar programme seems beyond question¹⁹¹ but it is the *AVA* that happen to survive and hence provide a paradigm of what could be expected generally.

The *natalis* of Augustus was originally observed by an annual sacrifice to Mars, Neptune and Apollo *in campo*;¹⁹² the victim is unknown but Dio records that an ox was sacrificed at the yearly festival celebrating the birth of Augustus' grandson C. Caesar—we are not told to whom (54, 8, 5). The corresponding offering at Narbo is given simply as *hostia* (above, p. 502). By the

p(opulo)q(ue) R(omano). He suggests that the bell may rather have been used by an employee at the baths of Tarraco, citing Mart., *Ep.* 14, 163. The dimensions of the Tarraco bell (12 cm. high, 12 cm. diameter) might be thought to tell in favour of its use for religious purposes, but two, much smaller, iron bells are in any case connected with the "fortin-sanctuaire" of Le Pas de la Selle (La Panouse-de-Cernon): A. Soutou, "Trois sites Gallo-Romains du Rouergue", *Gallia* 25 (1967), 111-151 at 140, cf. 144 with n. 39. At the sanctuary of Sanxay it is unclear whether two similar hand-bells originate from the temple, the baths or the "demi-amphithéâtre": J. Formigé, "Le sanctuaire de Sanxay", *Gallia* 2 (1944), 43-97 with list of objects compiled by F. Eygun, *ibid.* 98-120 (see especially p. 112, no. 69). There is a collection of such "clochettes" in Salle XII of the Musée Gallo-Romain, Lyon; cf. *Gallia* 30 (1972), 73f. with fig. 29, 7 (Saint-Ulrich).

¹⁸⁸ For the use of bells in connection with the temple of Iuppiter Tonans see Fishwick (above, note 178) 233, n. 84, citing Suet., *Aug.* 91, 2; further Etienne, *Culte impérial* 174; Dar.-Sag. 5 (1919) (1963) 341-344 s.v. *tintinnabulum*.

¹⁸⁹ See "The Altar of Augustus at Tarraco", above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 173f.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. for example, a bas-relief now at the Musée Gallo-Romain, Lyon, representing the *suevotaurilia*: P. Veyne, "Le monument des Suovétauriles de Beaujeu", *Gallia* 17 (1959), 79-100. What looks very much like a *supplicatio* in the Roman manner is shown on an altar at Cologne below a dedication to Dea Vagdavercustis by T. Flavius Constans, *prae(fectus) prael(orio)* (*CIL* 13, 12057 = Espérandieu 8, no. 6439). See in general Espérandieu, *Index* s.v. *sacrificateur*, sacrifice.

¹⁹¹ See above, note 48. Suetonius reports that the *equites* celebrated the birthday of Divus Augustus over two days (*Aug.* 57; cf. CD 54, 34).

¹⁹² Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2; p. 512.

reign of Nero the *natalis* of the living emperor was celebrated with sacrifices to the Capitoline Triad, Salus Publica, the emperor's *genius* and Concordia;¹⁹³ it is notable that the victims are a *bos mas* to Jupiter, a *vacca* to Juno, Minerva and Salus, but to the emperor's *genius* a bull.¹⁹⁴ When Augustus was first consecrated, his birthday along with those of Tiberius and Livia was marked by the sacrifice of an ox on the Capitol to Jupiter,¹⁹⁵ but after Gaius dedicated the temple of Divus Augustus the festival was extended to two days and on the second the Arvals made the additional sacrifice of an ox to Divus Augustus at his new temple by the Palatine (Pl. LXXXVII a).¹⁹⁶ Similar rites to Divus Augustus were performed on various other days.¹⁹⁷ As for consecrated females, the Arvals sacrificed a cow to Livia along with an ox to Augustus at their temple on the anniversary of Livia's consecration (17th January) and on other occasions such as Augustus' birthday or Claudius' appellation as *pater patriae*.¹⁹⁸ Again, after Claudius was deified the *AFA* record that on various anniversaries Divus Augustus and he received a *bos mas*, Diva Augusta a *vacca*, either on the Capitol or at the Palatine temple, whereas the Capitoline Triad regularly received offerings on the Capitol:¹⁹⁹ a

¹⁹³ Henzen, *AFA* LXIf. (A.D. 55), LXX (A.D. 58), LXXVI (A.D. 59).

¹⁹⁴ For the significance of a bull as victim see Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 55, n. 31.

¹⁹⁵ Henzen, *AFA* XXXV (A.D. 35).

¹⁹⁶ Henzen p. 51 (reversed in A.D. 38).

¹⁹⁷ Prudentius states that a calf and a lamb were the normal sacrifices in the cult of Divus Augustus at Rome (*Contra Symm. Orat.* 1, 247). An undated *dupondius* of the Divus Augustus Pater series (reign of Tiberius) shows the front view of a hexastyle, domed, round temple, with an empty niche in the centre, upon a podium of three steps; at either side of the building a ram to the left and a bull to the right face inwards on two bases or pillars (*BMC* 1, p. 140, no. 142; cf. p. cxxxix). This can hardly be the temple (then under construction) of Divus Augustus, which is represented as gabled and hexastyle on the type of Gaius sacrificing (above, note 59), and on the restored series of Antoninus Pius as gabled and octostyle upon a podium of four steps (*BMC* 4, p. 350, no. 2051; cf. p. lxxiii); but it may well be the temple of Vesta as originally proposed by H. Dressel, "Numismatische Analekten (I)", *Zeitschr. für Numis.* 22 (1900), 20-31. Subsequent research seems to have concluded that, if so, this must be the shrine of Vesta *in foro* rather than a supposed *aedicula* on the Palatine. For a review of the discussion see above, Vol. I, 88, note 37; R. T. Scott, *Historia* 31 (1982), 458f. As there is further iconographical evidence, in particular reliefs from Sorrento and Palermo, for the association of the ram and the bull with the temple of Vesta, it seems very possible that Prudentius has misunderstood their significance and mistakenly introduced them into the cult of Divus Augustus, which was so closely associated with that of Vesta. Alternatively he may simply be repeating a popular misconception, itself inspired by the coin. On the persuasive interpretation of M. Guarducci the ram and the bull flanking the temple are in fact signs of the Zodiac relating to the periods 21st March–20th April (Aries) and 20th April–19th May (Taurus): "Enea e Vesta", *MDAI(R)* 78 (1971), 73-118 at 103ff. For the link between the cults of Vesta and of Divus Augustus see M. Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs 116), New York, 1950, 122; *id.*, *Roman Anniversary Issues*, Cambridge, 1950 (1977), 34, cf. 91, 123. See now D. Fishwick, "Prudentius and the Cult of Divus Augustus", *Historia* 39 (1990), forthcoming; *id.*, "A Temple of Vesta on the Palatine?", *Hommages à Tadeusz Kotula*, forthcoming.

¹⁹⁸ Henzen, p. 59, cf. *AFA* LV; LIX; LIV.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. *AFA* LXIII, LXIX-LXXII.

cow was also offered to Diva Claudia and Diva Poppaea.²⁰⁰ Thus both the *divi* and the *divae* receive each the appropriate victim.²⁰¹

Other occasions present a similar picture. The *natales* of various members of the *domus imperatoria* were celebrated by the sacrifice on the Capitol of animal victims to Jupiter Optimus Maximus or the Capitoline Triad, sometimes with Salus Publica, Concordia and the emperor's *genius*;²⁰² whereas on imperial anniversaries—*ob imperium*, *ob tribuniciam potestatem*, *ob consulatum* etc., including the appellation *pater patriae*—the overall picture is of sacrifice of the standard *hostiae* to the Capitoline Triad, sometimes with the usual victims to the *genius* and the *divi/divae*, occasionally also a cow to Salus, Felicitas, Victoria, and a bull to the *genius* of the Roman People.²⁰³ So at Narbo victims are offered to the Numen Augusti on 7th January (above, pp. 482, 502; Pl. LXXV a). The same holds true of various annual sacrifices and extraordinary sacrifices for special reasons, such as the detection of conspiracies or the emperor's *adventus*, when the list of recipients could include further Augustan abstractions: Providentia, Clementia, Securitas, or Fortuna Redux.²⁰⁴ Lastly the annual vows of 3rd January, made and paid on the Capitol *pro salute et incolumitate imperatoris*, were marked by the standard offering to the Capitoline Triad and Salus Publica on the Capitol, likewise, under Nero at least, to Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta and Divus Claudius at the *templum novum* of Divus Augustus.²⁰⁵ Much the same applies to other categories of vows, including *vota extraordinaria*.²⁰⁶

It is striking that in the Feriale Duranum, which we have seen to be based on practice at Rome (above, pp. 488f.), the same conventions were observed with male victims for Mars or other male deities and female victims for goddesses. But whereas the *genius* of the reigning emperor receives a *bos mas*, as do the *divi*, only supplications of incense and wine are offered to the *divae* (cf. Col. I, ?l. 10; Col. II, ll. 7, 19, 28; Col. III, l. 7), not a *bos femina* or *vacca*—apparently the first attested instances of supplications to deified members of the imperial family themselves, though the practice may be Julio-

²⁰⁰ Henzen p. 50.

²⁰¹ Cf. "Fer. Dur." (above, note 53) 190f.

²⁰² Henzen pp. 55-57.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* 71-74.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 82-86. On Providentia see J.-P. Martin, *Providentia Deorum. Recherches sur certains aspects religieux du pouvoir impérial romain* (Coll. de l'École franç. de Rome 61), Rome, 1982.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 89-104. In A.D. 58-60 two victims were offered to each deity: AFA LXVII, LXXI, LXXVII, XC.

²⁰⁶ Henzen 105-126. For discussion of the numismatic evidence see H. Mattingly, "The Imperial Vota", *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 36 (1950), 155-195; 37 (1951), 219-268. The iconographic evidence is presented by Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 120-140. See further Mărghită-Petolescu (above, note 150) 84-86; Weinstock, *DJ* 219, n. 1 with refs. For the rites associated with the *decennalia* of Gallienus see E. W. Merten, *Zwei Herrscherfeste in der Historia Augusta* (Antiquitas 5), Bonn, 1968, 4-100; further below, note 485.

Claudian in origin.²⁰⁷ In general supplications are the standard means in the *Feriale Duranum* of marking imperial anniversaries such as Severus Alexander's first salutation as *imperator* (Col. I, l. 26), the day he was called *Augustus, pater patriae* and *pontifex maximus* (Col. I, ll. 27f.), or his first appointment as consul (Col. II, l. 18), also (surprisingly at this date) the anniversary of Germanicus' birthday (Col. II, l. 12); who was the recipient of the supplication on such days is generally not stated.²⁰⁸ Such use of the *supplicatio* to mark an anniversary will have long since become a standing practice.²⁰⁹ In the surviving *fasti* of the early principate similar occasions are celebrated by animal sacrifices but, though the evidence is very limited or inferential, supplications must have been common by the time of Claudius, who in fact reduced their number (CD 60, 17, 1; cf. Tac., *Ann.* 13, 41, 5).²¹⁰ We have noted the preponderance of supplications among the cult acts prescribed in the inscription of the Ara Numinis Augusti at Narbo (above, p. 502). As in military practice or in municipal cult, this form of celebration no doubt gained popularity because of its cheapness and may have been the standard observance elsewhere on many occasions that were marked at Rome by animal sacrifice.

Further evidence for the rites of the ruler cult in Rome occurs in the form of reliefs illustrating various religious ceremonies; fortunately for present purposes imperial ritual was a popular theme of early imperial art.²¹¹ Thus a bull and a steer, possibly offerings to the Genius Augusti and Divus Augustus, appear in the Cancelleria relief showing a procession associated with some Julio-Claudian ritual event, conceivably the founding of the altar of Providentia or of Pietas.²¹² Sacrifice to Divus Augustus alone may be represented on a coin type of A.D. 37-38, perhaps adapted from a monumental relief,²¹³ while the scene on a relief in the Vatican has been thought to show a similar rite to Divus Claudius;²¹⁴ both portray a supplication, preliminary to the offering of a victim, along with assistant religious personnel. The altars from the *vici*, on the other hand, clearly depict sacrifice to the Lares and the Genius Augusti. For example, one from the Vicus Aesculeus, dedicated in the ninth year of the cult of the Lares Augusti (CIL 6, 30957 = ILS 3615), shows four

²⁰⁷ "Fer. Dur." 191, 199f.

²⁰⁸ But see Col. II, l. 12, where the supplication is to the *memoria* of Germanicus.

²⁰⁹ "Fer. Dur." 196, 200. For the suggestion that rites will have been performed before a likeness of the individual in question see Pekáry, *Bildnis* (above, note 10) 153.

²¹⁰ K. Nicolae, "Feiertage und Werktage im römischen Leben...", *Saeculum* 14 (1963), 194-220 at 201. For the developing use of the *supplicatio* see "Fer. Dur." 194f., citing (n. 949) RG 9, 2.

²¹¹ See in general Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 81-103.

²¹² Scott Ryberg, *o.c.* 75-80; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* (above, note 9) 28f.; Hesberg (above, note 15) 918f.

²¹³ Above, note 53; cf. Scott Ryberg, *o.c.* 94. The scene is closely related to that on the altar before the temple of Vespasian at Pompeii; below, p. 511.

²¹⁴ Scott Ryberg, *o.c.* 96.

vicomagistri in the act of pouring libations or sprinkling incense; behind the altar is a flute-player, while in front two laureate *victimarii* of smaller height hold a pig and a bull.²¹⁵ Whereas the bull is the appropriate victim for the Genius Augusti, there is abundant literary evidence for the offering of a pig to the Lares.²¹⁶ One may contrast the simpler scene on an altar in the Vatican showing two veiled *vicomagistri*, who sprinkle incense or pour a libation on either side of a garlanded altar, behind which stands a togate flute player; here there is no sign of a victim (*CIL* 6, 445 = *ILS* 3613).²¹⁷ Such altar groups, familiar in other reliefs of the Augustan age, are to be brought into relation with the sculptures at Ptuj and Nîmes (above, pp. 503f.).

(b) Italy

We have seen that municipalities in Italy were at liberty to adapt to their own requirements the festival list observed in Rome and elsewhere (above, pp. 490-492). This freedom of movement further emerges in the way communities celebrated imperial festivals. Whereas animal sacrifices are a mark of the cult paid by the Arvals,²¹⁸ the *feriale* of Cumae (*ibid.*) shows that local practice was to celebrate the *natales* of imperial princes and most other occasions with the cheaper rite of a supplication to Vesta, Jupiter, Mars, or some abstraction. Sacrifice of an animal victim is reserved for the birthday of Augustus himself (apparently a one-day festival here), when the offering is made directly to the emperor: [*viii k. Octobr(es) natalis Caesaris. Immolatio Caesari hostia, supp[li]catio* (l. 3).²¹⁹ Similarly the supplication marking the day Octavian was named Augustus (16th January) is to Augustus himself: which again puts the emperor on the same level as a deity.²²⁰ Even if one

²¹⁵ Scott Ryberg, *o.c.* 59f.; Hesberg, *o.c.* 916f.; M. Hano, "A l'origine du culte impérial: les autels des Lares Augusti. Recherches sur les thèmes iconographiques et leur signification", *ANRW* 2, 16, 3 (1986) 2333-2381 at 2339f., 2357, 2361. See in general Gonzenbach (above, note 171) 97ff.

²¹⁶ Skrabar (above, note 182) 289, n. 5, citing, Propertius 4, 1, 23; Tibullus 1, 10, 26; Festus p. 253 (Olms Lindsay, p. 298, 25); cf. *Dar.-Sag.* 3, 2 (1904) (1963) 943 s.v. *lares*.

²¹⁷ Scott Ryberg, *o.c.* 58f.; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 31, n. 122 with bibl.; Hano (above, note 215, 2338, 2353. For the use of *thymiateria* at the *compita* see Gross-Thoedorescu (below, note 541) 709f.

²¹⁸ Wissow, *RuKR*² 412.

²¹⁹ Degrassi supplies [*Vestae*] (l.3) (*InscrIt* 13, 2, p. 279), which certainly seems supported by the word order in comparison with other entries. The editors of "Fer. Dur." (p. 200, n. 988) suggest that the supplication could nevertheless be to Augustus, as on 16th January (l. 10). At Narbo the Numen Augusti receives both offerings on 7th January but in reverse order: first a supplication, then victims—surely an important difference (*contra* "Fer. Dur." p. 198, n. 975).

²²⁰ Cf. Freyburger (above, note 172) 1436, comparing l. 9 (7th January): *supplicatio Iovi semperiterno*. The uninhibited tone of the calendar is also clear from l. 11 (30th January): *supplicatio Imperio Caesaris Augusti...*

should allow for Greek influence²²¹—although by the reign of Augustus Cumae was hardly a Greek enclave—it would appear that there was a wide divergence from the outset between practice in Rome and that followed in the municipalities, where the rites more closely resemble the later prescriptions of the Feriale Duranum.

Much the same conclusions follow from the observances at Forum Clodii in A.D. 18 when Augustus was already four years dead (*CIL* 11, 3303 = *ILS* 154); two victims are to be offered at the altar of the Numen Augustum on the days of Augustus' birthday festival, while on Tiberius' *natalis* the sacrifice of a calf is prescribed.²²² The recipient is not stated but presumably will have been the Numen Augustum, to which the altar is dedicated. In addition on both occasions, before the decurions go to their meal, the *genii* of Augustus and Tiberius are to be invited *thure ac vino* to dine at the altar; that is, the ritual on the birthday of each emperor included a supplication to both their *genii*. This last rite must be a purely local arrangement,²²³ for neither in the Feriale Cumanum nor at Narbo is there any mention of the cult of the *genius* and only under Nero do the Arvals sacrifice to the emperor's *genius* along with other gods (above, p. 506). That festivals celebrated by local colleges were likewise marked by supplications is confirmed occasionally by their own regulations, for example those of the *collegium cultorum Dianae et Antinoi* at Lanuvium: *item placuit ut quinquennalis sui cuiusque temporis diebus solemn[ibus ture] | et vino supplicet* (*CIL* 14, 2112 = *ILS* 7212: II, ll. 29f.). On the other hand a well-known inscription attests direct sacrifice to Augustus himself at Naples following the procession of competitors and officials to the imperial sanctuary on the day of the games (*I Olympia* 56, ll. 48-52).²²⁴ The rite is clearly in line with the prescription of the Feriale Cumanum on Augustus' *natalis* but in this case we have Dio's explicit comment that the Neapolitans were emulating Greek customs.²²⁵

Imperial rites are also well attested in the surviving iconography. One of the best examples of a sacrificial scene is preserved on the well-known Julio-Claudian altar of C. Manlius found in the theatre at Caere (*CIL* 11,3616 =

²²¹ But cf. Dio's comment that in instituting a sacred contest to Augustus the inhabitants of Neapolis alone of the Campanians — *μόνοι τῶν προσχώρων* — tried in a manner to imitate the customs of the Greeks (55, 10, 9: cf. 56, 29, 2). See further Strabo 5, 4, 7; Suet., *Aug.* 98, 5; *Claud.* 11, 2; Vell. Pat. 2, 123, 1.

²²² Gayraud, *Narbonne* (above, note 20) 363.

²²³ Weinstock, *DJ* 215f.

²²⁴ Taylor, *Divinity* 214f.; C. Fayer, *Il Culto della Dea Roma. Origine e diffusione nell'Impero*, Pescara, 1976, 248; Price, *Rituals* (above, note 2) 217, cf. 111, n. 68 with refs. Price stresses, *o.c.* 216-220, that sacrifices to the emperor were decidedly less common than sacrifices on his behalf. See further below, notes 230f.

²²⁵ Above, note 221. See further "Augustus and the West", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 91, note 55.

ILS 6577).²²⁶ This shows a veiled priest holding the *patera* above a low altar, various attendants, a flute-player, a *victimarius*, mallet on shoulder, and a *popa* about to strike the victim. As the Lares appear on the two shorter sides of the altar, there can be little doubt that the recipient of the sacrifice is the Genius Augusti. One may compare an altar with a similar scene at Soriano del Cimino.²²⁷ The Lares Augusti themselves are the focus of the rite portrayed on a relief from Aquileia showing three veiled priests standing at a small square, lighted altar (Pl. XCI b).²²⁸ In the left hand the two outer figures carry a long branch of laurel (?), presumably for purification purposes, and in the right an offering bowl; the middle figure sprinkles on the altar grains of incense which he has taken from the *acerra* in his raised left hand. The association of the rite with the Lares is assured by the inclusion of a pig protruding from behind the feet of the left-hand figure; while to the left in front of the altar sits a cock.²²⁹ The scene is striking parallel to that on the reliefs at Ptuj and Nîmes (above, p. 503f.), where, however, the victims are omitted, and compares closely with the scenes of sacrifice by four *vicomagistri* that are portrayed on exterior walls at the *compita* of Pompeii.²³⁰

Some ceremony of the municipal cult of the emperor may be shown on the altar before the temple of Vespasian at Pompeii.²³¹ This preserves an elaborately executed representation of the sacrifice of a bull, showing the preliminary libation by the priest, the lictors, *victimarii*, attendants and flute-player; on the shorter sides appear priestly attributes and the paraphernalia of sacrifice. The rite might be associated with the dedication of the temple (though the suggestion of a temple of the Genius Augusti can draw on little supporting evidence) or mark an annual celebration of some sort in the municipal cult. If the relief is Flavian rather than earlier, possible recipients of the offering would be the Genius Augusti or Mars.²³² Again, at Vercelli a second-century relief, perhaps from an altar of the well-attested municipal cult, shows a similar sacrificial scene, but in this case the priest wears his *apex* on top of the short toga (*?laena*) veiling his head as he performs the

²²⁶ Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 84-87. For the view that this is an original cult altar from Rome, re-used as a monument honouring the *censor perpetuus*, Manlius, see Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 34f. The monument would in that case belong with the iconographical evidence from Rome (above, pp. 508f.); cf. Hano (above, note 215) 2345f., 2357f., 2361, 2363.

²²⁷ Scott Ryberg, *o.c.* 61; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 35; Hano 2346, 2363.

²²⁸ Skrabar (above, note 182) 284f. with refs; Hano 2364.

²²⁹ For the cock cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 13, 233f.

²³⁰ Taylor, *Divinity* 186; Scott Ryberg 81, n. 1 with refs.

²³¹ Scott Ryberg 81-83; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 36; Hesberg (above, note 15) 922f.; Hano 2350f. See further "Augustus and the West", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 91, note 55 with refs.; Hänlein-Schäfer (above, note 57) 134f.

²³² For the sacrifice of a bull to Mars (usually together with the Genius Augusti) on imperial occasions see Henzen 72, 84, 86f., 121, 124.

preliminary offering of incense.²³³ Since a small bull is represented with the usual ritual personnel, the sacrifice should be to the *genius* of the emperor, though a *divus* has also been suggested.²³⁴ To this evidence can be added a sepulchral relief and inscription of a *sevir* from Brescia that seems to show a veiled figure, presumably Anteros Asiaticus himself, offering incense at the left of a low, tripod altar (*CIL* 5, 4482),²³⁵ also a fragment of a frieze from Ravenna with *victimarii* and a bull perhaps destined for sacrifice to the emperor's *genius*; comparison with the Cancellaria relief suggests that the lost section of this sacrificial procession might have included another victim—to Divus Augustus, say.²³⁶ A cult that included the *divi* is at any rate the subject of a mosaic found in the Augusteum at Ostia.²³⁷ Clearly depicted is a sacrificial scene with priest, flute-player, altar, *victimarius* and attendant—evidently the completion of a preliminary supplication and the beginning of the immolation of the victim. On the other hand several details link the rite with Greek rather than Roman practice: in particular the head of the priest is not veiled but bare and laureate. Such iconographical traces provide tantalising glimpses of municipal cult in the Western provinces and hence, inferentially, of local civic cult in the Western provinces.²³⁸

(c) East

Evidence from the Greek East is less relevant in so far as it generally reflects long-established Greek ritual practice rather than Roman, though often enough the two will have broadly corresponded.²³⁹ The rites appropriate to the ruler cult in the Eastern empire had a long history running from the early civic cults of the Greek city-state or the dynastic cults of Hellenistic monarchies down to the cults of Roman administrators and similar cults of Roman power under the Republic.²⁴⁰ Price has stressed the central importance of

²³³ Scott Ryberg 93f.

²³⁴ Veyne (above, note 6) 235f.

²³⁵ Scott Ryberg 100f. There is no sign of a victim, but Scott Ryberg notes that two figures to the left of the altar are shown in a pose similar to that of the *victimarii* in scenes of animal sacrifice; cf. Ladage, *Städtische Priester* (above, note 8) 67. For the suggestion that a Trajanic relief at Milan may represent two *seviri iuniores* sacrificing a victim to Jupiter *pro salute imperatoris* see Scott Ryberg 102f.

²³⁶ So Scott Ryberg 90-92; Hesberg (above, note 15) 920f. A larger section of the Ravenna relief shows members of the Julio-Claudian house - notably Augustus, foot on globe.

²³⁷ Scott Ryberg 96f.; Hesberg 924f. Two flanking scenes show a *victimarius* slaying the *hostia*. For the imperial statues in the temple see Turcan (above, note 88) 1004f. with n. 31.

²³⁸ For the rites of a private group of *cultores d(omus?) d(ivinae?)* see also an altar at Nola showing left: an attendant leading a victim and holding an axe; right and rear: religious implements (*CIL* 10, 1238). See further "Domus Divina", above, p. 433f.

²³⁹ Above, note 2.

²⁴⁰ For illustrative examples see Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschen und Griechische Städte* (Zetemata 14), Munich, 1970, 138-153; A. D. Nock, "Σύνναος Θεός", *HSCP* 41 (1930), 1-62 at

animal sacrifice in the Greek sacrificial system, though incense was increasingly a feature of the daily cult of the gods and along with libations was already common in Ptolemaic Egypt.²⁴¹ So while imperial sacrifices could certainly include libations or the offering of ritual cakes, standard practice called for the burning of incense or the slaying of an animal much as in the Roman manner.²⁴² What is of interest for present purposes is to identify parallels in the Greek world to what we have noted in the Western provinces or indeed Rome and Italy. At a very early stage Greek observances may even have provided the model at one or two centres in the West, though as a rule we have no idea how far these were imitated; Naples provides the obvious exception (above, p. 510). Conversely, and more importantly, there are clear instances in the East of Roman rites that have been imported and adopted locally and are consequently of particular relevance to the overall picture of imperial ritual in the Latin West.²⁴³

We have seen that at Brundisium, Tarraco and Massilia a Greek paradigm for imperial ritual was on public view in the form of a copy of the decree of the Mytileneans (*IGRR* 4, 39).²⁴⁴ This calls for animal sacrifices to be made to the emperor on his monthly birthday just as to Zeus (l. 21: a), except that, if Price is right, the victims offered the emperor had special markings. The Mytilene example thus parallels the observance in the *Feriale Cumanum*, not that there is anything to prove the regulation at Cumae was copied directly from Greek practice. On the whole, however, the evidence Price has assembled seems to suggest that direct sacrifice to the emperor alone was avoided at the provincial level—at least it is not recorded²⁴⁵—and was relatively uncommon in civic cult; though the data might be increased by inference from imperial altars, certainly by the inclusion of sacrifices to the

26f. (= *Essays* 222f.); L. Robert, "Sur un décret d'Ilion et sur un papyrus concernant des cultes royaux" in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (American St. in Papyrology 1), New Haven, 1966, 175-210. See in general Price, *Rituals* (above, note 2) 23-52 especially 30f., 48.

²⁴¹ For offerings of incense to Alexander see Diod. 18, 61, 1; Q. Curtius Rufus 8, 5, 10. See further D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoae and Portraits in Faience*, Oxford, 1973, 69-75, 117-124; E. Winter, "Der Herrscherkult in den ägyptischen Ptolemäertempeln" in H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka (edd.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (Akten des internationalen Symposions 27-29 September 1976 in Berlin), Mainz, 1978, 147-160.

²⁴² Price, *o.c.* 208f., 227f. For the sacrifice of a bull see further 111, 157; for incense see M. P. Nilsson, "Pagan Divine Service in Late Antiquity", *HTHR* 38 (1945), 63-69; *id.*, *GGR* 2, 377. For the sacrifice of an ox at Oenoanda see Addenda, below, p. 618.

²⁴³ For an example outside the ruler cult see Price 89f., noting the imitation of the Roman festival of the Rosalia in the foundation of Titus Flavius Praxias at Acmonia; cf. also the May rose festival of the hymnodes at Pergamum; *ibid.* 90.

²⁴⁴ Above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 171f.; Price 217-219, cf. 74, 103, 105, 127f.

²⁴⁵ *Contra* Weinstock, *DJ* 210 with n. 2. The possibility remains, of course, that what was customary and regular was too obvious to need recording. For the same difficulty with the Augustales see below, Appendix II, pp. 611ff.

collective Sebastoi.²⁴⁶ On the other hand an inscription from Messene shows P. Cornelius Scipio *quaestor pro praetore* of Achaëa ca. 2 A.D. celebrating lavishly the festival of the Caesarea with sacrifices for (?) Augustus and ordering the cities of the province to wear crowns and sacrifice in like manner (*AEpig*, 1976, no. 458; *SEG* 23, 1968, no. 206).²⁴⁷ While this is obviously related to Greek custom, his offering of an ox for the safety of Gaius (ll. 14f) is very Roman. The rite is conducted here by a Roman official, but during the imperial festival at Gytheum in the Peloponnese the ephors similarly sacrificed a bull at the imperial shrine "on behalf of the safety of the rulers and the gods and the eternal duration of their rule". Whether it was for the same intention that a second sacrifice was performed in the main square is not stated, but incense was then offered before the images of Augustus, Livia and Tiberius at the theatre, again for the preservation of the rulers (*SEG* 11, 1954, no. 923).²⁴⁸ Similar examples can be adduced elsewhere.²⁴⁹

But the most striking evidence for the importation of Roman forms into the Greek World relates to the annual *vota* of 3rd January.²⁵⁰ Fragmentary inscriptions from Cyrene and Ptolemais show that the ceremonies performed here were an exact copy of those we know from the Acts of the Arvals with prayer formulae spoken and then recorded in Latin.²⁵¹ Nothing could show more clearly how the Roman model might be applied elsewhere, even in a Greek-speaking context; *a fortiori* then in the Latin West. The coins of Ephesus noted earlier preserve a numismatic echo of the same occasion (above, p. 496). Again, at the private level, we have the celebrations of the choristers of Pergamum on various days that largely parallel those observed at Narbo or Forum Clodii (above, pp. 482, 490f.); the anniversaries even include 1st January, the beginning of the Roman New Year, and a festival closely associated with the Lares (*I Pergamon* 374 = *IGRR* 4, 353).²⁵² Offerings of ritual cakes, incense and lamps for Augustus are mentioned and V. von Gonzenbach has made the interesting suggestion that libations will have been poured from special red-ware bowls, stamped with imperial emblems, of the kind probably originating in the region of Pergamum, Smyrna and

²⁴⁶ Price 216-220 with nn. 47f., 112 with n. 74. Cf. Hesberg (above, note 15) 952f. Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* (above, note 10) 126, notes that sacrifices *on behalf* of the deceased, deified emperors are difficult to conceive. See, however, the Gytheum inscription (above, with note 248) ll. 28f. for sacrifices on behalf of the safety of the rulers and the gods (= the *divi*).

²⁴⁷ J. E. G. Zetzel, "New Light on Gaius Caesar's Eastern Campaign", *GRBS* 11 (1970), 259-266; cf. F. Millar, "The Imperial Cult and the Persecutions" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 145-165 at 152, n. 2; Price, *o.c.* 70, 112, 211.

²⁴⁸ Price 109, 111, 188, 210f. with refs; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 120f. See further, below, p. 565.

²⁴⁹ Price 211f.

²⁵⁰ Price 214f.

²⁵¹ J. M. Reynolds, "*Vota pro salute principis*", *PBSR* 30 (1962), 33-36; *ibid.*, 33 (1965), 52-54. See further above, note 206.

²⁵² Price, 90, 118, 191, 209 with refs.

Ephesus.²⁵³ In this instance members of a local elite have freely adopted the alien rites of Rome in order to pay their cult to the emperor.

(d) West

Observances

The ceremonies by which imperial festivals were observed in the Latin provinces must also have followed the Roman model, with specific rites performed on particular anniversaries by provinces and municipalities. The inference imposes itself by comparison with the picture at centres in Italy, also to some extent in the Greek East, and is directly confirmed at Narbo, occasionally elsewhere, if in very fragmentary fashion. Expense will undoubtedly have been a major concern and one would expect the sacrifice of a victim to have been limited to a few major feast days, with other anniversaries observed by the cheaper rite of the supplication.²⁵⁴ The living emperor's birthday in particular must have been a greater festival than that of some long-deceased *divus* or *diva*.

On certain days the ritual can be inferred without difficulty. Thus 3rd January was the occasion for empire-wide celebrations *pro salute imperatoris*. We have seen that the *AFA* preserve records of the observance followed at Rome in the first and second century and that inscriptions show how exactly the same ritual was in use at centres in Cyrenaica (above, p. 514). Pliny likewise confirms that the provincials joined in making and paying vows for the emperor on the same day (*Epp.* 10: 35f.; 100f.).²⁵⁵ It can hardly be doubted, then, that parallel rites will have marked the ceremonies of 3rd January in the Latin West. Presumably special occasions such as the accession of a new emperor or the *adventus* of Hadrian or Septimius Severus will also have been celebrated. Such was certainly the case in the East,²⁵⁶ where several directives of Roman administrators are preserved, even prescribing the specific rites to be followed.²⁵⁷ Then there are the days that were observed by the Arvals for a particular reason such as imperial recovery from illness or the detection of

²⁵³ Above, note 171, at 107f., cf. 87.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Wissowa, *RuKR*² 425f.

²⁵⁵ See Sherwin-White (above, note 139) *ibid.* In the Danube provinces presents or offerings of bread and cakes, baked in the likeness of the emperor, look to have been associated with the day, perhaps also with other festivals; cf. Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 42 with n. 6; P. Herz, "Der Brotstempel von Eisenberg", *Donnersberg-Jahrbuch* (1979), 83-85.

²⁵⁶ Cf. the celebration of Hadrian's accession at Apollinopolis Heptakomia. As the surviving fragment of a play implies, the ritual included sacrifices and a procession followed by a banquet, gymnastic contests, and a scenic presentation (*P. Giss.* 3 = Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* [above, note 81], no. 491: A.D. 117); see further below, p. 583. For the celebration of accessions at Ephesus, Athens and Aphrodisias see above, p. 492 with note 110.

²⁵⁷ Above, note 109.

conspiracies (see above, p. 507). Events of this nature occasionally find an echo in the inscriptions of the Latin provinces (cf. *CIL* 13, 4635), so it is possible that they were celebrated at one period or another in provincial or municipal cult, whether by sacrifices or supplications to the gods.

The living emperor's *natalis* was one of the major celebrations of the year and had been made a public festival in 30 B.C. (CD 51, 19, 2).²⁵⁸ We have seen that the day was marked by the Arvals with animal sacrifice to various gods, to whom were later added the emperor's *genius* and assorted abstractions (above, p. 505f.). At Cumae, and occasionally at centres in the East, the birthday of Augustus was celebrated with an offering directly to the emperor. On the other hand at Narbo the two-day festival was celebrated with offerings to the Numen Augusti, on which the cult centred: victims the first day and incense and wine on both (above, p. 482, 502; Pl. LXXV a). Similarly at Forum Clodii it must be the Numen Augustum to which animal sacrifices are offered on the *natalis* of the deceased Augustus and the living emperor Tiberius; we have noted the additional rite of a supplication at the altar to the *genii* of both emperors on the same occasions (above, p. 510). No further direct evidence exists but it seems reasonable to infer that similar sacrifice of a *hostia*, no doubt with a preliminary supplication of incense and wine, will have marked the reigning emperor's birthday generally in the West, both at provincial and at municipal centres. Who received the offering must remain an open question for lack of evidence. Analogy would seem to suggest that sacrifice will have been made to the emperor with Roma or even to the emperor alone,²⁵⁹ depending on what form a cult happened to take; certainly at Pergamum the regulations of the choristers speak of "the sacrifices of Augustus and Roma" (*IGRR* 4, 353d, l. 14). On the other hand both the recipient and the category of sacrifices tend to vary in the joint cults of a god and the emperor in the East.²⁶⁰ At all events nothing goes to show that the offering will have been to the emperor's *genius* exclusively as has sometimes been claimed.²⁶¹ The cult of the *genius* is in fact sparsely attested in the Western provinces even though the *genius* is a co-recipient on this day in the *AFA* of the time of Nero and onwards, as indeed it is much later in the *Feriale Duranum* (above, p. 506f.). As for other members of the *domus imperatoria*, there is no explicit mention of rites on Livia's birthday as celebrated at Forum Clodii (above, p. 490; see further below) but the birthdays of Drusus, Tiberius

²⁵⁸ Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* (above, note 10) 25f, 32, n. 45, noting the erection of the emperor's statue on this and other imperial festivals.

²⁵⁹ For the practice in the East see Price, *Rituals* 216, noting that imperial birthdays could be marked by sacrifices to the Sebastoi, with or without the gods.

²⁶⁰ Price, *o.c.* 212.

²⁶¹ So L. R. Taylor, "The Worship of Augustus in Italy during his lifetime", *TAPA* 51 (1920), 116-133 at 132; cf. P. Willeumier, *Lyon, Métropole des Gaules*, Paris, 1953, 40; further above, Vol. I, 1, p. 133.

and Germanicus were observed at Cumae (*ibid.*) by supplications to Vesta. Similar occasions must have been celebrated elsewhere in the West, though hardly by the sacrifice of an ox to Jupiter and the gods as in the practice of the Arvals.

Other anniversaries of the living emperor—his *dies imperii*, *tribunicia potestas*, assumption of the *fascēs* or *toga virilis*, and so on—will no doubt have been marked either by the offering of a victim with a supplication as at Narbo (above, pp. 482, 502) or more probably by a simple supplication as at Cumae or in the Feriale Duranum (above, pp. 507f.).²⁶² Similarly the victory celebrations of 4th(?) September²⁶³ and 15th April are marked at Cumae by supplications, in the latter case to Victoria Augusta. No doubt the nature and quality of the sacrifice will have been graded according to local estimation of the importance of the festival. The recipient on such occasions is not usually stated in the Feriale Duranum but at the Narbo altar the offering is clearly to the Numen Augusti on 7th January. At Cumae the supplication prescribed on imperial occasions is usually to a god or deified abstraction/s but it was to the emperor himself on the day Octavian was named Augustus (16th January). It seems not impossible, therefore, that in, say, a cult of Roma and Augustus the offering will have been made to both at least on some occasions of the reigning emperor, perhaps also to various deities or abstractions. If that was not the case, one would suppose an offering to the gods on behalf of the emperor. When a cult included the *divi* as in the provincial worship at Tarraco *ab initio* or at Lugdunum from the time of Hadrian, they may also have been co-recipients on such days; at least this is true of the rites of the Arvals, who sacrificed additionally to the emperor's *genius* (above, p. 507). Deified members of the imperial house may have been honoured in their own right on their birthdays just as were Augustus and Livia at Forum Clodii or a whole litany of *divi* and *divae* in the Feriale Duranum. Once again the cheaper rite of a *supplicatio* is to be expected rather than the sacrifice of an ox, except perhaps in the case of Divus Augustus himself in the years immediately following his death; the rite at Forum Clodii is a case in point.

As for other occasions of the Roman calendar, it can hardly be doubted that these too will have been celebrated with appropriate rites. At Narbo, for example, 1st January was marked by a distribution of incense and wine to the *coloni* and *incolae* for individual offerings, just as on other anniversaries. We have seen that the day is connected with the Lares Augusti and that there is iconographical testimony for supplications to the Lares Augusti at Ptuj and Nîmes; the anniversary was even observed by the choristers of Pergamum

²⁶² For the celebration of Trajan's *dies imperii* (28th January) in Bithynia see Pliny, *Epp.* 10, 52, mentioning prayers to the gods for the emperor's well-being; cf. Sherwin-White (above, note 255) 633f., cf. 611.

²⁶³ See Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2; pp. 280, 505-07.

(above, p. 514). Lastly, local festivals such as the anniversary of the dedication of the Altar of the Three Gauls will surely have figured in the calendars and been the occasion for imperial rites. Thus at Narbo Augustus' reconciliation of the people and the decurions (31st May) was celebrated by offerings to the Numen Augusti: the sacrifice of victims by the corporation and supplications by the townsfolk.²⁶⁴ If much of this reconstruction is necessarily conjectural, a rough outline of the rites appropriate to specific dates in the calendar does begin to emerge, one that future epigraphical discoveries may help to correct and fill out. On the other hand with evidence largely inferential, so provisional a model provides no possibility whatsoever of determining to what extent imperial ritual may have reflected the ambiguous status of the emperor, on the lines of Price's analysis in the Greek East.²⁶⁵

Cult Places

The Acts of the Arvals are also instructive in revealing exactly *where* sacrifices were performed.²⁶⁶ The most common *locus* is *in Capitolio*, but specific locations are occasionally mentioned, in particular *in pronao Iovis Optimi Maximi, ante cellam Iunonis Reginae, in aedem* (sic) *Opis, ante arcum [?Iani gemini]*. Other sites include the Palatine and the new temple (of Divus Augustus), but also *in foro Augusto, in campo ad aram Pacis, ad aram Providentiae Augustae, ad theatrum Marcelli ante simulacrum Divi Augusti, ante aram gentis Iuliae* and even *in sacra via ante domum Domitianam*. As we have seen, sacrifice at the altars of the *vici* is attested by surviving reliefs (above, pp. 508f.), and the temples of individual *divi* must similarly have been the location for sacrifices addressed to a particular *divus*; so too the *templum divorum* (above, p. 486).

Where precisely ceremonies were performed in the Western ruler cult will naturally have been determined by the character of the local worship. The practice of the Arvals gives a broad range of possibilities and with these can be compared the sites of imperial ritual in its Greek idiom, as analysed by Price: sanctuaries, altars, temples, but also special rooms in gymnasia and porticoes.²⁶⁷ At Tarraco, for example, the municipal cult centred on the altar

²⁶⁴ At Forum Clodii (above, p. 490) the anniversary of the dedications of the statues of the Caesars and of Livia (kept on 10th March) was observed by the distribution of honey-wine and sweetmeats to the decurions and the people (cf. below, p. 614), but there is no mention of rites.

²⁶⁵ O.c. 207ff.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Henzen, *AFA* 51ff. s.v. *locus*. For the colossal statue of Divus Augustus *ad theatrum Marcelli* see P. Gros, "La fonction symbolique des édifices théâtraux dans le paysage urbain de la Rome augustéenne" in *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et Histoire* (above, note 68) 319-346 at 330, 341f.

²⁶⁷ O.c. 133-169; cf. P. Gros, "L'Augusteum de Nîmes", *RAN* 17 (1984), 123-134 at 123f., stressing the diversity of cult centres in the east. For the sites of imperial statues see in general Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* (above, note 10) 42-65. On the sanctuary complex at Aphrodisias see now R. R. Smith, "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias", *JRS* 77 (1987), 88-138.

associated with the miracle of the palm tree (above, Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXVII), at Narbo on the altar of the Numen Augusti dating from A.D. 11; as one would expect, the Narbo monument was situated in the forum and a similar site seems very probable at Tarraco (Pl. XCIV) and Arles.²⁶⁸ An Augustan complex in the Jardin de la Fontaine at Nîmes, on the other hand, centred on a platform supporting an altar, presumably of Roma and Augustus, and surrounded by an artificial *lacus*, perhaps with fountains; other amenities, including a portico and a monumental entry hall, evoke on a reduced scale the Caesarea, Augustea or Sebasteia found at Alexandria, Antioch and elsewhere in the east.²⁶⁹ Similarly, local altars of an Augustan god (Pl. XCII a-c) or an Augustan abstraction will have served as the focal point of specializations of the ruler cult. At the provincial level offerings must have been made at Lyon on the great altar within the federal sanctuary, (above, Vol. I, 1, Pls. I, XIff.), whereas in N.W. Spain or the Agri Decumates the use of multiple altars seems clear from the plural *arae Sestianae*, *arae Flaviae*. Yet, even where a provincial or municipal cult centred on a temple as at Tarraco (above, Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXVII) or Vienne (Pl. XCV a),²⁷⁰ it can be safely assumed that both bloody and unbloody sacrifices will have been associated with an external, complementary altar; normal practice called for this to be erected opposite the front of the temple, where it could provide an unimpeded view of the cult image within the *cella*.²⁷¹ At Camulodunum, for example, archaeological exploration has revealed the existence of an altar before the temple of Divus Claudius, perhaps the original site of the provincial cult (above, Vol. I, 2, Pl. XL),²⁷² and one can only think that following the construction of the temple

²⁶⁸ For Narbo see *CIL* 12, 4333 (= *ILS* 112), ll. 12f.: *Plebs Narbonensium aram Narbone in foro posuit...*; cf. Gayraud (above, note 20) 263, noting that the forum lay to the south of the *area* of the Capitolium. On Tarraco see above, note 189. For a possible altar of the Genius Augusti in the forum at Arles see P. Gros, "Un programme augustéen: Le centre monumental de la colonie d'Arles" *JDAI* 102 (1987), 339-363 at 346-350.

²⁶⁹ Gros (above, note 267) *o.c.*, especially 125ff. See further *id.*, "Remarques sur les fondations urbaines de Narbonnaise et de Cisalpine au début de l'empire," *Quaderni* 10, 11, 12 (*Atti del Convegno "Studi Lunensi e prospettive sull' Occidente romano,"* Lerici, settembre 1985), 1987, 73-95 at 82f., 86; P. Gros and M. Torelli, *Storia dell' Urbanistica. Il mondo romano*, Rome-Bari, 1988, 276-279; Addenda, p. 618.

²⁷⁰ See "Divus Augustus", above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 150f., 167 with note 117. On the design of imperial temples in the East see in general Price 167-169. For the temples at Tarraco and Vienne see further Hänlein-Schäfer (above, note 57) 232-7, 244-6. For the location of the Tarraco temple under the present seminary, to the north-east of the Roman precinct, see now *Un Abocador del Segle V D.C. en el Fòrum Provincial de Tàrraco* (*Memòries d'Excavació* 2), Tarragona, 1989, 438 with fig. 252 (correcting the mis-location given above, Vol. I, 1, 154, on the basis of Pl. XXXIV). On local imperial temples in Narbonensis and the Spanish provinces see Gros, "Remarques" (above, note 269) 87f. with bibl., n. 74; *Urbanistica* (above, note 269) *passim*.

²⁷¹ Wissowa, *RuKR* 417; Dar.-Sag. 4, 2 (1911) (1963) 973f. s.v. *sacrificium*; J. E. Stambaugh, "The Functions of Roman Temples", *ANRW* 2, 16, 1 (1978) 554-608 at 572; P. Catalano, "Aspetti spaziali del sistema giuridico-religioso romano. Mundus, templum, urbs, ager, Latium, Italia", *ibid.* 440-553 at 469.

²⁷² "Templum Divo Claudio constitutum" above, Vol. I, 2, p. 200.

of the Three Gauls sacrifices continued to be performed, as before, on the altar immediately in front (above, Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIII).

Mention of the cult image underscores the point that at Tarraco or Emerita, for example, this would originally have been a *simulacrum* of Divus Augustus; presumably the deified emperor will have been shown semi-naked in the pose of a god (above, Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXVII b, c), rather than in military or civilian dress.²⁷³ Prudentius refers to the temple of Divus Augustus in Rome as *Iovis ad speciem* (*Contra Symm. Orat.* 1, 250), which could imply a cult statue of Augustus *specie Iovis*,²⁷⁴ and the cult image of a deity standing or seated within a temple²⁷⁵ is often enough represented on coins.²⁷⁶ When later deified rulers were added to the worship, their cult statues will also have been included, perhaps on the model of the arrangement at Rome, where coins show Diva Augusta seated beside Divus Augustus within his restored temple.²⁷⁷ As deified emperors and empresses multiplied, however, such a scheme may well have been abandoned in favour of one whereby each deified personage had his place in a tiny *aedicula* flanking the cult statue, a plan known to have been followed in the *templum divorum* at Rome under Antoninus Pius.²⁷⁸ An arrangement of this kind would certainly have been

²⁷³ For coins of Tarraco showing Divus Augustus seated in the pose of Jupiter see "Divus Augustus", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 151 with notes 8-10, noting the suggestion that this may be a representation of the projected cult statue in the temple. The sketches in Burgos, *Catalogo general* nos. 1737f. show the emperor seated, holding in the left hand a sceptre or spear, in the right Victoria on a globe (no. 1737) or the *patera* (no. 1738); in the latter case the emperor's seat resembles the *sella curulis* rather than a throne. Coins of Selinus show Trajan likewise enthroned as Zeus in the local imperial temple; cf. Price, *Rituals* 273, Catalogue no. 153. See in general P. Zanker, "Prinzipat und Herrscherbild", *Gnomon* 86 (1979), 353-368 at 357. For the division of cult statues into three main types, the cuirassed, the semi-naked and the civilian, see H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Monumenta Artis Romanae 7), Berlin, 1968, 38-64; further Price, *Rituals* 179-186, stressing that the emperor can also be represented in a temple by an enlarged bust (p. 181). For a much later example of the cult image of the deified emperor cf. the colossal head of Septimius Severus from the temple of the Gens Septimia at Djemila: P. Zanker, *Provinzielle Kaiserporträts* (ABAW 90), Munich, 1983, 34; cf. A. M. McCann, *The Portraits of Septimius Severus* (MAAR 30), Rome, 1968, 104, 153. For an overview of cult statues of Augustus and Roma see Hänlein-Schäfer (above, note 57) 81ff., especially 87 with n. 43.

²⁷⁴ The rites performed before the statue of Divus Augustus will presumably have been the same as those celebrated before the cult idol of any deity; cf. Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* (above, note 10) 126, citing CD 59, 11, 2f. (statue of Diva Drusilla); SHA, *Commod.* 9, 2 (Commodus Hercules). On Prudentius, *Contra Symm. Orat.* 1, 245-248 see Fishwick (above, note 197) *o.c.*

²⁷⁵ Cf. the remains of possible cult statues of Augustus and Livia from Temple A at Minturno: Niemeyer, *o.c.* (above, note 273) 30 with nn. 162f.; Hänlein-Schäfer 108f.

²⁷⁶ Cf. *BMC* 1, p. 197, no. 229; 3, p. 146, no. 709; p. 394, no. 1091 *et passim*; Price, *o.c.* 180 with n. 52.

²⁷⁷ *BMC* 4, pp. lxxiii, 350, no. 2051; see further pp. lxxxix, 310, no. 1869 (Divus Hadrianus and Diva Sabina).

²⁷⁸ Wissow, *RuKR*² 347 with n. 2. According to the H.A., Hadrian gave orders for the construction of temples without images: *...templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris iusserat fieri, quae hodieque idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani* (Alex. Sev. 43,6). There is nothing to show that these were associated with the ruler cult, nor is there any obvious connection

appropriate at Lugdunum, where the central *simulacra* within the Hadrianic (?) provincial temple were presumably those of Roma and the living emperor.²⁷⁹ We owe to Josephus a description of the splendid temple of Roma and Augustus at Caesarea within which were colossal *agalmata* of Caesar and Roma, comparable to those of Zeus at Olympia and Hera at Argos (*Bell. Iud.* 1, 414; *Ant. Iud.* 15, 339).²⁸⁰ As this account makes clear, such statues were usually *ultra humanum modum* and often fashioned of precious metal so as to accentuate their religious character and impress the awestruck worshipper.²⁸¹ In some instances, too, it is clear that an imperial temple could have a divided *cella* with a cult statue in each part; such is the case with the temple of Roma and Augustus at Lepcis Magna (Pls. XCV b-c) on the model of double temples in the East—that of Roma and Julius Caesar at Ephesus, for instance.²⁸² What might have been the arrangement at Narbo can hardly be guessed as the content of the cult is not made clear by our sources. In any event cult idols are to be distinguished from the honorific statues of the emperor and his family (cf. Suet., *Tib.* 26) that were placed in the vestibule or even the *cella* of a temple and in some cases, at least, transported in procession on various occasions (below, pp. 540ff., 550ff.). There is a good example in the imperial temple at Lepcis Magna, where the colossal, acrolithic cult statues of Roma and Divus Augustus (Pls. XCVI) were accompanied by a group of similar statues portraying various members of the Tiberian imperial family;²⁸³

with the statement in the *Vita* of Hadrian: *per Asiam iter faciens templa sui nominis consecravit* (13.6). For the assertion that the temples were designed to serve the cult of Christ see the *Vita* of Alexander Severus (*ibid.*).

²⁷⁹ See Niemeyer (above, note 273) 30, cf. 23; Hänlein-Schäfer 251.

²⁸⁰ Price, *Rituals* 187f.; Hänlein-Schäfer 84f., 201-203. On other temples of Roma and Augustus see Price, Catalogue: nos. 10 (Samos), 19 (Pergamum), 70 (Mylasa), 100 (Nicomedia), 108 (Ancyra). For coins showing a representation of Roma crowning Augustus within the temple at Pergamum see Price, *o.c.* 182; cf. 177f., noting that cult statues within imperial temples look to have been left unaltered over the years, exactly like those of the gods.

²⁸¹ Price 186-188, cf. 156; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* (above, note 10) 81-83. See further a colossal head of Augustus (of Flavian production?) presumably belonging to the cult statue placed in the temple of Roman and Augustus at Conimbriga: J. de Alarcão, R. Étienne and G. Fabré, "Le culte des Lares à Conimbriga (Portugal)", *CRAI* (1969), 213-236 at 232 with fig. 5; cf. R. Étienne G. Fabré, P. and M. Lévêque, *Fouilles de Conimbriga II, Épigraphie et Sculpture*, Paris 1976, 235-247. For colossal statues not designed as cult idols see, for example, SHA, *Ael. Ver.* 7, 1; *Alex. Sev.* 28, 6; cf. the colossal marble head of an emperor now in Chichester Museum *et passim*.

²⁸² Price 152, n. 47, 254 (no. 27); Hänlein-Schäfer 264f. For twin *cellae* in the Annex to the stoa of Zeus in the Athenian agora see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 35 (1966), 171-187, suggesting that at least one of the *cellae* served the cult of the emperor and other members of the imperial family.

²⁸³ S. Aurigemma, "Sculpture del foro vecchio di Leptis Magna raffiguranti la dea Roma e principi delle casa dei Giulio-Claudi", *Africa Italiana* 8 (1940), 1-94 at 24ff.; M. F. Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, Basel, 1966, 82-84; E. Smadja, "L'inscription du culte impérial dans la cité: l'exemple de Lepcis Magna au début de l'empire", *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 4 (1978), 171-186 at 178-181, noting that there is little to distinguish the statues of Tiberius and Livia from those of Roma and Augustus. See further Hänlein-Schäfer 226-230 with Tafel 59, suggesting that a *quadriga*, on which stood Germanicus and Drusus, will have been placed in the *pronaos*.

the names of these are known from a neo-Punic inscription.²⁸⁴ Conceivably the seated statues of Tiberius and Livia were placed against the back-wall of the divided *cella*, beside the cult idols of Augustus and Roma respectively, whereas statues of lesser family members stood elsewhere—along the side-walls or in the *pronaos*. Similar arrangements can be paralleled at temples in the East.²⁸⁵

Whether imperial rites were ever performed at local Capitolia in the West we have no idea, though certainly that at Narbo looks to have been adjacent to the municipal imperial temple.²⁸⁶ In any event the practice at Rome itself makes it clear that, as well as at altars and temples, cult could be paid to the emperor in other locations: the Forum Augustum, the Campus Martius, the Theatre of Marcellus (above, p. 518). Similarly in the East, Price has shown that all the major centres of a city could be the scene of imperial ritual: the central square, the council house, the theatre, even stadia and gymnasia.²⁸⁷ So Tacitus remarks of Sejanus *colique per theatra et fora effigies eius interque principia legionum sineret* (*Ann.* 4, 2, 4; cf. CD 58, 4, 4)²⁸⁸ and Seneca protests against the erection of Sejanus' statues in the theatre of Pompey (*De cons. ad Marciam* 22, 4; cf. Tac., *Ann.* 3, 72, 5; CD 57, 21, 3).²⁸⁹ It is perfectly possible, therefore, that rites were performed in theatres elsewhere, conceivably before the colossal statue of the emperor that was set as a rule in a central niche of the rear wall of the *scaena*, above the *valva regia*, on the same register as statues of the gods—for example at Orange (Pl. XCVII a), Arles, Lepcis Magna, Dougga, Bulla Regia and Mérida (Pl. XCVII b),²⁹⁰ perhaps

²⁸⁴ G. Levi della Vida, "Due iscrizioni imperiali neo-puniche di Leptis Magna", *Africa Italiana* 6 (1935), 1-29 at 15ff.; Aurigemma (above, note 283) 21.

²⁸⁵ Cf. the series of statues in the Metroon at Olympia (apparently converted into a temple of Augustus) and in the imperial temples at Cestrus in Cilicia and Bubon in Lycia. Similarly in the temple of Athene Polias at Priene life-size statues of the imperial house look to have stood on either side of the cult statue: Price *Rituals* 150, 160f.; further R. Bol, "Ein Bildnis der Claudia Octavia aus dem Olympischen Metroon", *JDAI* 101 (1986), 289-307.

²⁸⁶ On Capitolia see I. M. Barton "Capitoline Temples in Italy and the Provinces (especially Africa)", *ANRW* 2, 12, 1 (1982) 259-342 with bibl. Gros, "Remarques" (above, note 269) 86, doubts the existence of a Capitolium at Narbo and would identify its supposed remains as those of the municipal imperial temple, thus reducing two temples to one; cf. *id.*, *Urbanistica* 256; *Gnomon* 61 (1989), 466-468.

²⁸⁷ O.c. 109f.

²⁸⁸ For the cult of the *imago* in the legionary *principia* see below, note 361.

²⁸⁹ Niemeyer (above, note 273) 23, noting that a statue of Nero was likewise erected in the *curia*, possibly for cult purposes, also a gold statue of M. Aurelius (Tac., *Ann.* 14, 12, 1; CD 72, 34, 1). See further Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* (above, note 10) 46f., 146. For the display of the emperor's image at plays under the late empire see *Cod. Theod.* 15, 4, 1.

²⁹⁰ Orange: Espérandieu, *Récueil* 12, no. 7979; J. Formigé, *CRAI* (1932), 56f.; R. Lantier, "Au théâtre gréco-romain d'Orange", *RA* (1946), 2, 101-103; Niemeyer, o.c. 71, n. 222; Gros, "Fonction symbolique" (above, note 266) 241; *Urbanistica* (above, note 269) 279f.

Arles: F. Benoit, "La statue d'Auguste au Musée d'Arles", *MMAI* 36 (1938), 67-80; Chante (above, note 44) 20; Gros (above, note 268) 350ff. He brings the ornamentation of the *scaenae frons* and other Augustan associations of the theatre into relation with the Augustan altar in the

also at Vienne, Vaison, Charchel, Tarraco and elsewhere.²⁹¹ In some cases theatres are expressly associated with the emperor either by a dedication, as at Italica (*AEpig*, 1978, no. 402) and Nizy-le-Comte (*CIL* 13, 3450), or by iconography—notably at Mérida, where statues and inscriptions suggest that a *sacellum* behind the *scaena* was a shrine of Augustus and his family. Similar cult places linked with the *scaenae frons*, *summa cavea* or *porticus post scaenam* have been identified at other theatres (Volterra, Herculaneum, Lepcis Magna) and must have been the focal point of rites on imperial occasions. More strikingly, a theatre is frequently linked physically with a temple, which can be situated either at the back of the scene, as is the temple of the Di Augusti at Lepcis Magna, or at a short distance from it: at Aventicum, for instance, the orientation and dimensions of the imperial sanctuary and the facade of the theatre correspond exactly (Pl. XCVIII a).²⁹² This combination or association of theatre and temple raises the possibility of processions linking the two, a point that applies equally to amphitheatres associated with centres of the imperial cult (below, pp. 556f.). In much the same way the partially excavated, backfilled, then partly re-opened theatre at Nîmes was directly accessible from the north-east corner of the *porticus triplex* that surrounded the *temenos* of the Augusteum (above, p. 519).

As Tacitus makes clear, the imperial image could also be the object of rites in the forum. Whether such might have been the case, say, at Lepcis Magna is very uncertain, but a group of statues seems to have stood here on the speaker's platform before the temple of Roma and Augustus in the Old Forum; statues of Augustus and Claudius costumed as Jupiter survive, also of Livia and Messalina (?).²⁹³ Further possible cult places²⁹⁴ are the buildings

forum; see further *id.*, "Remarques" (above, note 269) 84, 86, noting also the presence of a sanctuary at the summit of the *cavea* at Vienne, possibly connected with the imperial cult; *id.*, "Fonction symbolique" (above, note 266) 340; *Urbanistica* 271-275.

Lepcis Magna, Dougga, Bulla Regia: Zanker (above, note 273) 18f., 30f., 35, 49; Pekáry, *o.c.* 48, n. 72.

Mérida: J. Alvarez Saenz de Buruago in *El Teatro en la Hispania romana*, Badajoz, 1982, 303ff.; J. M. Alvarez Martinez, *ibid* 311; Gros, "Fonction symbolique" 343, noting a cultural annexe at the Theatre of Marcellus similar to that at the Mérida theatre (below, note 299). For further discussion of these theatres see now Gros, *Urbanistica* 283, further Addenda, pp. 618f.

²⁹¹ Niemeyer, *o.c.* 33 with nn. 225f., 229f., cf. p. 51; *contra* H. Blank, *GGA* 223 (1971), 90ff. See further Pekáry, *o.c.* 47-49, noting imperial statues positioned elsewhere in theatres; Gros, "Fonction symbolique" 336ff.; Addenda, p. 619.

²⁹²R. Étienne, "Un complexe monumental du culte impérial à Avenches", *Pro Aventico* 29 (1985), 5-26 at 19-24, noting examples of the *porticus post scaenam* model at Ostia, Minturnae and elsewhere in Italy, with their Republican antecedents.

²⁹³ Aurigemma (above, note 283) 77ff.; Niemeyer 31. For slightly larger than life-size statues of Aelius Verus and Lucius Verus, probably from the forum at Timgad, see Zanker, *o.c.* 32. On the Rostra in the forum at Rome see F. Coarelli, *Il Foro romano*, Rome, 1986, 1, 138ff. with fig. 39; 2, 237-257.

²⁹⁴ There is nothing to show whether cult was paid in other public places in the Western provinces, but the imperial image could also stand in the *curia* (Niemeyer, catalogue no. 63: Timgad), the *basilica* (*ibid.* 33, n. 215: Sabratha), the amphitheatre (*ibid.*, 35 with n. 238: Italica; catalogue

attached to imperial temples, especially the porticoes constructed above a *cryptoporticus* and enclosing an open court (*temenos*, *exareon*) before the temple.²⁹⁵ Such structures are known at Conimbriga (Pl. XCVIII b) and Lyon,²⁹⁶ for instance, in connection with the municipal temple, while at Lacipo in Baetica an inscription records the dedication to Divus Augustus of a *crypta* and an *hypaeum* (*exareon*) (*AEpig*, 1981, no. 504). Similar sanctuaries, if without a *cryptoporticus*, look to have existed at Aventicum, Ruscino, Amiens, Rennes, Périgueux, Abdera, Bilbilis, Clunia and elsewhere, and the *temenos* of the provincial temple at Tarraco may also have been surrounded by a portico (Pl. XCVIII c; cf. Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXV).²⁹⁷ In the East special cult rooms in porticoes are well in evidence, so there is every likelihood that parallel centres occurred in the West.²⁹⁸ An example of this sort of arrangement may be epigraphically documented at Ferento in Etruria, where Sextus Hortensius Clarus has funded what looks to be an Augusteum (holding ?sixty-four statues) in the portico, rather than an imperial temple (*AEpig*, 1911, no. 184 = *CIL* 11, 7431).²⁹⁹ Other edifices, notably of the *basilica* type,

no. 112: Thysdrus), the *odeion* (*ibid.*, catalogue no. 101: Carthage) and the baths (*ibid.*, catalogue no. 108: Italica); cf. H. Manderscheid, *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen* (Monumenta artis romanae 15), Berlin, 1981, 35ff.; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 49f. See in general Pekáry 42ff.; Price, *Rituals* 177 with similar analysis of the evidence in Asia Minor. For further imperial portraits in the West, often colossal but of uncertain location, see Zanker, *o.c.* 30-43.

²⁹⁵ R. Étienne, "Culte impérial et architecture. A propos d'une inscription de Lacipo (Bétique)", *ZPE* 43 (1981), 135-142 with Tafel V.

²⁹⁶ J. de Alarcão and R. Étienne, *Fouilles de Conimbriga I, L'Architecture*, Paris, 1977, 29f., 32-34, 93-99; J. Lasfargues et M. Le Glay, "Découverte d'un sanctuaire municipal du culte impérial à Lyon", *CRAI* (1980), 394-414, cf. Hänlein-Schäfer (above, note 57) 276f. See further J. de Alarcão and R. Étienne, "Archéologie et idéologie impériale à Conimbriga (Portugal)", *CRAI* (1986), 120-132; J. Lasfargues in *Archéologie en Rhone-Alpes. Protohistoire et Monde Gallo-Romain. Dix Ans de Recherches*, Lyon, 1984, 127ff., 162-164.

²⁹⁷ Étienne (above, note 114) 39ff.; *id.* (above, note 292) 12-14; for the Hellenistic background see *ibid.* 10f. On the provincial temple at Tarraco see "Divus Augustus", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 153, note 23 with refs; further *Un Abocador del Siglo V D.C. en el Fórum Provincial de Tàrraco* (above, note 270) *l.c.* Given the prevalence of this stereotyped architectural scheme, it is conceivable that porticoes enclosing the *temenos* were attached to provincial temples elsewhere, for example at Camulodunum and Lyon, where no evidence survives. Whether the vestiges of a portico within the provincial centre at Narbo could relate to the provincial temple is impossible to tell. See "The Provincial Cult of Gallia Narbonensis: Three Temples at Narbo", above, Vol. I, 2, pp. 254-256 with Pl. LIII. For the possibility that the *basilica Plotinae* at Nîmes (above, Vol. I, 2, page 315 with note 47) is to be identified with the monumental entry hall of the Sanctuary of the Waters at Nîmes (above, p. 519) see Étienne (above, note 114) 41, following the interpretation of P. Gros in *RAC* 22 (1983), 163-172. On the scheme at Tarraco see Gros, *Urbanistica* (above, note 269) 281f.

²⁹⁸ Price, *Rituals* 140-143 with nn. 25f., noting that excavations have revealed Augustea in connection with porticoes at Colonia Iulia Felix Lucus Feroniae in Italy and at Sabratha in North Africa.

²⁹⁹ Hänlein-Schäfer 146-148; Gros (above, note 267) 125 with bibl., cf. 127, noting the correspondence of the *latus* at Ferento with that at Nîmes. See further Étienne (above, note 292) 11, listing Caesarea at Beneventum (*CIL* 9, 1556 = *ILS* 109: Hänlein-Schäfer 141f.), Este (*CIL* 5, 2533), Buccino (*CIL* 10, 415), near Padum (*CIL* 11, 948), and at Teverina (*CIL* 11, 7270), also an Augusteum at Pisa (*CIL* 11, 1420: Hänlein-Schäfer 148). It is not clear that these were in every

look also to have incorporated shrines intended for the imperial cult within a building that served a variety of purposes.³⁰⁰ On the other hand there seem to be no traces in the Latin provinces of local temples of the kind that is at the centre of an exchange of letters between Trajan and Pliny, who wished to set up a statue of the emperor with those of earlier emperors, which he had inherited, displaying all in a temple he proposed to build on land that the town council of Tifernum allowed him to choose himself (*Epp.* 10, 8f.).³⁰¹ What appear to be similar shrines are attested elsewhere in Italy, for example at Soriano (*CIL* 11, 3040 = *ILS* 106) and Gabii,³⁰² where an *aedes* with statues of Domitia, the wife of Domitian, and of members of her family was donated by two of her freedmen (*CIL* 14, 2795 = *ILS* 272).³⁰³ Lastly, it seems a reasonable assumption that, just as the *compita* of Rome, so in Poetovio (above, p. 504) and towns similarly organized a statue of the Genius Augusti will have been paid cult in combination with the Lares at the crossroads of the *vici*.

ritus Romanus

As for the details of the sacrificial rites, these will undoubtedly have conformed to the *ritus Romanus*.³⁰⁴ The full procedure is in no need of repetition but it is of capital interest to note echoes of Roman practice within the Western ruler cult. The commoner rite of the *supplicatio*, prescribed for the celebration of minor anniversaries at the Narbo altar and as an accompaniment to sacrifice on major feast-days, is clearly attested in the reliefs at Ptuj and Nîmes showing three veiled figures pouring a libation or sprinkling incense (above, p. 503f.; Pl. XCI a, cf. b). The *acerra* from which the celebrant

case a room in the portico rather than an independent temple. For a possible Augusteum at Pisaurum see G. Cresci Marrone and G. Mennella, *Pisaurum I. Le Iscrizioni della Colonia*, Pisa, 1984, no. 30, pp. 184-189, cf. 156. Agrippa had intended the later Pantheon to be an Augusteum (*CD* 53, 27, 2); cf. J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (BEFRA 253), Rome, 1984, 261-268. For the supposed temple of Augustus at Puteoli (*CIL* 10, 1613) see Hänlein-Schäfer 278-280. On the analysis of Gros, "Fonction symbolique," (above, note 266) 326-332, the portico of Octavia adjacent to the Theatre of Marcellus was the site of an Augusteum. See further Addenda, p. 619.

³⁰⁰ G. Dareggi, "Il ciclo statuariale della "basilica" di Otricoli: la fase giulio-claudia", *Bollettino d'Arte* 14 (1982), 1-36 at 10-12.

³⁰¹ Niemeyer, *o.c.* 24; Sherwin White (above, note 139) 572f., 575; Price, *Rituals* 120; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 94.

³⁰² Pekáry, *o.c.* 34, suggests that Cn. Domitius Polycarpus and Domitia Europes, who founded the *aedes* and adorned it with statues and the rest at their own cost, may have wanted to set up their own statues here also.

³⁰³ A possible example might be the *aedes Augustorum* at Msaken in Tunisia, attested in *AEpig* (1938) no. 43 (below, p. 536). But if the shrine was intended to hold the silver *imago* of Trajan, this may in practice have been an *aedicula*. There is at any rate no record of multiple imperial statues.

³⁰⁴ See Wissowa, *RuKR*² 409-432, especially 417, n. 1 with refs.; Dar.-Sag. 4, 2 (1911) (1963) 973-980 s.v. *sacrificium*; 5 (1919) (1963) 552f. s.v. *tus*; cf. Henzen, *AFA* 92-95; Stambaugh (above, note 271) 577; R. M. Ogilvie, *The Romans and their Gods*, London, 1969, 41-52; Merten (above, note 206) 62-71. For Roman ritual in Britain see Henig (above, note 12) 39-42, 83-88, 128-142.

took the grains of incense appears on the Carthage relief (Pl. XC c) and on the altar to Augustus Mars Britovius at Nîmes (Pl. XCII b) but is best reproduced in the statuette of an imperial priest at Lyon (above, Vol. I, 1, Pl. XIX).³⁰⁵ The *patera* from which libations were poured upon the fire is preserved on the altar of the Numen Augusti at Tarraco, which also shows the *urceus* (pitcher) for holding liquids (Pl. LXXIV b, c), and there is a similar *guttus* (jug) on the *cippus* of the municipal priest at Aptā (above, p. 476). Interestingly, both these monuments show the augur's *lituus*, which was used in marking the original boundaries of the *temenos* of a temple.³⁰⁶ Whether this might echo a connection with a local temple of the imperial cult is impossible to say. Presumably the laurel branches held by the figures in the Ptuj relief were used for sprinkling the altar, offering and officiants with water (*lustratio*) before making sacrifice; this preliminary purification is further attested by the *aspergillum* of the provincial priest on the temple frieze at Tarraco, also in reliefs at Nîmes and Narbonne (above, p. 504).

The Lex Narbonnensis twice mentions sacrifices (above, p. 502) and victims are prescribed for the celebration of major festivals at the municipal altar at Narbo. The cast of personnel is familiar enough from reliefs at Rome and elsewhere in Italy:³⁰⁷ the priest *capite velato*, attendant *camilli*, *victimarii* and *popa*, clad only in fringed apron down to the calves, the flute player (*tibicen*), whose music appeased the gods and drowned out other sounds, the victim itself to be despatched with axe, mallet or knife (above, pp. 508f., 511f.). All of these appear on one or other of the reliefs from Nescania, Emerita, Tarraco, Rusicade and Carthage (Pls. LXXXIX-XC), and it is possible that the Tarraco bell is also to be brought into connection with the complex ritual (Pl. XCIII). For the actual immolation of the victim there is testimony in the form of *bucrania* on the municipal altar and the temple frieze at Tarraco (above, Vol. I, 1, Pls. XXXI, XXXVII b), also in the headless bull and ram on the altar of Augustus Mars Britovius at Nîmes (Pl. XCII a); while the fire that consumed libations of wine, incense and the carefully preserved *exta* of victims lies behind Augustus' remark to the Tarraconians *apparet quam saepe accendatis* (Quint., *De inst. orat.* 6, 3, 77). We have seen that the ritual implements of an imperial priest—knife, lustration vase, sprinkler, even the

³⁰⁵ For the cultural significance of incense see E. G. C. F. Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship* (Alcuin Club Collections 13), London, 1909, 47ff.; *RE* 2, 1 (1914) 267-286 s.v. Rauchopfer (Pfister); Nilsson; "Pagan Divine Service" (above, note 242) 64f.; *id.*, *GGR*³ 2, 377; M. J. Vermaseren and C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, Leiden, 1965, 227, n. 2 with refs.; Price, *Rituals* 208, 228; Grostheodorescu (below, note 541) 709.

³⁰⁶ Dar.-Sag. 3, 2 (1904) (1963) 1277f. s.v. *lituus*; 5 (1919) (1963) 83-114 at 108 s.v. *temenos*. For augural procedure see now J. Linderski, "The Augural Law", *ANRW* 2, 16, 3 (1986) 2146-2312 at 2256ff.

³⁰⁷ Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 81-103; D. G. Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion: the Evidence of the Household Shrines", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1557-1591 at 1583ff.

fascēs of the attendant lictor who directed the assistants and ensured a religious silence—are shown on a relief at Nîmes (Pl. XCII b) or on other monuments.³⁰⁸ What is particularly striking is how exactly these provincial reliefs copy Roman ritual; such details as appear to be omitted—the fringed towel born by the *camilli* (*mantile*), the *vitta* adorning the victim's horns, its *dorsale* and the *mola salsa* to sprinkle on its forehead, the *olla* in which were cooked the animal's internal organs (*exta*)—these are very few and may in some cases have been visible on the relief in its pristine state. Roman ritual did, of course, require exact conformity to detailed prescriptions since mistakes and aberrations constituted a *piaculum*.³⁰⁹ So if the *ritus Romanus* was used in the ruler cult of the Latin West, it will necessarily have conformed to practice in Rome. This must be particularly true of the prayer uttered just before slaying of the victim.³¹⁰

That the imperial priest and other participants would have partaken of the sacrificial meats seems extremely likely.³¹¹ To consume the victim was standard practice in the *ritus Romanus* and appears as such in the Martyrdom of Sts. Agape, Irene and Chione (3, cf. 5).³¹² There is also the possibility that the cult image will have been adored. No direct testimony has accrued from the Western cult but Prudentius asserts that worshippers prostrated themselves before the *pulvinar* of Divus Augustus at Rome (*Contra Symm. Orat.* 1, 248). We know, too, from Josephus that the Jews refused to allow foreigners to offer sacrifice on behalf of the emperor and prostrate themselves—presumably before his *agalma* (*Bell. Iud.* 2, 414; cf. 409), also from Pliny that recanting Christians were required to adore the emperor's *imago*; that is, his representation as a man (below, p. 533). *Proskynesis* before the images of the gods is at all events a frequent theme in Christian martyrdoms.³¹³ Thus Polycarp was accused of teaching the multitude not to sacrifice or do reverence (προσκυνεῖν),³¹⁴ while Apollonius was urged to worship (σέβειν) and venerate (προσκυνεῖν) the gods that all men worship and venerate.³¹⁵ Similarly in the anti-Christian movement at Alexandria in 249 A.D. Quintia was led to the temple of the idol and forced to do reverence (Eusebius, *Hist.*

³⁰⁸ Hano (above, note 215) 2365-7.

³⁰⁹ Dar.-Sag. 4, 2 (1911) (1963) 978f.

³¹⁰ For accuracy in prayers see Ogilvie (above, note 304) 35f.

³¹¹ Cf. P. Guiraud, *Les Assemblées provinciales dans l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1887, 122.

³¹² H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford, 1972, 282, 284, 288: no. 22.

³¹³ For *proskynesis* as the gesture of an inferior to a superior see "Hellenistic Ruler Cult", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 9, notes 27f.; further A. D. Nock, *CPh* 57 (1962), 115; Price, *Rituals* 15, n. 45. See in general A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreich*, Darmstadt, 1970, 46ff. For military *proskynesis* of the god Mandulis at Talmis, Egypt, see *IGRR* 1, 1332. See further Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* (above, note 10), 128, 151.

³¹⁴ Musurillo, *o.c.* p. 10: no. 1, ch. 12. See now the new edition by A. A. R. Bastiaensen *et al. Atti e Passioni dei Martiri*, Milan, 1987, 18.

³¹⁵ Musurillo 92: no. 7, ch. 13.

Eccl. 6, 41, 4). Even when prostration was not involved, it seems certain that at least bowing of the head was required on occasion—in particular in the rite of *supplicatio*.³¹⁶ Two texts in the Martyrdom of St. Crispina are explicit on the point: ... *subiuga caput tuum ad sacra deorum Romanorum* (1, 4); cf. ... *ut in templis sacris flexo capite diis Romanorum tura immoles* (2, 1).³¹⁷ To suppose that such acts of reverence were taken over from the cult of the gods and incorporated within the cult of the emperor would therefore appear not unreasonable.³¹⁸

(ii) *Participation*

The extent to which there was more general participation in the celebrations of the imperial cult is less certain; entertainment is better documented (below, pp. 579f.). At the provincial level the performance of rites was essentially the responsibility of the high priest with his assistants,³¹⁹ just as at Rome it was the concern of priests and magistrates. One might compare military ritual in which cult acts were carried out by a tribune, centurion or other officer on behalf of the men.³²⁰ But there is good evidence for the occasional intervention of the provincial governor. At Emerita, for example, the governor of Lusitania joined with the provincial *flamen* in dedicating what must be a gold bust of Titus,³²¹ while the much-restored text of the *Lex Narbonensis* seems to require the permission of the provincial governor before a retiring priest can use the surplus from funds destined for rites, for the purpose of placing statues or busts of the emperor within the provincial temple (*CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964: ll.26-28).³²² In the same way P. Cornelius Scipio celebrated the Caesarea at Messene (above, p. 514) and Pliny presided at the vow-taking of 3rd January or observed Trajan's *dies imperii* (*Epp.* 52f., 102f.). Many people must have been present simply as onlookers. Just as members of the priestly colleges at Rome watched the ritual performed by a few of their number, so presumably representatives of the provincial council will have attended such rites as took place during the annual meeting of the assembly. As for the local population, all ceremonies performed by the high priest and his assistants

³¹⁶ See in general Wissowa in *RE* 2, 7 (1931) 942-945 s.v. *supplicatio*.

³¹⁷ Musurillo, *o.c.* 302, 304: no. 24.

³¹⁸ The behaviour of Vitellius towards Gaius belongs to a social rather than a religious context but is nevertheless of interest: *Idem miri in adulando ingenii primus C. Caesarem adorare ut deum instituit, cum reversus ex Syria non aliter adire ausus esset quam capite velato circumvertensque se, deinde procumbens* (Suet., *Vitellius* 2, 5).

³¹⁹ For the dedication of statues see Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 110. On the provincial priesthood as a career appointment see G. W. Bowersock, "Greek Intellectuals and the Imperial Cult in the Second Century A.D." in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 179-206 at 182f.

³²⁰ "Fer. Dur." (above, note 53) 201f., cf. 32f.; further *Final Report* (above, note 83) 196; Herz, *Untersuchungen* (above, note 50) 58, n. 6.

³²¹ *CIL* 2, 5264 = *ILS* 261; cf. D. Fishwick, *AJAH* 6 (1981), 89-96.

³²² Gayraud (above, note 20) 393.

during the year were held in public at the provincial centre, so there is no reason to doubt that members of the general public will have been drawn as spectators as inclination or opportunity invited.³²³ Their presence at festivals of the living emperor at least will certainly have been encouraged.

Municipal cult presents a similar picture, with the rites themselves the responsibility of the priest and his associates together with the local magistrates³²⁴ and attendants, but the possibility cannot entirely be excluded that provincial governors also may occasionally have joined in municipal rites. In the East at any rate we have a letter of the proconsul of Asia offering to come to Aphrodisias and sacrifice to the ancestral goddess of the city on behalf of the emperor and his mother.³²⁵ That the different sections of the municipal populace will have been represented whenever or wherever the town paid cult to the emperor seems inherently very probable, though we have no idea of the numbers in attendance. P. Veyne has argued that iconographical confirmation is in fact provided by the allegorical figures of two *togati*, an older man (in some cases represented as the celebrant), and an *adolescens*, that are shown on the reliefs at Nescania, Emerita (Pls. LXXXIX, XC a) and Rusicade, also perhaps Vercelli (above, pp. 502f., 526). Similar figures appear elsewhere: on the passage of the Beneventum arch assisting at a ceremony marking the emperor's *profectio*: on a panel from the *quadrifrons* arch at Lepcis Magna, where Septimius Severus and Julia Domna join with the troops in sacrificing to the Capitoline gods, the empress in the role of priestess; again on a relief from the theatre at Sabratha representing a scene of joint sacrifice with the troops. On Veyne's interpretation the figures are those of Ordo and Populus, who together epitomize the crowd of bystanders formed of members of the town council and onlookers from the local population who were normally present on such occasions.³²⁶

As for participation by the individual, Tertullian makes it clear that in principle everyone was expected to take part but all that was required was to wear festive attire, notably crowns, and to hang the door of one's home with laurels and lamps.³²⁷ In the same way Roman citizens had been compelled to wear laurel wreaths and make merry at the celebration of the *natalis* of Divus Iulius

³²³ Hopkins, *Conquerors* (above, note 45) 206.

³²⁴ Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 93, interprets two *togati* to the left of the priest on the Vercelli relief (above, p. 511) as the municipal *duumviri*. It seems preferable to recognize in these the figures representing Ordo and Populus, as found on other reliefs; see below, note 326.

³²⁵ Millar (above, note 247) *ibid.*, n. 1, citing Th. Reinach, "Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias" *REG* 19 (1906), 79-150 at 86f. (ll. 12-17). In the municipalities of Mauretania or Proconsularis triumphal arches honouring the emperor can be dedicated by the provincial governor: Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 110, nn. 33f. with refs.

³²⁶ Veyne (above, note 6) 264ff.

³²⁷ *De Corona* 13, cf. 1, 1; *Apol.* 35; *De idolol.* 15; *Ad uxorem* 2, 6. See further Alföldi, *Repräsentation* (above, note 313) 219, n. 2 with refs. Barnes (above, note 39) 98. On the keeping of holy days see in general Nock (above, note 70) 189f. (= *Essays* 738f.).

(CD 47, 18, 5). It is not clear that there was any obligation to join in feasting (see below, pp. 584ff.), nor was there any compulsion to attend provincial or municipal sacrifices, magnetic though such spectacles may have been.³²⁸ Above all, formal participation did not, as a rule, impose any obligation to perform rites; individuals were free to pay cult or not as they chose. In practice it seems clear that everyone did join in, even the elite, to some of whom the emperor cult might appear laughable or offensive.³²⁹ We hear of no section of the populace that refused to participate except the Christians and Tertullian maintains that these too celebrated imperial festivals, though *conscientia potius quam lascivia* (Apol. 35).³³⁰

On certain occasions, however, there is clear evidence that the ordinary man in the street did perform rites. Sometimes this was as a result of specific instructions from the provincial governor. In Egypt, for example, a proclamation of A.D. 54 invites the people of Oxyrhynchus to wear wreaths and sacrifice oxen in gratitude to all the gods for the accession of the new emperor Nero; and an edict of A.D. 193 orders the men of Alexandria to sacrifice *πανδημεί* and pray for Pertinax and his whole house: wreaths are to be worn for fifteen days beginning at once.³³¹ What is striking is that on such occasions special distributions were often made of wine and incense in order to allow people to perform rites on an individual basis, a custom which implies that such rites would not otherwise have been performed; presumably most people were either unwilling or unable to pay out of their own pockets.³³² Thus at Rome we hear of donatives to the people on the occasion of supplications of the old kind (Livy 10, 23, 1f.),³³³ likewise of the distribution of *suffimenta* in

³²⁸ P. Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, Paris, 1976, 572f. Attendance will also have been encouraged by the prospect of feasting on the meat from the sacrifice; cf. Nock, *o.c.* 203 (= *Essays* 749); Hopkins, *Conquerors* 210f. and below, p. 585 with note 672.

³²⁹ J. Beaujeu, "Les apologistes et le culte du souverain" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 103-136 at 106f.; Price, *Rituals* 107ff. On the motivation of individuals and groups see Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 12, 22ff.

³³⁰ Beaujeu, *ibid.* 119f.; Pekáry, *o.c.* 150f. On the general question of participation see Herz, "Kaiserfeste" (above, note 49) 1189-1193, noting that the celebration of imperial festivals could also be forbidden: for example, the anniversaries of an emperor who had undergone *damnatio memoriae*. See further in general *id.*, "Der römische Kaiser und der Kaiserkult. Gott oder primus inter pares?" in D. Zeller (ed.), *Menschwerdung Gottes – Vergöttlichung von Menschen* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 7), Göttingen 1988, 115-140 at 120-123.

³³¹ Above, p. 492 with note 109. For the edict of C. Calvisius Statianus (*P. Amsterdam* 22), prescribing that everyone shall celebrate the accession of Avidius Cassius, see the commentary of P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 8 (1971), 186-192.

³³² Cf. M. Paschoud in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 34, citing Zosimus 4, 59, 3; 5, 38, 2; cf. Symmachus, *Relatio* 3.

³³³ Nock (above, note 327) *ibid.*, n. 7, noting how the public at Rome was asked *and aided* to participate in supplications or the Secular Games, when they were given the means of purification; cf. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* (above, note 47) 80. Whether the people had been given donatives to celebrate the arrival of Vespasian at Rome is not stated but Josephus reports that the whole city was like a temple, full of crowns and incense (*Bell. Iud.* 7, 71).

the Severan period, for instance.³³⁴ In exactly the same way private offerings performed individually are to mark every anniversary celebrated at the Narbo altar of the Numen Augusti, and for this purpose incense and wine shall be donated by the corporation to the *coloni* and *incolae* (above, p. 502).³³⁵ One may compare similar donatives in the East. In a letter to the town of Ephesus the proconsul of Asia, L. Venuleius Apronianus, approves the town's decision to observe the birthday of Antoninus Pius by holding shows for five days and distributing a donative of one *denarius* to each citizen for daily sacrifice (*OGIS* 493: A.D. 138). A similar instance of widespread distributions in varying amounts is attested at Lagina in Caria.³³⁶ But there seems to be no evidence in the West of the special libation bowls that were apparently used for such purposes in Asia Minor (above, p. 514), nor is there any trace in the Latin provinces of the individual small altars on which householders offered sacrifices as a procession passed.³³⁷

Sacrifice by individuals was thus a characteristic of special occasions and depended largely upon support by local authorities. But this by no means excludes the possibility of individuals participating of their own accord, out of personal zeal or fervour. Martial speaks of voluntary acts of piety on festival days—he hopes that Silius may often observe the festivals of Mercury and Diana as he already does that of Vergil's birthday (*Epig.* 12,67)—and similar acts may well have occurred in the ruler cult. The difficulty is that what little evidence we have is of very uncertain value. Vergil's description of the monthly sacrifice of a lamb in *Eclogues* 1, 7f, 43f., bristles with problems³³⁸ and in any case belongs to the period before a calendar of imperial anniversaries had become established. But if Tityrus is after all Vergil and the benefactor he calls a god is Octavian, the text is of interest in attesting the notion of monthly sacrifice—apparently directly to Octavian along with the domestic Lares—of an uncommon, more expensive victim, one that the Arvals, for example, offer to Dea Dia as a culminating rite.³³⁹ The lines might

³³⁴ F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (31 B.C.–A.D. 337), London, 1977, 358, citing *CIL* 6, 32327, 1.4.

³³⁵ A representation of the distribution of wine and incense for sacrifice by the people may be preserved on the sepulchral relief of a *sevir* from Brescia: Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 100f. with fig. 49 a-b.

³³⁶ Price, *Rituals* 112f., citing *I Stratonikeia* 2, 1, 662.

³³⁷ For imperial altars at sites in Greece, Asia Minor and North Africa see Price, *Rituals* *ibid.*, n. 74 with refs.

³³⁸ For a review of discussion see E. Coleiro, *An Introduction to Vergil's Bucolics with a Critical Edition of the Text*, Amsterdam, 1979, 180-197; cf. "Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 77, note 34.

³³⁹ Henzen, *AFA* 24, 28f., citing Vergil, *Georg.* 1, 339-350. For the lamb as an offering appropriate to the middle class see Tibullus 1, 1, 19-24. The only other reference to the sacrifice of the lamb in connection with the ruler is the statement of Prudentius, above, note 197. For details of the festival of Dea Dia see Beard (above, note 46) 128ff.

therefore be treated as a vignette of pious cult practice by an individual of moderate means. Then there is Suetonius' description of the spontaneous gesture to Augustus in his last days by the passengers on board a ship en route from Alexandria; *candidati coronatique et tura libantes* (Aug. 98, 2). The episode coincides with what we know of Roman cult practice, though the words of acclamation addressed to the emperor—*per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui* (*ibid.*)—may well have been spoken in Greek and drawn from the liturgy of the imperial cult at Alexandria.³⁴⁰ More relevant is Ovid's description of the rites he performed before the silver likenesses—probably statuettes—of Augustus, Tiberius and Livia that had been sent to him by Cotta Maximus (*Ex Ponto* 2, 8, 1-10; cf. 4, 9, 107f.).³⁴¹ Each day at dawn he offers incense and words of prayer:³⁴²

*His ego do totiens cum ture precantia verba
Eoo quotiens surgit ab orbe dies.
(4, 9, 111f.)*

In another passage he encourages his wife to offer incense and unmixed wine to the great gods, above all Augustus the god,³⁴³ his offspring and his consort (*o.c.* 3, 1, 161-4). Of course Ovid had special reason to flatter, so one must allow for exaggeration; but both passages give an insight into private piety towards the imperial family and the forms under which it might be expressed.

(iii) *Cult of the imago*

Whether Ovid's wife also had statuettes before which to perform cult acts is not stated but the silver pieces in Ovid's possession at Tomis³⁴⁴ bring out an important feature of the private cult of the emperor, namely the presence in private houses of imperial images. The case of L. Ennius, whom Tiberius

³⁴⁰ Rocca-Sera (above, note 38) 672ff. See further below, p. 569.

³⁴¹ K. Scott, "Emperor Worship in Ovid", *TAPA* 61 (1930), 43-69; Niemeyer (above, note 273) 25; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* (above, note 10) 53, 74. On Cotta Maximus see R. Syme, *History in Ovid*, Oxford, 1978, 125-128. For a supposed statue of Livia, perhaps from the *lararium* of the Villa dei Misteri at Pompeii, see *CAH, Plates IV* (Seltman) 168f., referring to a similar statue found in the *lararium* of a villa at Gragnano, near Naples. *Contra* W. H. Gross, *Julia Augusta. Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia Ikonographie* (Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Kl. 52), Göttingen, 1962, 128f.

³⁴² On the topic of prayers in the imperial cult see S. R. F. Price, "Gods and Emperors: the Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult", *JHS* 104 (1984), 79-95; D. Fishwick, "Prayer and the Living Emperor" in *Mélanges in Honor of Alexander G. McKay*, forthcoming, suggesting that the daily morning prayer to the Lares included a prayer on behalf of the welfare of the Imperial family; *id.*, "Votive Offerings to the Emperor?", *ZPE* 80 (1990), 121-130; "Ovid and Divus Augustus", *CPh* 86 (1991), forthcoming.

³⁴³ On the interpretation of Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 3, 1, 163 see "Genius and Numen", above, p. 11, note 49.

³⁴⁴ The group also included images of Germanicus and Drusus: Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 4, 9, 109f.

refused to prosecute for melting down a silver *effigies* of the emperor (Tac., *Ann.* 3, 70), suggests that the emperor's likeness was a common enough household item;³⁴⁵ indeed Fronto claims that by the Antonine period it was to be seen everywhere (*Ep. ad M. Caes.* 4, 12, 4: Naber p. 74).³⁴⁶ Such representations seem to have been placed as a rule in the household Lararium;³⁴⁷ at least that looks to be the case with Ovid's 'gods' and Suetonius reports that he gave a bronze *imaguncula* of Augustus as a boy to the Emperor Hadrian, who revered it *inter cubiculi Lares* (*Aug.* 7, 1). Similarly under Claudius we are told that L. Vitellius paid cult in his Lararium to gold *imagines*—presumably busts³⁴⁸—of the freedmen Pallas and Narcissus, no doubt also of the emperor himself (Suet., *Vitell.* 2, 5).³⁴⁹ Statuettes of Marcus Aurelius in particular are asserted to have stood among the Di Penates in many a home at the time his *Vita* was composed (SHA, *Marc. Anton.* 18, 6).³⁵⁰

The rites that might be performed before such private imperial images emerge vividly from Ovid's account and find a clear parallel in the test applied by Pliny to those accused of being Christians:³⁵¹ he required them to supplicate the emperor's image *tute ac vino* (*Epp.* 10, 96, 5).³⁵² The practice itself had a long history. Already under the Republic the people of Rome performed sacrifices and fell down before statues of the Gracchi set up posthumously (Plut., *Gaius Gracchus* 18, 2), while Marius Gratidianus was so popular in his lifetime that the people raised statues to him in every *vicus* and made supplica-

³⁴⁵ Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 114. For 10 lb. silver bust of Tiberius see *AEpig* (1941) no. 105; cf. P. Fraccaro, "C. Herennius Capito di Teate, *procurator* di Livia, di Tiberio e di Gaio", *Athenaeum* 18 (1940), 136-144.

³⁴⁶ Literary and epigraphical evidence for the emperor's *imago* is assembled by C. Letta, "Le *imagines Caesarum* di un *praefectus castrorum Aegypti* e lxi coorte pretoria", *Athenaeum* 56 (1978), 3-19 at 16ff. See further Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 42ff.

³⁴⁷ Fishwick, "Prayer and the Living Emperor" (above, note 342) *ibid.* For a household *lararium* see H. von Hesberg, *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 1114f.

³⁴⁸ For the technical terms *statua* and *imago* see below, pp. 542f.

³⁴⁹ Niemeyer, *o.c.* 25f., 35.

³⁵⁰ For the dubiousness of the story see Pekáry, *o.c.* 36, 54. On the practice cf. SHA, *Marcus* 3, 5; *Sev. Alex.* 29:2, 31:5; A. D. Nock, "The Emperor's Divine Comes", *JRS* 37 (1947), 102-116 at 112 (= *Essays* 669f).

³⁵¹ H. Kruse, *Studien zur officiellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes im römischen Reiche* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 19, 3), Paderborn, 1934, 80-84; Millar (above, note 247) 152-4, 157; Bowersock (above, note 319) 184f.; Alföldi (above, note 313) 73ff.; Letta (above, note 346) 16; Price, *Rituals* 221f.; Pekáry, *Bildnis* 43, 150f.; D. Fishwick, "Pliny and the Christians: the Rites *ad imaginem principis*," *AJAH* 9 (1984), 123-130.

³⁵² Though rarer than the test of sacrifice to the gods, the same requirement of Christians appears elsewhere; for example *Acta Pionii* 8; *Acta Apollonii* 7 (not authentic but significant); Eusebius, *M.P.* (Syriac long recension) 1, 54; *H.E.* 7, 15; see further *Acta Dasii* 11; Eusebius, *M.P.* (short recension) 1, 1. For the rite as an observance of no great moment see *Acta Iuli Veterani* 2: *Maximus praeses dixit. Quid enim grave est turificare et abire?*; cf. *Acta Cononis* 4; *Acta Crispinae* 2; further R. Freudenberg, *Das Verhalten der römischen Behörden gegen die Christen im 2. Jahrhundert* (Münchner Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 52), Munich, 1967, 126ff.

tions *ture ac vino* (Seneca, *De ira* 3, 18, 1; cf. Cic, *De off.* 3, 80). Other evidence attests the private cult of likenesses of Saturninus, Servilius Ahala, and even of Cassius and Brutus.³⁵³ On the proclamation of Elagabalus members of the senate offered incense and wine in the senate house before an enormous picture (?tondo) of the new emperor portrayed as a priest making sacrifice to the Emesene god (Herodian 5, 5, 6f.), and later examples show that the usage continued down to Constantine and beyond.³⁵⁴ Whether such supplications will have been regularly accompanied by prostration or the profound bow before the imperial *imago* must remain an open question, though comparative evidence certainly points in that direction.³⁵⁵ In the collision between Christian and State veneration is frequently linked with sacrifice as a decisive proof of loyalty to the state.³⁵⁶ Thus Pliny writes [*Hi*] *quoque omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra venerati sunt* ... (*Epp.* 10, 96, 6), while Pionius states in his speech of defence: "And so for this reason we do not worship your so-called gods, nor will we prostrate ourselves before the golden idol" (*Acta Pionii* 4, 24). The reference is clearly to the emperor's *imago*, though the phrase naturally recalls the story of the three young men and the statue of Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Daniel, an incident popular in Christian art.³⁵⁷ The soldier Dasius was even ordered to venerate the feet of the emperor—that is the feet of the imperial statue (*Acta Dasii* 7)³⁵⁸—and Origen affirms that Christians were also required to kiss the hand, a typical gesture in venerating a statue (*Exhort. ad mart.* 33).³⁵⁹ Here one can see a correspondence with the older form of supplication in which the worshipper prostrated himself, clutched the knees of the cult image, and kissed the hands and feet.³⁶⁰ Part at any rate of this ceremonial was evidently absorbed into military practice: Vegetius states explicitly *prima cohors ... imagines imperatorum ... venerantur* (2, 6; cf. SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 17, 2; *Maxim. Duo* 24, 2).³⁶¹

³⁵³ A. von Premerstein, "Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats", *ABAW* 15 (1937), 89 with refs.; cf. Alföldi, *Repräsentation* (above, note 313) 66, *id.*, *Lorbeerbäume* (above, note 9) 24; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 30.

³⁵⁴ J. Bidez and F. Winkermann, *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin, 1972, 2, 17 (p. 28).

³⁵⁵ For the possibility of *proskynesis* before the imperial *simulacrum* see above, pp. 527f.

³⁵⁶ Alföldi, *Repräsentation* 73ff.; Niemeyer (above, note 273) 21.

³⁵⁷ See further Kruse (above, note 351) 84-89; L. Robert, "Recherches épigraphiques VI: Inscription d'Athènes", *REA* 62 (1960), 316-324 at 319, n. 1 (= *id.*, *Opera Minora Selecta*, Amsterdam, 1969, 2, 835); Price, *Rituals* 222; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 151.

³⁵⁸ For the reliability of the reading ἵχνεσθαι see Kruse 62f.; Millar (above, note 247) 148. On the significance of the feet of the statue see Price, *Rituals* 193.

³⁵⁹ Kruse 86f. with n. 3. For the custom see Alföldi, *o.c.* 64f.

³⁶⁰ Marquardt (above, note 48) 188.

³⁶¹ Cf. Herodian 4, 4, 5, referring to Caracalla's *proskynesis* before the standards and *agalmata* lodged within the *aedes principiorum*, which he calls νεώς; presumably with these are included the emperor's statue, cf. Kruse 58. But the imperial effigy, life-size though it may have been, is normally termed *statua*, *effigies*, *imago* in this context, not *simulacrum* or *signum*. It therefore belongs in the same category as the standards and portable *imagines* of past and present

Ovid's claim that he performed rites each dawn is doubtless self-serving but an offering of incense and wine, perhaps with veneration of the image, would certainly have been appropriate ceremonies before the emperor's *imago* on major imperial occasions. How far such a cult may have penetrated the Western provinces is impossible to judge with available evidence so slight. The imperial *imago* itself is represented by a chance survival from Neuilly-le-Réal in the territory of the Bituriges Cubi.³⁶² Two small bronze busts of inferior workmanship but dating from the lifetime of Augustus, to judge from their accompanying inscription, bear features that purport to be those of Augustus and Livia (Pl. XCIX). The bases are inscribed respectively *Caesari Augusto | Atespatus Crixii fil. v.s.l.m.*; *Liviae Augustae | Atespatus Crixii fil. v.s.l.m.* (CIL 13, 1366).³⁶³ The mediocre workmanship, combined with the name Atespatus, son of Crixus, points to an owner of modest means. What was the original context of these pieces we have no idea but it is striking that two bronze busts, identified as portraits of the young Octavian and his wife Livia, were found deposited in a native sanctuary at the Iberian town of Azaila.³⁶⁴ A much superior example³⁶⁵ is the well-known gold bust from Avenches, which must originally have been mounted on some sort of foot (Pl. C: a).³⁶⁶

rulers attached to the staffs of the *imaginiferi* and the parallel to be drawn is surely with the placing of the emperor's likeness among the domestic Di Penates or in the club-rooms of colleges, not with temple-sharing, despite the exaggerated language of Herodian. Cf. Premerstein (above, note 353) 93; *contra* Alföldi, *Repräsentation* 68, followed by Niemeyer (above, note 273) 24. On the prostration of the Parthian king, Artabanus, before the imperial effigy see Premerstein 94, n. 6.

³⁶² E. E. A. Désjardins, *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine*, Brussels, 1885 (1968), 3, 215-217, takes the busts to be "Lares Augustes"; this is surely impossible.

³⁶³ Busts or statues are often enough identified by names on their bases, usually in the nominative (Latin), or the accusative case (Greek); see below, p. 545. Here the dative case led Hirschfeld to conclude that Atespatus had made his vow to Augustus and Livia *ut deis*: "Quod Augusto eiusque uxori deorum more votum solvitur, in Gallis, ubi iam a 742 ara Romae et Augusti condita est, offensionem non habet". Rather than impute effective divinity to the emperor and his wife it seems preferable to understand datives of honour that served in practice to identify the busts; cf. CIL 2, 5264 (= ILS 261); CIL 6, 3756 (= ILS 5160). Atespatus then records that he has paid his vow without, however, naming the god to whom the vow was due—a superfluous detail, if in fact the busts were originally placed in a temple. For similar instances recording the fulfilment of a vow, yet omitting mention of the deity, see CIL 13, 588, 920, 959, 1421. On the fulfilment of a vow by dedicating an object see Wissowa, *RuKR*² 385. Certainly nothing in the dedication formula or the way that Augustus and Livia are portrayed suggests that Atespatus thought of them as gods who had responded to prayer. See further Fishwick, "Votive Offerings to the Emperor" (above, note 342) 124f.

³⁶⁴ L. Curtius, "Zum Bronzekopf von Azaila und zu den Porträts des jugendlichen Augustus", *MDAI(R)* 55 (1940), 36-64; Etienne, *Culte impérial* 390, 400; P. Bosch-Gimpera, "Katalonien in der Kaiserzeit", *ANRW* 2, 3 (1975) 572-600 at 580f.

³⁶⁵ For the suggestion that a small bust of Tiberius from the region of Fulda may have stood in a private Lararium see Hesberg (above, note 15) 939 (16).

³⁶⁶ F. Stähelin, *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*, Basel, 1948, 501, n. 17 with bibl.; Hesberg, *o.c.* 941 (17) with refs.; J. C. Balty, "Le prétendu Marc-Aurèle d'Avenches" in *Eikones. Studien zum griechischen und römischen Bildnis* (Festschrift H. Jucker), Bern, 1980, 57-63; H. Jucker, "Marc Aurel bleibt Marc Aurel", *Pro Aventico* 26 (1981), 7-36; Zanker (above, note 273) 40f.; Pekáry,

The standard identification of this piece as a portrait of Marcus Aurelius has been challenged by J. Ch. Balty, who recognizes Julian the Apostate, but new arguments in favour of Marcus have now been advanced by H. Jucker, followed by P. Zanker. The emperor is shown in military dress wearing a breast plate in the centre of which is a Medusa head, a type in line with one of the commonest ways of representing the emperor.³⁶⁷ One may compare a very similar, silver-plate bust from Marengo, Turin, showing Lucius Verus likewise in military dress (Pl. C b).³⁶⁸ The precious metal of which these pieces are fashioned is often stressed in inscriptions, which give precise figures of the weight,³⁶⁹ and would seem to confirm their cultic use (below, pp. 543f.). What is critical, of course, is the original context but in neither case does the find-spot give any firm indication of the place where either of these might have stood. The Aventicum bust was rescued from a drain crossing the court of the sanctuary of Cigognier (Pl. CI), but whether the piece stood in the *cella* of the temple (perhaps the likelier possibility: below, p. 547) or, say, in a cult room in the portico must remain an open question.

A clearer picture emerges from the occasional epigraphical record. Near Sitifis in Mauretania, for example, P. Cere (*sic*) Saturninus funded and dedicated an altar and *imagines*, evidently of M. Aurelius and L. Verus since the accompanying inscription is on behalf of their *salus* (CIL 8, 8409). There is no indication of where the *imagines* were kept but in other instances inscriptions attest the construction of a shrine in which imperial images are to be placed. Thus, at Msaken in Tunisia, Namgiddo, son of Camillus, made and dedicated an *aedes Augustorum* and a silver *imago* in celebration of his perpetual flamine; presumably the *imago* was of Trajan, who is the subject of the dedication formula with which the text begins (*AEpig*, 1938, no. 43). This seems to be the only example of its kind in the West but a number of inscriptions from Rome and Italy likewise record the construction of a special shrine intended to house the imperial image or images. For example, three soldiers of the Twelfth Urban Cohort made at their own expense *imagines* of

Bildnis (above, note 10) 78; E. Künzl, "Zwei silberne Tetrarchenporträts im RGZM und die römischen Kaiserbildnisse aus Gold und Silber", *JRGZ* 30 (1983), 381-402 at 394f. On imperial portraits in general see Smith (above, note 267) 100.

³⁶⁷ Niemeyer (above, note 273) 47ff.; Price, *Rituals* 182f.

³⁶⁸ G. Bendinelli, *Il Tesoro di Argenteria di Marengo*, Turin, 1937, 11-16, 49-51 with plates II-V; Hesberg (above, note 366) *ibid.* (18); Letta (above, note 346) 14 with further examples. For a small gold bust of Septimius Severus from Didymoteichon in northern Greece see Künzl, *ibid.* with n. 62 and refs. Whether a fragment from Wincle, Cheshire, could be part of a similar bust is very uncertain: *ibid.*, Abb. 4. A small bust of a Tetrarch (?) from Monaco has now disappeared: *ibid.*, n. 69.

³⁶⁹ Cf., for example, CIL 8, 9797: *imaginem argenteam librarum trium* (of Septimius Severus); CIL 6, 3756 = ILS 5160: *imaginem ex arg. p. I* (of Diva Faustina); CIL 2, 5264 = ILS 261: *...ex auri p. V* (of the emperor Titus). See further CIL 6, 30998 = ILS 4386; CIL 11, 7556 = ILS 6584; CIL 11, 364 = ILS 5471a.

Septimius Severus and Caracalla along with an *aedicula* and an altar (cf. above: *CIL* 8, 8409), which they dedicated on 25th September, A.D. 202 (*CIL* 6, 218 = *ILS* 2107), and Faustus, an imperial slave, erected at his own expense an *aedicula* for the *imagines* of Nero and *sanctus* Silvanus (*CIL* 6, 927 = *ILS* 236). Similarly the inscription attesting the altar of the Numen Augustum at Forum Clodii (above, p. 510, cf. 516f.) also mentions an *aedicula* with likenesses (here *statuae*) of the Caesars (Augustus and Tiberius) and Livia (*CIL* 11, 3303 = *ILS* 154), while near the Fucine Lake the imperial freedman and procurator Onesimus looks to have made an *aedicula* and *imagines* of the emperor and the Lares, which he then donated to the college of *cultores Dei Fucini* (*CIL* 9, 3887 = *ILS* 3626). Again, a partially preserved inscription at Bovillae associates *imagines aureas*, evidently of the emperor, with an *aedicula* (*CIL* 14, 2416).³⁷⁰ Whether other epigraphical traces should be grouped with these examples rather than with votive offerings in a temple is impossible to tell from the content of the text.³⁷¹

We have rather more information on another dimension of the cult. An honorific dedication to Hadrian from Tipasa, Numidia, attests a group of *cultores Larum et imaginum Aug.* who stress that they are Roman citizens (*CIL* 8, 17143 = *ILS* 6778; A.D. 128), while at Poetovio in Pannonia the inscription of a decurion of the colony records that he has provided a place of assembly for the *collegium magnum Larum et imaginum domini n. Caes.* (*CIL* 3, 4038 = *ILS* 7120).³⁷² A similar college looks to have left its trace at Merida (*AEpig.* 1915, no. 96).³⁷³ What was the character of such associations is clear from their counterparts in Rome and Italy, where from the early principate private groups of *cultores* were formed to pay cult to the Lares Augusti or the Lares and the *imago* of the emperor; cf. Tac, *Ann.* 1, 73: *cultores Augusti qui per omnis domos in modum collegiorum habebantur*.³⁷⁴ As a rule, no details are preserved beyond the mere name—*cultores Larum Aug(usti)*, *cultores Larum et imaginum Augusti*, *cultores imaginum Caesaris n./domus Augustae*, *collegium (magnum) Larum et imaginis Caesaris/domn.* and so on³⁷⁵—but a group of inscriptions at Ostia are more informative. One of these

³⁷⁰ For the link with the Augustales see below, Appendix II, p. 616 with note 37.

³⁷¹ See below, note 384, citing *CIL* 8, 1496, 17950, 26259.

³⁷² Cf. the cult of the Lares Augusti, that is the Lares and the Genius Augusti, at the *vici* of Poetovio, as attested by iconographical traces (above, pp. 503f.). The difference between the two forms of cult must in practice have been very slight.

³⁷³ Whether the *collegium Divi Augusti* at Lucus Augusti paid cult to the *imago* of the dead emperor is not in evidence (*CIL* 2, 2573).

³⁷⁴ Premerstein (above, note 353) 90f.; F. Bömer and P. Herz, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*², Wiesbaden, 1981, 49-51, 53f. Cf. *Diz.Epig.* 2, 2 (1910) (1961) 1296f. s.v. *cultores* (Breccia); further Letta (above, note 346) 18, n. 78.

³⁷⁵ Cf. *CIL* 6, 307 (= *ILS* 3440), 471 (= *ILS* 238), 671 (cf. 30808 = *ILS* 3543), 958, 30995; *CIL* 9, 3960; *CIL* 14, 3561; *ILS* 7215. The names of these sodalities make it clear that the representation of the emperor's *genius* in combination with the Lares came in practice to be considered the

attests a sodality of *cultores Larum et imaginum dominorum nostrorum invictissimorum Augustorum* for whom a *locus olim consecratus* has been assigned on the imperial domain of the *praedia Rusticeliana* (CIL 14, 4570).³⁷⁶ Since the date is given by consuls as A.D. 205, the *imagines* in question are those of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The purpose of the assembly place is defined as *ad sollemnes dies confrequentandos*, so it can be reasonably inferred that cult was to be paid to the Lares and imperial *imagines* on the festival days of the official calendar. Confirmation is provided by four earlier inscriptions of this same *corpus traiectus Rusticeli*, all from the same complex of the *praedia Rusticeliana* (CIL 14, 4553-56).³⁷⁷ These record the gift and dedication of likenesses of members of the imperial house, including the later emperor Lucius Verus, perhaps also Commodus, while the significance of *dies sollemnes* in the Severan inscription is brought out by the dates on which the *imagines* were dedicated; at least two of these are certainly imperial festivals: the birthdays of Lucius Verus (15th December) and of Antoninus Pius (19th September). From the information provided by the text of C.4554-56 it would appear that the imperial image took the form of a kneeling Atlas holding above his head an *imago clipeata* showing a representation of the emperor. An *imago* of Marcus Aurelius, dedicated in the lifetime of Antoninus Pius, is attested by a further inscription (CIL 14, 5328).³⁷⁸ While there is no direct evidence, the likelihood is that, in line with normal practice elsewhere, the cult paid to these likenesses took the form of offerings of incense and wine and it is also possible that the *imagines* will have been carried in procession (see below, p. 556).

To fill the picture out we have the evidence of numerous inscriptions that imperial busts were also in the hands of colleges whose primary concern was not directly with the cult of the emperor.³⁷⁹ Thus Tiberius Claudius Secundus, the *coactor*, along with his son and namesake contributed the funds for a club house *cum statuis et imaginibus ornamentisque omnibus* for the *viatores* of the *tresviri capitales* and *quattuorviri viarum curandarum* (CIL 6, 1936 = ILS 1929). M. Ulpius Aeglus, the freedman procurator of the mausoleum of Divus

imago principis. See further Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 123. On different categories of such *cultores* and their activities see J. M. Santero, "The 'Cultores Augusti' and the Private Worship of the Roman Emperor", *Athenaeum* 61 (1983), 111-125 at 115ff.; further G. Di Vita-Evrard, "En feuilletant les 'Inscriptions du Maroc, 2'", *ZPE* 68 (1987), 193-225 at 208-213 (*ad IAM* 2, 490-494).

³⁷⁶ Bömer-Herz (above, note 374) 49f., 203f.

³⁷⁷ P. Herz, "Kaiserbilder aus Ostia", *BCAR* 87 (1980-81), 145-157. For the fuller title *corpus scaphariorum traiectus Rusticeli* see CIL 14, 5327f.; cf. R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford, 1973, 325.

³⁷⁸ Cf. CIL 14, 5327, conjectured to attest an *imago* of Antoninus Pius himself.

³⁷⁹ Cf. the obscure text of CIL 9, 3887 (= ILS 3626) with the commentaries of Mommsen and Dessau (above, p. 537).

Augustus, gave an *imago Corinthea* of Trajan to the college of hay-merchants (*CIL* 6, 8686 = *ILS* 1577)³⁸⁰ and C. Clodius Magnus and C. Clodius Crescens *pater* gave three silver *imagines* and a statue (*signum*), presumably of Concordia Aug., to the dealers in cosmetics and pigments (*AEpig*, 1913, no. 1 = *ILS* 9517). Similarly the silver bust of Diva Faustina dedicated by the freedman Felix may have been donated to the college of which he was an official (*allector*) (*CIL* 6, 3756 = *ILS* 5160), while it was presumably in the club *schola* that statues of Caracalla and Julia Domna were deposited by the patron of the *corpus piscatorum et urinatorum totius alvei Tiberis* at his own expense (*CIL* 6, 1872 = *ILS* 7266). The most informative text of all, however, is an inscription from Ostia listing the various *dona* presented by members of an unknown college, possibly of hand-workers, in the years following the dedication of their assembly-room in A.D. 143 (*AEpig*, 1940, no. 62).³⁸¹ The inventory includes seven imperial *imagines* (in five cases of silver)—four of the emperor Antoninus Pius, two of Marcus Aurelius (styled Verissimus Caesar), one of Lucius Verus—one statue each of the imperial three, a statue of Victoria and an *imago* (statuette?) of Concordia, candlestands (*par candelabra*)—these are known to have flanked the emperor's portrait in cult practice (below, pp. 567f.)—along with other items that belong among the paraphernalia of communal meals. Whereas the *imagines* were probably small busts, the imperial *statuae* may well have been life-size figures rather than statuettes.³⁸² The function of all these seems clear: as elsewhere, the statues and busts will have been kept at the *schola*, presumably within the collegial *aedes*,³⁸³ where they received offerings of incense and wine on the high festivals of the official calendar. On such *dies solemnes* they may also have carried in procession³⁸⁴

³⁸⁰ Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 100, citing Pliny, *N.H.* 34, 6.

³⁸¹ Herz (above, note 377) 153ff.; id., *Untersuchungen* (above, note 50) 145f., noting that 25th February, the date of dedication of the college assembly room (*statio*), is the same day as that of the adoption of Antoninus Pius; cf. "Kaiserfeste" (above, note 49) 1172f.; Meiggs (above, note 377) 325f.; further Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 78, 94f.

³⁸² The practice is reflected at Naples in honours voted to a certain L. Munatius Hilarianus by the phratry of the Artemisii (*AEpig*, 1913, no. 134). From the four *imagines* and four *statuae* that were offered him Munatius accepts just one statue and a bust with one statue in honour of his son, observing that he has more busts and statues set in their hearts—a phrase strikingly reminiscent of the words Dio puts into Maecenas' mouth in his address to Octavian (CD 52, 35, 3). Cf. Price, *Rituals* 199, n. 152; further D. Fishwick, "L. Munatius Hilarianus and the Inscription of the Artemisii", *ZPE* 76 (1989), 175-183; id., "Dio and Maecenas: the Emperor and the Ruler Cult", *Phoenix* 44 (1990), forthcoming.

³⁸³ Stambaugh (above, note 271) 590f., citing Meiggs (above, note 377) 243, fig. 8.

³⁸⁴ Herz (above, note 377) 154 draws attention to an inscription at Aquincum (*CIL* 3, 3438 = *ILS* 7254) recording that the patron and prefect of a *collegium fabrum* led the members in procession (*in ambulativis*) on 28th July; cf. *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 116 s.v. The significance of the date is unknown.

in imitation of the *pompa Circensis* and similar processions at Rome (see below, pp. 553f.).³⁸⁵

One can only conclude that similar rites will have been performed by the colleges attested at Tipasa and Poetovio. Though it does not directly concern an imperial likeness, a further inscription seems to reflect the cult of the *imago* at Nemausus, where someone requests permission from a *collegium* to set up an *imago* of a worthy local townsman *sub specie nobilissimi principis* (CIL 12, 3312). Unless we are explicitly told so, there is nothing to show whether other colleges in the Latin West might have possessed imperial *imagines* but it is difficult not to believe that such were in the hands of the *cultores domus Aug.* at Volubilis (IAM 2, 377: A.D. 158; cf. IAM 2, 490: *cultor August.*) perhaps also the *collegium Divi Augusti* at Lucus Augusti (CIL 2, 2573). One might compare the *imagines* of the imperial family that were placed in military *scholae* in the main camp at Lambaesis, evidently the centre of a particular devotion to the *domus divina*.³⁸⁶ In any event the collegial cult of imperial *imagines* belongs in a separate category from the ritual associated with imperial statues or *imagines* that have been deposited by groups or individuals within a temple or a specially built *aedicula*. Such evidence is best considered in connection with the solemn processions in which these objects seem to have been transported by bearers (below, pp. 555ff.).

(iv) *Temple Offerings*

A number of inscriptions from the Latin provinces attest the placing of a likeness of the emperor in a temple.³⁸⁷ In some cases the temple was evidently one of the imperial cult. Thus an entry in the charter of the provincial cult of Narbonensis (CIL 12, 6038 = ILS 6964) (above, Vol. I, 2, Pl. XLIII) refers to *statu|as imaginesve* (l.26f.), which to judge from the remnant *intra idem t[emplum]...* (l.28) may have been placed in the provincial temple³⁸⁸ that was

³⁸⁵ Presumably a similar picture holds true of the five silver *imagines Caesarum* (probably Augustus and Tiberius) that were presented to the *vicus Anninus* by Aulus Virgus Marsus (AEPig, 1978, no. 286: Leccei dei Marsi, Regio IV). See Letta's analysis (above, note 346) *l.c.*

³⁸⁶ CIL 8, 2554f., cf. 18072 (= ILS 2445f.); ILS 9098-9100; cf. CIL 8, 2586 = ILS 2381. See D. Fishwick, "Le culte de la *domus divina* à Lambèse", 113e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Strasbourg, 1988, IVe Colloque sur l'histoire et l'archéologie d'Afrique du Nord, Paris, 1990, forthcoming.

³⁸⁷ The discussion is restricted to instances of *statuae* or *imagines* of the emperor and his family that are found, are recorded to have been placed, or are presumed to have been placed in a temple. Numerous portrait statues and busts are also preserved in the Latin West (cf. indices to Espérandieu, *Recueil*) but there is nothing to show that these served any cult purpose. Such an inference might nevertheless have been drawn in some instances, had the find-spot been known; cf., for example, a group of heads of Augustus and his family discovered at Béziers in 1844 and now in the Musée Saint-Raymond at Toulouse.

³⁸⁸ So Kornemann, "Herrscherkulte" 126.

situated to all appearances on the fringe of the Roman town. Similarly at Tar-raco the commission of Cn. Numisius Modestus, who was elected by the provincial council *ad statuas aurandas Divi Traiani* (*CIL* 2, 4230 = *ILS* 6930), may well refer to statues of Trajan that were kept in the provincial temple and were to be gilded, probably during his lifetime rather than posthumously.³⁸⁹ Whether or not an edifice at Volubilis served the imperial cult is not explicit but an inscription records that the *cultores domus Aug(ustae?)* deposited (*posuerunt*) a statue, presumably of the emperor Antoninus Pius (cf. ll. 1-3), in the colonnaded temple which they had built with their own money on private ground they had purchased (*CIL* 8, 21825). Actual examples of statues in imperial temples are preserved in the likenesses of members of the family of Tiberius that stood in the temple of Roma and Augustus at Lepcis Magna (above, p. 521f.).

A rather different situation is reflected in texts attesting the placing of an imperial likeness in the temple of some Greco-Roman or other deity. For example, three votive altars, similarly inscribed at Lugdunum, record that M. Herennius Albanus set up an *imago* of Tiberius Augustus alongside two *signa* of Mercurius Augustus and Maia Augusta in the *aedes* which he financed on public ground (*CIL* 13, 1769 = *ILS* 3206; Pl. CII a-c).³⁹⁰ The practice is attested on a very much larger scale at Lambaesis, where an inscription, dated by Wilmanns under Elagabalus or Severus Alexander, preserves a lengthy *laterculus* of troops who had made *imagines sacras aureas*—clearly of the imperial house in view of the local cult of the *domus divina* (*CIL* 8, 2586 = *ILS* 2381).³⁹¹ Presumably these were placed in the temple of Aesculapius and Salus, near to which the inscription was found, perhaps on behalf of the *salus* of the emperor. One of the *beneficarii consulares* is called *quaestor*, so will have been in charge of the treasury instituted for funding the *imagines*. As noted above (p. 535), two bronze *imagines*, thought to be of Octavian and Livia, were actually found *in situ* at a native sanctuary at Azaila, where they had been deposited. With these may be compared the full-scale statue of Marcus Aurelius cuirassed that stood in the temple of Serapis at Lepcis Magna.³⁹²

In other instances, however, the identity of the temple cannot be determined. At Ipsca, in Baetica, Optatus the freedman of Reburus was the first

³⁸⁹ The inscription set up by the provincial council of Hither Spain does not allow one to tell, though the text itself was clearly drafted at a time when Trajan was deceased; cf. D. Fishwick, "The Development of Provincial Ruler Worship in the Western Roman Empire" in *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1201-1253 at 1238. The re-gilding of statues in Egypt (below, p. 548) suggests that here at least statues of the living emperor were gilded when first placed in a temple.

³⁹⁰ Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 60, n. 216; cf. 90, n. 7 (not two likenesses of Tiberius). For a possible parallel see *CIL* 13, 1179 (fragmentary).

³⁹¹ Fishwick (above, note 386) *o.c.*

³⁹² Niemeyer, (above, note 273) 30 with n. 161.

in the municipality to donate an *imago* of the emperor Claudius, which he then dedicated in company with his sons Optatus and Reburus (*CIL* 2, 1569: A.D. 46); no doubt the *imago* was placed in the temple near to which the inscription was found. Elsewhere all that we have is the word *posuit*, which could imply placing in a temple but by no means necessarily so.³⁹³ Thus at Hippo Regius [C. Salvius] Fusc[us] deposited and dedicated in his own and his son's name a silver statue (not identified) plus a larger sum of money than his stipulated *summa honoraria* for silver *imagines* of the emperor Hadrian, along with a gold crown (*CIL* 8, 17408 = *ILS* 5474). This may have been in a temple³⁹⁴ but, unless there is archaeological evidence for the nearby presence or association of a temple, such cases are best excluded from discussion.³⁹⁵ The same caution is also in order whenever the wording of an inscription suggests a religious context but gives no clue to whether an imperial likeness stood in a temple rather than some kind of shrine (above, p. 536f.).³⁹⁶

It will be immediately clear that none of the above texts refers to the cult image within a temple, the normal word for which is *signum* or *simulacrum*, as regularly in Cicero.³⁹⁷ The precise meaning of *statua* is a sculptured representation of a man 'en pied', usually life-size and made out of stone or marble, alternatively of painted wood, on which one placed flesh parts of stone or marble (*statua acrolitha*); rich men occasionally gave statues of bronze.³⁹⁸ As such, *statua* is clearly to be distinguished from *imago*, which originally meant a wax image or painted portrait and came to have the specialized meaning of the likeness of a man 'à mi-corps'.³⁹⁹ While the

³⁹³ *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 1401 s.v. *pono* (8c). See in general Pekáry, *o.c.* 42ff.

³⁹⁴ Cf. Pekáry, *o.c.* 77, cf. 42ff., suggesting either a temple or some open place.

³⁹⁵ Cf. for example, a gold *imago*, no doubt of one of the Severi, deposited by a *pontifex* at Diana in Numidia (*CIL* 8, 4584); a three-pound silver *imago*, evidently of Septimius Severus, deposited by the veteran Q.[...]us Ianuarius at Safar, Mauretania Caesariensis, perhaps in celebration of his various magistracies (*CIL* 8, 9797); statues of Antoninus Pius and the future emperor L. Verus along with a silver bust of Faustina deposited at Cherchel by a magistrate whose name is lost (*AE* pig, 1957, no. 77).

³⁹⁶ For example, *imagi[n]es* *sacras* [C]aesarum nn.?) apparently given by a *flamen perpetuus* at Thugga (*CIL* 8, 1496); *statuae sacrae* of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus given *ob honorem seviratus et gratuitum aquae usum* near Alcalá la Real (*CIL* 2, 1643); an *imago* of Septimius Severus made and dedicated at Beni Barbar by a decurion of the *municipium Gemellense* in honour of his perpetual flamine (*CIL* 8, 17950). An inscription at Uchi Maius simply mentions *imagines*, probably of Caracalla and his mother (*CIL* 8, 26259). See further above, p. 537 with note 371.

³⁹⁷ Pekáry, *o.c.* 57. For *signum* also as a statuette or figurine see *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 1760 s.v. (12). On the Greek terms *agalma*, *andrias*, *eikon* see "Isotheoi Timai", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 23 with refs.; further Pekáry, *o.c.* 56; K. Koonce, "ΑΓΑΛΜΑ and ΕΙΚΩΝ", *AJPhil* 109 (1988), 108-110, noting that *agalмата* can be placed in the *agora*; cf. above, Vol. I, 1, 186, Addenda *ad* p. 23, n. 10, citing Pausanias 2, 20, 1-2; 4(!), 32, 1.

³⁹⁸ Herz (above, note 377) 156.

³⁹⁹ See in general Dar.-Sag. 3, I (1900) (1963) 395, 402f. s.v. *imago* (Courbaud); R. Daut, *Imago. Untersuchungen zum Bildbegriff der Römer* (Bibl. d. Klass. Altertumswiss., n.F. 2, R. 56), Heidelberg, 1975. *Statuae* and *imagines* are often mentioned together; cf., for example,

reference can also be to a bronze medallion, as in the *Tabula Hebana*,⁴⁰⁰ the usual meaning is a likeness in the form of a bust, made as a rule of bronze, silver or gold plate. Good examples we have met are the imperial busts at Avenches and Marengo (above, pp. 535f.). The basic distinction between *simulacrum* on the one hand and *statua* or *imago* on the other comes out in Tiberius' familiar prohibition that statues and images of himself might not be placed among the *simulacra* of the gods but only among the *ornamenta* of shrines (Suet., *Tib.* 26, 1).⁴⁰¹ To have set the emperor's likeness beside the temple idol would presumably have put him in too close proximity with the gods, in contravention of Tiberius' explicit policy on divine honours (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 38, 1),⁴⁰² and the question arises whether irregularities had already occurred. Domitian, as it turned out, was to be guilty of precisely this excess: ... *cum incesti principis statuis permixta deorum simulacra sorderent* (Pliny, *Paneg.* 52, 3).⁴⁰³ The distinction is also implicit in Pliny's correspondence with Trajan regarding the testing of Christians, where the emperor's *imago* is carefully distinguished from the *simulacra* of the gods; [*Hī*] *quoque omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra venerati sunt* ... (Epp. 10, 96, 6).⁴⁰⁴

The material of which imperial likeness were made is of central interest.⁴⁰⁵ In the same passage of the *Panegyricus*, for instance, Pliny remarks of Trajan *itaque tuam statuam in vestibulo Iovis optimi maximi unam alteramve et hanc aeream cernimus*. The use of bronze preceded that of marble and continued to be employed, particularly as a medium for imperial likenesses, but gold and silver images are often mentioned in the sources, and statues and busts can be of gilded or silvered bronze to give the impression of solid metal;⁴⁰⁶ even marble might be gilded.⁴⁰⁷ What was the significance of the different metals

Suet., *Tib.* 13, 1; *Titus* 4, 1; and in inscriptions *passim*. For the distinction between the two see further the references assembled by Letta (above, note 346) 14, n. 53. See further in general Künzl (above, note 368) 393-402.

⁴⁰⁰ Pekáry, *o.c.* 60f. On *imago clipeata* see Herz, *o.c.* 149-151.

⁴⁰¹ Niemeyer, *o.c.* (above, note 273) 18, 24; Pekáry, *o.c.* 59, 74, 147.

⁴⁰² See "Divus Augustus", above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 158f.

⁴⁰³ Letta (above, note 346) 15f.

⁴⁰⁴ Pekáry 43, 150. In practice Pliny is repeating Domitian's excess: ...*cum praeunte me deos adpellarent et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, ture ac vino supplicarent*... (Epp. 10, 96, 5). Sherwin-White, *Letters* (above, note 139) 701 takes *deos* to refer to the Capitoline gods. See now Fishwick, "Pliny and the Christians" (above, note 351) 124f.

⁴⁰⁵ Nierneyer, *o.c.* 18f.; Pekáry 66-80. See further in general G. Clarke, *Symbols of Excellence*, Cambridge, 1986, 50ff. 82ff.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf., for example, a gilded bronze bust of Agrippina from Alba Fucens: F. de Ruyt, *RPAA* 44 (1971/72), 151-165; further *CIL* 2, 4230 (above, p. 541).

⁴⁰⁷ P. Graindor, *Bustes et Statues-Portraits d'Egypte romaine*, Cairo, 1937, 14, n. 15 with refs. At Gytheum the εἰχόνες γραπταί may have been of painted wood; cf. M. Rostovtzeff, "L'Empereur Tibère et le culte impérial", *RH* 163 (1930), 1-26 at 12, n. 1. For a gilded wood statue of Constantine see G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une Capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris, 1974, 38-40.

seems reasonably clear. At one end of the scale bronze seems to have been considered a sign of modesty, though in itself it was costly enough; the imperial effigy in the shrine at the legionary *principia*, for example, was usually of bronze.⁴⁰⁸ At the other end the use of precious metal, gold or silver, must be seen against its psychological background. Gold in particular was valued for its relative rarity and the intrinsic value that it tended to retain even in times of economic crisis;⁴⁰⁹ hence it was associated with whatever was optimal or exceptional, such as a Golden Age. Here one must distinguish between gilded statues and those of solid gold.⁴¹⁰ In Rome the latter were evidently the prerogative of the emperor or members of the imperial house (at least *post mortem*: Suet., *Titus* 2),⁴¹¹ though in the provinces private individuals could certainly have statues in solid silver after death, if not already in their lifetime.⁴¹² Otherwise, it would appear that an ordinary person, no less than the emperor, was at liberty to have a gilded or silvered likeness of himself.⁴¹³ In a secular context this implied no automatic claim to divinity, as once believed.⁴¹⁴ But in a temple a cult image of the emperor—like that of any deity—might be of precious metal and an imperial statue or bust of gold or silver would have a divine connotation, the more so if placed in the *cella* beside the *simulacrum*.⁴¹⁵

As Pliny's own adulation of Trajan makes plain, it was consequently considered bad form on the part of 'absolutist' emperors that they raised no objection to *adulatio* in the form of likenesses in precious metals, whereas 'constitutional' rulers generally refused gold and silver statues in their lifetimes as an excess acceptable only *post mortem*.⁴¹⁶ Claudius, for example, refused a gold statue (*andrias*) of Pax Augusta Claudiana as reflecting badly on himself by association, though he did allow the Alexandrians to carry in procession another gold statue, possibly of Messalina.⁴¹⁷ One of the clearest

⁴⁰⁸ G. Gager, *Kaiserliche Bronzestatuen aus den Kastellen und Legionslagern an Rhein- und Donaugrenze des römischen Imperiums* (Diss. München), Bonn, 1969. By contrast the statue of Galba which the soldiers overthrew in the shrine of the Praetorian Camp was of solid gold (Tac., *Hist.* 1, 36).

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. the dedication of gold and silver bars (?) in the temple of Concordia at Rome for the *salus* of Tiberius: T. Pekáry, "Tiberius und der Tempel der Concordia in Rom", *MDAI(R)* 73/74 (1966/67), 105-133 at 131ff.

⁴¹⁰ For lack of precision on the part of the ancient authors see Pekáry 70.

⁴¹¹ The golden likenesses of Sejanus are an exception to be explained by his special status (Suet., *Tib.* 65, 1).

⁴¹² Pekáry, *ibid.*, citing *IRT* 607; *CIL* 12, 5864 = *ILS* 6999.

⁴¹³ For a nuanced discussion see Pekáry 69ff.; *id.*, "Goldene Statuen der Kaiserzeit", *MDAI(R)* 75 (1968), 144-148; cf. Price, *Rituals* (above, note 2) 186f. with bibl.

⁴¹⁴ For an oversimplified view see K. Scott, "The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals in Emperor Worship", *TAPA* 62 (1931), 101-123.

⁴¹⁵ See "Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 79; further below, p. 547.

⁴¹⁶ For the attitude of individual emperors see now Pekáry 69, 72-80.

⁴¹⁷ H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (above, note 127) 32 *ad* ll. 35-38. The statue of Pax Augusta Claudiana was to be dedicated to Roma.

examples of the 'constitutional' outlook is contained in a letter of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to the Athenian *gerousia* in which the emperors refuse gold and silver statues as divine honours but gladly accept bronze busts (*protomai*) on a moderate scale.⁴¹⁸ They also permit the placing of their names on these busts.⁴¹⁹ Such labelling of statues served of course to identify the person represented, an obvious need when old statues were recycled,⁴²⁰ but often enough this would have been superfluous since the name of the god or person represented would be contained in a dedicatory inscription below a statue or bust.⁴²¹ Good examples are the dedications below the busts of Augustus and Livia at Neuilly-le-Réal (above, p. 535; Pl. XCIX). In the context of precious metals and their significance it is striking that the letters of the emperor's name on a statue base are occasionally found coloured in yellow rather than red—clearly as a substitute for the more costly gilded lettering.⁴²² The opposite extreme is attested by a passage of Suetonius recording his acquisition of an old statuette of Augustus with the name Thurinus: ... *nactus puerilem imagunculam eius aeream veterem ferreis et paene iam exolescentibus litteris hoc nomine inscriptam* (Aug. 7, 1: cf. above, p. 533).

The practice of placing a statue in a temple is in fact very old.⁴²³ Already under the early Republic it was customary to dedicate the *imagines clipeatae* of illustrious ancestors in temples (Pliny, *N.H.* 35, 12), and Livy reports that the honour of an ivory statue in the *cella* of Jupiter Capitolinus was decreed for the Elder Scipio, who refused it, however (38, 56, 12; cf. Val. Max. 4, 1, 6);⁴²⁴ an *andrias* of the Elder Cato, celebrating his achievements as censor, was actually set up by the people in the temple of Salus (Plut., *Cat. Maior* 19, 4). Similarly Caesar, who placed a beautiful *eikon* of Cleopatra beside the cult statue in the temple of Venus Genetrix (Appian, *B.C.* 2, 102), himself had an *eikon* in the temple of Quirinus, and according to Dio his statue was to be set up in all the temples of Rome and in the cities of Italy.⁴²⁵ Octavian's statue also appears to have been placed beside the cult idol in the temples of the Italian municipalities.⁴²⁶ In the Imperial period the image of the emperor could likewise be placed in the temple of a god. Thus several statues of Nero,

⁴¹⁸ Oliver, *Gerousia* (above, note 112) no. 24, ll. 32-38, p. 116.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. the names under old images of emperors stored in the *synhedrion* at Ephesus: Oliver, *o.c.*, p. 95, no. 11, ll. 11-14. Price, *Rituals* 179, notes that a statue of a god was labelled only if dedicated to another god and sees a distinction here between imperial and divine statues.

⁴²⁰ Pekáry 29-41, especially 38ff.

⁴²¹ Pekáry (above, note 409) 130. For two *protomai* from Rome with the names of a man and a woman in the nominative case see *CIL* 6, 2170 (= *ILS* 5010).

⁴²² Pekáry 68, n. 22, citing *AEpig* (1934) nos. 7f.

⁴²³ Pekáry 55-65.

⁴²⁴ Weinstock, *DJ* 36, 187 with discussion.

⁴²⁵ "Divus Iulius", above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 58, 60f.

⁴²⁶ Above, Vol. I, 1, 78f.

of the same size as the cult statue but not said to have been placed with it, were set up in the temple of Mars Ultor (Tac., *Ann.* 13, 8, 1);⁴²⁷ one or two statues of Trajan stood in the porch of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter (above, p. 543); and silver *eikones* of Marcus Aurelius and Diva Faustina were placed in the temple of Venus and Roma (CD 72, 31, 1; cf. *CIL* 14, 5326). Statues of later emperors are likewise reported to have stood at Rome in the temples—Constantine had his removed to Christian churches.⁴²⁸

With these examples taken from the literary authorities can be compared epigraphical parallels such as the silver *imago* of Trajan that C. Iulius Nymphius placed in the temple of *sanctus* Silvanus at his own expense and dedicated along with other gifts on the Ides of January, A.D. 115 (*CIL* 6, 543 = *ILS* 3544), or the gold likenesses of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian that were to be placed (presumably in a temple) by the terms of the will of a centurion of Legio III Augusta, stationed in Africa (*CIL* 6, 932 = *ILS* 246). Whether the *imagines* of members of the Severan family that were gladly deposited by members of the Cohors IV Vigilum at Rome also belong in this category is impossible to tell from the fragmentary state of the inscription (*CIL* 6, 643). What is particularly striking is that even private individuals outside the imperial family could have their likenesses placed in a temple. Augustus' physician, for example, was rewarded with a statue beside the cult image of Aesculapius (Suet., *Aug.* 59), and the case of L. Volusius Saturninus, consul in A.D. 3, is particularly notable. On his death in A.D. 56 at the age of ninety-three the senate decreed, on the motion of Nero himself, that no less than nine statues should be raised to him in various guises, including two in the temple of Divus Augustus and one in that of Divus Iulius (*AEpig*, 1972, no. 174).⁴²⁹ In the same way an inscription records that, on the motion of M. Aurelius and Commodus, the senate set up a statue of M. Bassaeus Rufus in two different temples, possibly those of Divus Antoninus Pius and Mars Ultor (*CIL* 6, 1599 = *ILS* 1326). Outside of Rome much the same picture is attested at Mt. Eryx, where the verses of L. Apronius Caesianus, consul in A.D. 39, reveal that he dedicated an *effigies* of his father and, along with his father, an *effigies* of Tiberius in the temple of Venus Erycina, where the inscription was found (*CIL* 10, 7257 = *ILS* 939). A whole series of emperor statues may have been placed in the Capitoline temple at Brixia from its construction under Vespasian until the Severan period.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ T. Pekáry, *Hermes* 108 (1980), 125-128, reading *effigiesque*; cf. *id.*, *Kaiserbildnis* 62.

⁴²⁸ Pekáry 64 with refs.

⁴²⁹ W. Eck, "Die Familie der Volusii Saturnini in neuen Inschriften aus Lucus Feroniae", *Hermes* 100 (1972), 461-484 at 463, 469-471; Pekáry 49, 58, 62, 86, 91, 97, 145.

⁴³⁰ Pekáry 96 *ad CIL* 5, 4315-4317; cf. *AEpig* (1972) no. 204, The single statue and *imago clipeata* of himself and one statue of his deceased son that L. Munatius Hilarianus accepted from the *fratres Artemisii* at Naples (above, note 382) may likewise have been placed in the private Artemisium of the phratry built by Munatius. See Fishwick (above, note 382) 181f.

Where precisely such statues and busts will have been kept is reasonably clear. The appropriate place as a rule was the entrance porch, usually a colonnaded forehall preceding the *cella*.⁴³¹ Thus statues of Augustus and Agrippa stood in the *vestibulum* of the Pantheon (CD 53, 27, 3);⁴³² Trajan's statues stood in the porch of the temple of Jupiter (above, p. 543); and at the temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste L. Sarioleus Naeuius Fastus Consularis is recorded to have placed a statue of Antoninus Pius (?) *in pronao aedis* (CIL 14, 2867 = ILS 3687 bis). We have seen that statues of the imperial family may have stood in the porch of the temple of Roma and Augustus at Lepcis Magna (above, p. 521f.), while an inscription attests the placing of statues of T. Flavius Postuminus, a distinguished local citizen, in the *basilica* (here apparently the portico) of Mars Mullo at Rennes.⁴³³ Yet if this was the usual place, it is clear that the statue of a ruler or benefactor could, on occasion, be placed in the *cella* as a mark of special honour; even the statue of a deceased relative of the benefactor could be allowed there.⁴³⁴ The highest honour, one so advanced that it was unacceptable to Tiberius or Trajan (above, p. 543), was to have one's statue placed beside the cult *simulacrum* with the clear implication of exalted status by association with the divine. Pliny was scandalized that Domitian, like Gaius earlier, had no inhibitions on this score.⁴³⁵

To put Roman usage into perspective and at the same time bring out its purpose and intent it is worth glancing at what is known of corresponding practice in the Greek East. Just as it was customary in the Hellenistic period to place in temples honorific statues of living or dead rulers that were not meant to receive cult,⁴³⁶ so likenesses of Republican governors were set up by provincials in temples, shrines and other cult places of Greece and Asia Minor.⁴³⁷ Under the Empire the image of the emperor was accorded the same treatment from the reign of Augustus onwards. Among the many instances recorded in

⁴³¹ A. Alföldi, *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 165 *ad* Weinstock, *DJ* 186-188, overlooks the possibility of an honorific statue in the *cella*.

⁴³² Cf. Beaujeu, *Rel. Rom.* 119, noting that the statues were left there when Hadrian renovated the building.

⁴³³ J. Bousquet, "Inscriptions de Rennes", *Gallia* 29 (1971), 109-122 (= *AEpig.* 1969-70, no. 405); Etienne (above, note 292) 17, cf. 10, referring to J. Malalas, *Chronographia* 9, p. 216, 19-21; cf. Etienne, *ibid.*, 12, n. 53, citing *CIL* 2, 1979 (Abdera); *id.* (above, note 114) 39f.

⁴³⁴ Nock, "Synnaos" (above, note 240) 53, 56 (= *Essays* 243f., 246).

⁴³⁵ According to Petronius, the governor of Syria, all subject nations placed statues of Caesar beside the temple idols in each of their cities; for the Jews to object to Gaius' orders was tantamount to rebellion aggravated with insult (Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* 2, 194).

⁴³⁶ Nock, *o.c.* 1-3 (= *Essays* 202-204); Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschen und Griechische Städte* (Zetemata 14), Munich, 1970, 143 with n. 18.

⁴³⁷ K. Tuchelt, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien 1: Roma und Promagistrate* (MDAI[I] Beiheft 23), Tübingen, 1979. Cf. the *exedra* of Cicero's family that stood in the shrine of Hera at Samos: Niemeyer, *o.c.* 30.

the literary authorities⁴³⁸ perhaps the most striking is at the temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens, where four stone *eikones* of Hadrian, who completed and dedicated the building, were placed at the entrance to the sanctuary with others of bronze before the pillars (Paus. 1, 18, 6); a colossal statue, dedicated by the Athenians, stood behind the *naos*, while hundreds of other statues, the gift of different states, were scattered about the *temenos* (IG 2², 3289-3385).⁴³⁹ Inscriptions likewise record numerous cases of members of the *domus imperatoria* who have been honoured in the same way: Augustus in the temple of Aphrodite at Mytilene; Augustus, Livia and many others down to the Severi and later in the Heraion of Samos; Livia in the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnonte; Marcus Aurelius in the sanctuary at Eleusis; Septimius Severus in the temple of Apollo at Cyprus—to mention just a few.⁴⁴⁰ In Egypt surviving ostraka even attest a special tax (μερισμός), the proceeds of which went to defray the costs the erecting or maintaining statues (*andriantes*) or busts (*protomai*) of various emperors, who are in some cases mentioned by name: Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus and Verus.⁴⁴¹ As the dates make clear, the tax could be levied towards new likenesses of a ruler on accession or later, while other contributions are towards the regilding of statues (cf. *CIL* 2, 4230, above, p. 541). One of these was placed in the Kaisareion (*P. Bad.* 4, 101) and others probably stood in other temples, as was evidently the case at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe (see below, p. 550f.).⁴⁴²

Members of the imperial house other than the emperor could likewise have their image placed in the temple of a deity. At Sardis, for example, an inscription of 5 B.C. records that the annual *strategoi* were to set up every year in the temple of Augustus a statue of C. Caesar on the day he had assumed the *toga virilis* (IGRR 4, 1756 = *Sardis* 7, 1, 8, ll.13ff.). The representation is called *agalma*—surely here an honorific statue; otherwise one would eventually have had a forest of cult idols.⁴⁴³ Private individuals too, particularly priests and priestesses, could be rewarded for conspicuous services;⁴⁴⁴ indeed

⁴³⁸ Cf., for example, Pausanias 1, 24, 7 (an *eikon* of Hadrian in the Pantheon); 1, 40, 2 (*eikones* of Roman emperors in a shrine of Artemis Soteira at Megara); 10, 8, 6 (*eikones* of a few Roman emperors in a temple at Delphi).

⁴³⁹ Niemeyer, *o.c.* 30; Price, *Rituals* 147; Pekáry 90.

⁴⁴⁰ *OGIS* 456, ll. 17f.; P. Hermann, "Die Inschriften römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos", *MDAI(A)* 75 (1960), 68-183 at 101ff.; *AEpig* (1933) no. 2; *IG* 2², 3407; *AEpig* (1975) no. 829; cf. the silver busts (of the *theoi Sebastoi*?) in the temple of Artemis at Termessus: *IGRR* 3, 424.

⁴⁴¹ Pekáry 16, 77 with refs.

⁴⁴² U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1899 (1970), 152-155; Pekáry 118. For the view that these images, housed in temples, did not make emperors σύννατοι θεοί, as held by Wilcken, *l.c.*, see D. Fishwick, "Statue Taxes in Roman Egypt", *Historia* 38 (1989), 335-347.

⁴⁴³ For a similar custom elsewhere see Pekáry 26, n. 41; 90-96.

⁴⁴⁴ Nock, "Synnaos" (above, note 240) 52 (= *Essays* 243); Pekáry 57f. with documentation; cf. the case of G. Vibius Salutaris at Ephesus, who in return for his bequests in A.D. 104

in some cases what must surely be an honorific likeness is again called *agalma*, a term usually applied to the cult image.⁴⁴⁵ As in Roman practice, such statues or busts regularly stood in the porch (*pronaos*) of the temple, a circumstance that is sometimes stated explicitly.⁴⁴⁶ In contrast representations of Caracalla together with his father and mother look to have been placed with other objects in the *cella* of various temples at Oxyrhynchus and in the village temples of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes.⁴⁴⁷ Once again it was a mark of exceptional honour to have one's statue set beside the cult image—that of the priest of Dionysus at the temple of the god near Piraeus, for example, (*SIG* 1101, ll.45f.: 176-175 B.C.).

Finally, what was the purpose behind placing a statue or bust in the porch or *cella* emerges with reasonable clarity. One element in entrusting gold or silver items to temples was obviously that the sanctity of the location rendered it relatively safe from theft, though temple servants kept a close eye on the precious things displayed there.⁴⁴⁸ But that is a side issue. In theory at least such an object was essentially an offering to the deity “dedicated in accordance with ancient custom for vows or pious reasons”.⁴⁴⁹ Occasionally this is stated explicitly, as in the case of a statue of Augustus that the *demos* of the Athenians and the inhabitants of Delos dedicated to Apollo, Artemis and Leto; though whether this particular piece was actually placed in a joint temple is not in evidence.⁴⁵⁰ The same interpretation must also be true of Roman usage, and the various examples we have noted of statues and busts set in temples in the Western provinces are consequently to be explained as offerings to the deity of the temple. This holds true whether the temple was one of a Greco-Roman or other deity—or indeed imperial: that is, of Roma and Augustus, a deified emperor, or Roma and living and deified emperors conjointly. How far the theoretical basis was appreciated in practice can hardly be said; the primary purpose must have been to honour the emperor or his

(including 31 statuettes) was himself given *eikones* in the temple of Artemis as well as at the most conspicuous points of the city: Oliver (above, note 112) *o.c.*, no. 3, (= *I Ephesus* 1a 27) ll. 86-88. for Pharaonic precedents see Nock, “Synnaos” 14f. (= *Essays* 213).

⁴⁴⁵ Price, *Rituals* 178 with n. 40.

⁴⁴⁶ Pausanias 1, 18, 6; Oliver, *o.c.* no. 3, ll. 270-3, 283, 422, 557.

⁴⁴⁷ Nock, “Synnaos” 18f. (= *Essays* 216), citing *P. Oxy.* 12, 1449 (= A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri*, London, 1934, 2, no. 405). Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 64, assumes without comment that *eikoneidion* means a repository housing the imperial images rather than the image itself—surely the likelier interpretation; cf. Grenfell and Hunt *ad* ll. 8, 42, 54, 63. Apparently every village had its own *eikoneidion*, which will presumably have been carried in procession on official occasions (below, pp. 550f.).

⁴⁴⁸ Stambaugh (above, note 271) 569-571, 574-576, 586f.; Pekáry 56 with n. 164.

⁴⁴⁹ ...τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀνωθ(εν) συνηθ(είας) κατ' εὐχ(ήν) καὶ εὐσέβ(ειαν) ἀνιερωθέντων (P. *Oxy.* 12, 1449, ll. 11f.). Nock, “Synnaos” 3, 29, 56 (= *Essays* 204, 224, 246) seems to take such offerings to be necessarily votives.

⁴⁵⁰ Pekáry 55, citing F. Durrbach, *Choix d'Inscription de Délos*², Hildesheim, 1976, no. 171; cf. nos. 172, 175f.

family in a way that custom had made conventional. But it does throw light on the phenomenon of placing multiple images of the emperor in a temple, as notably at Narbo or Lambaesis (above, pp. 540f.). Quite clearly the usage is in line with that of placing in a temple multiple representations of either the deity to whom the temple belonged or of some other deity, as commonly throughout the Greco-Roman world.⁴⁵¹

(v) *Processions*

The evidence of the Greek East is also of the greatest interest in confirming that imperial images were regularly carried in the colourful processions that marked important imperial occasions. The history of such rites reaches back well into the Hellenistic Period and earlier.⁴⁵² In Ptolemaic Egypt⁴⁵³ the likenesses of past and present rulers were transported, together with vast numbers of statues of the gods, at victory and other celebrations (Athenaeus, 5, 195a).⁴⁵⁴ The general incorporation of deceased monarchs within temples, a practice with its roots in Pharaonic Egypt, evidently ceased in the Roman period,⁴⁵⁵ but the custom of carrying imperial images continued as before: for example on eponymous days, as illustrated in Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians.⁴⁵⁶ The clearest testimony is provided by papyri that record the office of *χωμαστής* of the divine busts and of the Victory that leads the way.⁴⁵⁷ The term relates to the festive cortège (*χωμασία*) that greeted a high official or member of the imperial family on arrival at some place.⁴⁵⁸ In the financial accounts of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe, for instance, a revealing passage relates to the visit of the provincial prefect Septimius

⁴⁵¹ Letta (above, note 346) 19, n. 82; Pekáry 62. For likenesses of deities offered in temples see R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, New Haven, 1981, 42 with n. 44, citing A. Merlin, "Les dernières découvertes d'antiquités en Tunisie", *BCTH* (1909), ccxxxvii; M. Bessou, "Le fanum de Camp-Ferrus à Loubers (Tarn)", *Gallia* 36 (1978), 204-206. See further *P. Oxy.* 12, 1449 throughout, for example.

⁴⁵² A. D. Nock, "A New Edition of the Hermetic Writings", *JEA* 11 (1925), 126-137 at 130, n. 9 (= *Essays* 28, n. 9); F. Bömer in *RE* 21 (1952) 1886ff. s.v. *pompa*; MacMullen, *Paganism* 27f. An extensive study of processions is in preparation by P. Herz, *Kaiserbild und Bildträger. Studien zum Kaiserbild im Zeremoniell*.

⁴⁵³ Winter (above, note 241) 148, 156. For the prototype pompé of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (Athen. 197C-203B) see recently E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Oxford, 1983; cf. "Hellenistic Ruler Cult", above, Vol. 1, 1, p. 14.

⁴⁵⁴ For bearers of sacred objects in procession see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford, 1972, 225 with n. 290.

⁴⁵⁵ Nock, "Synnaos" 17ff. (= *Essays* 214ff.); Fishwick (above, note 442) 337ff.

⁴⁵⁶ Bell (above, note 127) 6, 32 *ad* ll. 29ff.

⁴⁵⁷ *P. Oxy.* 10, 1265 (A.D. 336); 12, 1449 (A.D. 213-217); *P. Oslo* 3, 94 (2nd-3rd century A.D.); cf. Robert (above, note 357) 320, nn. 6-8 (*id. Opera Minora Selecta* 2, 836); Weinstock in *RE* 8A (1958) 2529; Price, *Rituals* 189f.

⁴⁵⁸ I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "The Imperial Chamber at Luxor", *DOP* 29 (1975), 227-251, especially 242f.

Heraclitus in A.D. 215, when all the statues in the temple (these seem to be mainly imperial) were to be crowned and polished, presumably before being born in procession along with the crowned statue of Jupiter Capitolinus transported by hired workers.⁴⁵⁹ The same arrangements look to have marked the visit of the procurator Aurelius Italicus, and the accounts also show that on the birthdays of Caracalla (4th April) and Divus Severus (11th April) the cult image of the god was taken in procession to the theatre, doubtless accompanied by the imperial busts.⁴⁶⁰

Such rites in Egypt spring from an indigenous, independent tradition but similar procedures can easily be indentified elsewhere in the East. In Asia Minor we have a Hellenistic prototype at Commagene in the biannual procession of the people to the holy place of Nemrud Dag, where they sacrificed and partook in a meal provided by the priests.⁴⁶¹ The most explicit testimony of the Roman imperial period comes from Ephesus, where a decree of the Council refers to the carrying of the type-statues (*apeikonismata*) and images (*eikones*), including images of Trajan, Plotina and Divus Augustus, from the temple of Artemis to the theatre on assembly days and on various occasions of the liturgical year; here they were to be displayed at nine set places in the audience, three to one pedestal.⁴⁶² The cortège itself, which proceeded to the theatre by way of the Magnesian Gate and returned via the Coresian, is vividly described in the second century A.D. novel of Xenophon of Ephesus, who lists the members of the procession, including the bearers of various sacred objects (1,2, 2-5).⁴⁶³ At Ephesus the white-clad porters of the type-statues and imperial busts are called 'gold-bearers'⁴⁶⁴ but elsewhere the standard term is 'imperial-bearers' (*sebastophoroi*).⁴⁶⁵ How images could be subject to wear and tear in all this is illustrated by a letter of Marcus Aurelius

⁴⁵⁹ Wilcken (above, note 81) (1885) 458 *ad Frag.* I, 12; cf. Pag. VII, 14ff., X, 15ff., 468f. *ad Pag.* VII, 8ff.; Pekáry 118. See further Dittenberger, *OGIS* I, p. 162, n. 119 *ad no.* 90, ll. 42f.

⁴⁶⁰ Wilcken, *o.c.* (1885) 473 *ad Pag.* X; cf. Pag. XI.

⁴⁶¹ See "Hellenistic Ruler Cult", above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 18f. with refs.; further Pekáry 30.

⁴⁶² Oliver (above, note 444) *ibid.*; cf. Price, *Rituals* 104; Pekáry 48f., 92. For the image of the senate see D. Kienast, "Der heilige Senat. Senatuskult und 'Kaiserlicher' Senat", *Chiron* 15 (1985), 253-283 at 269. Presumably processions took place at the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias: see Smith (above, note 267) 93ff.

⁴⁶³ Price, *o.c.* 102, n. 4, 110 with refs. For the procession of the delegates of the cities, preliminary to the provincial festival of Asia see R. Merkelbach, "Der Rangstreit der Städte Asiens und die Rede des Aelius Aristides über die Eintracht", *ZPE* 32 (1978), 287-296 at 288f.; cf. Price 128f.; further L. Robert, "La titulature de Nicée et de Nicomédie: La gloire et la haine", *HSCP* 81 (1977), 1-39.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. ll. 419f., 437 with Oliver, *o.c.* 82.

⁴⁶⁵ For two categories of *sebastophoroi* (perpetual and for the three days of the festival) at Termessus Minor see G. Cousin, *BCH* 24 (1900), 338-341, no. 1; L. Robert, "Hellenica", *RPh* 13 (1939), 122-128; *o.c.* (above, note 357) 323, nn. 6f.; cf. Price 189. Both categories receive a daily payment of one obol. For *sebastophoroi* at Oenoanda see Addenda, below, p. 618. On the term see Suidas s.v. Ἀγροστειόν.

and Lucius Verus to Ulpius Eurycles, the *logistes* of the Ephesian *gerousia*, who had enquired about old images stored in the *synhedrion*; some of these had become so battered as to be no longer recognizable.⁴⁶⁶ That imperial likenesses could take a different form in some instances is shown by references in the ancient sources to what are termed *σημαῖαι* or variant (cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 18, 55 with *Bell. Jud.* 2, 169). An inscription from Side in Pamphylia, for example, has been restored to refer to the divine [*σημ*]εῖαι of the ancestors of the Sebastos: that is, the sacred standards, topped by an *eikon*, which were carried in processions.⁴⁶⁷ One may compare a late third-century (?) standard born by the ephebes (?) at Ephesus; this very possibly bore pictures of the emperor in its two "eyes".⁴⁶⁸

Similarly in Greece to parade the god's image or his symbols was a characteristic of the *ritus Graecus*; hence the titles of special dignitaries with names ending in -φόρος.⁴⁶⁹ Here, too, solemn processions with the transportation of imperial images were evidently a feature of the celebrations marking imperial festivals. By far the most helpful parallel is the festival of the Caesarea at Gytheum in the reign of Tiberius. On each of five successive days the festivities began with a procession in which painted *eikones* of Divus Augustus, Livia and Tiberius were escorted by participants, wearing white clothes and crowns of bay, from the temple of Asklepios and Hygieia to the imperial shrine and thence via the *agora* to the theatre.⁴⁷⁰ At Athens and Tanagra such bearers of the imperial busts are called *σεβαστοφόροι*, as in Asia Minor, and are attested among the ephebes in connection with the imperial cult.⁴⁷¹ An explicit mention of the rite is contained in the letter of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to the Athenian *gerousia* (above, p. 545), in which the emperors accept bronze *protomai* of moderate size so that on holidays these can be easily transported to wherever was wished on every occasion—for example to the popular assemblies.

It is worth remarking in parenthesis at this point that the reception of the imperial likeness was evidently an important event in the life of local communities in the Eastern provinces, where it had the character of a popular festival. Whether the origins of this practice reach back to the early principate

⁴⁶⁶ Oliver, *o.c.* pp. 93ff., no. 11, ll. 15ff.; Robert (above, note 357) 318, nn. 6f.; Pekáry 38. Cf. the provision in the bequest of G. Vibius Salutaris (above, note 444) against altering the names of the images or smelting them down or injuring them in any other way. (ll. 215f.).

⁴⁶⁷ H. W. Pleket, *Mnemosyne* 23 (1970), 192-195 *ad SEG* 6 (1932) no. 731. See further *id.*, "Nine Inscriptions from the Cayster-valley in Lydia: A republication", *Talanta* 2 (1970), 55-88 at 66ff.; cf. Robert (above, note 357) 320, n. 9; Pekáry 121.

⁴⁶⁸ H. Vettters, "Eine Standarte aus Ephesos" *MDAI(I)* 25 (1975), 393-397.

⁴⁶⁹ Robert, *o.c.* 323, nn. 3, 6; Pleket, "Nine Inscriptions" (above, note 467) 67. Price, *Rituals* 190, suggests that the transportation of images in procession was nevertheless not as common in Greece as in Egypt. See further Pekáry 119.

⁴⁷⁰ Above, note 248. See further below, note 541.

⁴⁷¹ Robert (above, note 465) *ll.c.*

can hardly be said⁴⁷² but we know that in the later empire the magistrates and people went out with lights and incense to meet the *laureata imago* (*lauratum*, *labratum*), which was carried by white-clad *sebastophoroi* and escorted by a military guard of honour preceded by flute-players and trumpeters; its reception validated by a panegyric, it was then displayed in a public place.⁴⁷³ The significance of the occurrence is brought out by an epigraphical record from Termessus Minor in Lycia, evidently of the time of the younger Valerian, son of Gallienus, which refers to a show in the local amphitheatre "on the day the sacred *eikon* of our Lord Valerianus, new Sebastos, was brought" (*IGGR* 3, 481 = *ILS* 8870, ll.19f.). Whether the emperor's image was then conducted to the imperial temple, as Robert has suggested, is not revealed by the inscription. What is clear is that the arrival of the imperial image occasioned the same ceremonies as were appropriate to an imperial *adventus*; the image was met formally very much as if it were the emperor himself, whom it did in fact replace.⁴⁷⁴ Consequently reception or refusal of the emperor's portrait was tantamount to acceptance or rejection of the emperor himself.⁴⁷⁵

To turn westwards once again, similar processions with the carrying of statues or other sacred objects are likewise a familiar feature of Roman practice, which itself has roots in Etruscan rites.⁴⁷⁶ With their hierarchical order of participants, such *pompae* had the effect of representing the community theatrically, of demonstrating the social order in its wealth and strength. The prime example is the *pompa circensis*, which included in the cortège representations of the gods carried by bearers on litters (*fercula*) along with their symbols and attributes (*exuviae*) borne on carriages (*tensae*) (Dion. Hal. 7, 72, 13; cf. Ovid, *Amores* 3, 2, 43ff.).⁴⁷⁷ Wissowa took it that what were transported

⁴⁷² On the distribution of the imperial image see Price, *Rituals* 173 with refs.; Pekáry 24f.; P. Bruun, "Notes on the Transmission of Imperial Images in late Antiquity", in K. Ascani *et al.* (edd.), *Studia Romana in Honorem P. Krarup Septuagenarii*, Odense, 1976, 122-131.

⁴⁷³ E. H. Swift, "Imagines in Imperial Portraiture", *AJA* 27 (1923), 286-301 at 298 with refs.; Robert (above, note 357) 322f. with n. 4; S. G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, 1981, 67-73, noting that a set ceremonial seems to have been required by the time of the Tetrarchy; Price, *Rituals* 175f. On the *labarum* see E. Kitzinger (ed. W. E. Kleinbauer), *The Art of Byzantium and the Mediaeval West*, Bloomington, 1976, 90, n. 12. For ceremonial in late antiquity and the Byzantine period see in general O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee...*, Jena, 1938; A. Cameron, *Flavius Cresconius Corippus: In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris libri IV*, London, 1976.

⁴⁷⁴ For the emperor's *adventus* see Millar, *Emperor* (above, note 334) 31f.; MacCormack, *o.c.* 17-22. For the background see Weinstock, *DJ* 289f.; Millar 28ff.; Merten, *Zwei Herrscherfeste* (above, note 206) 42-44.

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. Alföldi, *Repräsentation* (above, note 313) 71f., citing Herodian 8, 6, 2; SHA, *Maxim. Duo* 24, 2. According to Zosimus (2, 12, 1), Maxentius sent to Africa agents who were to carry around his *eikon*.

⁴⁷⁶ *RE* 21 (1952) 1974ff. s.v. *pompa* (Bömer); Scott Ryberg, *Rites* (above, note 7) 16.

⁴⁷⁷ Dar.-Sag. 1, 2 (1887) (1962) 1192f. with fig. 1528 s.v. *circus* (Bussemaker-Saglio); 5 (1919) (1963) 115f. s.v. *tensa* (Chapot); *RE* Suppl. 7 (1940) 1627-29 s.v. *ludi circenses* (Regner);

in procession were not the actual cult statues but dolls dressed in clothes and ornaments from the temple treasure,⁴⁷⁸ but the *communis opinio* nowadays is that the idols themselves were taken from the temples to the Circus. One might compare a Claudian (?) relief from a tomb at Amiternum representing a *pompa* that opened, perhaps, the local gladiatorial games: the frieze shows Victory in a *biga* followed by a figure thought to be Mars in a second *biga*, while bearers carry *fercula* that each support a representation of one of the Capitoline Triad.⁴⁷⁹ On this occasion at least large-scale statues were transported in cars whereas smaller figures, perhaps of wood or even wax, were carried on shoulder. Similar evidence is provided by the procession of Venus Pompeiana, whom a fresco shows in her *quadriga* drawn by four elephants,⁴⁸⁰ also another wall painting at Pompeii that depicts four bearers carrying a *ferculum* with a baldaquin (*aedicula*)⁴⁸¹ under which a scene from mythology is represented (Pl. CIII a). This type of rite is paralleled further in the sacrificial procession of the Vestals, who are represented bearing sacred objects on the small frieze of the inner altar of the Ara Pacis,⁴⁸² in the carrying of statuettes of the Lares and the imperial (?) Genius at state processions of the early principate,⁴⁸³ above all in the *pompa* that introduced the *ludi scaenici* and likewise included the transportation of likenesses of the gods.⁴⁸⁴ Comparable, if suspect, evidence from the later empire is provided by the *pompa* that celebrated the *decennalia* of Gallienus in 262 and is said to have included in its train the *signa* of the temples with those of all the legions (SHA, *Gallieni Duo* 8, 6).⁴⁸⁵

Wissowa, *RuKR*² 452, cf. 127; Latte, *RRG* 248-51; Weinstock, *DJ* 185f. and *passim*. See further M. Clavel-Lévêque, "L'espace des jeux dans le monde romain: hégémonie, symbolique et pratique sociale", *ANRW* 2, 16, 3 (1986) 2405-2563 at 2440ff.

⁴⁷⁸ G. Wissowa, "Römische Götterbilder" in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte*, Munich, 1904 (1975), 280-298 at 281f.

⁴⁷⁹ H. von Hesberg, "Archäologische Denkmäler zu den römischen Göttergestalten", *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 1032-1199 at 1044f.; Pekáry 122. Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 99f., recognizes the *sevir* who gave the games in the standing figure in the second car.

⁴⁸⁰ M. H. Swindler, "Venus Pompeiana and the new Pompeian Frescoes", *AJA* 27 (1923), 302-313.

⁴⁸¹ Dar.-Sag. 1, 1 (1877) (1962) 95 with fig. 137 s.v. *aedicula*; cf. Pekáry 122, citing A. Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, London, 1972, 48f. with fig. 12 (= Pl. CIII a).

⁴⁸² Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 41f.

⁴⁸³ Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* (above, note 9) 28f., citing fragmentary reliefs from the Villa Medici (Tafel VIII), the Lateran Museum (Tafel VII), and the Palazzo Cancellaria (Tafel VI). Alföldi follows Scott Ryberg, *o.c.* 79f., in identifying the statuette carriers as younger princes of the imperial house.

⁴⁸⁴ L. R. Taylor, "The 'Sellisternium' and the Theatrical 'Pompa'", *CPh* 30 (1935), 122-130 at 127; H. Jürgens, *Pompa Diaboli* (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 46), Stuttgart, 1972, 216 with refs.

⁴⁸⁵ Merten, *Zwei Herrscherfeste* (above, note 206) 90f. with n. 291; cf. 21, citing Josephus' description of statues of Roman gods that were carried in the triumph of A.D. 71 celebrating the successful completion of the Jewish War (*Bell. Iud.* 7, 136); A. Chastagnol, "Aspects concrets et cadre topographique des fêtes décennales des empereurs à Rome" in *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire* (above, note 68) 491-507 at 492-4, 497.

Of particular interest for present purposes is the introduction of the emperor's likeness or symbols into such sacred processions. The honour of having his statue carried in the *pompa circensis* had been decreed for the Elder Scipio, who according to Livy at least refused it;⁴⁸⁶ but Caesar's *andrias*, wearing triumphal dress, was transported in the procession of the gods before the games that marked the Parilia of 21st April, 45 B.C., and the honour was repeated at the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* of July, 44.⁴⁸⁷ Early in the same year Caesar was granted a golden chair to be carried to the theatre, bearing his gold crown decorated with gems (the rite of the *sellisternium*), though this was not actually carried out until after his death; a special carriage (*tensa*) to carry Caesar's symbols (*exuviae*) in the *pompa circensis* was also granted by the senate on the same occasion.⁴⁸⁸ Augustus never had his statue or chair carried in procession during his lifetime, but golden chairs of Sejanus and Tiberius (*in absentia*) were set up in the theatre (CD 58, 4, 4) and the same honour looks to have been extended to Titus and Domitian, certainly to Commodus (CD 72, 17, 4);⁴⁸⁹ Caligula had his golden *clipeus* carried to the Capitol by the priestly colleges on certain festivals (Suet., *Gaius* 16, 4; CD 59, 16, 10). *Post mortem*, statues and symbols of the deified Augustus, Livia and later *divi* and *divae* were carried in the *pompa circensis*,⁴⁹⁰ while Marcus Aurelius had a gold statue of Diva Faustina taken to the theatre in a carriage and erected where she used to sit during her lifetime (CD 72, 31, 2; SHA, *Ant. Pius* 6, 7). Septimius Severus went even further in having a gold *eikon* of Pertinax taken to the circus on a car drawn by elephants and three golden chairs set up in the theatre (CD 75, 4, 1).⁴⁹¹

Other members of the imperial house were given comparable honours with relative frequency.⁴⁹² A golden statue of the deceased Marcellus, a golden wreath and a curule chair were carried into the theatre on the occasion of the

⁴⁸⁶ Weinstock, *DJ* 36, 110. For the precedent set by Philip II of Macedon in having his own likeness transported in procession in company with those of the Twelve Gods see "Hellenistic Ruler Cult", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 19, note 85.

⁴⁸⁷ See "Divus Julius", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 58.

⁴⁸⁸ *ibid.* 61f.; cf. "Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus", above, Vol. I, 1, 74 with note 8; Taylor (above, note 484) 127.

⁴⁸⁹ Taylor, *o.c.* 127, 130; A. L. Abaecherli, "Imperial Symbols on certain Flavian Coins", *CPh* 30 (1935), 130-140; Weinstock, *DJ* 283f. See in general Clavel-Lévêque (above, note 477) 2459f., 2470.

⁴⁹⁰ Marquardt (above, note 48) 467; cf. Mattingly, *BMC* 1 p. 134, no. 102, cf. p. cxxxvii (Augustus); Suet., *Claud.* 11, 2 (Livia). For a Severan (?) relief showing the gabled *tensa* of Augustus and his successors in the *pompa circensis* see Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 38f. with Taf. XVII, 1. For numismatic evidence of the carriages of the *divi* and *divae* see Abaecherli (above, note 489) 131-133.

⁴⁹¹ For processions with the imperial image in the later empire see Kitzinger (above, note 473) 90; R. MacMullen, "The Meaning of A.D. 312: The Difficulty of Converting the Empire" in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers*, New York, 1986, 1-15 at 4.

⁴⁹² Alföldi, *Repräsentation* 253f.; Weinstock, *l.c.*; Pekáry 119f.

ludi Romani and there set among the chairs of the aediles in charge of the games (CD 53, 30, 6). After Germanicus' death it was decreed that his ivory image should be transported in the *pompa circensis* (Tac., *Ann.* 2, 83, 1) and his chair bearing an oak wreath was placed in the theatre at the *ludi Augustales*;⁴⁹³ Drusus, Agrippina Maior (Suet., *Gaius* 15, 1) and Britannicus were all given similar honours. More startling is the cult image of his dead sister Drusilla that Caligula ordered to be drawn by elephants on a carriage into the Circus (CD 59, 13, 8).⁴⁹⁴ But such rites could also be spontaneous. Tacitus reports that on the occasion of a demonstration on behalf of Agrippina and her son Nero the crowd carried around their *effigies* (*Ann.* 5, 4, 3), and *imagines* of Octavia, sprinkled with flowers, were likewise borne by people on their shoulders and placed in the forum and in the temples (*Ann.* 14, 61, 1). In the same way on news of the death of Otho and the supremacy of Vitellius a demonstration on behalf of the dead Galba included the carrying of his *imagines* with bay-leaves and flowers around the temples (*Hist.*, 2, 55; see further Plut., *Otho* 3, 1).

As for the ruler cult itself, the best known example of such a procession is that of the *Romaia Sebastia* at Naples (above, p. 510). In the complex regulations for this important festival (*I Olympia* 56) there is no mention of the transportation of the imperial image but some form of the rite in connection with the cortège of competitors and officials to the Caesareum (ll. 48ff.) would certainly have been appropriate. It has already been suggested that at Ostia, for example, the *imagines* and *statuae* given by members of an unknown college (*AEpig.* 1940, no. 62) will have been kept in the *aedes* of the collegial *schola* and quite possibly carried in procession by the members on solemn days such as imperial birthdays (above, p. 539). Similar rites can be also supposed elsewhere in Italy, particularly on the part of associations of *cultores* of the Lares Augusti and the emperor's *imago*.

There seems every justification, then, for pursuing this line of reasoning further and to infer that similar processions with the carrying of imperial likenesses—a practice ingrained in Roman cult—will have marked the major imperial occasions of the year in the Latin west, very much as they did in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Both at the provincial and at the municipal level such public demonstrations must have been factors contributing significantly to social cohesion and imperial unanimity. What one would assume is that at the major centres of a province portable *imagines* or *statuae* of the emperor in precious metals⁴⁹⁵ were carried from the imperial

⁴⁹³ Weinstock (above, note 24) 146ff. with refs.

⁴⁹⁴ Herz (above, note 60) 331ff.

⁴⁹⁵ For the view that portable imperial likenesses (as distinct from the *imagines* and the large bronze, marble or stone statues in legionary chapels) may also have been in the hands of troops see Pekáry 54f. with relevant texts.

temple or altar to the amphitheatre or theatre on feast days such as the emperor's *natalis* and, once games had ended at the close of the day, were then carried back to the temple or some other place of safe-keeping. The details we have of provincial festivals in the East with their contentious processions of delegates to the *koinon*, who accompanied the high priest in his purple robes,⁴⁹⁶ provide a paradigm of what could be expected to have taken place at Lugdunum, Narbo, Tarraco and elsewhere. That other sacred objects, such as sacrificial utensils, were also transported is no more than an attractive hypothesis, but such would certainly have been in line with Roman practice.⁴⁹⁷ Nor do we know whether such processions might have included the transportation of the actual cult image(s); all that can be said is that such was a regular procedure at Rome and is attested on occasion in the municipalities of Italy.⁴⁹⁸ The rite is also documented at Arsinoe, not that Egyptian practice is of any direct relevance (above, p. 551).

Evidence in support of such a thesis is extremely scarce but there is enough to suggest that it approximates to the facts. No direct testimony in the form of imperial likenesses has survived at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls but we have seen that coins struck at the local imperial mint show the federal altar crowned with what appear to be busts, perhaps also statuettes, on either side of two central *aediculae* that conceivably held representations of Roma and the Augustus (above, Vol. I, 1, Pls. XIII-XVII).⁴⁹⁹ As noted earlier, the transportation of an apparently similar baldachin is illustrated on a wall fresco from Pompeii (above, p. 554; Pl. CIII a). It seems very possible, then, that these will have been carried in processions which were deployed on the steps at either side of the great altar and proceeded to and from the adjacent amphitheatre within the federal sanctuary (above, Vol. I, 2; Pl. LXIII a). Significantly, *vomitaria* give access from the direction of the altar into the arena, where processions would have made their entrance directly facing the tribunal, the seat of the emperor (if present) or of the high priest of the Three Gauls (cf. Vol. I, 1; Pl. XXII). Where the holy things were kept on other days is unclear but the likeliest possibility is at the council house (*curia*), conceivably in some sort of shrine;⁵⁰⁰ on the coins the images and baldaquins are presumably shown in ritual use: that is, displayed on the altar before or after being carried in procession. In any event they would certainly have been

⁴⁹⁶ Above, note 463; cf. above, p. 480, note 31.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 16, 41, 76. For Bacchic incense burners in Britain see Henig (above, note 12) 137, suggesting that these would have been carried in religious processions; cf. Xenophon of Ephesus 1, 2, 4.

⁴⁹⁸ For parallels elsewhere see MacMullen, *Paganism* (above, note 451) 27f.

⁴⁹⁹ "*Roma et Augustus*", above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 120-125.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. the old imperial statues housed in the *synhedrion* at Ephesus, above, p. 552, with note 466.

housed in the federal temple following its construction under Hadrian (?).⁵⁰¹

At Narbo the busts and statues attested in the provincial charter (above, p. 540) are clearly ritual objects since the context makes it clear that they were financed out of the surplus from funds destined for ritual purposes; the inference that they may have been kept in the provincial temple (l. 28) fits exactly with what is known of standard practice elsewhere (above, p. 547). Here again it seems reasonable to suppose that processions will have linked the temple with the nearby amphitheatre on appropriate occasions (above, Vol. I, 2, Pl. LIII). Similarly at Emerita what looks to have been a gold bust of Titus fits nicely into this reconstruction. A small marble base found there at the seat of the provincial cult records that the province (that is, the provincial council) has dedicated a gold object of five pounds weight to Titus, son of Vespasian, probably in the summer of A.D. 77; both the provincial priest and the propraetorian legate are associated in the act of dedication (*CIL* 2, 5264 = *ILS* 264).⁵⁰² Presumably this piece too was housed in the provincial temple known from coins (above, Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXVI), and solemnly carried on feast-days between there and the amphitheatre. A comparable picture no doubt also holds true of Corduba, where the amphitheatre may likewise have been part of the provincial monumental complex.⁵⁰³ Lastly at Tarraco the statues of Trajan that were to be gilded by Cn. Numisius Modestus (above, p. 541) doubtless stood in the provincial temple and were meant to be transported in processions that wound their way from here on the upper level of the Roman city down to the amphitheatre located to the south-west on a lower slope (above, Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXV).⁵⁰⁴ It need hardly be added that similar rites can reasonably be presumed at Camulodunum, Gorsium, Carthage and provincial centres elsewhere, where evidence has not yet emerged.

A parallel rite at the municipal level can also be inferred with a strong degree of probability despite the almost complete dearth of direct evidence. At Tarraco, for example, it seems very possible that on high feast-days processions will have connected the centre of the municipal cult—originally the ‘altar of Augustus’, later possibly a temple—with the theatre situated on a promontory just outside the town wall, less than two hundred metres to the south-east of the lower forum (Pl. CVIIa; cf. above, Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXV). Here dramatic performances were staged, as confirmed by an inscription attesting a *mimographus* (*CIL* 2, 4092 = *RIT* 53). That such processions will have included the carrying of statues or busts seems likely enough in view of

⁵⁰¹ See “The Temple of the Three Gauls”, above, Vol. I, 2, pp. 315ff.

⁵⁰² Above, note 369; cf. note 321. For the view that the provincial temple of Lusitania will have stood in the vicinity of the amphitheatre see “*Flamen Augustorum*”, above, Vol. I, 2, p. 278 with note 52; *AJAH* 6 (1981), 92.

⁵⁰³ Etienne (above, note 292) 24 with nn. 153f. and refs.

⁵⁰⁴ cf. “*Flamen Augustorum*”, pp. 280f; further Pekáry 68 with n. 19.

the practice at the provincial centre in the upper city; indeed a municipal version of the rite is possibly to be read into a defective inscription apparently referring to gold statues of Divus Verus: *Divo V[ero] | Divi Pij [fil(io)] | [au]r[ei]s adorn[ato statuis?]* ... (CIL 2, 6081 = RIT 79). Such statues may well have been kept in the municipal temple if in fact one existed at Tarraco parallel to that by the forum of Emerita.⁵⁰⁵ Whether the celebrations of the civic cult included the amphitheatre (and circus?) within their scope or whether the latter facilities were reserved solely for provincial ceremonies can hardly be said. In any event it is attractive to propose a similar reconstruction at Lugdunum, where processions could have descended from the municipal temple to the theatre and odeon (Pls. CIX, CXI), likewise at Emerita with its municipal temple, great theatre and amphitheatre (Pl. CXa; cf. above, Vol. I, 1; Pl. XXXVI), and at dozens of other leading centres with their monuments throughout the provinces of the Western empire—Arles or Nîmes, for example. In all of these, processions—with the carrying of imperial images—will have been a principal feature of imperial high festivals and one can picture the municipal priest resplendent in cap, head-bands and purple vestments, doubtless accompanied by the *flaminica* and other civic functionaries.⁵⁰⁶

Two cities are of particular interest in this regard. As Etienne has pointed out,⁵⁰⁷ it is striking that at Amiens the amphitheatre has been constructed, despite boggy terrain, at the west end of the forum in such a way as to provide a close connection on its east side with the forum and its imperial temple (Pl. CIII b). Here, in much the same way as at Lugdunum (above, p. 557), a *vomitorium* provides oblique, inclined access from the forum into the *arena*, where processions would have arrived before the tribunal of the *editor muneris*, often enough the local imperial priest. The overall architectural design thus emphasizes the ritual link between the amphitheatre and the temple. More impressively still, a tiled way, evidently intended for processions, leads from the entrance of the *temenos* to the steps of the temple *podium* at the imperial sanctuary of Cigognier (Pls. CI, CIII c).⁵⁰⁸ Outside the *temenos* is an apparently open space before one arrives at the rear of the theatre facade, which we have seen to be aligned and of equal dimensions with the south end of the temple portico (above, p. 523; Pl. XCVIII a). Very possibly, then, the processional way continued beyond the court of the temple across

⁵⁰⁵ For possible traces of a municipal temple at Tarraco see D. Fishwick, 'The Altar of Augustus and the Municipal Cult of Tarraco', *MDAI(M)* 23 (1982), 222-233 at 229f.

⁵⁰⁶ For the attire of imperial priests see above, pp. 475-480.

⁵⁰⁷ O.c. 18, 24f. For the suggestion of similar processions at Conimbriga with its temple of the imperial cult and double porticoes see Alarcão-Etienne (above, note 296) (1986), 128.

⁵⁰⁸ For the *communis opinio* on the identity of the temple see Etienne (above, note 292) 10, 12, 14. On Amiens and Avenches see now Gros, *Urbanistica* (above, note 269) 307-310, 324f.

this open space as far as the theatre, where it would have coincided, along the longitudinal axis of the sanctuary, with the *valva regia*—thus clearly providing for processions between the two. Etienne, drawing on the model of the Secular Games (17 B.C.) in particular, tentatively proposes that processions will have departed from the *cella*, perhaps dividing into two to pass along the portico; the general public, men on one side, women on the other, he sees standing on the three tiers that connect the portico with the court, from which elevation they would have commanded a view of the rites performed below.⁵⁰⁹ Imaginative as this is, it may well come close to what actually took place. However, one might suggest that the 4.40m. by 4.70m. base, which straddles the processional way some 33m. from the podium, could be that of a square altar rather than of a piece of statuary; it looks from the drawing at least to be placed where the altar in front of the *cella* ought to be.

One category of evidence deserves special mention in this context. In Britain a number of small, bronze heads of emperors has been found, one of which in particular shows Antoninus Pius (Pl. CIV a) and comes from a Celtic rustic shrine at Willingham Fen, Cambridgeshire:⁵¹⁰ other examples, perhaps also originating from shrines, include a head of Hadrian (?) and a yew-wood, female head of uncertain identity.⁵¹¹ Items such as these, when found in shrines, belong in the category of statues deposited as offerings in temples (above, pp. 540ff.), but the fact that they were evidently mounted on sceptres strongly suggests that they are to be interpreted along the lines of the *semeai* at Side and elsewhere (above, p. 552).⁵¹² In other words they were intended to be carried in procession on local festive occasions, some of them no doubt imperial as in the cult of Artemis at Ephesus (above, p. 551). Much the same purpose looks to have been served by the standards of which fragments have been found at Avignon (Pl. CIV b) and in the region of Mainz, also at Alcudio, Majorca.⁵¹³ In all three cases the two large “eyes” on either side of the tip of these evidently held imperial representations in the form of medallions, perhaps of glass, just as did the very similar standards that may have been carried by the ephebes (?) at Ephesus (above, p. 552). The most likely interpretation is that the standards from the West served a parallel pur-

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 15. For the possible transportation of the Aventicum bust (above, p. 535f.) in such processions see Kunzl (above, note 366) *ibid.* Etienne (above, note 114) 42-45, supposes similar rites at Fano (Vitruv. 5, 1, 6f.) with its basilica and Augusteum.

⁵¹⁰ A. Alföldi, “The Bronze Mace from Willingham Fen, Cambridgeshire”, *JRS* 39 (1949), 19 with plate II.

⁵¹¹ Henig (above, note 12) 73, 138 with refs. He notes that the coiffure of the female head has suggested Crispina, wife of Commodus, or Plautilla, wife of Caracalla.

⁵¹² D. Fishwick, “Imperial Sceptre-heads in Roman Britain”, *Britannia* 19 (1988), 399f.

⁵¹³ E. Ritterling, “Ein Amtsabzeichen der beneficiarii consularis im Museum zu Wiesbaden”, *BJ* 125 (1919), 9-37 at 31f.; G. Behrens, “Mars-Weihungen im Mainzer Gebiet”, *MZ* 36 (1941), 8ff. at 21; cf. A. Alföldi, “Hasta-Summa Imperii”, *AJA* 63 (1959), 1-27 at 27, figs. 40f. (pl. 10).

pose and were similarly carried in procession by some college or other, possibly the *collegia iuvenum*.⁵¹⁴ Whatever their precise connection, the function of these objects seems reasonably clear. One can compare *mutatis mutandis* the scene on a fresco from Ostia, now in the Vatican, that shows children carrying a *vexillum* (?) with three busts on the crosspiece.⁵¹⁵

How such imperial images might be cared for is suggested by an inscription from Athens recording the office of ζάκορος τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνων (*SEG* 18, 1962, no. 81), presumably a sort of sacristan; Robert suggested that he will have kept the images in good order and have been charged with their daily tendance—crowning and illumination—in the chapel where they were kept.⁵¹⁶ No such official is attested in the Latin provinces but some sort tendance can be safely assumed as mandatory, perhaps performed by a temple *aedituus* or a functionary of the provincial council. In any event images will also have needed cleaning, especially in preparation for feast days. In Palestine, so a late work reports, imperial statues set up in the theatres and the circuses were cleaned by a man whose appointment gave him his livelihood and an important place among government officials.⁵¹⁷ But the most helpful source is the bequest of G. Vibius Salutaris,⁵¹⁸ in which a clause records the payment of thirty *denarii* to the cleaner, whose services are required each time the type-statues are carried back to the sanctuary (ll. 281-3); another clause even mentions a kind of silver polish (ll. 542, 549). One may compare entries in the temple accounts of Arsinoe⁵¹⁹ regarding expenses for oil to clean statues on the greater feast-days and the payment of a χαλκούργος to do the job of cleaning (Pag. VII, ll. 14-16; X, 15f.). Direct evidence for the cleaning of imperial statues or busts is lacking in the western provinces but oiling is frequently mentioned by the literary authorities as a preliminary to decking with flowers;⁵²⁰ Pliny in particular describes how on festive days the military standards were cleaned of dirt and dust with oil (*NH* 13, 4, 23).⁵²¹ Apart from improving appearances, the treatment afforded protection against veridigris.⁵²²

⁵¹⁴ Cf. Veters (above, note 468) *o.c.* 396f.

⁵¹⁵ Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 121f. with n. 64.

⁵¹⁶ Above, note 357, 316, 324; Price 188; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 124, n. 86.

⁵¹⁷ M. Smith, "The Image of God. Notes on the Hellenization of Judaism...", *Bull. John Rylands Library* 40 (1957-58), 473-512 at 475f., citing Leviticus Rabba 34, 3; see further Price 189, n. 96. Cf. the cleaning of statues of the gods with sponge and soap on Delos (*JG* 11, 2, 144).

⁵¹⁸ Above, notes 444, 462.

⁵¹⁹ Above, note 81; cf. Pekáry 118f.

⁵²⁰ Henzen, *AFA* 14 with refs.

⁵²¹ *RE* 2, 4 (1923) 2343 s.v. *signa* (Kubitschek); Kruse (above, note 351) 57; MacMullen, *Paganism* (above, note 451) 167, n. 15.

⁵²² Pekáry 68, 119, noting that wax was also smeared on statues. For the use of *unguentum marcidum* see *CIL* 6, 9797 (= *ILS* 5173).

After cleaning and anointing statues might be crowned and even clothed. The garlanding of statues was the high point of the *Rosaliae Signorum*, a festival taken over from civilian life by the military; the day is commemorated in the *Feriale Duranum* by a *supplicatio*, which will have followed the ceremony of hanging chaplets of roses on the standards grouped by the altar.⁵²³ While our sources are again silent on the point, everything suggests that the portable *imagines* or statues of the emperor will also have been wreathed on due occasion. Certainly the garlanding of images is mentioned by Tacitus in connection with the popular demonstrations of A.D. 62 and 69 (above, p. 556),⁵²⁴ and as late as the sixth century the image of Constantine was carried in procession and crowned.⁵²⁵ The practice was in fact widespread throughout the Greco-Roman world. In the temple accounts of Arsinoe, for example, there is provision for the crowning of statues on every single feast-day throughout the year,⁵²⁶ while at Elephantine crowning looks to have been one of the duties of the civil *strategos* (?).⁵²⁷ A similar rite was performed by the *gerousia* of Istros,⁵²⁸ inferentially by the imperial choir at Pergamum,⁵²⁹ and is attested at Beroia in Macedonia, where an inscription refers to "the crowned images of the Sebastoi".⁵³⁰

As for clothing, statues of the gods had been adorned with clothes from the earliest times in both Egypt and Greece—the *peplos* of Athene Parthenos is a familiar instance among many others that are recorded.⁵³¹ The practice naturally persisted in the Roman period, right down to the late empire. Perhaps the best known example is the golden statue of Caligula in his own temple, which had to wear the same clothing as the emperor himself (Suet.,

⁵²³ "Fer.Dur." 115-120 *ad* Col. II, 14; cf. Herz, *Festkalender* 92. See further below, "Dated Inscriptions and the *Feriale Duranum*," Appendix I, pp. 601f., s.v. ?10th May.

⁵²⁴ For decking a statue with violets, roses and leaves see the inscription of Ursus (above, note 522); cf. Pekáry 119 with n. 34.

⁵²⁵ Kitzinger (above, note 473) 97, n. 17. Similarly the statues of Maximus, Balbinus and Gordian Caesar were decked with crowns of laurel (Herod. 8, 6, 2); cf. above, note 475. According to the H.A., garlands taken from imperial statues were replaced by others and sometimes worn as preventives against fever, despite the possibility of condemnation to death (*Caracalla* 5, 7).

⁵²⁶ Wilcken (above, note 81) (1885) 457; cf. MacMullen, *Paganism* 43 with n. 1.

⁵²⁷ *P. Paris* 69 = Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* (above, note 81) I, 2, no. 41 (A.D. 232): Col. III, I. 11.

⁵²⁸ *SEG* I (1923) no. 330; cf. D. M. Pippidi, "Sur les gérouris d'Istros et de Callatis", *Χαριστήριον* A. K. Orlandos, Athens, 1967-68, 4, 75-82.

⁵²⁹ *IGRR* 4, 353: B, II. 13ff. The *eukosmos* is to give wreaths to the hymnodes on imperial birthdays and to decorate the *hymnodeion* with wreaths during the mysteries (see below, p. 574). Presumably wreaths were also placed on the imperial *eikones*.

⁵³⁰ Robert (above, note 357) 318, n. 2, citing *BCH* (1913), 91, n. 4, I. 7; cf. Pekáry 118f. with n. 31.

⁵³¹ Pekáry 116f., citing A. W. Persson, *Staat und Manufaktur im römischen Reiche* (Skrift. Vetensk.-Soc., Lund 3), Lund, 1923, 117ff. On the purpose of anointing and dressing idols see MacMullen, *Paganism* 45. For the inference that Caesar's ivory statue, carried in procession in 45 and 44 B.C., will have worn triumphal dress see Weinstock, *DJ* 185, 285.

Calig. 22, 3). More to the point for present purposes, Suetonius mentions that on the death of Nero there were some who, in contrast to the public rejoicing, displayed his *imagines praetextatas* on the Rostra (*Nero* 57, 1); and an inscription from Bovillae has the phrase *additis vestibis*, which conceivably attests the clothing of gold *imagines* (presumably of the emperor) within an *aedicula* (*CIL* 14, 2416), unless the reference is to some other image within the shrine; cf. *CIL* 6, 927 (= *ILS* 236), *CIL* 9, 3887 (= *ILS* 3626). Quite clearly, then, statues and busts of the emperor were treated in exactly the same way as the statues of the gods. That such a practice will have been incorporated into the ruler cult of the Western provinces seems highly likely. Pekáry has indeed proposed that a reference to golden clothes is preserved in the dedication to Divus Verus at Tarraco (above, p. 559)—not to golden statues as restored by G. Alföldy.⁵³² Whatever the merits of that suggestion, we seem to have a clear case within the ruler cult at Mactar in Tunisia, where an *edictum sacrum* mentions the temple of Roma and Augustus:⁵³³ here a statue, quite possibly of the emperor, is to be clothed in a *tunica aurea* like the clothes put on a statue (?) of Caesar (*AEpig.* 1957, no. 55). If the latter is the cult *signum* of the emperor beside the image of Roma, this will be an example of a statue which has been placed, technically as an offering, in an imperial temple and clad in clothes to match those of the cult idol—very much as the clothing of the cult idol within the temple of Caligula matched the clothes of the emperor himself.⁵³⁴

There remains the possibility that in imperial processions the emperor's likeness will have been accompanied by torches, candles or lamps, no doubt also by incense burners.⁵³⁵ Such a usage is, in fact, standard procedure in Greek, Hellenistic and Roman ritual. At Ephesus, for example, we know from Xenophon's account (above, p. 551) that torches along with sacred objects, baskets and incense burners were transported in the procession marking the festival of Artemis. Alföldi has assembled evidence for the rite in Roman practice and shown that the ceremonial use of candles and torches as a way of honouring the emperor and his representation became increasingly common under the Roman empire; in particular it played a key role in the ceremony of the *adventus* or the reception of the *labratum* (above, pp. 552f.).⁵³⁶ Even under the Republic magistrates had enjoyed the right of having their way home at night lit by torchlight, and coins confirm that, as *sacerdos* of Divus Augustus, Antonia Minor had the privilege of two torches. If one can believe

⁵³² *o.c.* 118.

⁵³³ Cf. G. Charles-Picard, "Civitas Mactaritana", *Karthago* 8 (1957), 64 with pl. xxvii; Hänlein-Schäfer (above, note 57) 230f.

⁵³⁴ D. Fishwick, "A Sacred Edict(?) at Mactar", *ZPE* 73 (1988), 113-115.

⁵³⁵ On the theka (θήκη), a sort of support for busts of the reigning emperor(s) and one of the insignia of high officials under the late empire, see Y. Christe, "A propos de la thêka", *MH* 35 (1978), 335-340. For θηροφόροι see J. Lydus, *De mag.* 3, 21, cf. 8.

⁵³⁶ Alföldi, *Repräsentation* (above, note 313) 113-118.

the *Historia Augusta*, a feature of the *pompa* of Gallienus was the participation of slaves and women bearing wax torches and flambeaux,⁵³⁷ while Constantine's gilt wood statue was accompanied by torches in its circuit of the hippodrome.⁵³⁸ Despite the lack of direct evidence, therefore, it seems very possible that lights of one form or another will have been an integral part of the cortège whenever imperial likenesses were transported in provincial, municipal or collegial cult. Whether musicians also participated we do not know but the possibility cannot be entirely excluded.⁵³⁹ Certainly horn blowers, lyre players and flutists were featured in the *pompa circensis*, and Tertullian rails that in the case of the *ludi scaenici* the procession to the theatre set off *a templis et aris et illa infelicitate turis et sanguinis inter tibias et tubas* (*De spectat.* 14). On the other hand there seems to have been nothing in the ruler cult to correspond to the armed dancers (*ludiones*), who according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus marched in both the circus and theatrical processions (2, 71, 3-4).⁵⁴⁰

Finally there is the question of what rites, if any, might have been performed before these imperial images. Comparable evidence from the East is straightforward up to a point. At Gytheum, once the procession had reached the theatre, incense was offered before the images of Augustus, Livia and Tiberius preliminary to the start of proceedings: l. 5 of the νόμος ἱερός refers to a θυμιατήριον which is to be placed on a table in the middle of the theatre.⁵⁴¹ Similar rites before an imperial likeness are occasionally attested by papyri and inscriptions. Thus Claudius permitted the athletes and Dionysiac artists to pay cult to his *eikones* (*P. Oxy.* 27, 2476: ll. 2-3) and an honorific statue to a certain Hoplon from the township of Adadae in Pisidia has an inscription on its base: προθύσας δὲ καὶ τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνων καὶ ἄγωνα ἐπιτελέσας οἴκοθεν (*IGRR* 3, 371).⁵⁴² The fact that this record was found just north of the imperial tem-

⁵³⁷ *Gall. Duo* 8, 1; cf. Merten, *Zwei Herrscherfeste* 47.

⁵³⁸ MacMullen (above, note 491) 4 with refs. For the burning of candles and incense before the statue of Constantine on the Forum Constantini see Kitzinger (above, note 473) 98 *ad* Philostorgius (ed. Bidez) p. 28, no. 17.

⁵³⁹ MacMullen, *Paganism* 24 with n. 30; cf. 16 with n. 83, citing Censorinus, *De die natali* 12, 2.

⁵⁴⁰ For toe-dancers attached to the cult of Artemis at Ephesus see Oliver, *Gerusia* (above, note 444) *ibid.*, ll. 459, 537. On dancers in particular cults see in general MacMullen 21ff.

⁵⁴¹ *SEG* 11 (1954) no. 923. The procession had gone from the temple of Asclepius and Hygeia to the imperial shrine, where the ephors sacrificed a bull, and thence to the main square, the scene of another sacrifice, before arriving at the theatre (above, pp. 514, 552). The sequence compares closely with the sacrifices offered at the beginning, in the course, and at the close of the *pompa circensis* (Tertullian, *De spectat.* 7; cf. Dion. Hal. 7, 72, 15, referring to sacrifices after the procession). On *thymiateria* see recently P. Gros and D. Theodorescu, "L'«autel» du forum d'Assise", *MEFRA* 99 (1987), 693-710 at 701ff. For the procession at Oenoanda see Addenda, below, p. 617f.

⁵⁴² Robert (above, note 357) 321, cf. 324, n. 4, citing similar evidence at Mytilene and Nicaea; Price, *Rituals* 211f.

ple strongly suggests that the sacrifices before the imperial busts and the festival celebrated at Hoplon's own expense (οἶχοθεν) will have taken place in the context of the local municipal cult. The point is confirmed at another town in Pisidia (?Pednelissus), where the title προθύτης τῶν Σεβαστῶν is certainly connected with the ruler cult (*SEG* 2, 1925, no. 718, cf. 717). Whereas Robert took it that the office of the *prothytes* was to offer sacrifice to the imperial images, Price suggests that the *pro* implies sacrifices *on behalf of* the emperor. In that case offerings would have been made on behalf of deceased emperors at Pednelissus (?) since the *divi* are here included in the Sebastoi. Strange as this idea seems, it is attested in the Gytheum inscription.⁵⁴³ In any event it is clear that the *prothytes* served the cult of the emperor and that rites associated with the imperial images consisted of sacrifices. As for what form these took, only incense is mentioned at Gytheum, but there appears no good reason to doubt Robert's assumption that the normal offering will have been both wine and incense.⁵⁴⁴

In the Roman world we have already noted the rites performed before the statues of the Gracchi and Marius Gratidianus, for example, or by Ovid at his Lararium in Tomis (above, p. 532). Interestingly, the metrical inscription of Ursus even mentions the kind of wine that it would be appropriate to offer before a statue: *...et merum profundite nigrum Falernum | aut Setinum aut Caecubum...* (*CIL* 6, 9797 = *ILS* 5173; ll. 9f.). Such evidence not only relates to the private cult of the *imago* but has a direct bearing upon the rites that may conceivably have been performed before the portable likenesses of the imperial house. The testimony of Pliny in particular, with its account of how those indicted as Christians were required to supplicate the emperor's image *ture ac vino*, is especially relevant (*Epp.* 10, 96, 5f.). Similar rites before imperial *imagines* also played a role in formal submissions⁵⁴⁵ to Roman authority or the recognition of new emperors.⁵⁴⁶ That images carried in procession on festival days will have been paid cult under comparable forms in the Latin West seems therefore very possible. Just as at Gytheum, a sacrifice may well have marked their arrival at the amphitheatre or theatre of Lugdunum, Narbo, Tarraco and other major cities of the western provinces. Veneration of the images might also have entered into the picture, not that

⁵⁴³ ...θυέτωσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦ[ρ]ον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ θεῶν σωτηρίας... (ll. 28f.); cf. above, note 246.

⁵⁴⁴ *O.c.* 324, n. 5. For the costlier and more prestigious sacrifice of a bull before the cult statue at an imperial temple see Price 256, no. 36 with refs.

⁵⁴⁵ Tiridates: Tac., *Ann.* 15, 29; CD 62, 23, 3 (*proskynesis*, sacrifice of victims). Artabanus: Suet., *Gaius* 14, 3; CD 59, 27, 3 (*proskynesis*, sacrifice). Zorsines: Tac., *Ann.* 12, 17, 3 (prostration). For the suggestion that the sacrifices to the *divi* or *divae* listed in the Feriale Duranum may have been made before a statue of the person in question see Pekáry 153, cf. 127f. See further above, note 86.

⁵⁴⁶ SHA, *Maxim.Duo* 24, 2 (*adoratio*); cf. above, notes 475, 525.

there is any mention of this at Gytheum, for instance. On the other hand the outside possibility that a supposed further rite at Gytheum could also have had a counterpart in the Western ruler cult is best left out of consideration. At the conclusion of the sacrifices beginning each day's celebration at Gytheum the *eikones* of Divus Augustus, Livia and Tiberius were installed on some sort of support and it has been proposed that these were not pedestals as at Ephesus (above, p. 551) but couches (κλῖναι, *lectus*), a procedure that outwardly at least would resemble the ritual of the *lectisternium*.⁵⁴⁷ Nothing in the evidence from the Latin provinces gives the slightest hint of a parallel practice in the Western ruler cult, though the ceremony itself is, of course, a familiar feature of Roman ritual.⁵⁴⁸

(vi) *Other Rites*

We have seen that the busts and statues attested at Lyon, Narbo, Tarraco and Emerita will have been cleaned, anointed, crowned, possibly clothed, and accompanied by lights, perhaps also music in processions. There remains the strong probability that much the same tendance will have been extended to the cult image within the *cella* of an imperial temple. Certainly the idea can be supported by comparative evidence from the Greek East including Egypt, where the cleaning, anointing, crowning and clothing of cult statues was traditional practice.⁵⁴⁹ That such attention was commonly extended to statues in temples elsewhere in the Roman world is confirmed by numerous passages in the authors, particularly a sarcastic diatribe by Seneca on the shameful nonsense that went on at the Capitolium (frg. 36: Haase, p. 24). If the suggested interpretation of an inscription at Mactar is correct (above, p. 563), we may even have direct evidence for the clothing of the cult statue of the emperor in the local temple of Roma and Augustus (*AEpig*, 1957, no. 55).

One feature that demands special notice is the illumination of precincts and temples in general and its place within the ruler cult in particular. Nilsson has traced the background to the use of torches and lamps in pagan divine service and shown that, whereas the lighting provided by torches was originally more common in Greece, by the end of the Hellenistic period the lamp had developed from a votive offering to a deity such as Demeter into a standard

⁵⁴⁷ Rostovtzeff (above, note 407) 12-16. See further S. Eitrem, "Zur Apotheose", *SO* 10 (1932), 43-48; cf. Price 211.

⁵⁴⁸ Wissowa, *RuKR*² 422-26, cf. *RE* 12, 1 (1924) 1108-15; *RE* 2, 7 (1931) 942-9; Dar.-Sag. 3, 2 (1904) (1963) 1006-1012; Weinstock, *DJ* 62, 281-86. Tertullian, *Ad nat.* 1, 10, 29, remarks that both *sellisternia* and *lectisternia* were typical honours of *reges*, a term which presumably includes Roman with Hellenistic monarchs. The imperial image was still displayed at games under the late empire; cf. *Cod. Theod.* 15, 4, 1.

⁵⁴⁹ For a survey see Pekáry 116ff. with numerous examples and refs.

instrument of cult.⁵⁵⁰ More precisely, lamps served to illuminate Hellenistic and Roman temples, giving an effect that must have had an important psychological impact on the feelings and emotions of the worshipper (cf. Prudentius, *Cathem.* 5, 149-56).⁵⁵¹ What role the lamp could play in imperial rites is illustrated by an inscription from Teos attesting a combined cult of Dionysus and Tiberius: along with hymn-singing at the opening of the temple of Dionysus, the daily rites include the offering of incense, libations and the lighting of the lamps by the priest of Tiberius on both opening and closing.⁵⁵² So, too, at Pergamum Pleket has suggested that, in celebrating the mysteries of Divus Augustus, the dead emperor's image will have been suddenly illuminated by the glare of lamps and adduces parallels for the technique from the Eleusinian and other mysteries.⁵⁵³ One may compare the temple accounts at Arsinoe (above, p. 550f.), where the entries record outlays towards the purchase of oil εἰς λυχνάφειαν ἐν τῇ σηκῶ (Pag. VII, 1, 7 *et passim*).⁵⁵⁴ Here the ceremony was carried out by priests, whereas at Athens illumination of the *eikones* may have been one of the duties of the *zakoros* (above, p. 561).

In the Roman world candles or lamps were commonly used in the household cult of the Lares, Penates and Genius, but lamps can also be dedicated to the Genius of a municipality or even to Jupiter—the image of Tutela in particular was hallowed with candles and lamps, as also were the altars of Saturn.⁵⁵⁵ The early link of illumination with the cult of an individual is clear from Cicero's comment on the reaction of the people to the benefits conferred by the praetor Marius Gratidianus in 86 B.C.: *omnibus vicis statuae, ad eas tus, cerei. quid multa? nemo unquam multitudini fuit carior* (*De off.* 3, 20, 80). Candelabra, presumably for cult purposes, occur among the gifts of members of a college of hand workers (?) at Ostia (*AEpig.* 1940, no. 62: II, l. 18)⁵⁵⁶ and, just as Constantine's statue was honoured with burning lamps and incense, so the emperor's picture is shown in the Notitia Dignitatum with two lighted candles on candlesticks at either side (Pl. CV

⁵⁵⁰ Nilsson, "Pagan Divine Service" (above, note 242) 64f.; *id.*, "Lampen und Kerzen im Kult der Antike" in *Opuscula Selecta*, Lund, 1960, 189-214 at 192ff.; cf. *id.*, *GGR*¹ 2, 374-377. The well-known perpetual lamp in the *cella* of Athena Polias in Athens (Paus., 1, 26, 7) finds a parallel in the lamp that, on the testimony of Augustine, burned continuously in a *fanum* of Venus (*De civ. Dei* 21, 6).

⁵⁵¹ Cf. MacMullen, *Paganism* 45 with n. 13 and refs.

⁵⁵² *CIG* 3062 as restored by L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes; Recherches sur les Inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1937, 20; Nilsson, *GGR*¹ 2, 382 with n. 3.

⁵⁵³ H. W. Pleket, "An Aspect of the Emperor Cult: Imperial Mysteries", *HTHR* 58 (1965), 331-347 at 343f.; cf. Nilsson, "Lampen" (above, note 550) 204f., 213.

⁵⁵⁴ Wilcken (above, note 81) (1885) 457; Pleket (above, note 553) 343, n. 53 with refs., cf. 345 with n. 62.

⁵⁵⁵ Nilsson, "Lampen" (above, note 550) 202, 210f. with refs.; cf. *GGR*¹ 2, 376.

⁵⁵⁶ Herz (above, note 377) 155.

a).⁵⁵⁷ Candles, sometimes on candelabra (*ILS* 9522, ll. 35f.; *CIL* 10, 202), burned also at temples, where lampholders might be suspended from the ceiling after the Greek fashion *arborum mala ferentium modo lucentes* (Pliny, *NH* 34, 14). Rites resembling those within the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe could well be the best explanation of the *Lychnapsia*, the lamp festival of Isis which is recorded in the calendar of Philocalus for 12th August.⁵⁵⁸

Whether some form of lighting played a role in the ruler cult of the Western provinces must remain no more than an attractive speculation but the possibility seems supported indirectly by finds of candelabra associated with other cults. Thus in Britain a bronze, twelve-sided *dodecahedra* from Lydney and small enamelled stands found at temple sites suggest the use of candles or tapers in cult ceremonies.⁵⁵⁹ Similarly inscriptions occasionally attest the role of illumination in the cults of Mercury⁵⁶⁰ and Aesculapius,⁵⁶¹ for example. No doubt future discoveries will contribute to a fuller picture.

Along with lamps, incense and libations, hymns in honour of the gods were a standard feature of a wide range of Greek cults and were customarily sang or chanted at festivals or on special occasions.⁵⁶² Singing and instrumental music accompanied the passage of processions, while at temples hymns were evidently sung at set hours, particularly in the morning—very much as in the Christian liturgy of today.⁵⁶³ Choruses of men and women, boys and girls performed,⁵⁶⁴ and societies such as the *hymnodoi* of Artemis at Ephesus were a privileged and distinguished group who shared with the local senate and *gerousia* in the distribution of funds.⁵⁶⁵ A well-known inscription of the imperial period from Stratonicea in Caria records the selection of thirty boys of good birth who, clad in white garments, wreathed and with olive shoots in their hands, are to sing before the images of Zeus Panamaros and Hekate, the city gods (*CIG* 2715a).⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁵⁷ Alföldi, *Repräsentation* 114 with Abb. 10, cf. 111f.; cf. Nilsson, "Lampen" 206 with n. 87.

⁵⁵⁸ Degraasi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, pp. 253, 494 with refs.

⁵⁵⁹ Henig (above, note 12) 128 with n. 2 and fig. 53.

⁵⁶⁰ *CIL* 8, 22701 (Gigthis): *candelabrum argenteum*; *CIL* 8, 12001 (Sarra): *candelabra aerea et lucernas*.

⁵⁶¹ *CIL* 8, 1267 (Chisiduo): *lucerna aerea*.

⁵⁶² Nilsson, "Pagan Divine Service" (above, note 242) 66-68; *id.*, *GGR*³ 2, 377-80; MacMullen, *Paganism* 15-18, 28; J. M. Bremer, "Greek hymns" in H. S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship*, Leiden, 1981, 193-215 at 197ff.

⁵⁶³ For a picture of the liturgy at Epidaurus with its hymn-singing, burning of incense, lighting of lamps, libations, perhaps also sermons on feast-days (below, p. 571) see Nilsson, *o.c.* 68f.; Bremer, *o.c.* 210.

⁵⁶⁴ M. P. Nilsson, *Die hellenistische Schule*, Munich, 1955, 70f.

⁵⁶⁵ Oliver, *Gerusia* (above, note 112) 24, 92f. *et passim*. For *hymnodes* see Pleket (above, note 553) 342, n. 51 with refs. to Robert; further MacMullen, *Paganism* 149, n. 86.

⁵⁶⁶ See most recently Bremer (above, note 562) 202f., citing F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1955, 69.

The role of hymn-singing in the ruler cult is illustrated by the Teos inscription (above, p. 567), which shows that in the combined cult of Dionysus and Tiberius the priest, the ephebes and "the priest of the boys" sang every morning on the opening of the temple. *Parodoi*, presumably the processional entrances of a chorus singing or reciting, are scheduled in the Tetubnis papyrus in celebration of certain imperial feast days;⁵⁶⁷ while competitions in prose or verse encomia for various emperors (Hadrian, Trajan, Nerva) and the house of the Sebastoi are attested at the Isthmian Caesarea.⁵⁶⁸ The institution we know best, however, is the imperial choir of Asia.⁵⁶⁹ Originally a voluntary organization formed to sing hymns in honour of Augustus, it was later recognized and funded by the whole province of Asia.⁵⁷⁰ A Hadrianic text (above, p. 514) shows that members of the college at Pergamum, where it had its own building and two *hymnodidaskaloi*, paid a very high entrance fee, unless they were the sons of old members, and that most of them (thirty-two out of thirty-six) were Roman citizens.⁵⁷¹ They thus formed an elitist, largely hereditary body that sang on imperial occasions such as 3rd January and the *natales* of emperors, and still celebrated the birthdays of Augustus and Livia each year, also on a smaller scale that of Augustus each month; on the first day of Augustus' annual, two-day birthday celebration (22nd–23rd September) a *παράβωμιον* is to be sung. Presumably hymns were sung as the performers approached or stood about the temple or sanctuary but we have no idea of the content or wording of their hymns, whether at Pergamum or elsewhere.⁵⁷² However, it is possible that the triple invocation addressed to Augustus when he happened to be seen in the bay of Puteoli by passengers and crew of a ship from Alexandria, besides concealing an assimilation of the emperor to Zeus, may echo the ritual acclamations that were chanted at the Caesareum of Alexandria.⁵⁷³ Similar *ἐκφωνήσεις* occur in the divine honours

⁵⁶⁷ Above, note 79; cf. Il. 15f. (13 Dec.: *vicennalia* of the deified Hadrian); Il. 19f. (31 Dec.–?Jan. 12: return to Rome of ?Marcus Aurelius).

⁵⁶⁸ W. R. Biers and D. J. Geagen, "A New List of Victors in the Caesarea at Isthmia", *Hesperia* 39 (1970), 79–93; *Bull.Epig.* (1971) no. 307: Il. 20–37.

⁵⁶⁹ For a list *hymnodoi* serving the imperial cult specifically, see Bremer, *o.c.* 202, n. 40.

⁵⁷⁰ For the early history of the choir see J. Keil, "Zur Geschichte der Hymnoden in der Provinz Asia", *JOAI* 11 (1908), 101–110; Nilsson, *GGR*³ 2, 379f.; *id.*, *Hellenistische Schule* 70f., noting the use of the ephebes to hymn the emperor at Ephesus and Athens. See further Oliver, *Gerusia* 3f., 92f. with refs.; Millar, *Emperor* (above, note 31) 386f.; Price, *Rituals* 105; *id.*, "Gods and Emperors" (above, note 342) 90.

⁵⁷¹ Pleket (above, note 553) 341; R. Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* (Hypomnemata 42), Göttingen, 1975, 192f.; Price, *Rituals* 61f., 90.

⁵⁷² For an example of a hymn in the cult of an individual see Plut., *Flam.* 16, 4. Texts of hymns in other cults are given by Bremer (above, note 562) 205–215; MacMullen (above, note 562) *ibid.*

⁵⁷³ Suet., *Aug.* 98, 2: ...*per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui*. For discussion see J. Gagé, "Psychologie du culte impérial romain", *Diogenes* 34 (1961), 47–68 at 58; Rocca-Serra (above, note 38) 674–676. For the connection with the cult of Augustus as protector of seafarers (Philo, *Leg. ad Gai.* 22:151) see Fishwick, "Prayer and the Living Emperor" (above, note 342) forthcoming.

accorded other emperors (including Germanicus) in Egypt and Suetonius reports that Nero was so captivated by the *modulatis laudationibus* of Alexandrian immigrants who had recently arrived in Naples that he encouraged more immigrants from Alexandria (*Nero* 20, 3).⁵⁷⁴

At Rome the use of choral hymns is reasonably well documented—the *carmen saeculare* composed by Horace and sung by a choir of youths and girls at the thanksgiving ceremonies of 17 B.C. is the best known example.⁵⁷⁵ In his *Res Gestae* (10, 1) Augustus proudly points to the inclusion of his name by senatorial decree in the *Carmen Saliare*, an honour viewed by Dio as *isotheos* (51, 20, 1), and Suetonius reports that boys and girls of noble birth sang the praises of Gaius' philanthropy when the *clipeus* with which he had been honoured was borne each year to the Capitol (*Gaius* 16, 4; cf. CD 59, 16, 10). Choirs of noble children and women of repute likewise sang at the funeral services for Septimius Severus (Herodian 4, 2, 5) and hymns and choruses are recorded to have welcomed various emperors on entry into Rome or appearance at the theatre or games.⁵⁷⁶ A different facet of the overall picture is the chanting of acclamations, a theme traced by Alföldi from the Republican period down to the Empire, when rhythmic acclamations were a feature of the emperor's *adventus*, meetings of the senate, and games.⁵⁷⁷ Whereas Augustus tried to curb the practice (Suet., *Aug.* 53, 2), fifty years after the spontaneous demonstration in the bay of Puteoli this Hellenistic custom had made such inroads that Nero organized his *Augustiani*, a special chorus to lead the applause at the theatre and elsewhere (Suet., *Nero* 20, 3; 25, 1; Tac., *Ann.* 14, 15; CD 61, 20, 4). Under Nero at least such acclamations culminated in calling the emperor by the name of a god (CD 63, 20, 5):⁵⁷⁸ which would put them in the same category of divine honours as assimilations in iconography or epigraphy.

By the late empire we have evidence that imperial statues and images were greeted on reception at a city by songs of praise and acclamations (cf. above,

⁵⁷⁴ D. Cuss, *Imperial Cult and Honorary Terms in the New Testament* (Paradosis 23), Fribourg, 1974, 81.

⁵⁷⁵ Alföldi's account remains basic: *Repräsentation* 79-88. On the *carmen saeculare* see now Clavel-Lévêque (above, note 477) 2515-2523.

⁵⁷⁶ Augustus: Suet., *Aug.* 57, 2; Phaedrus 5, 7, 25-7; Domitian: Pliny, *Paneg.* 54, 1f.; Theodosius: Pacatus, *Paneg.* 37, 3.

⁵⁷⁷ For the wording of acclamations see Alföldi, *o.c.* 85f., noting the *gesta senatus urbis Romae* (A.D. 438) (see especially chs. 5-7) that introduce the Theodosian Code, also the formula used by the Arvals. See further J. Gagé, "Σταυρὸς νικητοῦς. La victoire impériale dans l'empire chrétien", *Rev. d'Hist. et de Phil.* 13 (1933), 370-400 at 373f., 378; also in general A. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, Oxford, 1976, 232ff.

⁵⁷⁸ Cuss (above, note 574) 76-84, noting the development of acclamations into the *laudes* of modern liturgy. See further G. Charles-Picard, *Auguste et Néron: le secret de l'Empire*, Paris 1962, 228; Clavel-Lévêque, *o.c.* 2508.

p. 553).⁵⁷⁹ Whether similar rites had a place in the earlier ruler cult of Italy and the West must be left open for lack of sufficient evidence. Certainly the verse form of occasional dedications suggests that elevated language typical of hymns was considered appropriate to the gods.⁵⁸⁰ MacMullen may also be right that a reference in Firmicus Maternus to *hymnologos et qui laudes deorum cum iactantiae ostentatione decantent* (*Math.* 3, 5, 33) applies generally to the Latin West as a whole.⁵⁸¹ At all events nothing seems to preclude the hypothesis that hymn-singing or acclamations, perhaps in association with the processions marking imperial festivals, may have been an integral part of the ritual at Lyon, Tarraco and other leading centres of the Western imperial cult.⁵⁸²

In addition to hymns we also hear of speeches, which were an established part of mystery cults in particular. Inscriptions record only the title θεολόγος but there can be no doubt that the role of these functionaries was to deliver 'theologies'—essentially prose hymns celebrating the virtues of the gods.⁵⁸³ A theology would tell the story of the god's birth, how he got his name, what his precise nature was and so on, as is clear from some of the speeches of Aristides Rhetor, also from a guide to the composition of theologies written by Menander of Laodicea. At Epidaurus, for instance, a *theologos* may have given a sermon on certain feast days in praise of Asclepius just as the *theologoi* at Ephesus eulogized Artemis,⁵⁸⁴ whereas in the mysteries of Demeter Thesmophoros at Smyrna two female *theologoi* not only praised the goddess but may also have danced the parts of Demeter and Core.⁵⁸⁵ In the ruler cult itself *theologoi*, who often were also *hymnologoi* as in other cults (cf. *OGIS* 513, n. 4 with refs.), are attested at Pergamum (*IGRR* 4, 353: A l. 32) and Smyrna (*IGRR* 4, 1431: l. 38; ?1398: l. 2) and were organized in colleges.⁵⁸⁶ All analogy suggests that their function was to praise the emperor in a sermon as part of ceremonies on festival days;⁵⁸⁷ significantly the title of

⁵⁷⁹ L. W. Barnard, "The Emperor Cult and the Origins of the Iconoclastic Controversy", *Byzantion* 43 (1973), 13-29 at 24; McCormack (above, note 473) 67, 69; Price 176.

⁵⁸⁰ MacMullen, *Paganism* 15f., n. 74, citing *IG* 14, 2525 (Augustodunum); *RIB* 1791 (Hadrian's Wall); *CIL* 8, 9018 (Auzia); cf. Henig (above, note 12) 138.

⁵⁸¹ *O.c.* 149, n. 84.

⁵⁸² Étienne (above, note 292) 15, suggests that processions at the sanctuary of Cigognier (above, p. 560) may have been accompanied with singing.

⁵⁸³ Nilsson, "Pagan Divine Service" (above, note 242) 67; *id.*, *GGR* 2, 380f.; MacMullen, *Paganism* 17f., cf. 14f., noting the comparable genre of aretologies; L. Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* (BEFAR 239), Paris, 1980, 419.

⁵⁸⁴ Oliver, *Gerusia* p. 55, no. 3: ll. 146, 262, 295.

⁵⁸⁵ Nilsson, *GGR* 2, 357; cf. Pleket (above, note 553) 337f.

⁵⁸⁶ A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, Tübingen, 1923, 297; L. Robert, "Notes et Discussions", *RPh* 17 (1943), 184f.

⁵⁸⁷ Cf. the panegyric delivered in honour of Alexander Severus and others at Elephantine on his birthday: *P. Paris* 69 = Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* (above, note 81) l. 2; no. 41: Col. III, ll. 12-14; further *AEpig* (1934) no. 88.

ἐνκωμιογράφος is also attested.⁵⁸⁸ More explicitly, a Milesian inscription records the presence of a σεβαστολόγος in the provincial cult of Asia under Gaius (*I Didyma* 148).⁵⁸⁹ As his title makes clear, his office will have been to praise the emperor in a rhetorical encomium. Related officials called θεσμοφδοί appear to have eulogized the emperor in verse at the provincial Augusteum of Ephesus.⁵⁹⁰ What these inscriptions illustrate, then, is the place of the panegyric within the imperial cult.⁵⁹¹

In the Western empire competitions in Greek and Latin prose declamation as well as in music, riding and gymnastics, were an important part of the Capitoline games instituted by Domitian in A.D. 86 (Suet., *Domit.* 4, 4),⁵⁹² while from late antiquity a whole series of panegyrics has come down.⁵⁹³ In Roman Gaul local interest in oratory generally is shown by a small figure of a seated orator in bronze appliqué, found at Fendeille (Al Rec), its base inscribed at the back with the opening words of Cicero's First Catilinarian Oration (Pl. CV b).⁵⁹⁴ The significant evidence for present purposes, however, is the competition in Greek and Latin oratory which took place during the games given by Gaius at Lugdunum in A.D. 39/40. Suetonius, who alone makes reference to the incident (*Gaius* 20), records simply that eccentric penalties were reserved for the losers, who had to lick off their writings or erase them with a sponge and could even be beaten with rods and thrown into the river. A line of Juvenal suggests that, half a century later, "speaking at Lyons" had come to mean being in a tight spot or something of the sort.⁵⁹⁵ We have nothing further to go on but ducking the losers in the river is clearly to be connected with other episodes at the same point of the Rhone, notably

⁵⁸⁸ Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 124, n. 89, citing *IG* 7, 1773; *AEpig* (1973) no. 494.

⁵⁸⁹ L. Robert, "Le Culte de Caligula à Milet et la Province d'Asie" in *Hellenica VII*, Paris, 1949, 206-238, especially 210; *id.* (above, note 586) *ibid.*; (above, note 357) 321, n. 7; cf. Nilsson, *GGR*³ 2, 381, n. 2; further Price, *Rituals*, 257, no. 40; G. W. Bowersock, "The Imperial Cult: Perceptions and Persistence" in B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (edd.), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, Philadelphia, 1983, 3, 171-241 at 173.

⁵⁹⁰ Oliver, *Gerusia* p. 55, no. 3 (= *I Ephesus* 1a 27) 457f., 533, cf. p. 93; *RE Suppl.* 12 (1970) 282 (Knibbe); cf. a 'composer and reciter of poems for the god Hadrian' at Nysa: Nilsson, *GGR*³ 2, 380 n. 5, citing *BCH* 9 (1885), 125f., no. 63. See now Price (above, note 342) *ibid.*, n. 91.

⁵⁹¹ Cf. the payment at Arsinoe of 60 drachmae to a speaker who had been engaged by the high priest to deliver an address of welcome to the Prefect of Egypt: Wilcken (above, note 81) (1885) 469 *ad Pag.* VII, ll. 20ff.

⁵⁹² Until now the principal games in the West had been the *Romaia Sebastia* at Naples, which also included competitions in music and gymnastics, though not apparently in oratory (Strabo 5, 4, 7). See further in general Clavel-Lévêque (above, note 477) 2461f., 2497f.

⁵⁹³ For examples of panegyrics celebrating the emperor's *natalis* in particular see Herz, *Festkalender* (above, note 50) 44, n. 26 with refs.

⁵⁹⁴ *Gallia* 29 (1971), 372 with fig. 5.

⁵⁹⁵ *Accipiat sane mercedem sanguinis, et sic
palleat, ut nudis qui pressit calcibus anguem
aut Lugudunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram*
(Juvenal, *Sat.* 1, 42-44)

the treatment accorded by Gaius to his uncle Claudius (Suet., *Claud.* 9, 1) and the scattering of the ashes of the Christians on the neighbouring waters (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5, 1, 62).⁵⁹⁶ What is of key interest here is that these games were evidently held at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls before the great altar at the Confluence (cf. Juvenal, *l.c.*). The possibility arises, therefore, that the competition in which Gaius took such a personal interest, was designed to find a *rhetor* whose services would be put to use in delivering a panegyric on the emperor at the federal centre. If so, it is conceivable that behind this odd tale may lie a western equivalent of the *sebastologos* who delivered the eulogy on the emperor Gaius at the celebrations of the provincial ruler cult at Didyma. Regrettably no evidence beyond Juvenal has so far accrued to support the existence of such a *rhetor*.

Lastly, the performance of mysteries⁵⁹⁷ within the imperial cult is attested at Pergamum and has left its traces in inscriptions from Bithynia and Ancyra in Galatia.⁵⁹⁸ We also know that the living or deified emperor was incorporated in the mysteries of various gods at such places as Ephesus, Philip-popolis in Bulgaria, and Ancyra.⁵⁹⁹ Whether some sort of drama was staged is uncertain but it is at any rate clear that various functionaries took part, notably a *σεβαστοφάντης*, who evidently corresponded to the *θεοφάντης* in the Dionysiac Mysteries and, as his name shows, must have displayed the imperial image.⁶⁰⁰ At Pergamum the image will have been that of Divus Augustus, which was perhaps illuminated by lamplight (above, p. 567) and certainly received a cake, incense and lamps from the *eukosmos* during the festival (*IGRR* 4, 353: B ll. 18f.). The cake recalls the *libamina* which were to be set before the statues of the good emperors on feast-days at the *templum divorum* planned by the emperor Tacitus (SHA, *Tac.*, 9, 5). A similar official is the *ἱεροφάντης*, who appears alongside the *sebastophant* at Ancyra (*IGRR* 3, 162) and in Bithynian inscriptions,⁶⁰¹ and presumably displayed, if not imperial images, then imperial symbols corresponding to the holy things (τὰ ἱερά)

⁵⁹⁶ For an interesting explanation of these events, relating them to local Celtic burial rites, see A. Audin, *Essai sur la Topographie de Lugdunum*³, Lyon, 1964, 159f.; *id.*, "Les rites solsticiaux et la légende de Saint-Pothin", *RHR* 96 (1927), 147-174. See further D. Fishwick, "Claudius *submersus*", *AJAH* 3 (1978), 76f.

⁵⁹⁷ On mysteries see in general MacMullen, *Paganism* 23f.; Price, *Rituals* 190f.

⁵⁹⁸ For possible imperial mysteries at Nicaea see Nilsson, *GGR* 2³, 370 *ad P. Oxy.* 13, 1612. See now R. M. Grant, *CPh* 82 (1987), 176.

⁵⁹⁹ For documentation see Pleket (above, note 553) 337, 345, nn. 24-27, 62f.; Robert (above, note 357) 322, nn. 2f.; cf. Nock, "Synnaos" (above, note 240) 33, n. 3, 58f. (= *Essays* 228, n. 146, 247f.).

⁶⁰⁰ Robert, *o.c.* 321f., rejecting the view of Nilsson (below, note 602) 33 that *sebastophantes* was the equivalent of *theologos*; cf. Pleket 338-341, 345; Mellor (above, note 571) 193; Price, *Rituals* 190 with n. 109, noting a possible numismatic trace of the rite; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* 125.

⁶⁰¹ Nilsson, *GGR* 2, 370, n. 10 with refs.; cf. Pleket 337, n. 26.

shown at Eleusis.⁶⁰² Here one might think of the emblems placed on *sellae* at the Roman rite of the *sellisternium*, for example.⁶⁰³ Other participants include the choir of hymnodes and their sons; these wore wreaths given again by the *eukosmos*, who had to decorate the *hymnodeion* with wreaths during the celebrations. No doubt wreaths were also placed as commonly (above, p. 562). on the *imagines*, towards the cost of which outsiders who are admitted to membership of the college of *hymnodoi* shall contribute fifty *denarii* (*IGRR* 4, 353: C II. 11f.). Mysteries also drew on the services of *theologoi* (above, pp. 571f.), who at Pergamum will have eulogized Divus Augustus,⁶⁰⁴ and eating and drinking were a further feature of the festivities (see below, pp. 586f.). Clearly, then, the rites of imperial mysteries, particularly the exposition of the imperial image, were constructed on the lines of traditional mysteries. So far, however, nothing has accrued in the Latin West to give the slightest hint of similar imperial mysteries, which on present evidence were an exclusively Eastern phenomenon.

(vii) *Entertainment*

(a) Games

As a way of observing *feriae publicae* and important anniversaries, games are widely attested throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, nowhere better than in Rome itself, where they evolved into the principle component of so many festivals; by the end of the second century A.D. no less than four months of the year were routinely given over to *ludi*, not counting extraordinary games put on by the emperor.⁶⁰⁵ The main types of such spectacles are well-known—theatrical representations, races in the circus, armed combats, animal fights and wild beast hunts in the arena—but the most popular and most expensive were the gladiatorial contests (*munera*), which had been a part of funerary rites since 264 B.C.⁶⁰⁶ The introduction of these into public games by Marius in 105 B.C. has been thought to some extent a psychological substitute for human sacrifice, which was finally forbidden in 97 B.C. Similarly *venationes* can be understood as in part a systematization and exag-

⁶⁰² M. P. Nilsson, "New Evidence for the Dionysiac Mysteries", *Eranos* 53 (1955), 28-40 at 32; Pleket 339, noting that the hierophant at Eleusis also spoke mysterious words.

⁶⁰³ Above, p. 553 with note 476; cf. Weinstock, *DJ* Plate 20, nos. 17-18.

⁶⁰⁴ Pleket 338 suggests that in the mysteries of Demeter at Ephesus *theologi* will also have danced the role of the emperor, after he was included.

⁶⁰⁵ Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*² (Zetemata 14), Munich, 1970, 150f.; Herz, *Festkalender* (above, note 50) 43f., 53-55; P. Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, Paris, 1976, 702f. See in general Millar, *Emperor* (above, note 31) 193f.

⁶⁰⁶ Veyne, o.c. 290, 417-19; G. Ville, *La Gladiature en Occident des Origines à la Mort de Domitien* (BEFAR 245), Paris, 1981, 9ff., 42ff.

generation of ritual sacrifice, perhaps also, if more imaginatively, as a symbolic representation of the relationship between the emperor and the masses.⁶⁰⁷

The link between the theatre and religion, a relationship reaching back into the Classical Greek period and earlier, is a theme largely outside the scope of the present discussion.⁶⁰⁸ Cult theatres provided for the performance of sacred dramas, presumably connected with the beliefs of a particular sect, whereas the games celebrated at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls, for example, though certainly retaining a religious significance, were primarily intended to entertain.⁶⁰⁹ Nevertheless *ludi* served the state in a number of important ways. Whatever their particular affiliation, games helped to integrate society, to bring about a rapprochement of the social classes by uniting them in harmony around the person of the emperor⁶¹⁰—whether he was physically in attendance himself or represented by his statue or empty chair;⁶¹¹ here was where the empire materialized, seated with the *princeps* according to social status.⁶¹² Such gatherings were an occasion for public demonstrations of *unanimitas* with the imperial house, and at both the theatre and the amphitheatre proceedings regularly began with collective homage (cf. Pliny, *Paneg.* 54, 1f.).⁶¹³ Since they were customarily held on major imperial festivals such as the emperor's birthday, games also took on an empire-wide dimension that helped to sound the theme of imperial oecumenism; the success of this could be gauged by attendance, which seems to have been heavy.⁶¹⁴ The point is true of provincial and municipal games but especially so of international events such as the *Romaia Sebasta* at Naples, which had been established in line with a new universalist mystique. One should also give weight to a psychological link with the ruler cult. As Gagé has pointed out, athletes, charioteers, gladiators and so on were rivals in fame and prestige to the emperor, who by having his favourites could use their popularity for his own purposes.⁶¹⁵ The

⁶⁰⁷ Clavel-Lévêque (above, note 477) 2438, 2462ff. For *venationes* see Ville, *o.c.* 51-56, 88ff., 106ff., 127ff.

⁶⁰⁸ See in general J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theatre-Temples*, Princeton, 1958; MacMullen, *Paganism* 18-21; Henig (above, note 12) 38f.; Clavel-Lévêque 2547-53.

⁶⁰⁹ See in general A. Piganiol, *Recherches sur les Jeux romains; Notes d'Archéologie et d'Histoire religieuse* (Publ. de la Fac. des Lettres de l'Univ. de Strasbourg 13), Strasbourg, 1923; Veyne 390-93; Clavel-Lévêque 2468-70, 2558f. For the possibility of processions at the Lugdunum amphitheatre see above, p. 557.

⁶¹⁰ Clavel-Lévêque 2410f., 2556-58, cf. 2423 with n. 45, citing J. Gagé, *Apollon romain*, Paris, 1955, 257-96 on the function of the Ludi Apollinares.

⁶¹¹ Millar, *Emperor* 36; Clavel-Lévêque 2469f.

⁶¹² Millar 365; Clavel-Lévêque 2536ff., cf. 2499, citing Martial, *Ep.* 3. For communication between the people and the emperor at the circus, amphitheatre or theatre see Millar 369-75. Gros, "Fonction symbolique" (above, note 266) 325, cf. 343, notes that the *cavea* of Pompey's theatre served as a zone of convergence, creating a sort of city within a city.

⁶¹³ Veyne 703f.; cf. Gagé (above, note 577) *ibid.*

⁶¹⁴ Clavel-Lévêque, *o.c.* 2497f. On periodic games see *ibid.* 2425f.

⁶¹⁵ Gagé (above, note 573) 63; cf. Ville, *o.c.* 334-339.

strategy was taken beyond the bounds of good sense as well as good taste when the emperor entered the lists himself as charioteer, artist or gladiator,⁶¹⁶ but it was clearly desirable that the spectacles which gave rise to such hero worship should be attached to the cult of the emperor.

The association of games with the emperor specifically is attested at Rome in the *ludi circenses* that marked Augustus' birthday (23rd September) from 13 B.C., the *ludi Augustales* (3rd-12th October) first introduced in 11 B.C., and the private games instituted by Livia in honour of Divus Augustus and held every year on the Palatine (eventually 17th-22nd January); these *ludi Palatini* continued to be celebrated down to the late empire in affirmation of unity with the founder of the empire.⁶¹⁷ Similarly Gaius gave two days of banquets, spectacles and horse races to mark the dedication of the temple of Divus Augustus in A.D. 37.⁶¹⁸ At a lower level Livia's birthday was marked at Rome by gladiatorial games and a public banquet given by the decurions and the *Augustales* in A.D. 108 (*CIL* 6, 29681), while elsewhere in Italy monuments of the *Augustales* show processions, gladiatorial combats, the tribunal of the *sevir* presiding at games, a section of the benches occupied by spectators, and so on.⁶¹⁹ All of this is key evidence for the contribution of well-to-do *Augustales* in putting on games in honour of the emperor and his family, and to iconography can be added the testimony of inscriptions, notably at Puteoli, Caere and Falerii.⁶²⁰ Similarly games are prescribed at Forum Clodii for 13th-18th August in the inscription of the altar of the Numen Augustum (*CIL* 11, 3303 = *ILS* 154, l. 14) and Constantine entrusted an imperial priest with the provision of scenic and gladiatorial games at Hispellum in Umbria in connection with the *aedes gentis Flaviae* he had built there (*CIL* 11, 5265 = *ILS* 705).⁶²¹ A striking example of the practice outside the cult of the emperor is the additional day of gymnastic games and the placing of his seat in the theatre at scenic games that were awarded as posthumous honours to M. Nonius Balbus at Herculaneum (*AEpig*, 1947, no. 53 = *AEpig*, 1976, no. 144)⁶²²

⁶¹⁶ Veyne 684; Clavel-Lévêque 2500ff.

⁶¹⁷ J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*², Leipzig, 1885 (1975), 3, 468f.; Degraasi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, pp. 400f., 512-514, 516; Clavel-Lévêque 2424.

⁶¹⁸ *Weinstock*, *DJ* 210f.

⁶¹⁹ Scott Ryberg, *Rites* (above, note 7) 98-103; Ladage, *Städtische Priester* (above, note 8) 66f.; Clavel-Lévêque 2434, stressing the role of such games in uniting the social classes around the emperor. For *munera* given by *Augustales* see Ville, *o.c.* 188ff.

⁶²⁰ R. Duthoy, "Les *Augustales" in *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1254-1309 at 1302, citing *CIL* 10, 1574; *CIL* 11, 3613, 3083.

⁶²¹ The temple was not to be polluted "by the deceits of contaminating superstition" (ll. 46f.)—presumably sacrifice; cf. Ladage, *o.c.* 65, 124 with refs.; MacMullen (above, note 491) 4; Bowersock (above, note 589) 177. For detailed discussion see J. Gascou, "Le rescrit d'Hispellum", *MEFR* 79 (1967), 609-59, especially 647ff.

⁶²² L. Schumacher, "Das Ehrendekret für M. Nonius Balbus aus Herculaneum (*AE* 1947, no. 53)", *Chiron* 6 (1976), 165-184. See further Th. Schäfer, "Le 'sellae curules' del teatro di Ercolano", *CronErcol* 9 (1979), 143-148; cf. "Divus Augustus", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 161, note 69.

In the Greek East athletic competitions in stadia were a long-standing tradition reaching back to the Classical period; but blood sports of all kinds, an innovation imported from Rome, became increasingly popular under the empire, when they were staged predominantly in connection with the imperial cult.⁶²³ Festivals in honour of the emperor divide into two main categories: local and provincial. Civic *Sebasteia* or Kaisareia, which also bear particular names such as *Hadrianeia*, *Antoneia*, *Antoneia Geteia*, *Severeia*, *Alexandreia*, were celebrated with games, usually at intervals of two or four years, and attracted wide-spread acclaim and appreciation.⁶²⁴ Likewise at the provincial level high priests tried to enhance the lustre of the festivals they organized by adding plays, gladiatorial combats, *venationes* and animal fights, which might continue for days or even weeks on end. These events brought prestige and a life-long title such as Asiarch, to which one's descendants would refer in inscriptions, but so high were the costs a priest incurred that in the end they became prohibitive and had to be split among several individuals.⁶²⁵ Among the best known games are those associated with the provincial festival of Asia, which appears to have been held annually at a different centre each year: Pergamum, Ephesus, Smyrna and so on. A good example in a client state is the quinquennial festival instituted by Herodes in 9 B.C. to celebrate the new city of Caesarea;⁶²⁶ an amphitheatre and theatre, perhaps also a stadium and circus were constructed for the holding of games (Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* 1, 415; *Ant. Iud.* 16, 137f). A darker side of the picture is the martyrdom of Christians, which took place in the context of games linked with imperial festivals or put on by imperial priests.⁶²⁷ It was in the amphitheatre that condemned prisoners were decapitated, burned alive or exposed to the beasts, so the setting was appropriate for the punishment of those who refused to pay cult to the gods of Rome, one aspect of which was the cult of the emperor.⁶²⁸

⁶²³ L. Robert, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Amsterdam, 1971, 270-285, 309-331; Mellor, *PQMH* (above, note 571) 173-175; Price, *Rituals* (above, note 2) 89, 104, 116; P. Herz, "Die Entwicklung der griechischen Agonistik in der Kaiserzeit", forthcoming. See further R. Ziegler, *Städtisches Prestige und Kaiserliche Politik. Studien zum Festwesen in Ostkilikien im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Düsseldorf, 1985.

⁶²⁴ Turcan (above, note 88) 1050; Clavel-Lévêque 2498. For a list see L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Rome, 1953, 275ff.

⁶²⁵ Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 36-60, especially 41ff.; Robert (above, note 623) 274f.; Merkelbach (above, note 463) 288; *RE* Suppl. 12 (1970) 279f. (Knibbe). On financial problems see J. Keil and F. Gschnitzer, "Neue Inschriften aus Lydien," *AAWW* 93 (1956), 219-231, no. 8.

⁶²⁶ M. Lämmer, "Die Kaiserspiele von Caesarea im Dienste der Politik des Königs Herodes", *Kölner Beiträge zur Sportwissenschaft* 3 (1974), 95-164.

⁶²⁷ For the deaths of Thecla and Polycarp see Price 124 with n. 138, cf. 110, noting that some Christians were thrown to the beasts in stadia; cf. Robert, *o.c.* 35. On the martyrdom of Tarachos, Probus and Andronikos in Anazarbos, Cilicia, see Deininger 84, cf. 59, 174. For the Christian Germanicus, exposed at the provincial festival of Asia held at Smyrna, see Eusebius, *HE* 4, 15, 5.

⁶²⁸ F. Millar, "The Imperial Cult and the Persecutions" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 145-165 at 159ff.; Price 125, 215, n. 44, 221; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* (above, note 10) 150f. On *damnatio ad bestias* see Ville, *o.c.* 235-240.

It is precisely in relation to martyrdoms that most of our information has come down on imperial games in the western ruler cult. Thus the *Acts of the Christian Martyrs* record that early in the third century St. Perpetua was thrown to the beasts at Carthage during games marking the birthday of Geta,⁶²⁹ and the deaths of bishop Fructuosus and his two deacons Augurius and Eulogius took place in the amphitheatre at Tarraco on 21st January, A.D. 259, possibly an imperial occasion of Valerian not otherwise attested.⁶³⁰ A similar instance may be the martyrdom *ca.* A.D. 304 of Fabius in Caesarea during the persecution of Diocletian; the *concilium* of Mauretania Caesariensis plays a prominent role in the story.⁶³¹ The best known martyrdoms of all are described in what purports to be a letter written by "the servants of Christ who dwell in Vienne and Lyon in Gaul to our brothers in Asia and Phrygia". It describes the deaths of members of the Christian community at Lugdunum—bishop Pothinus, the deacon Sanctus, Blandina and others—in the course of games that are usually assigned to A.D. 177 (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5, 1, 3-2, 8). The event clearly fell into two episodes (1, 44f.), the second of which evidently coincided with the August festival at Lugdunum "populous with people assembled to it from all the nations" (1, 47), when the *concilium* of the Three Gauls held its annual reunion.⁶³² A possible date for the first episode may be the games marking the *natalis* of the emperor Marcus Aurelius (26th April);⁶³³ this was celebrated by a three-day festival (24th–26th April) at Nîmes (*CIL* 12, 5905: A.D. 161; Pl. LXXXVII b), a period that would coincide⁶³⁴ with a notice in the Martyrologium Hieronymianum, which, despite confusions, seems to assign the martyrdom of Christians at Lyon to 24th

⁶²⁹ *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 7, 9f.: Musurillo, *Acts* (above, note 312) 117; Robert (above, note 10) (1982) *o.c.*; Bastiaensen, *Atti* (above, note 314) 124, 128, cf. 428f.

⁶³⁰ See "Flamen Augustorum", above, Vol. I, 2, p. 281 with note 68; cf. Prudentius, *Peristephanon* hymn. 6.

⁶³¹ Deininger 132 with refs., n. 11.

⁶³² Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 104f., 144f., 174; M. Le Glay, "Le culte impérial à Lyon au II^e siècle ap. J. C." in *Les Martyrs de Lyon (177)* (Colloques internationaux du centre national de la recherche scientifique 575), Paris, 1978, 19-29 at 20f. The date of the meeting is not explicit in the sources but there is no good reason to doubt the *communis opinio* that it will have coincided with the *natalis* of the Altar of the Three Gauls and the associated festival, that is 1st August (Suet., *Claud.* 2, 1; cf. CD 54, 32, 1); see "*Roma et Augustus*", above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 97-99. Etienne, *Culte impérial* 128f., 173, has proposed that in Baetica, perhaps also in Tarraconensis and Lusitania, provincial priests will have been elected at roughly the same time of the year, July–August; cf. Deininger, *o.c.* 22, 144f.; Gayraud, *Narbonne* (above, note 20) 392, n. 99. There is nothing beyond analogy to suggest that a similar date applied elsewhere in the western provinces. For commentary on the letter see now A. P. Orbán in Bastiaensen, *Atti* 397ff *ad* 62-95.

⁶³³ Herz, *Festkalender* (above, note 50) 190f.; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" (above, note 49) 1174, n. 272 with refs.

⁶³⁴ Ch. Perrat and A. Audin, "Saint Irenée. L'histoire et la légende", *CH* 1 (1956), 227-251 at 243f.

April.⁶³⁵ That the Christians were put to death in games connected with the emperor's birthday and the annual meeting of the council of the Three Gauls would certainly be in keeping with what is known of martyrdoms elsewhere.⁶³⁶ Whether the execution of Maricc, chieftain and prophet of the Boii, took place at Lugdunum on a similar occasion in A.D. 69 is not explicit in the sources, but the incident serves as a reminder that it was not only Christians who met their end under such circumstances (Tac., *Hist.* 2, 61; CD 65, 1, 2^a = Zonaras 11, 16, p. 47, 3-7D).

Otherwise the scattered evidence we have adds up to a similar picture to that in the East. Provincial games were a liturgy of the high priest,⁶³⁷ who is shown presiding at them on an ivory diptych of ca. A.D. 400 (above, p. 478; Pl. LXXXVI a, b); but similar munificence was also expected at the civic level of municipal priests and priestesses⁶³⁸ and the provision of games was one of the expenses supported by the freedman organizations of *Augustales*. The provincial charter of Narbonensis confirms that the *flamen provinciae*, clad in the *toga praetexta* (above, p. 480), had the right to a seat in the front row amid the decurions of Narbo, and that his wife, dressed in white or purple, could also be present, presumably occupying a special seat. One would infer that former priests, who were entitled to parade in their robes on days of public spectacles, would likewise have been present, no doubt sitting en bloc among

⁶³⁵ Migne, *Patrol.* 30 (11) col. 453, s.v. VIII *kal. Maii*; cf. Herz, *Festkalender* 191, n. 9. For the date 2nd June see Migne, *o.c.*, col. 461, s.v. IV *non. Iunias*; *Acta Sanctorum* 21 (June, Vol. 1) pp. 156-64; cf. *Acta* 64 (November, Vol. 2, 2) pp. 293, 297f. T. D. Barnes, "Pre-Decian Acta Martyrum", *JThS* 19 (1968), 509-531 at 518, argues that the date of 2nd June is the result of (unspecified) confusions in a *martyrologium* that in its present form can hardly be earlier than A.D. 600. See, however, J. Colin, "Martyrs grecs de Lyon ou martyrs galates?", *AC* 33 (1964), 108-15 at 109; *id.*, *L'Empire des Antonins et les Martyrs gaulois de 177* (*Antiquitas* 1), Bonn, 1964, 141-145. Though misplacing the entire event in Galatia, he attractively suggests that the second episode came to be associated with the feast of Hercules Magnus, with whom Commodus (possibly the actual author of the rescript mentioned in the Letter: 5, 1, 47, cf. 44) identified himself; the feast was actually celebrated on 4th June but the epigraphical material shows that festivities could have begun several days earlier: Herz, *Festkalender* 218-220 (*ad* 1st, 2nd June).

⁶³⁶ For the ingenious theory that the anti-Christian pogrom at Lugdunum resulted from a clash between the followers of Christ and the followers of Cybele see A. Audin, "Les martyrs de 177", *CH* 11 (1966), 343-367; *id.*, *Lyon, Miroir de Rome dans les Gaules*, Paris, 1965, 180-82, noting that Good Friday fell in this year on 29th March, the day following the completion of the 'passion' of Attis; further Le Glay (above, note 632) *ibid.*; cf. M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis. The Myth and the Cult*, London, 1977, 137f. On this view the first episode would have coincided with the festival of the summer solstice, 24th June.

⁶³⁷ Ville, *c.c.* 212f.

⁶³⁸ For evidence from the Spains see Etienne, *Culte impérial* 230f., 246, citing *CIL* 2, 1471, 1663, 5523. Similar traces in other provinces include Narbonensis: *CIL* 12, ? 697, 1121, ? 1585; Tripolitania: *IRT* 117, 601; Byzacena: *CIL* 8, 11998 (= *ILS* 5072), 12006 (*gymnasium*); Proconsularis: *IL Afr* 300, 303f. (*gymnasia*), *ILTun* 1288 (*pugilum certamina, gymnasia*), *ILAlg* 1, ? 95, 2055, ? 3066; Numidia: *AEpig* (1941) no. 46 (*gymnasia*). In some cases (?) it is not certain that the games relate to the priesthood rather than another office.

the decurions (*CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964: ll. 5, 15f.).⁶³⁹ As in the East, expenses were extremely high and the reduction of outlays on gladiators is the subject of a decree of the senate *ca.* A.D. 176 *de sumptibus ludorum gladiatoriorum immuendis*, a copy of which is preserved on a bronze tablet found at Italica in Baetica (*CIL* 2, 6278 = *ILS* 5163; cf. *AEpig.* 1909, no. 184 = *ILS* 9340: Sardis). The tablet records the speech of a senator in support of the measure, following the reading in the senate of an address by Marcus Aurelius and his son and colleague Commodus (cf. *SHA, Marcus* 27, 6; cf. 11, 4).⁶⁴⁰ To reduce costs high priests might purchase gladiators from their predecessor and sell them to their successor and the distribution of combats during the various days of the games is now officially regulated. It has been argued that the priests of the Three Gauls also had the special privilege of substituting cheap, condemned prisoners (*?trinqui*) for expensive gladiators—which in turn would suggest a connection with the Christians punished at Lyon in A.D. 177;⁶⁴¹ but the thesis lacks confirmation in the letter at least. In contrast we have an example of ostentatious expense on the part of a high priest of the Three Gauls in the eight pairs of gladiators that T. Sennius Sollemnis displayed at Lugdunum on each of four days *ca.* A.D. 220 (*ILTG* 341; above, Vol. I, 2, Pls. LXXII f.).⁶⁴² The prominence of the entertainment side of the priesthood also comes out in Augustine's comments on the provincial priesthood of Apuleius at Carthage,⁶⁴³ and after the triumph of Christianity games became the principal activity of imperial priests.⁶⁴⁴ That Gaius himself underwrote the costs of the games he gave at Lyon in A.D. 39/40 seems very likely (above, p. 572); on this occasion there is no explicit mention of gladiatorial contests, though Dio reports that he had taken gladiators along with him to Gaul (59, 21, 2). On the other hand Vitellius is described by Dio as simply a spectator of gladiatorial games here in A.D. 69, so presumably these were paid for by the high priest (65, 1, 2a).⁶⁴⁵

On a more general level attention may be drawn to the precise location of amphitheatres.⁶⁴⁶ The fact that at Tarraco and Narbo, for example, these

⁶³⁹ Gayraud, *Narbonne* (above, note 20) 392, 395f.; Williamson (above, note 20) 182.

⁶⁴⁰ Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 105 with n. 2 and refs., 160; Robert, *Gladiateurs* (above, note 623) 273f., 282, 284; Le Glay (above, note 632) 20f. with n. 1 and refs.; Barnes (above, note 635) 518f.; *id.*, "Eusebius and The Date of the Martyrdoms" in *Les Martyrs de Lyon* (above, note 632) 137-141, suggesting a possible date for the persecution several years earlier than 177; Ville, *o.c.* 209, n. 73, 216.

⁶⁴¹ Ville 223, 235, n. 18.

⁶⁴² See "*Roma et Augustus*", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 135. For examples of gladiatorial games given by a provincial priest in the Spains see *CIL* 2, 5523 (Corduba: Baetica), 2473 (Aquaе Flaviae: Tarraconensis).

⁶⁴³ Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 133f., citing Augustin., *Ep.* 138, 4, 19.

⁶⁴⁴ Ladage, *Städtische Priester* (above, note 8) 65.

⁶⁴⁵ Above, Vol. I, 1, 134 with note 260.

⁶⁴⁶ Clavel-Lévêque 2550f.

structures were closely connected to the provincial centre—in practice part of it—clearly shows that games were a key element of the imperial cult (above, Vol. I, 1-2, Pls. XXXV, LIII; cf. CVI).⁶⁴⁷ Nowhere is this more striking than at Lugdunum, where the amphitheatre is an appendage of the religious centre with its great altar and temple (above, Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIII a; cf. Vol. I, 1, XXII-XXIV).⁶⁴⁸ The function of the amphitheatre in contributing to cohesion and consensus within the provincial community was, of course, particularly significant in Tres Galliae, where revolts underlined the imperative need to integrate and assimilate the populace and to stress the ties of clientship between the people and the emperor. Interestingly, dressed stones from the tiers of the amphitheatre preserve several names of the tribes who attended—Arverni, Tricasses, Bituriges Cubi, Vellavi—inscribed on what look to be reserved places;⁶⁴⁹ while unpublished inscriptions, now in the Musée Gallo-Romain at Lyon, likewise attest reserved seats for the corporation of butchers (*macellarii*) and invited delegates from the neighbouring province of Narbonensis (Glanici) (above, Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXVII).⁶⁵⁰ As originally constructed by C. Iulius Rufus and his son (above, Vol. I, 1, Pl. XX), the *podium* of the amphitheatre seems to have been designed primarily to accommodate the delegates sent by the Gallic *civitates* to the provincial council,⁶⁵¹ but after the building was extended by C. Iulius Celsus *ca.* A.D. 130-136 spectacles were evidently thrown open to the general public. At Tarraco a similar role may have been played by the circus, which was contiguous to the south side of the upper forum—nearer, that is, to the provincial complex on the two upper terraces than the amphitheatre, which lay on a slope to the south-east (Pl. CVII a, b, cf. above, Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXV).⁶⁵² Here, at any rate, it is hard to avoid the

⁶⁴⁷ Above, Vol. I, 2, pp. 255f., 280f.; cf. Etienne (above, note 292) 21, 24.

⁶⁴⁸ Above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 133f.; I, 2, pp. 314f. For the development of the amphitheatre see now D. Fishwick, "Le sanctuaire des Trois Gaules et le culte impérial fédéral" in A. Pelletier (ed.), *Lyon antique*, Paris, 1990, forthcoming.

⁶⁴⁹ *CIL* 13, 1667 a-c; *ILTG* 216, 216 bis; cf. A. Allmer and P. Dissart, *Inscriptions antiques du Musée de Lyon*, Lyon, 1888-1893, 2, pp. 35ff., nos. 99f.; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 101 with n. 6.

⁶⁵⁰ See in general J. Kolendo, "La répartition des places aux spectacles et la stratification sociale dans l'empire romain. A propos des inscriptions sur les gradins des amphithéâtres et théâtres", *Ktema* 6 (1981), 301-315.

⁶⁵¹ Strabo (4, 3, 2; p. 192) refers to sixty *civitates*; Tacitus (*Ann.* 3, 44) mentions sixty-four, all of which doubtless sent more than one delegate: above, Vol. I, 1, pp. 101f. Lebek (above, note 162) (1989) 69 n. 63, supposes a corruption in the text of Strabo. As the *podium* of Rufus looks to have had capacity for 1800 places, not only the delegates but also their retinue or entourage must have been seated. On the munificence of C. Iulius Rufus and his son see W. Seston, "Les donateurs de l'amphithéâtre des Trois Gaules", in *Hommages A. Grenier* (Coll. Latomus 58), Brussels, 1962, 1407-1417.

⁶⁵² Above, Vol. I, 2, p. 281. See now J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses*, London, 1986, 339-344; further *Un Abocador del Siglo V D.C. en el Fòrum Provincial de Tàrraco* (above, note 270) 46-48. The association of a circus (as at Tarraco) or an amphitheatre (as at Lugdunum or Narbo) seems in line with a standard scheme common throughout the Mediterranean world at least. For

conclusion that chariot races were a part of provincial festivities (Pl. CVIII a, b).⁶⁵³ Elsewhere, however, topographical considerations tell in the opposite direction, tending rather to dissociate the circus from provincial ruler cult at least. At Lugdunum⁶⁵⁴ in particular the circus seems to have been situated at a location remote from the federal centre (Pl. CIX).⁶⁵⁵ On the other hand circus games, normally a municipal charge, were certainly given by municipal priests and priestesses, as attested notably in Spain, for example.⁶⁵⁶

As an alternative to blood sports, imperial festivals might be completed by scenic games.⁶⁵⁷ This possibility has been noted at Caesarea (above, p. 577), but the most explicit example in the Eastern provinces comes from Gytheum (above, pp. 514, 552, 564), where on completion of preliminary rites the remainder of the day's celebration was given over to a thymelic contest. The procedure was followed throughout the festival, each day dedicated to a member of the imperial house with a sixth honouring T. Quinctius Flamininus and two additional days of games in honour of C. Iulius Eurycles and C. Iulius Lacon, local benefactors. Likewise in the Tebtunis calendar (above, pp. 492f.) the birthdays of the deified L. Aurelius Verus (l. 17), the emperor Titus (l. 18) and L. Aelius Caesar (l. 21) are all celebrated by theatrical games (θεωρία),⁶⁵⁸ as is that of some *diva* whose name is lost (l. 12);⁶⁵⁹ while similar

development of the point see Hänlein-Schäfer (above, note 57) 39-42, 185-190, 290, noting the model at Ankara with its temple, festival place and hippodrome reserved for the official games of the *koinon* of Galatia (cf. *OGIS* 533, ll. 19ff.). Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* 3, 12-39: the sanctuary the poet wishes to give his *patria* of Mantua includes, beside a temple of Augustus, a *campus* that will serve as a palaestra and a hippodrome. See further below, note 698; Addenda, p. 619.

⁶⁵³ For ceremonial in the circus see in general Cameron (above, note 577) 230-270.

⁶⁵⁴ Above, Vol. I, 1, p. 134, note 255. The circus is attested by *CIL* 13, 1919, cf. 1805, 1921 (= *ILS* 7024) and by a mosaic now in the Musée Gallo-Romain at Lyon. See Humphrey, *o.c.* 398-401, cf. 216-218.

⁶⁵⁵ At Emerita the relation of the circus to the provincial centre is unclear since the precise location of the latter is uncertain; presumably the provincial temple was adjacent to the amphitheatre (Pl. CX a)—therefore on the edge of the Roman town, as at Tarraco or Narbo; cf. above, Vol. I, 2, p. 278, note 52. If so, the circus lay approximately 500 metres to the north (Pl. CX b). See in general M. Almagro Basch, *Mérida, Guía de la Ciudad y de sus Monumentos*, Mérida, 1957; *id.*, "La topografía de Augusta Emerita" in *Symposion de Ciudades Augusteas I* (Universidad de Zaragoza, Departamento de Prehistoria y Arqueología), Zaragoza, 1976, 189-212 with fig. 1, especially 200f.; Hänlein-Schäfer (above, note 57) 231f. For a plan of the Roman city see *Augusta Emerita* (Actas del Bimilenario de Mérida), Madrid, 1976, fig. 2, facing p. 112. On the circus see now Humphrey, *o.c.* 362-376; for circuses elsewhere in the West see *id.* 25-55, 295-437. On the possibility of a circus at Narbo see Gayraud, *Narbonne* (above, note 20) 274; cf. Humphrey 409.

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. Etienne, *Culte impérial* 246, citing *CIL* 2, 1471, 1663; further below, Vol. III, 2. At Corduba the provincial priest of Baetica, L. Iunius Paulinus, marked the dedication of the statues that he had promised *ob honores coniunctos* with circus games (*CIL* 2, 5523). For a circus near the alleged temple of Hadrian at Aegae in Cilicia see Price, *Rituals* Cat. no. 142, cf. p. 110, n. 60.

⁶⁵⁷ See in general Mellor, *PQM* (above, note 571) 170-173.

⁶⁵⁸ Above, note 79, *ibid.*, especially 53f. Eitrem notes that θεωρία must have included both acting and recitation since performers are known to have been engaged.

⁶⁵⁹ Herz, *Festkalender* (above, note 50) 34, 304.

festivities at Arsinoe (above, pp. 494, 551) marked the day on which a colossal statue of Caracalla was erected (Pag. VII, 3-5), perhaps also the birthday of Caracalla, following a procession that paraded the cult idol of Jupiter Capitolinus round the theatre (Pag. X, 9ff.).⁶⁶⁰ Of particular interest is evidence for a folk festival at Apollinopolis Heptakomia marking the accession of Hadrian. The surviving fragment of a papyrus seems to show that the local celebrations included the performance of a play with a dialogue between Phoebus and Demos—as well as sacrifices, a procession, a banquet and gymnastic contests (*P. Giss.* 3 = Wilcken, *Chrest.* no. 491: A.D. 117).⁶⁶¹ One may compare the place in Greek imperial festivals of pantomimes and mimes, also competitions in playing the lyre.⁶⁶²

In the West we have relatively little explicit evidence for the association of *ludi scaenici*—theatrical presentations, competitions in poetry, oratory and music—with the imperial cult,⁶⁶³ but Suetonius mentions that, over and above temples and altars, most of the provinces established quinquennial games *paene oppidatim* (*Aug.* 59,3), while Josephus records that the Palatine games established by Livia (above, p. 576) included θεωρίαι that took place at a theatre specially constructed before the imperial palace (*Ant. Iud.* 19, 75). We have seen that the games attended by Gaius at Lugdunum in A.D. 39/40 were notorious for their oratorical contests, which may have had a direct link with the cult of the emperor. Otherwise one is left with sundry inscriptions attesting scenic games given by municipal priests or priestesses—usually in celebration of their priesthood⁶⁶⁴—and the mute evidence of theatres such as those at Orange (Pl. XCVII a), Lyon (Pls. CXIf.), Arles, Vienne, Vaison, Glanum, Toulouse, Tarraco, Emerita (Pl. XCVII b), Italica, Bilbilis, Lepcis Magna, Dougga, Cherchel, Bulla Regia.⁶⁶⁵ Their location, in some cases attached to

⁶⁶⁰ Cf. Wilcken (above, note 81) (1885) 473.

⁶⁶¹ E. Kornemann, “Ἀναξ χαινός Ἀδριανός”, *Klio* 7 (1907), 278-288 at 286f. For a translation see Hopkins, *Conquerors* (above, note 45) 210.

⁶⁶² Price, *Rituals* 89, 122 with n. 129.

⁶⁶³ On the significance of scenic games see in general the analysis of Clavel-Lévêque, *o.c.* 2446-62. For thymelic competitions in the West see in general J. R. Arnold, “Agonistic Festivals in Italy and Sicily”, *AJA* 64 (1960), 245-251 (at Naples, Rome and Puteoli); further R. Rieks, “Sebasta und Aktia”, *Hermes* 98 (1970), 96-116; L. Robert, “Deux concours grecs à Rome”, *CRAI* (1970), 6-27 (under Elagabalus and Gordian III).

⁶⁶⁴ Cf. Etienne, *o.c.* 246, n. 7, citing *CIL* 2, 1663, 1956. Traces in Africa include Byzacena: *CIL* 8, 11998 (= *ILS* 5072); Proconsularis: *CIL* 8, 14343, ?23964 (= *ILS* 5713), cf. 23965, 25428, 26482, 26590f., 26606 (= *ILS* 9364) cf. 26607, *ILTun* 692, *IL Afr* 303, 517, *AEpig* (1961) no. 53; Numidia: *CIL* 8, 17829 (= *ILS* 434), *ILAlg* 2, 10, ?709, *AEpig* (1941) no. 46. In some instances (?) it is uncertain whether the scenic games relate to the priesthood or to a different office.

⁶⁶⁵ At Narbo a theatre of unknown location is attested by Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* 23, 40; *CIL* 12, 4445; and various bas-reliefs: Gayraud, *Narbonne* (above, note 20) 273f. For the role of the Theatre of Marcellus as a model for provincial theatres in the West see E. Frézouls, “Aspects de l'histoire architecturale du théâtre romain”, *ANRW* 2, 12, 1 (1982) 343-441 at 423ff.

or linked with the imperial temple (above, p. 523),⁶⁶⁶ strongly suggests that they will have been the scene of dramatic presentations on imperial festivals, and the same may well have been also true of the odeon at Lyon with its oratory and dancing (Pls. CXI a-b, CXII).⁶⁶⁷ The clearest evidence of all comes from Nîmes, where bi-lingual inscriptions from the Augusteum (above, pp. 519, 523) attest the presence of a synod of Dionysiac artists which evidently had close relations with the sacred, thymelic Hadrianic synod (*CIL* 12, 3232 = *IG* 14, 2495) at Naples (above, pp. 510, 556). In addition to information on the members of this guild of *centonarii Nemausensis*—one of whom served as *archiereus* of the synod and set up an honorific inscription to a provincial imperial priest (*CIL* 12, 3183)—we learn of a thymelic contest to be held under Trajan (*IG* 14, 2496, cf. *CIL* 12, 3232). All of these different links and associations surely confirm that scenic games in honour of the emperor were performed at regular intervals in the adjacent theatre, which was itself an integral part of the Augusteum. Quite apart from any direct connection with the worship of the emperor, theatres did of course further imperial aims by spreading the dominant Greco-Roman culture through presentations of various kinds—for example, the *Querolus*, which is known to have been produced in Gaul—and the reprise of pieces from the Classical repertoire.⁶⁶⁸ In so doing they hastened the process of acculturation in a way which served as a useful adjunct to the ruler cult.

(b) Banquets

An idea common to both Greek and Latin cults was that the god might join in communion with worshippers eating together at a fraternal meal; the presence of the deity—manifestly in attendance at a *lectisternium* or *sellisternium*—contributed to feelings of joy and fellowship during a sacred *epulum* at which votaries consumed such parts of the sacrificial animal as had not been reserved for the god.⁶⁶⁹ Out of this practice developed the festive banquets attached to various sacred games, notably the *ludi plebei* (13th November) and *ludi Romani* (13th September).⁶⁷⁰ Senators had the privilege

⁶⁶⁶ In addition to the discussion of Étienne (above, note 292) see further Clavel-Lévêque 2551, noting that at Glanum the theatre was opposite the imperial temple and that the theatres at Orange and Arles were closely linked with the imperial cult; Addenda, pp. 618f.

⁶⁶⁷ On the sociological dimensions of *ludi scaenici* see Étienne, *o.c.* 20.

⁶⁶⁸ Clavel-Lévêque 2556f. For the early-fifth-century *Querolus* (or *Aulularia*) see *Der Kleine Pauly* 4 (1972) 1295f. with refs.

⁶⁶⁹ See in general Nock, *Essays* 108f.; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* (above, note 47) 81f.; MacMullen, *Paganism* 39-41.

⁶⁷⁰ Wissowa, *RuKR*² 127, 423, 453f.; Latte, *RRG* 378f. For the *epulones* who supervised these banquets and eventually all public *epulae* see Dar.-Sag. 2, 1 (1892) (1963) 738 (F. de Coulanges); Wissowa, *o.c.* 518; Latte, *o.c.* 251, 398f.

of attending the *epulum Iovis* that was attached to these and took place on the Capitol before the *cella* of Iuppiter (Suet., *Aug.* 35,2; cf. CD 39, 30, 4), whereas at the *ludi Megalenses*, for example, the votaries themselves partook of a communal meal.⁶⁷¹ Once the religious side of such ceremonies sank into the background, however, banquets were held not just at sacred festivals but on the anniversaries of temples, following the sacrifices of the great priestly colleges, on birthdays, at funerals and at triumphs. The whole people might take part, sitting at tables set up throughout the forum (Livy 39, 46, 3). Thus Gaius gave a feast for the senators with their wives and for the general populace to celebrate the dedication of the temple of Divus Augustus in A.D. 37 (CD 59, 7, 1f.), and we have a vivid account by Josephus of the feasting that marked the victorious entry of Vespasian into Rome (*Bell. Iud.* 7, 73). The end result was that sacrifices became more and more a pretext for a good meal, religious anniversaries simply an occasion for a free dinner when one might indulge oneself in over-eating and over-drinking.⁶⁷²

Communal meals that produced a spirit of association and reconciliation among the populace were clearly occasions that, like games in the amphitheatre or circus, could be put to the service of the regime. Hence the early attachment of banquets to imperial anniversaries such as the birthdays of the emperor or of members of his family. This development is attested by 13 B.C., when the praetor Iullus marked Augustus' birthday by entertaining both the emperor and the senate on the Capitol (CD 54, 26, 2), and may already have begun as early as 30 B.C.;⁶⁷³ in the *Fasti Pighiani* (A.D. 31-37),⁶⁷⁴ for instance, the *natalis* of Augustus on 23rd September is annotated *epul(um)*.⁶⁷⁵ In the rest of Italy communal meals or the distribution of delicacies in connection with the ruler cult are well in evidence. For example, a fragmentary inscription from an unknown colony, perhaps Trebula, records that Livia's birthday was marked by games and a public banquet given to the decurions and *Augustales* by the *seviri* (*CIL* 6, 29681: A.D. 108);⁶⁷⁶ the inscription of the altar of the Numen Augustum at Forum Clodii (above, p. 510) attests the distribution of honey-wine and pastries on the birthday of

⁶⁷¹ Degraasi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, pp. 127, 437: *Fasti Praenestini*, 4th April; cf. pp. 289, 297: *Menologium Rusticum Colotianum/Vallense*, Sept. (*epulum Minervae*). For a description of a sacred meal see Dion. Hal. 2, 23, 5.

⁶⁷² MacMullen, *o.c.* 39f. with n. 31, citing *Clementis Recognitiones* 4, 13; cf. Hopkins, *Conquerors* (above, note 661) *ibid.*, noting that attendance by the poor will have been encouraged by the prospect of free meat. In practice mass participation will have been required if a huge number of slaughtered animals were to be consumed.

⁶⁷³ Weinstock, *DJ* 209.

⁶⁷⁴ Degraasi, *InscrIt*. 13, 2, pp. 219, 512.

⁶⁷⁵ For the celebration of imperial anniversaries in the army see A. D. Nock, "The Roman Army and the Roman Religious year", *HTHR* 45 (1952), 186-252 at 203 (= *Essays* 749).

⁶⁷⁶ L. R. Taylor, "Augustales, Seviri Augustales, and Seviri: a Chronological Study", *TAPA* 45 (1914), 231-253 at 240.

Livia and at the dedication of the statues of Augustus, Tiberius and Livia (*CIL* 11, 3303 = *ILS* 154); and the distribution of *crustulum* and *mulsum*, perhaps again at Trebula Suffenas, is prescribed in celebration of the dedication of *imagines Caesarum* at the *schola* of a college of freedmen, possibly *Augustales* (*AEpig*, 1972, no. 154; below, p. 614). In the municipalities largesse of this kind depended upon private munificence, which explains why the giving of *epulae* or *strationes* was among the benefactions expected of imperial priests and priestesses and particularly the *Augustales*.⁶⁷⁷ This is brought out by an inscription from Petelia recording a legacy to the city by the patron of the *Augustales*, the interest from which will pay for furniture for use at public banquets given by members of the college; in addition they are given a vineyard for the provision of wine on these occasions (*CIL* 10, 114). A similar legacy to the *Augustales* at Aquileia seems to bequeath urban and country estates along with sixty casks of wine (*CIL* 5, 985). Presumably these donations will also have been put to good use at the private celebrations of the college.⁶⁷⁸ Such at any rate seems to be the case with an inventory of gifts to a college at Ostia (above, p. 539) that includes tables, benches, stools, candelabra and various cooking utensils—evidently intended for their private banquets. That these will have marked official, imperial anniversaries as well as the personal anniversaries of club members is extremely likely (*AEpig*, 1940, no. 62).⁶⁷⁹

In the Eastern provinces banquets are likewise a familiar feature of the ceremonies of the imperial cult.⁶⁸⁰ Feasting commonly took place near the imperial temple, as at Ancyra, but gymnasia too were often the scene of communal meals held in celebration of imperial occasions, notably the *dies imperii* and *natalis* of the emperor and the birthdays of other members of the imperial house or of Roma.⁶⁸¹ Thus an inscription of the provincial council of Asia found at Hypaepa shows the choir of Asia celebrating the birthday of Tiberius with hymns and sacrifices and holding banquets (*IGRR* 4, 1608c), and meals and presents of money and wine are recorded on the island of Syros in connection with Commodus' birthday (*IG* 12, 5, 663: A.D. 183). We have seen that the festivities at Apollinopolis Heptakomia on Hadrian's accession included *inter alia* a banquet (above, p. 583), while at Pergamum eating and drinking in common figure largely in the celebration of the imperial mysteries by the imperial choir (above, pp. 573f., cf. 562, 567); on some occasions vari-

⁶⁷⁷ Duthoy, "Augustales" (above, note 620) 1302f.; cf. Clavel Lévêque 2438. On the costs of feasts see R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1974, 139-141.

⁶⁷⁸ See below, Appendix II, "The Augustales and the Imperial Cult", p. 613f.

⁶⁷⁹ Herz (above, note 377) 155f.

⁶⁸⁰ For meals attached to Greek cults see in general Bömer-Herz (above, note 374) 136f., 219f. with bibl.; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Harvard, 1985, 107.

⁶⁸¹ Mellor, *PQMH* (above, note 571) 193; Price, *Rituals* 105, 109f. with nn. 51, 64.

ous officials of the association have to provide wine, bread and table 'Gedeck', as well as cash (*IGRR* 4, 353: c,d).⁶⁸² To provide feasts and distributions on imperial days was a benefaction that came to be expected of rich men in general (cf. *IG* 12, *Suppl.* 124) and of imperial priests in particular. Once again, then, it is hard to avoid concluding that the religious side of sacrifices became overshadowed by the feasting that accompanied them.⁶⁸³

To turn to the Western empire, finally, here too banquets attached to the ruler cult are relatively well attested. In Spain a scattering of inscriptions record that the local *flamen*⁶⁸⁴ or *flaminica*⁶⁸⁵ has provided an *epulum*, and to these traces can be added a considerable number of examples elsewhere, notably in the provinces of Roman Africa.⁶⁸⁶ We have seen that in the first year of the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus the birthday of Marcus Aurelius was celebrated at Nemausus by a banquet and other liberalities (*CIL* 12, 5905; above, pp. 497, 578; Pl. LXXXVII b). For a literary description of such an event in Tingis we can turn to the opening passage of the *Acta Marcelli: In civitate Tingitana procurante Fortunato praeside, advenit natalis imperatoris. Denique cum omnes in conviviis epularentur ...* (1: A. Recension M).⁶⁸⁷ Such celebrations in Roman Africa are precisely what Tertullian denounces as incitements to riotous and licentious behaviour: *Grande videlicet officium, focos et toros in publicum educere, vicatim epulari, civitatem tabernae habitu abolefacere, vino lutum cogere catervatim cursitare ad iniurias, ad impudentias, ad libidinis illecebras* (*Apolog.* 35, 2).⁶⁸⁸ That a similar picture held true of other parts of the western empire can hardly be doubted despite the lack of explicit information. The interests of the regime clearly called for imperial anniversaries to be occasions for enjoyment, memorable for their feasting as for their blood sports, races or gymnastic displays.

⁶⁸² Pleket (above, note 553) 342.

⁶⁸³ Cf. Price 229f., arguing that the stress on feasts reflects not so much secularization as social change: widening participation in sacrifices on the part of members of the community.

⁶⁸⁴ Etienne, *Culte impérial* 231, n. 5, citing *CIL* 2, 1074.

⁶⁸⁵ *Id.* 246, n. 9, citing *CIL* 2, 1663, 1956, 1979, 5488, 5514.

⁶⁸⁶ For example Byzacena: *CIL* 8, 11998 (= *ILS* 5072), 12006, 12018 (= *ILS* 4454); Proconsularis: *CIL* 8, ?23964 (= *ILS* 5713), 23965, 25371 (= *ILS* 5472), 25703f., 26255 (= *ILS* 9401), ?26482, 26528, 26606 (= *ILS* 9364) cf. 26607, *ILTun* 692, 1288, 1416, *ILAJr* 300 (*visceratio*), 303f., 530, *AEpig* (1961) no. 53, (1968) 588, 591; Numidia: *CIL* 8, 17829 (= *ILS* 434), 17831 (= *ILS* 5400), *ILAlg* 1, 2130, ?3066, *AEpig* (1941) no. 46. In some of these instances (?) it is not clear from the text that the individual was a *flamen* or that the banquet relates specifically to the *flamonium*.

⁶⁸⁷ Musurillo, *Acts* (above, note 312) 250; cf. 2: *iam die duodecimo kalendarum augustarum... quando diem festum imperatoris vestri celebrastis...*

⁶⁸⁸ See in general G. Schöllgen, *Ecclesia sordida? Zur Frage der sozialen Schichtung frühchristlicher Gemeinden am Beispiel Karthagos zur Zeit Tertullians* (JbAC Suppl. 12), Münster, 1984.

Any attempt to reconstruct the imperial liturgy of the Latin West must recognize at the outset that the direct evidence one would wish is simply not there; inevitably, therefore, argument is reduced to inference on the basis of testimony from Italy and the East, eked out with whatever traces happen to be at hand in the Western empire. Nevertheless, despite the hypothetical nature of much of the discussion, a general outline does begin to emerge, one that can be proposed with caution and reserve, yet not without a degree of confidence.

We have seen reason to believe that both the provincial and the municipal worship of the Roman emperor was based upon an official calendar applicable with local variations throughout the empire; the 3rd of January in particular with its vows on behalf of the emperor must have been a day of ecumenical significance. On high feasts, particularly on the *natalis* of the reigning emperor, rites were no doubt celebrated on a more elaborate scale than was normally the case. First and foremost the provincial or municipal priest will have offered sacrifice, in all probability a victim, the recipient being determined by the character of the cult in its particular form or specialization. Wine and incense may also have been distributed to the townsfolk to enable them to perform private acts of devotion, conceivably wearing wreaths. At Lugdunum, Narbo and, presumably, other major centres elsewhere portable images of the emperor, perhaps anointed, clothed and decked with flowers, might be carried in procession (with candles and hymns?) from their lodging-place in the temple or elsewhere to the amphitheatre or the theatre, there to receive sacrifice and view the games or spectacle proper to a great occasion. Finally, when the images had been escorted back to the temple on completion of the games, the celebrations will have culminated in feasting and enjoyment. Processions with images may well have been a limited phenomenon but the inscriptions and papyri confirm that games and banquets were a staple appurtenance of major festivals of the imperial cult throughout the empire—particularly special occasions such as the accession of a new ruler. Such folk festivals must nevertheless have been limited in number and one would presume that on minor anniversaries, that is the majority of days observed throughout the year, the proceedings were restricted to rites conducted by the imperial priest at the associated temple or altar. Expense being an item, ceremonies must on most occasions have been restricted to simple supplications of incense or wine, which had little or no impact on the community at large. On the other hand the cult of the emperor's likeness, whether by groups or individuals, may well have had a wider vogue than one would guess from the meagre traces it has left behind. On imperial days in particular it is possible that rites were performed publicly before it, say in the theatre, the forum, the porticoes of temples or at the crossroads of *vici*, as well as at special shrines, in the club-houses of colleges, or even in private homes. By contrast

dedications to the emperor or offerings of the imperial image in temples look to have been made at the discretion of the individual devotee without reference to an official list of observances.

Such in profile appear to have been the principal characteristics of the liturgy and ceremonial of the imperial worship in the Western provinces, evidently patterned in careful detail upon the rites appropriate to the traditional cults of Roman religion.⁶⁸⁹ No doubt future evidence, as it steadily accrues, will allow one to confirm or modify this tentative reconstruction to the extent that the ascertainable facts dictate. In conclusion attention might be drawn to a papyrus from Elephantine preserving the official day-book of the local governor (στρατηγός) Aurelius Leontes (*P. Paris* 69 = *Chrestomathie* 1, 2, no. 41). The text is of fundamental importance since it allows one *inter alia* to reconstruct the celebrations marking the birthday of the reigning emperor Alexander Severus on 1st October, A.D. 232 (Col. III, ll. 8-15).⁶⁹⁰ The observance of this particular *natalis* will undoubtedly have been prescribed in a missing portion of the contemporary *Fer. Dur.* (?Coll. III, ll. 9-10/10-11)⁶⁹¹ and it is of interest in this regard that officers from the nearby garrison at Syene apparently joined with the head of the local civil administration⁶⁹² in rites conducted at the imperial temple (Καίσαρεῖον).⁶⁹³ That ceremonies were jointly conducted also at the military chapel is probably to be inferred from the fragment ...πριν]χιπίοις (Col. III, l. 10); at all events it is clear that the service at the Caesareum began with the usual offerings⁶⁹⁴—one would suppose to the living emperor alone or in combination with the *divi/divae* depending on the nature of the local cult.⁶⁹⁵ On Wilcken's restoration wreaths were then placed by the *strategos* on the statues of Alexander Severus and his mother, Julia Mamaea, after which there followed a eulogy⁶⁹⁶ of the most prominent per-

⁶⁸⁹ Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* (above, note 47) 77, noting that ceremonies taken from religion focused attention on the emperor in the same way as they had upon the gods.

⁶⁹⁰ U. Wilcken, "Υπομνηματισμοί", *Philologus* 53 (1894), 81ff., especially 93-95; *Chrestomathie* 1, 2, no. 41, pp. 62f.; Blumenthal (above, note 122) 344; Herz, "Kaiserfeste" (above, note 49) 1193.

⁶⁹¹ "Fer. Dur." (above, note 53) 163.

⁶⁹² For the development of the *strategos* into a purely civilian administrator see Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 1, 1, 36-38. Cf. the combination of military and civilian in a sacrifice at Sabratha: Veyne (above, note 6) 246-248.

⁶⁹³ Domaszewski restores the text to give the sense of a purely military celebration, "Die Principia des römischen Lagers", *Neue Heidelb. Jahrb.* 9 (1899), 141ff., especially 159-162; followed by Kornemann (above, note 661) 285, n. 1, 286. The objections of Wilcken and Blumenthal seem conclusive against this interpretation; in particular the Καίσαρεῖον must be the local municipal temple and the *χωμασία* cannot be a military parade.

⁶⁹⁴ Domaszewski restored ll. 10f. to indicate a donative to the troops.

⁶⁹⁵ Cf. Blumenthal (above, note 122) 317ff., especially 322f.; Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 1, 1, 119f. One should also reckon with the possibility of sacrifices to the gods *on behalf* of the emperor; cf. above, p. 517.

⁶⁹⁶ See above, pp. 571f.

sonalities of the state—presumably the emperor, perhaps also his mother (to be supplied ll. 12f.), certainly the (two) prefects of the praetorian guard, *virī clarissimi*, and the prefect of Egypt and his son, *virī egregii* (evidently the later emperors Maximinus and Maximus: l. 14). The *strategos* then took part in a *χωμασία* (restored in l. 15 from Col. IV, l. 14)—the word would imply that the imperial statues were borne in procession (above, pp. 550ff.)—and the proceedings concluded with a banquet in the Caesareum, perhaps without the participation of the military.⁶⁹⁷ In some respects the ceremonies reflect a particular situation at Elephantine and one must clearly allow for the influence of native Egyptian practice. Nevertheless the details we have correspond on a number of points with elements of civilian practice attested elsewhere and provide an invaluable composite picture of the kind of ceremonies that one could expect on the emperor's birthday at other centres of the imperial cult⁶⁹⁸—West as well as East.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁷ The *strategos* appears to have dined only with local civil officials (*ἐναρχοί*) unless the tribune, [centurions] and *beneficiarius* of l. 9 are to be supplied in the break, l. 16.

⁶⁹⁸ In the West the only comparable description of the liturgy and ceremonial appropriate to a cult place of the emperor is the allegorical account given by Vergil in the prologue to *Georgics* 3 (above, note 652). An elaborate metaphorical conception of the epic Vergil had in mind, the passage includes all the standard features—a temple of Caesar (i.e. Augustus), processions to the sanctuary, wreathed participants who bring gifts (for deposit in the temple?), animal sacrifices, horse-races and scenic performances—but, interestingly, also mentions pugilistic contests in the palaestra. The description of the temple with the carved reliefs on its doors is clearly related to the shrine of Apollo on the Palatine (see Addenda, p. 619), but the earlier verses may be cited as a poetic foreshadowing of what could be expected at a centre of the imperial cult in the Latin provinces.

*in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit.
illi victor ego et Tyrio conspectus in ostro
centum quadriugos agitabo ad flumina currus.
cuncta mihi, Alpheum linquens lucosque Molorchi,
cursibus et crudo decernet Graecia caestu.
ipse caput tonsae filiis ornatus olivae
dona feram. iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas
ad delubra iuvat caesosque videre iuencos,
vel scaena ut versis discedat frontibus utque
purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni.*

Georg. 3, 16-25

⁶⁹⁹ For the role of ritual in communicating the idea of emperor and empire see further Book III (Vol. III) *passim*.

APPENDICES

I. DATED INSCRIPTIONS AND THE FERIALE DURANUM*

On the view taken by the editors, the *Feriale Duranum* is the solitary surviving example of a calendar of festivals valid for all military units throughout the Roman empire: the papyrus preserves “a standard festival list for the army, simply one representative of a type issued to every camp and garrison.”¹ In that case it was presumably sent to every detachment down to the level of cohort at least, given that it was found in the possession of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* stationed at Dura. The date of the preserved copy is set by internal evidence within the reign of Severus Alexander, possibly between A.D. 225 and 227, but the more important debate centres on the question of when the calendar was first drawn up. The circumstance that the papyrus was recovered from a room (W13) of the Temple of Artemis Azzanathkona, which evidently served as a repository for the auxiliary records, shows that it is a survival, possibly an outdated version; while the traditional character of the festivals, some of which go back to the Republican period, has led to the supposition that its origins go back to the early principate.² Several features of the text tell in favour of the view that what we have is in fact a Severan redaction of an Augustan regulation. Certainly the *feriale* was not compiled with Dura in mind, for it bears no particular relation to local conditions at a distant outpost of empire nor does it register local gods of Dura or for that matter any deities appropriate to troops drawn from Palmyra. On the contrary, only Roman gods and Roman festivals are listed along with a wide selection of anniversaries commemorating the occasions of the reigning emperor, the *divi* and the imperial women. By far the likeliest possibility, then, is that the *feriale* dates to the time when Augustus was bent both on standardizing the various features of military service and on reviving the practices of traditional Roman religion. A festival list of this kind, which laid particular emphasis on the

* *Syria* 65 (1988), 349-361 (adapted)

¹ R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey and W. F. Snyder, “The *Feriale Duranum*”, *YCS* 7 (1940), 1-222 at 28f.; A. D. Nock, “The Roman Army and the Religious Year”, *HTHR* 45 (1952), 186-252 at 202, 229, 241 (= A. D. Nock [ed. Z. Stewart], *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, 2, 749, 771, 781); J. Helgeland, “Roman Army Religion”, *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1470-1505 at 1481, 1487f.; E. Birley, “The Religion of the Roman Army: 1895-1977”, *ibid.* 1506-1541 at 1510. See further “Liturgy and Ceremonial” above, pp. 488f.

² For the traditional character of the calendar see “*Fer. Dur.*” (above, note 1) 30-36; Nock (above, note 1) 737-749, especially 743, 745; J. F. Gilliam, “The Roman Military *Feriale*”, *HTHR* 47 (1954), 183-196 at 184. See further in general P. Herz, *Untersuchungen zum Festkalender der römischen Kaiserzeit nach datierten Weih- und Ehreninschriften* (Diss. Mainz), Mainz, 1975, 87-93; *id.*, “Kaiserfeste der Prinzipatszeit” *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1135-1200 at 1193ff.; M. Ziolkowski, “Il culto dell'imperatore nella religione degli eserciti romani in Britannia (I-III sec. d.C.)”, *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 142 (1983-84), 267-278 at 268-271.

celebrations of the emperor and his house, would not only have served Augustus' purposes very well but, as a crucial step towards regulating military life, could reasonably be supposed to have been dispatched to all divisions of troops wherever they happened to be stationed.

The fact nevertheless remains that this interpretation is no more than a hypothesis; so far at least no comparable document has appeared that would definitely confirm the classification of the *feriale* as a standard calendar in empire-wide usage rather than an isolated roster of festivals peculiar to a single unit. Not surprisingly, therefore, the interpretation of the editors has been challenged from time to time, most recently by R. MacMullen, who observes that nothing goes to show that a uniform calendar was in force for the single province of Syria or even the whole station at Dura. As he correctly emphasizes, the Palmyrene cohort worshipped their own gods when off duty: their religious practices, that is, had no relation whatsoever to an antique register of Roman festivals appropriate to Roman citizens in Rome and Italy two or three centuries earlier.³ The same point can be confirmed elsewhere. Inscriptions set up privately by military personnel in Britain, for example, clearly show that troops followed very much their own fancies in religious matters and that, with the possible exception of dedications to Dea Roma or Roma Aeterna (below, p. 596), these bear no obvious relation to a list of festivals comparable to the *Feriale Duranum*.⁴ More particularly, Britain has not yet produced a single military dedication to a deified emperor or emperors whereas anniversaries of the *divi* or the *divae* amount to no less than twenty-one of the forty-one entries in the official list.⁵ In contrast military dedications in Britain tend to focus upon the living emperor, though here again the epigraphical record is at variance with the traditional form of cult prescribed in the *feriale*. Only a single inscription records a dedication to the imperial *genius* (RIB 915); the vast majority of military inscriptions testify to the worship of the *numen Augusti* or the collective *numina Augustorum*, a term which appears to have included the *numina* of both living and deified emperors.⁶

The important point here is to draw a clear distinction between the practices of soldiers acting in a private capacity—these are what the inscriptions largely reflect—and the corporate rites celebrated by troops at headquarters on various occasions throughout the liturgical year. Private and public observances are separate categories that need not show any obvious interaction. The fact

³ R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, New Haven, 1981, 110; cf. Herz, *Untersuchungen* (above, note 2) 86, 93-103.

⁴ D. Fishwick, *Studies in Roman Imperial History*, Leiden, 1977, 68f.

⁵ "Fer. Dur." 181-190.

⁶ See in general "The Imperial Numen in Roman Britain", above, pp. 413-419.

that one can detect little or no sign of Roman influence⁷ in the traces left by troops who brought with them the cult of their local deities⁸ by no means excludes the possibility that these same troops did observe a very Roman list of festivals in official ceremonies staged at headquarters, in the courtyard of the *praetorium* or within the military chapel, or possibility at the local Caesareum.⁹ Confirmation that such was the case at Dura in particular seems to be provided by a well-known wall painting from the temple of the Palmyrene Gods. On the convincing interpretation of T. Pekáry this shows the tribune Iulius Terentius (his name is clearly recorded on the fresco) accompanied by Roman soldiers and making a very Roman offering of incense before imperial statues, perhaps those of Pupienus, Balbinus and Gordian III.¹⁰ So, too, elsewhere. Evidence can be assembled which, directly or indirectly, suggests that similar provisions to those in the Feriale Duranum were in fact observed in various parts of the Roman Empire. While individual traces are too few to serve as a basis for inference in themselves, their cumulative impact is to build up an overall picture that goes far to confirming the standard nature of the *feriale*, even in the absence of a second copy.

One obvious fact hardly deserves mention. The cult acts prescribed in the calendar call for supplications of wine and incense or more rarely sacrifice of an ox or cow in celebration of a particular festival or anniversary. Evidence for the performance of such rites is of course perishable and therefore irrecoverable but what one might hope to find is a reflection or recollection of a particular rite that chances to survive because it was painted on a wall or carved in stone. We have one such instance at Corbridge, where the decorative sculptures from a third-century military headquarters have been interpreted by Richmond as referring to the festival of the Rosaliae, when the *signa* were garlanded with chaplets of roses.¹¹ As it happens, this particular festival is prescribed in the *feriale*: Col. II, ll. 8, 14.¹²

Testimony of a similar nature is provided by a series of altars found at Maryport, where they were dedicated to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus by resident

⁷ On Romanization and the purpose of the *feriale* see Nock (above, note 1) 203-208 (= *Essays* 749-754); Helgeland (above, note 1) 1487; Gilliam (above, note 2) 184-186.

⁸ Nock, *o.c.* 200-202 (= *Essays* 747-749); Helgeland, *o.c.* 1496-1500.

⁹ Nock, *ibid.*; R. Cagnat; *L'Armée romaine d'Afrique et l'Occupation militaire de l'Afrique sous les Empereurs*, Paris, 1913 (1975), 480-483; 'Liturgy and Ceremonial', above, p. 589.

¹⁰ T. Pekáry, 'Das Opfer vor dem Kaiserbild', *BJ* 186 (1986), 91-103. For an earlier identification of the statues see *id.*, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft* (Das römische Herrscherbild; Abt. 3, Bd. 5), Berlin, 1985, 127f. *Contra* Nock, *o.c.* 199, cf. 242ff. (= *Essays* 746, cf. 782ff.).

¹¹ I. A. Richmond, 'Roman Legionaries at Corbridge', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th ser. 21 (1943), 127-224 at 163f.; Nock 202 (= *Essays* 749) with n. 53. For the festival see 'Liturgy and Ceremonial', above, p. 562.

¹² See 'Fer. Dur.' 115-120.

units or their commanding officers (cf. *RIB* 815-836; Pl. CXIII a).¹³ The altars were found buried on the edge of the parade-ground and may be compared with similar relicts from Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall (*RIB* 1874-1896). The occasion to which these relate is not entirely certain but it was most likely the annual renewal of the soldiers' oath of allegiance, a ceremony which was originally scheduled on 1st January (Tac., *Hist.* 1, 55) but, on the evidence of the *feriale*, then moved at some stage later than A.D. 69 to 3rd January: Col. I, 2-6. The climax of the ritual was the ceremonial erection of a new altar overlooking the parade ground and the solemn interment of the obsolete altar from the previous year.¹⁴ To these can be added a dedication to Dea Roma from High Rochester (*RIB* 1270; Pl. CXIII b), where the *duplicarii* of a troop of scouts stationed at Bremenium have set up an altar in fulfilment of their vow on the actual birthday of Rome—*n(atali) eius*—scheduled in the *feriale* on 21st April: Col. II, 1.5. One might compare similar military altars to Roma Aeterna from the Maryport district (*RIB* 812, 840), also three third-century sculptured stones from Corbridge which were used as building ballast in a roadway constructed in A.D. 369 and may have come originally from a pediment and a panel in a dismantled shrine to Dea Roma.¹⁵ It is difficult to explain these traces except as a reflection of the festival celebrations laid down in the official calendar; certainly local troops at Bremenium and elsewhere were not homesick for Rome. Rather, the prescription emphasized a personification of Eternal Rome that would have made a powerful impression upon troops who observed the anniversary, presumably with the appointed sacrifice of a victim and the feasting which that entailed. As Helgeland notes, a Roman camp on the frontier was regarded as a city and a religious microcosm of Rome, the archetype for all military camps.¹⁶

Lastly, a well-known series of dedications unmistakably attests an order to troops that they should follow the instructions of the oracle of Apollo of Claros: *dis deabusque secundum interpretationem oraculi Clari Apollinis* (or variant).¹⁷ What is of key significance here is that copies of the inscription

¹³ L. P. Wenham, "Notes on the Garrisoning of Maryport", *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* n.s. 39 (1939), 19-36 at 21; cf. "The Imperial Numen in Roman Britain", above, p. 418; further Herz, *Untersuchungen* (above, note 2) 93ff.

¹⁴ "Fer. Dur." 51, 65f.; Nock, *l.c.*; Birley (above, note 1) 1510f.; Helgeland (above, note 1) 1479; Herz, "Kaiserfeste" (above, note 2) 1197. For doubts see G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of The First and Second Centuries A.D.*,³ London, 1985, 277, n. 2. See now E. Birley, "The Deities of Roman Britain", *ANRW* 2, 18, 1 (1986) 3-112 at 18f.

¹⁵ Richmond (above, note 11) pp. 173-176.

¹⁶ Above, note 1, 1493, 1501f.

¹⁷ E. Birley, "Cohors I Tungrorum and the Oracle of the Clarian Apollo", *Chiron* 4 (1974), 511-513, suggesting that an emperor—perhaps Caracalla, ill in body and mind—had consulted the oracle himself and then commanded units of the army to set up dedications in accordance with the god's reply. See further M. Euzennat, "Une dédicace Volubilitaine à l'Apollon de

have been found in Britain (*RIB* 1579 = *ILS* 3230: Housesteads; Pl. CXIII c), Dalmatia (*CIL* 3, 2880 = *ILS* 3230a: Corinium), Numidia (*CIL* 8, 8351 = *ILS* 3230b: near Cuicul), Sardinia (*AEpig*, 1929, no. 156 = *ILSard* 42: Sarruk) and more recently in Mauretania Tingitana (*AEpig*, 1976, no. 782 = *IAM* 2, 344: Volubilis). This particular text thus confirms that orders, issued centrally from Rome, could be sent to troops in different parts of the Roman world, a fact which strongly supports the possibility that the Feriale Duranum could indeed be a standard directive, issued and applicable to troops generally.

Evidence of a more indirect kind is provided by military inscriptions which bear a particular date that happens to coincide with one of the festivals listed in the Dura calendar.¹⁸ While none of these is conclusive in itself, they collectively present a composite pattern of actions taken by troops in different parts of the world on the occasion of important imperial and other anniversaries. In other words they suggest that the activities recorded stem from acquaintance with or observance of anniversaries prescribed in copies of the same document. For the sake of clarity the inscriptions are presented in the sequence of the calendar which they seem to echo, with multiple examples listed in chronological order wherever possible. Excluded are dated records of remote relevance to the corresponding festival in the calendar, also inscriptions dated on fixed days (Kalends, Ides, Nones) unless the possibility exists that such a day was also the occasion of an imperial festival. Conversely the list includes several which give the dates of festivals that were conceivably scheduled in the missing portion of the *feriale*. Where the precise date of a festival, which was evidently listed in the calendar, is uncertain, it is clearly impossible to argue a link with a particular dated inscription, even though a surviving text might in fact reflect the occasion in question. A similar difficulty occurs with imperial festivals which may be echoed in military inscriptions but had fallen out of the calendar by the time of the copy which has been preserved at Dura. The emphasis of the selection is upon evidence from the provinces but references to similar testimony at Rome (provided by the praetorians and other units) are given wherever inclusion seems appropriate.

Claros", *Ant. Afr.* 10 (1976), 63-68, noting a very fragmentary but probable further example found at Banasa (*IAM* 2, 84); M. G. Granino Cecere, "Apollo in due iscrizioni di Gabii: (ii) Ancora una dedica a tutte le divinità 'Secundum interpretationem Clarii Apollinis'," *Miscell. Grec. Rom.* 10 (1986), 281-288.

¹⁸ On the limitations and pitfalls of this kind of evidence see "Liturgy and Ceremonial", above, p. 486f. For an instance of sheer coincidence see *CIL* 3, 5973 = 11976 (Straubing, Raetia; 11th April, 163). A connection with the *natalis* of Septimius Severus on this day is excluded by the year of the inscription.

Col. I

[*kal(endis) ianuaris* ca. 42]

Kalends of January, New Year's Day¹⁹

The date is not extant in the *feriale* but its inclusion is very probable on palaeographic grounds and because of its close association with both the ruler cult and the army.

RIB 1983 (Castlesteads, Britain; 1st January, 241)

Dedication of an altar [*I.O.M.*] *et numi[ni Aug(usti)] | n(ostri)*²⁰ by the *cohors II Tungrorum Gordiana equitata civium Latinorum* commanded by Tiberius Claudius Claudianus; the altar was set up under the direction of Publius Aelius Martinus *princeps*.

[*iii nonas ianuaris quod soluantur ac nuncupentur u*]OTA ET OB SALV-
TEM

[*domini nostri m aureli seueri alexandri aug et ob aetern*]ITATEM

[*impe*]RI P [r ioui o m b m iunoni reginae b f mineruae b f ioui uictori] B'
M'

[...]S.[ca. 12 *marti patri taurum marti victori ta*]VRVM

[*uict*]ORIAE B [f

Vows for the welfare of the emperor and the eternity of the empire.

A series of altars recovered at Maryport and Birdoswald may relate to this occasion (above, pp. 595f.). These were dedicated to I.O.M., also in some cases to the Imperial Numen.

[*vii idus*] IANV[*arias quod detur emeritis honesta missio cum usu priui*]
LEGIO-

[*rum*] VEL NUME[re]N[t]VR [*militibus stipendia i o m b m iunoni b f*
mineruae] B' F'

[*salu*]TI B F MARTI PATRI T [*aurum*

Discharge of troops and payment of wages.²¹

CIL 6, 209 (Rome; 7th January, 150)

CIL 6, 210 (Rome; 7th January, 208)

CIL 6, 3682 = 31154 (Rome; 7th January, ?189)

¹⁹ "Fer. Dur." 50f.; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 115-119; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1197.

²⁰ For the principle of one *numen*, one emperor, see "The Imperial Numen in Roman Britain", above, pp. 397ff; further D. Fishwick, "Numen Augusti", *Britannia* 20 (1989) 231-234.

²¹ "Fer. Dur." 66-73; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 124f.; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1197.

[.idus i]ANVARIAS OB NATALE[m luci 3—4 caesaris ca. 14]LVCI
[.S.[...] AVG]
[3—4 c]AESARIS

Whether the Ides of January were listed is uncertain as also is the identity of the person whose *natalis* may have been celebrated about this time. The fact that the festival was a fixed day better accounts for its popularity among soldiers.²²

For military inscriptions on this day see Herz, *Untersuchungen* 128f., citing: *AEpig* (1942-43) no. 37 (Castra Lambaesisana, Numidia; 13th January, 180) *RGKBer* 40 (1959) (1960), no. 145 (Obenburg, Germania Superior; 13th January, 191)

MZ 66 (1971), p. 144: Bild 2 (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior; 13th January, 208)

FB Baden-Württemberg 1 (1974), p. 536, no. 2 (Osterburken, Germania Superior; 13th January, 213)

CIL 13, 7338 (Heddernheim, Germania Superior; 13th January, 213)

AEpig (1962) no. 228 (Grosskrotzenburg, Germania Superior; 13th January, 221)

CIL 13, 6442 (Cannstatt, Germania Superior; 13th January, 223)

See further:

AEpig (1976) no. 502 (Arnsburgerhof, Germania Superior; 13th January, 208)

AEpig (1978) no. 526 (Osterburken, Germania Superior; 13th January, 213)

AEpig (1978) no. 551 (Grosskrotzenburg, Germania Superior; 13th January, 221)

15 V K[a]L [feb]RARIAS OB V[i]CTORI[as ca. 20 et parthica]M MAXI-
M[a]M DIVI SEVE[ri e]T OB [imperium diui traiani uictoriae par-
t]HIC[a]E
B [f d]IVO TRAIAN [o b m]

Accession of Trajan, capture of Ktesiphon by Septimius Severus²³ (also elevation of Caracalla to Augustus and of Geta to Caesar).

AEpig (1936) no. 60 (Djebel Dokhan, Egypt; 28th January, 113)

On behalf of the *τύχη* of the emperor Trajan and his whole house M. Papirius Celer, *decurio* of the *ala Vocontiorum* has built a temple (*hieron*) to the great goddess Isis on 3rd Mecheir in the prefecture of M. Rutilius Lupus.

²² "Fer. Dur." 74-77; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 455, nn. 3f. (*ad* 11th January).

²³ "Fer. Dur." 77-81; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 135; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1184, 1183, n. 344.

*KAL M[a]RTIS OB C[e]R[imo]NIA[s natalicias martis patris uictoris
marti] PATRI*

20

VICTORI TAV[rum]

Birthday ceremonies of Mars Pater Victor²⁴

CIL 2, 4083 (Tarraco, Tarraconensis; 1st March, 182)

Dedication to Mars Campester on behalf of the *salus* of the emperor and of the *equites singulares* by T. Aurelius Decimus, centurion of Legio VII Gemina Felix, *praep(ositus) simul et camp(o)*.

Col. II

*PRIDIE NONAS APRILES OB NATALE[m] DI[u]I A[n]TONINI
MAGNI D[i]VO AN[t]ON[in]O B M*

Birthday of Caracalla²⁵

AEpig (1916) no. 29 (Cuicul, Numidia; 4th April, 210)

Dedication to Mars Augustus on behalf of the *salus* of the three emperors; set up by C. Egrilius Fuscianus, *beneficiarius* of the governor Subatianus Proculus and formerly *adiutor principis praetori(i)*.

CIL 3, 1063 (Apulum, Dacia; 4th April, 215)

Dedication of an altar *pro salute domini n(ostri)* by C. Aur(elius) Sigillius, tribune of the Legio XIII Gemina Antoniniana. The dedication is to I.O.M., the rest of the immortal gods and goddesses, and to the personification Dacia.

*III IDVS APR[il]ES OB NATALEM DIVI PII SEVE[r]I D[iuo
pio] S[euero] B [m]*

Birthday of Septimius Severus²⁶

IRT 292 (Lepcis, Tripolitania; 11th April, ?203)

Dedication of an altar to I.O.M. Dolichenus *pro salute et victoria dominorum nostrorum Aug(ustorum)* by T. Flaviu[s. .]arin[us], *centurio legionis (III Augustae/III Gallicae)*.

See further *CIL* 6, 1063 (Rome; 11th April, 212)

²⁴ "Fer. Dur." 82-85; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 149f., 152; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1195.

²⁵ "Fer. Dur." 99f.; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 175f.; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1184.

²⁶ "Fer. Dur." 101f.; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 180; *id.*, Kaiserfeste 1181.

5 X[i k]AL MAIAS OB NATALEM VRBIS [r]OMAE [a]ETE[rnae
u r a b f]

Birthday of Rome²⁷

CIL 13, 8035 (Bonna, Germania Inferior; 21st April, 222).

Altar to Victoria Augusta financed by C. Publicius Priscilianus, *primus pilus* of the Legio I Minervia [Alexandriana] Pia Fidelis. [T.] Fl(avius) Aper Com-modianus, *legatus Aug. pr.pr.*, and Aufidius Coresnius Marcellus, *legatus legionis*, joined in the dedication.

For RIB 1270 see above, p. 596.

V[i k]AL MAIAS OB NATALEM DIVI MARCI ANTON[ini] diuo
marco an]TO[nino b m]

Birthday of Marcus Aurelius²⁸

CIL 3, 3157 = 8663 (Salona, Dalmatia; 26th April, 179)

Altar dedicated to Hercules Augustus by Val(erius) Valens, a veteran cen-turion who has opened (*aperuit*) a *limes publicus*.

CIL 13, 8619 (Ulpia Traiana, Germania Inferior; 26th April, 232)

Tertinius Vitalis, *miles* of the Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix Severiana Alexan-driana and *lib(rarius) praef(ecti)* has fulfilled his vow to I.O.M. Conservator *pro se suisque*. Herz suggests the vow may relate to the *nuncupatio votorum* of 3rd January.

VI.[d]VS MAIAS OB ROSALIAS SIGN[o]RVM SVPP[licatio]

Rose-festival of the standards²⁹

CIL 13, 6681 (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior; 10th May, 230)

Altar erected *in h.d.d.* by [A]trectius At[i]li[a]n[us], *tess(erarius) st(ipen-diorum) XVIII*, who has dedicated it to the *gen(ius) (centuriae) pro se et con-tir(ones) suos* (!); eleven of these are named.

(The precise date of the Rosaliae Signorum is uncertain in the *feriale* but

²⁷ "Fer. Dur." 102-112; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 187; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1195.

²⁸ "Fer. Dur." 112f.; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 192, cf. 232 *ad* CIL 13, 8017; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1174.

²⁹ "Fer. Dur." 115-120; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 201, cf. 217 *ad* 31st May; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1197.

appears to fall in the period 9th-11th May. The 10th May gains some support from *CIL* 13, 6681, though this makes no explicit reference to the festival).

- 15 [v] *ID[us i] VNIAS OB VESTALIA VESTE MATRI SVPLICAT[?]O*

Festival of the Vestalia³⁰

CIL 3, 4364 = 11082 = *RIU* 1, 249 (Arrabona, Pannonia Superior; 9th June, 207)

Altar to Victoria *Augg. nn.* and Legio I Adiutrix Pia Fidelis Antoniniana set up by gift of P. Marcius Sextianus, *p(rimus) p(ilus)*. Egnatius Victor, *legatus Augg. pr. pr.*, and Cl(audius) Piso, *legatus legionis*, made the dedication.

See also *CIL* 6, 224 (Rome; 9th June, 197)

[vi kal] *IULIAS QVOD DOMINVS NOST[e]R [m]ARCVS AVRE[l]IVS
SEVERVS AL[e]XA[nder cae]SAR APPE[l-]
[lat]VS SIT ET TOGA VIRILI AMIC[tus] GENIO ALEXANDRI
AV[g]VSTI TAVRVM*

Nomination of Severus Alexander as Caesar; his assumption of the *toga virilis*.³¹

CIL 13, 8017 (Bonna, Germania Inferior; ?26th June, 231)

Dedication of an altar to I.O.M., [Mars] Propugnator, Victoria and the Salus of the emperor, Severus Alexander, his mother, Julia Mamaea, his army and the whole divine house. The dedication was made jointly by the Legio I Minervia and its *auxilia* under the command of Titius Rufinus, *legatus legionis*, who saw to the erection of the altar (the attribution of this date to the inscription depends upon the restoration proposed by Snyder).

- 20 [vi idus iulia]S OB IMPERIVM DIVI ANTONINI PII DIV[o] ANTONINO B M

Accession of Antoninus Pius³²

AEpig (1904) no. 95 (Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior; ?10th July, 156)

³⁰ "Fer. Dur." 138-140; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 222f.; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1196.

³¹ "Fer. Dur." 141-143 with n. 618; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 232; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1186, n. 362.

³² "Fer. Dur." 146; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 238; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1173.

Fragmentary inscription set up by a group of veterans of the Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis. The year tells in favour of the restoration *VI Id. Iu[l(ias)]* rather than *Iu[n(ia)s]*.

See also *CIL* 6, 2835 (Rome: 10th July, 223)

[x kal augus]TAS OB DIEM NEPTVNALIORVM SVPPPLICATIO;
[i]MM[o]LATIO

Festival of the Neptunalia³³

IGRR 1, 1332 (Talmis, Egypt; 23rd July, 81)

A group of Roman soldiers have paid homage to the great god Mandulis on 29 Epeiph. In the absence of any local reason the choice of the day looks to have been determined by the Roman festival.

CIL 13, 6696 (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior; 23rd July, 218)
Altar to Juno Regina and the *genius loci* erected by L. Crescentius Gratinus, *beneficiarius* of the legate, in fulfilment of a vow.

CIL 13, 11758 (Vicus Aurelius, Germania Superior; 23rd July, 231)
Dedication in *h.d.d.* of the *aqua Alexandriana* by the *coh(ors) I Sept(imia) Belg(arum) Aldxandrian(a)* (sic). The work was directed by the prefect L. Val(erius) Optatus, *s(ub) c(ura) Cati Clementini co(n)s(ularis)*.

See also *CIL* 6, 100 (Rome; 23rd July, 157)

[kal augustis ob n]ATALEM DIVI CLAVDI ET DIVI PERT[in]ACIS
[di]VO CL[audi]O B M
[diuo pertinaci] B M

Birthday of Claudius, also of Pertinax³⁴

Apart from its imperial associations the fact that this was a fixed day may have influenced its choice.

CIL 8, 4323 (Casae, Numidia; 1st August, 208)
On behalf of the *salus* of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, Julia and all the divine house a *vexillatio* of the *cohors II Maurorum* under the centurion C.

³³ "Fer. Dur." 147-149; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 244f.; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1196.

³⁴ "Fer. Dur." 150; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 249f.; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1163, 1181.

Julius Paulinus have set up an altar in fulfilment of a vow. The governor Subatianus Proculus made the dedication.

CIL 3, 1911 (Novae, Dalmatia; ?1st August, 239)

Dedication to Silvanus Augustus by Acutianus, *beneficiarius consularis* of Legio XIII Gemina Gordiana.

CIL 13, 8207 (Colonia Agrippinensium, Germania Inferior; 1st August, 239)

Altar dedicated to I.O.M. and the *genius* of the place *pro se et suis* by M. Ingenuius Ingenuinus, *beneficiarius consularis*, in payment of a vow. The text begins with the formula *in h.d.d.*

RGKBer 40 (1959) (1960) no. 163 (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior; 1st August, ?Severan)

An inscription beginning *in h.d.d.* records that the veteran Amatorius Peregrinus has donated a representation of Mercury and 1000 denarii, the interest from which is to be distributed among the *beneficarii legati* on 1st August.

[..kal septemb]RE[s ob na]TAL[em m]AMAEA[e aug matr]IS AVG N I[u-
no]N[i ma]MA[e]AE AVG [b f]
[.....].VO[....]AOB.[.....].IAM..[.....].[.]..A...[
[..kal septembr]ES O[b nata]LE[m diu]AE MAR[cianae diuae marci]-
AN[ae supplicatio]

Birthday of Mamaea (14-29th August)³⁵

Birthday of Marciana (15-30th August)

Military inscriptions that might conceivably reflect either of these occasions include:

CIL 8, 2557 (Lambaesis, temple of Aesculapius, Numidia; 22nd August, 203)

AEpig (1910) no. 133 (Intercisa, Pannonia Inferior; 24th August, 214)

IGGR 1, 1044 (Alexandria, Egypt; 26th August, 158)

Col. III

[pr]ID [kal septembres ob nat]ALEM [diui commodi diuo] COM[modo
b m]

Birthday of Commodus³⁶ (earlier also of Caligula)

³⁵ "Fer. Dur." 152-154; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 259f. *ad* 21st August; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1177f., 1187.

³⁶ "Fer. Dur." 154f.; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 265; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1176.

CIL 6, 716 (Rome; ?31st August, 205)

[xiii kal octo]BR[es] O[b natalem diui traiani et ob imperium diui neruae
diuo]

5 [traiano] [b m] [diuo neruae b m]

Birthday of Trajan, accession of Nerva³⁷

CIL 3, 15208 (Lauriacum, Noricum; 18th September, 191)

Dedication to the *genius* of the Legio II Italica Pia by M. Gavius Firmus, *primus pilus*. The dedication was made by C. Memmius Fidus Iul(ius) Albius, *legatus Aug. pr. pr.* Herz suggests that the day might also have coincided with the *natalis aquilae*.

[xiii kal octobre]S O[b natalem diui an]T[onini pii diuo antonino b m]

Birthday of Antoninus Pius³⁸

CIL 13, 8016 (Bonna, Germania Inferior; 19th September 190)

altar dedicated to I.O.M., Hercules, Silvanus and the *genius* of the *domus* (?*divina*) by M. [Sabini]us Nepotianus, *praef(ectus) cast(rorum)*, along with his sons Marcellus, Nepotianus and Festus.

CIL 13, 8019 (*ibid.*; 19th September, 295)

Aur(elius) Si[---]us, *praefectus legionis I M(inerviae?)*, has renewed the temple of Mars Militaris, which had collapsed with age, and dedicated it *in h.d.d.* on behalf of the emperors' *salus*.

8 [viii] KAL [octobres o]B N[atalem] DI[ui augusti] DI[uo aug]VS[to b m]

Birthday of Augustus³⁹

RIB 327 (Caerleon, Britain; 23rd September, 244)

Dedication to the N.Aug. and the *genius* of the Legio II Augusta in honour of the Eagle, by gift of a *primus pilus* whose name is lost, under the *cura* of Ursus, *actuarius* of the same legion.

RIB 328 (*ibid.*; 23rd September, 234)

Partially preserved text, possibly military, recording simply the fact of a dedication made on this date.

³⁷ "Fer. Dur." 155f.; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 272; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1168f.

³⁸ "Fer. Dur." *ibid.*; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 273f.; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1173.

³⁹ "Fer. Dur." 158f.; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 276f.; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1147 with n. 71.

CIL 13, 7754 (Niederbieber, Germania Superior; 23rd September, 246)
Small bronze *genius* with three inscriptions. That on the left side begins *in h.d.d.* and records that fourteen *baioli* and *vexillari(i)* have donated the *genius* to the *collegium Victoriensium signiferorum*.

?*AEpig* (1974) no. 446 (Hohe Pforte, Germania Inferior, 1st September).

Altar offered *in h.d.d.* and dedicated to all the gods and goddesses by Acceptius Maior, a *beneficiarius consularis*, *pro se et suis omnibus* on completion of his term of service. The restoration *in d(iem) [n(atalem)] | Aug(usti)* is conjectural.

Kal Oct

vacat

[Birthday of Severus Alexander, presumably in missing portion of papyrus.⁴⁰
The fact that this is a fixed day no doubt also influenced its choice]

CIL 3, 3524 (Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior; 1st October 228)

Text recording that the *schola speculatorum* of Legio I and Legio II Adiutrices has been restored by the soldiers whose names are listed and that the governor, Fl(avius) Aelianus, made the dedication.

CIL 13, 7751 (Niederbieber, Germania Superior; 1st October, reign of Alexander Severus)

Dedication *in h.d.d.* to the *genius n(umeri) explorat(orum) Germanic(orum)* by the *cornicularius* Aurelius Victorinus *ex usuris*. In what connection he has paid his vow is unclear.

CIL 3, 10789 (Municipium Latobicorum, Pannonia Superior; 1st October, 250)

Dedication to I.O.M. and the *genius loci* by a *beneficiarius consularis* of Legio X Gemina, G. Iul(ius) Dig[nus], who has paid his vow.

XIV Kal Nov

vacat

[Armilustrium, perhaps in missing portion of papyrus⁴¹]

RIB 882 (?Papcastle, Britain; 19th and 20th October, 241)

Fragmentary altar set up presumably by a soldier in fulfilment of his vow.

⁴⁰ "Fer. Dur." 163; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 280f.; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1186.

⁴¹ "Fer. Dur." *ibid.*; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 289.

RIB 883 (?Papcastle, Britain; 19th, 20th October, 241, 242)

Altar recording the fulfilment of a vow, perhaps by an individual whom the governor had transferred to the *cuneus Frisionum Aballavensium Philipp(ianorum)*.

Col. IV

Pr Non Dec

vacat

[?Festival of some Diva, perhaps in missing portion of papyrus; cf. *P. Oslo* 77, 1.12⁴²]

CIL 13, 11759 (Vicus Aurelius, Germania Superior; 4th December, 241)

Dedication *in h d.d.* to the Nymphae *perennes* by G. Iul(ius) Roga[tianus], a Roman knight and prefect of the *cohors I Septimia Belgarum Gordiana*, in commemoration of his building project. In view of all the uncertainties the possibility that the anniversary was deliberately chosen seems remote.

III Kal Ian

vacat

[Birthday of Titus, perhaps in missing portion of papyrus.⁴³]

CIL 8, 21560 (Henchir Suik, Mauretania Caesariana; 30th December, 243)
Defective dedication by Aelius Servandus, *decurio* and *praepositus* of the *cohors II Breucorum Gordiana*. The inscription contains the phrase *salvis Augg(ustis) multis annis feliciter*, which Herz would relate to the *vota* at the beginning of the year.

The possibility cannot be entirely excluded that in some instances listed above an inscription bears a date, the significance of which was simply not realized at the time; in other words it coincides with an important festival by sheer chance. It could be plausibly argued also that some of these occasions, notably the birthday or accession of the reigning emperor, perhaps also the birthday of Augustus, would have been kept by troops generally even in the absence of a uniform roster of festivals. But that can hardly be the case with the majority of occasions listed; more particularly the celebration of purely Roman festivals or the birthdays of deceased emperors must surely be attributed to the existence of a standard calendar. Collectively the above

⁴² Herz, *Untersuchungen* 304.

⁴³ "Fer. Dur." *ibid.*; Herz, *Untersuchungen* 314; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste" 1166f.

corpus of inscriptions strongly supports the view that the dates of imperial and other festivals were known and consciously chosen as the occasion of dedications or other activities worth recording on stone with their precise date. When so many of these coincide with the list preserved on the Dura papyrus, the conclusion is hardly avoidable that they echo an earlier, contemporary or later version of a similar calendar. By and large, the epigraphical evidence presented weighs heavily in favour of the standard view that the *Feriale Duranum* is after all just one example of the canonical festival list issued to and observed by Roman troops everywhere.

II. THE *AUGUSTALES* AND THE IMPERIAL CULT

A phenomenon widely attested in the western provinces of the Roman empire is the presence of local municipal colleges called variously *magistri Augustales*, *Augustales* and *seviri Augustales*.¹ These were largely composed of freedmen, though *ingenui* occur in numerous towns, and to judge from their nomenclature, social status, composition and activities developed on the model of the *magistri* that are found among émigré Italian *negotiatores* on Delos after ca. 150 B.C., and at a wide range of centres in Italy, especially in Campania. Such organizations called themselves after a particular deity—*magistri Mercuriales*, *Martiales* and so on—but, in addition to religious activities, notably the erection of statues or the *cura* of altars and temples, gave games and supported public works. In some cases it seems clear that an existing organisation such as the *magistri Herculanei* undertook the cult of the emperor; they then style themselves *magistri Herculanei et Augustales* or simply *Herculanei Augustales*, *Augustales Mercuriales*. But already in the Augustan period one finds new organizations of *magistri Augustales*, soon abbreviated to *Augustales*, which were founded independently and specifically concerned with the cult of the emperor. With the spread of the politically more significant ruler cult these soon eclipsed the older organisations of *magistri*. In some cases, markedly in middle and north Italy, they evidently copied the six-man organization of local municipal *seviri*, the function of whom lay entirely outside the religious sphere.² Hence the name *seviri Augustales*, though it is possible this sometimes means that the same individual served both as *Augustalis* and as municipal *sevir*.

The name *Augustalis* makes it perfectly clear that organizations of this nature served the cult of the emperor; one may compare the later titles *sevir Tiberianus*, *Claudialis*, *Neroniensis*, *Flavialis*, *Nervialis*.³ What form their

¹ R. Duthoy, "Recherches sur la répartition géographique et chronologique des termes *sevir Augustalis*, *Augustalis* et *sevir* dans l'empire romain", *EpigStud* 11 (1976), 143-214, especially 199ff.; *idem*, "Les *Augustales", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1254-1309 at 1260-1293; P. Kneissl, "Entstehung und Bedeutung der Augustalität. Zur Inschrift der ara Narbonensis (*CIL* XIII, 4333)", *Chiron* 10 (1980), 291-326 at 307ff.; T. Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft* (Das römische Herrscherbild: Abt. 3; Bd. 5), Berlin, 1985, 123, noting the erection of statues of the emperor on the part of these municipal officials.

² L. R. Taylor, "Augustales, Seviri Augustales and Seviri: a Chronological Study", *TAPA* 45 (1914), 231-253 at 238ff. See further *eadem*, "Seviri Equitum Romanorum and Municipal Seviri: a Study in Pre-Military Training among the Romans", *JRS* 14 (1924), 158-171 at 168ff. For the insignia of the *seviri* and *seviri Augustales* see now T. Schäfer, *Imperii Insignia: Sella curulis und Fasces. Ein Beitrag zur Repräsentation römischer Magistrature* chs. 2, 6, 7 (forthcoming).

³ Duthoy (above, note 1) 1300, n. 376 with refs.

cult took is nevertheless obscure. Two comments by the scholiasts on Horace, *Sat.* 2, 3, 281 are germane but at first sight offer little help:

Iusserat enim Augustus in compitis deos Penates constitui, ut studiosius colerentur. Erant autem libertini sacerdotes, qui Augustales dicebantur (Pseudo-Acron).

Ab Augusto [enim] Lares, id est dii domestici, in compitis positi sunt, et libertini sacerdotes dati qui Augustales sunt adpellati (Porphyryon).

Their statements clearly associate the *Augustales* with the cult of the Lares but are in error on two scores. It was neither the Di Penates nor the domestic Lares that Augustus established at the crossroads; what he did was to set his own *genius* between the existing Lares Compitales. Furthermore both the iconographic and the epigraphic evidence confirm that the cult at Rome was put in the hands of the *vicorum magistri* with their slave *ministri*.⁴ Nevertheless it will become clear that behind the confusions of the scholiasts may lie significant testimony to the religious functions of the *Augustales*, here called *sacerdotes*.

Further evidence is provided by the inscription of the Ara Numinis Augusti at Narbo (*CIL* 12, 4333 = *ILS* 112), which records the cult paid to the Numen Augusti by a six-man board; evidently the rites were still in force under the Antonines, the period of the presumed copy that has survived.⁵ This organization is either one closely modelled on the *Augustales* and similar bodies or, on the closely reasoned arguments of P. Kneissl,⁶ that of the *Augustales* themselves; in which case the text could be considered the foundation charter of the *seviri Augustales* at Narbo. A number of points tally closely: the social niveau and organization of the board; its pre-occupation with the ruler cult; the distribution of wine and incense to the people, an activity in keeping with the social dimension of the *Augustales*. Even the combination of three freedmen with three *equites Romani a plebe* can be paralleled in the mixed groups of *ingenui* and *libertini* found elsewhere, especially in the early principate (above, p. 609), though Premierstein noted that the numerous *seviri Augustales* otherwise attested at the town seem to be exclusively freedmen.⁷ Whichever interpretation is correct, the text throws light, directly or indirectly, on the religious activities of the *Augustales*; in particular it

⁴ A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus* (Antiquitas 14), Bonn, 1973, 22-36; cf. "Augustus and the West", above, Vol. I, 1, p. 85, note 13.

⁵ "Liturgy and Ceremonial", above, p. 482.

⁶ Above, note 1, 317-319, cf. 306-308. *Contra* J. Cels-Saint-Hilaire, "Numen Augusti et Diane de l'Aventin: le témoignage de l'ara Narbonensis" in *Les grandes Figures religieuses. Fonctionnement pratique et symbolique dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1986, 455-502, especially 472-477.

⁷ *Diz. Epig.* 1(1895) (1961) 827, cf. 874 s.v. *Augustales*; cf. Duthoy (above, note 1) (1978) 1264.

documents the celebration of *dies sollemnes* with animal sacrifice or supplication. But should one go on to conclude that a principal preoccupation of the *Augustales* in general was to pay cult to the Numen Augusti? Such is the inference drawn by Kneissl, who would enlist this testimony in support of Duthoy's view that the *Augustales* paid cult to the *genius* of the emperor or to the Numen Augusti in line with the original policy of Augustus, who sought to avoid direct personal cult in Rome or Italy during his lifetime.⁸ Duthoy mentions in passing the Narbo inscription but lays more emphasis on one from Aquincum: *numini Aug. et | genio imp. Caes. T. Ael. | Hadr. Antonini col|leg. Augustal. impen|dis suis fecerunt prae|fect. C. Iul. Crescente | l.p.d.d.d. (CIL 3, 3487: A.D. 138)*. Two epigraphical texts are very little evidence on which to base so sweeping a generalization but it so happens that direct evidence for the cultual practice of the *Augustales* is otherwise non-existent: that is, if one is to exclude the fifty or so inscriptions that seem to relate to their activities in a private rather than a corporate capacity.⁹

The main objection to Duthoy's thesis is that the general development of the ruler cult tells against it. The emperor's *genius* did not receive a public cult, for example on the part of the Arvals, before the reign of Nero,¹⁰ and is sparsely attested throughout the West under the principate.¹¹ The cult of the Numen Augusti, on the other hand, first appears at the very end of Augustus' life and is attested in a small number of instances under Tiberius¹² but then seems to drop out of sight until re-emerging in the Antonine period¹³ and, much more abundantly, under the Severi and later. The obvious reason for this is that none of Augustus' immediate successors possessed the prestige and charisma to justify a cult that came close to outright deification in life. One would have thought it unlikely, then, that the principal concern of the *Augustales* should have been with specializations of the ruler cult that were uncommon, if not actually defunct, for so long. A further objection at Narbo is that there are so few days when the board actually performed rites, only two imperial anniversaries, the kalends of January, and a single local occasion (which could of course have varied from one centre to another). It is

⁸ Above, note 1 (1978) 1298f.; cf. T. Kotula, "Les Augustales d'Afrique", *BCTH* 17B (1984), 345-357 at 352.

⁹ Duthoy, *o.c.* 1296-1298; cf. Kneissl (above, note 1) 318f.

¹⁰ "Liturgy and Ceremonial", above, p. 506; cf. above, Vol. I, 1, p. 91, note 55.

¹¹ For the evidence see below, Vol. III, 2-3.

¹² In addition to *CIL* 12, 4333 (= *ILS* 112; Narbo) see, for example, *IRT* 324 (Lepcis: Augustus), *CIL* 11, 3303 (= *ILS* 154; Forum Clodii: Augustus), Alföldy, *RIT* 48 (Tarraco: ?Augustus), *CIL* 4, 3882 (= *ILS* 5146, Pompeii: ?Augustus or Tiberius), *CIL* 13, 389 (Bigeriones: 1st century), *CIL* 2, 1516 (Ipagrum: Tiberius), *ILS* 158 (Gortyn, Crete: Tiberius).

¹³ A few dedications to the *numen* of the *domus Aug./Augusta* or variant occur in the interval, for example *CIL* 3, 7380 (Coela: A.D. 55), *CIL* 6, 541 (Rome: A.D. 88). See further "*Domus Divina*" above, p. 433 with notes 71-74.

unreasonable to suppose that the largely freedman organizations found widely in Italy and the Western provinces would have limited their activities to four days a year. On the whole, therefore, it seems preferable to hold that the Narbo text attests a specially-created board, modelled on organizations already in existence elsewhere, and that the *seviri* at Narbo were appointed to serve a special cult based on the altar of the Numen Augusti at Narbo, where the people had a special relationship to Augustus. They are not the *Augustales* but to the extent that they parallel the *magistri Augustales*, *Augustales*, and *seviri Augustales*, here or elsewhere, their activities are helpful for present purposes in illustrating the forms of cult that could be expected of such organizations.

As we have seen, the name *Augustalis* must surely indicate, at least originally, a cult that centered on Augustus, just as the terms *Tiberianus*, *Claudialis* and so on focus on the person of the current emperor;¹⁴ presumably later *Augustales* are concerned with the reigning emperor of the time, cf. *flamen Augusti*, *sacerdos Romae et Augusti*.¹⁵ But what one finds by the Antonine period, if not earlier, is that the *Augustales* could also serve in close association with or even among the *cultores domus divinae*.¹⁶ This development is confirmed by inscriptions attesting the combination *sevir et Aug(ustalis) s(ocius) c(ultor) d(omus) d(ivinae)* (CIL 5, 6518: Novaria); cf. *seviri Aug(ustales) socii cultores domus divinae* (CIL 5, 6657 = ILS 6741a: Vercellae). There is a single example at Novaria of *sevir inter cultores domus divinae* (CIL Suppl. Ital. 1, 883 = ILS 6741) but elsewhere the offices are simply in apposition—either in the plural form: *se]viri Aug(ustal(es) cu]lt(ores) domus divin[ae* (CIL 5, 6648: Vercellae) or, more commonly, in the singular, especially at Milan and its environs; *sevir Aug(ustalis) c(ultor) d(omus) d(ivinae)* (CIL 5, 5465, 5749, 5844, 8922; AEpig, 1974, no. 345); cf. *sevir sen(ior) et Aug(ustalis) c(ultor) d(omus) d(ivinae)* (CIL 5, 6349: Laus). Premerstein held that this association with the *cultores domus divinae* coincides with the period when new formulations based on the name of the current emperor cease to be coined. However that may be, it seems clear that the cult paid by the *Augustales* originally focused on the person of the living emperor but later came to include other members of the *domus imperatoria*. If so, these groups of freedmen can be seen as parallel associations to the *cultores*

¹⁴ See in particular CIL 3, 1835 recording a *sevir Augustalis, Flavialis, Titialis, Nervialis* at Narona: cf. CIL 3, 1768. Mommsen (C. p. 291) took this to mean that the cult offered by the local *Augustales* included all the *divi*; cf. *id.*, *Hermes* 1 (1866), 59, n. 1. It seems preferable to hold that C. Vibius Ingenus *pater* boastfully gives himself all the successive titles that the office has carried at Narona.

¹⁵ Cf. Premerstein (above, note 7) 854f.

¹⁶ Duthoy (above, note 1) (1978) 1301. Taylor, *Divinity* 220, n. 37, erroneously states that the *Augustales* sometimes have the sub-title *cultores Larum et imaginum*.

Augusti, mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* 1, 73),¹⁷ later to the *cultores domus divinae*, with whom they evidently combined in some cases.

What one would expect, then, is that cult paid by the *Augustales*, at least within their own organizations, will have approximated to that of the *cultores* and indeed of most colleges.¹⁸ This would call for supplications of incense and wine, perhaps occasionally animal sacrifices, on imperial or other anniversaries,¹⁹ very much on the lines of the ritual prescribed at Narbo. All analogy suggests that such rites will have been performed at the interior altar within the club *schola* and before the imperial images. It is very possible too that on *dies solemnes* the images may have been carried in procession, perhaps in combination with municipal rites. This is suggested by the fact that the shrines of the *Augustales* are located as a rule near the forum, within easy reach of the municipal altar or temple of the imperial cult. Certainly, the general character of the cult offered by the *Augustales* in a private capacity is in keeping with such a hypothesis²⁰ and nothing excludes the possibility of corporate cult offered on occasion under other forms, as evidenced by the dedication to the imperial *numen* and the emperor's *genius* at Aquincum, for example

¹⁷ Cf. a confraternity at Volubilis that calls itself variously *cultores domus Aug.* (*IAM* 2, 377) and *cultor. August.* (*IAM* 2, 490). Among its members is a Sex(tus) Iul(ius) Epictetus (*IAM* 2, 491e), who appears to be identical with the freedman *sevir* who offered a puppy to Diana Aug(usta) *ex voto* in celebration of his sevirate (*IAM* 2, 345). For discussion see G. Di Vita-Evrard, "En feuilletant les 'Inscriptions Antiques du Maroc, 2'", *ZPE* 68 (1987), 193-225 at 208, n. 71, 212f.

¹⁸ "Liturgy and Ceremonial", above, pp. 537-540. On the shrines of the *Augustales* see G. Dareggi, "Il ciclo statuario della 'basilica' di Otricoli: la fase guilio-claudia", *Bollettino d'Arte* 14 (1982), 1-36 at 8-10; M. R. Borriello, "L'edificio degli Augustali di Miseno" in E. Pozzi (co-ord. gen.), *Domiziano-Nerva. La Statua equestre da Miseno; una proposta di ricomposizione*, Naples, 1987, 13-24 with bibl., p. 24. For a possible cult centre of the *Augustales* at Centuripe (eastern Sicily), which has produced marble heads of Augustus, Germanicus, the younger Drusus and an unknown Julio-Claudian prince, see G. Libertini, *Centuripe*, Catania, 1926, 40ff.; *id.*, *NSA* ser. 8, 7 (1953), 353-368, especially 364ff.; R. J. A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire: the Archaeology of a Roman Province B.C. 36-A.D. 535*, Warminster, 1990, forthcoming.

¹⁹ For the distribution of *sportulae* on Vespasian's birthday (17th November) from the interest accruing to funds given by members of the corporation of *seviri Augustales* at Aquae Sextiae see *CIL* 12, 530. In an inscription from Trebula Suffenas the *Augustales* along with the decurions are the recipients of a dinner given (?by the *seviri*) on the birthday of Livia (30th January); cf. Taylor (above, note 2) (1914) 240, citing *CIL* 6, 29681, ll. 20-22; *eadem*, "Trebula Suffenas and the Plautii Silvani", *MAAR* 24 (1956), 9-30. See further below, note 26. If the four officials of A.D. 22 (ll. 5-8) are *magistri Augustales*, as suggested by Henzen, it is notable that they gave games on 1st August, the anniversary of the capture of Alexandria; cf. Taylor (1956), 21.

²⁰ For dedications by the *Augustales* to emperors living and dead, to the emperor's *genius*, to his *numen* or to the *numen* of the imperial house, to the Lares Augusti, to Augustan Gods, Augustan Abstractions, etc. see Duthoy (1978) 1296-1299; cf., for example, *CIL* 11, 6306, recording that two individuals at Pisaurum, each with the title *sevir et sevir Augustalis*, have erected double doors (*valvas*) and statues (*signa*) of the Di Augusti—possibly at their own expense—and given a banquet (?to the *plebs*) on the occasion of the dedication of these. For discussion see "Augustan Gods", above, p. 452.

(above, p. 611).²¹ As it happens, an inscription from Ciciliano (?Trebula Suffenas) strongly supports such a view while at the same time documenting the early extension of cult to other members of the imperial house besides the emperor (*AEpig*, 1972, no. 154).²² The text is dated internally (ll. 6f.) to 24th or 23rd July, A.D. 14, and records that a body, explicitly of freedmen, have contributed *imagines Caesarum* and built or restored a *schola* out of collected funds; cake and honey-wine have been given to the *populus* on the occasion of the *dedicatio*—presumably of the *imagines*. L. Berni Brizio holds that the reference can only be to the deceased grandsons of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, and that placing their likenesses within the *schola* is consistent with the steps taken to secure the quasi-deification of the two after their deaths.²³ Comparison with similar references,²⁴ in conjunction with a date just less than a month before the death of Augustus, suggests that the *Caesares* may rather be Augustus and Tiberius.²⁵ The inscription includes a list, apparently of newly admitted members, and the three individuals that are named at the beginning of the text are charged with a special *cura*. In view of the freedman membership of the group, the known presence of *Augustales* at Trebula Suffenas,²⁶ and strong evidence of interest in the imperial house²⁷ there is good reason to believe that this is a body of *Augustales*, despite the omission of the term in the surviving text. In that case the inscription throws important light on the rites performed by the *Augustales* and corroborates the proposed model of the cult forms that can be inferred from the practices of similar organizations.

The possibility nevertheless remains that, in some municipalities at least,

²¹ For an Antonine relief showing sacrifice by two *seviri* to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, therefore perhaps for the safety of the emperor, see I. Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (MAAR 22), Rome, 1955, 102f. with fig. 51; cf. *ibid.* 100f. with fig. 49a (Brescia) for the offering of incense by a *sevir* before *ludi*. See further Duthoy (above, note 1) (1978) 1303 with n. 406.

²² L. Berni Brizio, "Una *dedicatio* delle *imagines* di Gaio e Lucio Cesari da parte degli Augustales di Trebula Suffenas", *CSDIR* 4 (1972-73), 149-160; Pekáry, *Kaiserbildnis* (above, note 1) 109 with n. 25.

²³ For examples (some erroneous) at Rome see *id.*, *o.c.* 156. Cf. the dedication of the temple at Nîmes: R. Amy and P. Gros, *La Maison Carrée de Nîmes* (Gallia Suppl. 38), Paris, 1979, 1, 188-194.

²⁴ "Liturgy and Ceremonial", above, p. 537.

²⁵ On the use of *Caesares* to denote living members of the imperial house see "The Origins of the Provincial Cult of Baetica", above, Vol. I, 2, pp. 231-4; cf. the *Caesares* of *AEpig* (1978) no. 286.

²⁶ For the link with *CIL* 6, 29681 (above, note 19) see Berni Brizio 155f., noting certain and possible onomastic concordances between the names listed in both texts. The firmest example is [*T. Traebulanus Felix praeco* (l. 9); cf. *T. Traebulanus Felix praeco*] (*CIL* 6, 29681, 1.17).

²⁷ Cf. 1.4: [*ludos latinos et graecos fecerunt ob honorem Cae]sarum, imagines Caesarum et scholam ex pecuni[a collata]*... The formula *ludos latinos et graecos* occurs in *CIL* 11, 3613 (= *ILS* 5052) but not *ob honorem Caesarum* as stated by Berni Brizio, p. 155. The expansion *Cae]sarum* nevertheless looks very probable.

members of the *Augustales* also performed the same functions as the *magistri vicorum* at Rome.²⁸ On the negative side there is no epigraphical trace of the *magistri vicorum* at Pompeii, for example, which certainly had a cult of the Lares Augusti at the crossroads;²⁹ here the *Augustales* are well in evidence,³⁰ whereas they are entirely absent from Rome. It is striking, too, that like the *magistri* the municipal *Augustales* seem to have taken up office on 1st August (*CIL* 10, 112 = *ILS* 6467). Positive evidence includes a *minist(er) Lar(um) Aug(ustorum) et Aug(ustalis) Mercurialis* at Grumentum (*CIL* 10, 205; cf. *EphEp* 8, 269, where *et* is omitted); in this instance the older organization of the *Mercuriales* has taken over the cult of Augustus and one of their number is *minister* of the Lares Augusti.³¹ With this may be compared an example at Ostia of a *sevir Augustalis* and *quinquennalis* of the college who is *immunis Larum Aug(ustorum)*, that is (presumably) exempt from the duties connected with the cult of the Lares Augusti (*CIL* 14, 367: A.D. 182). Similarly the title *sevir magister Larum Augustalis* is attested in several inscriptions at Tarraco.³² Dedications to the Lares Augusti³³ record private rather than corporate activity by members of these associations and are consequently inadmissible as evidence (see above, p. 611) but attention may be called, for example, to the gift of Lares Augusti by three *Herculanei Augustales* to the *cultores domus divinae et Fortunae Augustae* at Tibur (*CIL* 14, 3561), also to the munificence of two *Augustales* at Luceria, where they have paved forty feet of road *ad vicum Laris* at their own expense (*CIL* 9, 808). The supposition that the *Augustales* superintended the cult of the Lares Augusti in some municipalities³⁴ would thus clarify the testimony of the scholiasts (above, p. 207), who have simply confused a municipal arrangement with that at Rome. It would further follow that the veiled figures shown sacrificing to the Lares Augusti on the Ptuj reliefs (above, p. 503) may in fact be *Augustales*; the name is at any rate attested locally (*CIL* 3, 4107). On the

²⁸ Kneissl (above, note 1) 315; cf. M. Hano, "A l'origine du culte impérial: les autels des Lares Augusti. Recherches sur les thèmes iconographiques et leur signification", *ANRW* 2, 16, 3 (1986) 2333-2381 at 2361.

²⁹ Scott Ryberg, *Rites* (above, note 21) 81, n. 1 with bibl. (she assumes the officiants are *vicomagistri*). See further D. G. Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion: the Evidence of the Household Shrines", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1557-1591 at 1584f.

³⁰ Premerstein (above, note 7) 859; cf. Taylor (above, note 2) (1914) 237.

³¹ Kneissl (above, note 1) 314.

³² *CIL* 2, 4293, 4297, 4304, 4306, 4307; cf. 4289, 4290, 4303 for possible variants (= Alföldy, *RIT* 415, 418, 426, 385, 432, add 425; cf. 408f., 423. See further J. de Alarcão, R. Etienne and G. Fabre, "Le culte des Lares à Conimbriga (Portugal)", *CRAI* (1969), 213-236 at 232; J. Mangas, "Die römische Religion in Hispanien während der Prinzipatszeit, *ANRW* 2, 18, 1 (1986) 276-344 at 306f.

³³ Cf. *CIL* 9, 423 (Venusia); *EphEp* 9, 252 (Iulipa).

³⁴ A further parallel could in that case be drawn with the *cultores Larum et imaginum Augusti/Caesaris* and variants, who pay cult to the *domestic* Lares in combination with the emperor's image. See "Liturgy and Ceremonial", above, p. 537f. with refs.

other hand arrangements clearly differed from one town to another. As Premierstein showed, some *Augustales* are attested before 7 B.C.,³⁵ the effective date when Augustus put the cult at the Compita in the hands of the *magistri vicorum*. At other centres inscriptions show that the *Augustales* did *not* have charge of such a cult, Spolegium for instance (*CIL* 11, 4815 = *ILS* 6638).

Generalizations are always risky and a piecemeal analysis clearly provides the soundest approach, but it seems safe to say that within their own organizations the *magistri Augustales*, *Augustales* and *seviri Augustales* will have offered the emperor a "Bilderdienst" in the form of sacrificial rites performed before the imperial image(s) on important anniversaries; in addition they may in some towns, if not many, have supervised the cult of the Lares Augusti at the crossroads. The fact that nothing in all this was particularly remarkable no doubt explains why their cult activities have left so few traces. By far the most significant feature of these organizations was that membership catered to the ambition of the freedman class, whose wealth could then be put to the use of the community in supporting largesse or public works.³⁶ It is hardly surprising, therefore, if the social and economic dimensions of such activities are what are customarily reflected in their inscriptions or on sepulchral reliefs (cf. Pl. LXXXVII b).³⁷

³⁵ Above, note 7, *ibid.*, citing *CIL* 11, 3200: Nepet, 12 B.C. (= *ILS* 89).

³⁶ Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 98-103; D. Ladage, *Städtische Priester- und Kultämter in lateinischen Westen des Imperium Romanum zur Kaiserzeit*, Diss. Köln, 1971, 116; Duthoy (above, note 1) (1978) 1294f., 1301-1305; Kneissl (above, note 1) 319f., 325f. See in general G. Alföldy, *Die römische Gesellschaft. Ausgewählte Beiträge* (Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 1), Stuttgart, 1986).

³⁷ A partially preserved inscription at Bovillae records that the *Augustales* along with the decurions have given a banquet before the dedication of an *aedes* (*CIL* 14, 2416). The surviving text mentions various structures including an *aedicula* (?within the *aedes*), also gold *imagines*, evidently of the emperor. Despite the lacunae, the involvement of the *Augustales* looks consistent with the proposed outline of their own cult activities.

III. ADDENDA TO VOLUME II, 1

pp. 477, note 15; 478f., notes 22f.; 480, note 31; 513, note 242; 551, note 465; 564, note 541

An inscription found in 1967 near the village of Kemerarasi in north-western Lycia is of the greatest significance for the various documents it records relating to the foundation of a local, pentaeteric contest and accompanying festival by C. Iulius Demosthenes, a citizen of nearby ancient Oenoanda. The text, which holds numerous points of interest for comparative purposes, has now been published with detailed commentary by M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien: Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oenoanda* (Vestigia 39), Munich, 1988. Like the festival of the Caesarea at Gytheum (above, pp. 552, 564, 565f.), Demosthenes' *themis* is a thymelic contest but remarkable for its unusual length (over three weeks) and for the range of competitions offered: trumpeters, heralds, encomiographers, poets, aulos-players with chorus, comic and tragic actors, citharodes, a competition διὰ πάντων for winners irrespective of category, mimes, shows etc. (ll. 38-46; cf. Wörrle 227ff.). A concluding, supplementary athletic contest, which is confined to citizens, seems to lie outside the main competitions since no prizes are given (l. 46), while a lamp-race for teams of boys clearly belongs to the ritual of the festival (ll. 65-67). What is of special significance in the present context is the close association of the event with the emperor and the imperial cult and the resulting correspondance of various details of ritual with features one observes elsewhere in the Greek world. The following are of special note:

The agonothete is to wear a crown with portraits of Hadrian and Apollo very much like the crowns worn by provincial imperial priests in the Greek East: ll. 52f., 56f. (above, p. 477; W. 187f.).

His dress shall be of purple, again like the costume of provincial priests: l. 57 (above, p. 480; W. pp. 192f.).

'Acts of piety' to Hadrian and Apollo are to be performed by the agonothete at the ceremony marking New Year's Day, which is called Sebaste: ll. 57f. (above, pp. 494f., 513f.; W. pp. 193f.).

The agonothete shall take part in the procession along with other officials—on the model of processions at local and provincial festivals elsewhere: l. 58 (above, pp. 550-553; W. 193f.).

He is to have a seat of honour (προεδρεύειν) at the theatrical shows dressed in his official robes, a feature we have noted at Narbo: l. 59 (above, p. 478f., cf. Pl. LXXXVI a, b; W. p. 195).

Ten Sebastophoroi, appointed by the agonothete and wearing white garments and crowns of celery, are to carry the emperor images and the image of the ancestral god Apollo, very much as porters carried emperor images and statues of Artemis at Ephesus or images of Divus Augustus, Livia and Tiberius at Gytheum: ll. 61f. (above, pp. 551, 564, 565; W. 216-219). They are also to bear in procession a silver-plated altar (funded by Demosthenes and bearing an appropriate inscription: cf. ll. 53f.). Presumably sacrifice was made on the altar when the procession was completed, much as at Gytheum (above, ll. cc.; W. 190-192).

A cortège consisting of the agonothete and other officials is to proceed through the theatre and sacrifice together on the days of the festival, again very much as at Gytheum: ll. 68f. We are given extensive details of the various sacrifices to be made by the different officials, including the agonothete and the municipal imperial priest and priestess; the victim is in every case an ox: ll. 69-80 (cf. above, p. 513f.). Interestingly, sacrificial animals from other cities, at whatever times they are sent in, are to be lead also through the theatre and publicly announced, and the agonothete is to send confirmation of their participation in the sacrifice to the cities that had been responsible for contributing them: ll. 83-87 (W. pp. 198ff.).

Past agonothetes are to join with the present incumbent in having special seats at the festival (συνπροεδρεύειν), again very much as at Narbo: l. 87 (above, p. 479; W. pp. 183, 198).

Taken as a whole, this new inscription adds substantially to our overall picture of local Greek competitions and festivals and their link with the cult of the emperor. *Mutatis mutandis* it also contributes to the picture that can be built up by analogy of corresponding liturgy and ceremonial in the Latin West. For the relation of the Oenoanda festival to other (remarkably few) artistic *agones* in the Greek world see further the review by C. P. Jones in *JRA* 3 (1990), forthcoming.

p. 519, note 269

On the Augusteum at Nîmes see now P. Gros, "Théâtre et culte impérial en Gaule Narbonnaise et dans la Péninsule ibérique" in *La Ciudad romana en Hispania. Su monumentalización en época Republicana y Augusta: Madrid 19-23, 10, 1987 (ABAW)* forthcoming (text kindly forwarded by the author). He suggests (nn. 29-32) that the associated theatre (above, pp. 523, 584) may have been the municipal theatre of Nîmes known from *AEpig* (1982) no. 681.

pp. 522, note 290; p. 584, note 666

See Gros, *o.c.* for the theatres at Cherchel (n. 18); Orange (nn. 33-36,

stressing the similarity of the *temenos* at Orange with that of the temple at Antioch in Pisidia; cf. Hänlein-Schäfer, above, p. 484, note 57, 191-196; Price, *Rituals* 269f.); Arles (nn. 38f.); Glanum (n. 40); Mérida (nn. 42-47); Tarraco (nn. 48-53); Italica (nn. 54-58); Bilbilis (n. 62). Many of these points are also developed in Gros, *Urbanistica* (above, p. 519, note 269) *passim*. For a possible Augusteum associated with the theatre at Orange see now M. Janon, N. Janon, M. Kilmer, "Les frises d'Orange: le pouvoir mis en scène," *Actes du Colloque 'Le théâtre et ses spectacles': Lattes, avril, 1989*, forthcoming.

p. 523, note 291

For the ambiguous nature of imperial statues adorning the *scaenae frons* see Gros with nn. 20-22, suggesting they fall between ἀγάλματα and εἰκόνες.

p. 524, note 299

For the Augusteum attached to the *porticus Octaviae* see further Gros with nn. 14-17, observing that the Tiberieum attested by the celebrated inscription of Pontius Pilate (*AEpig*, 1971, no. 477) looks to have been a similar cult place near to, if not within, the theatre of Caesarea in Palestine; cf. A. E. Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley, 1983, 113f. with bibl.

p. 581, note 652; p. 590, note 698

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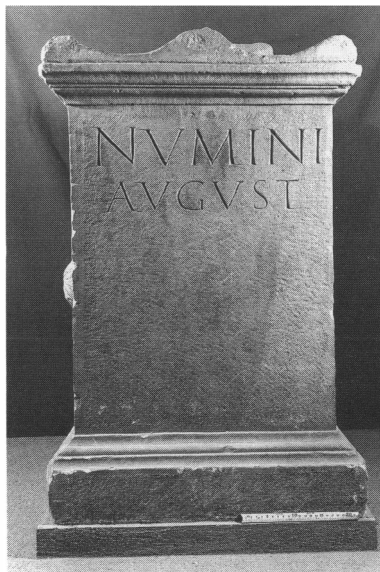
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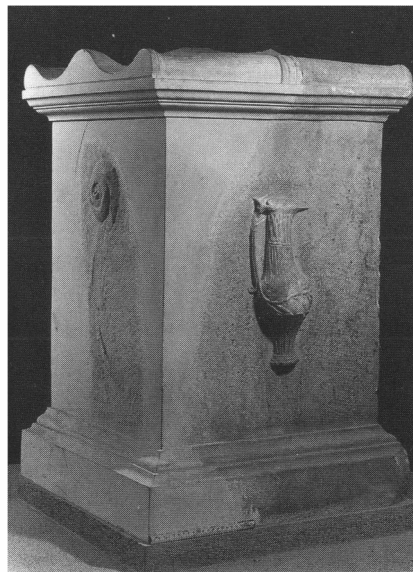
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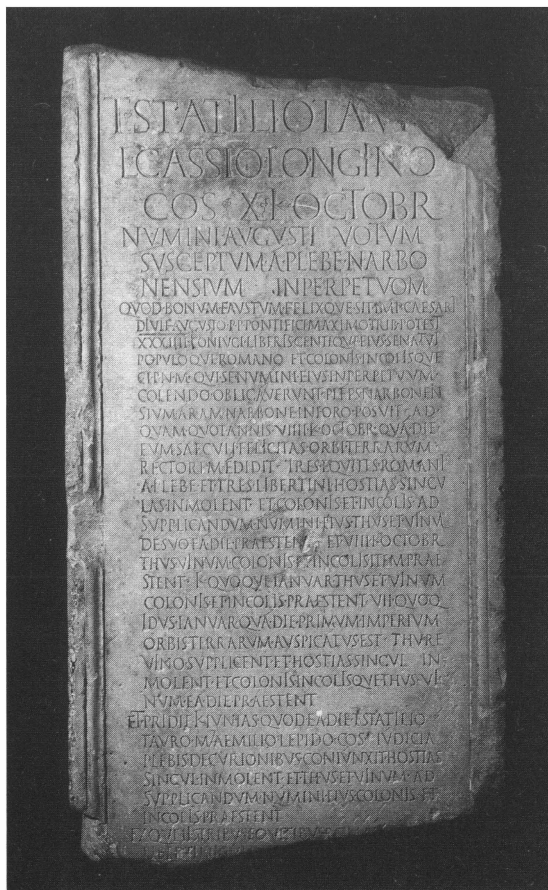


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c)

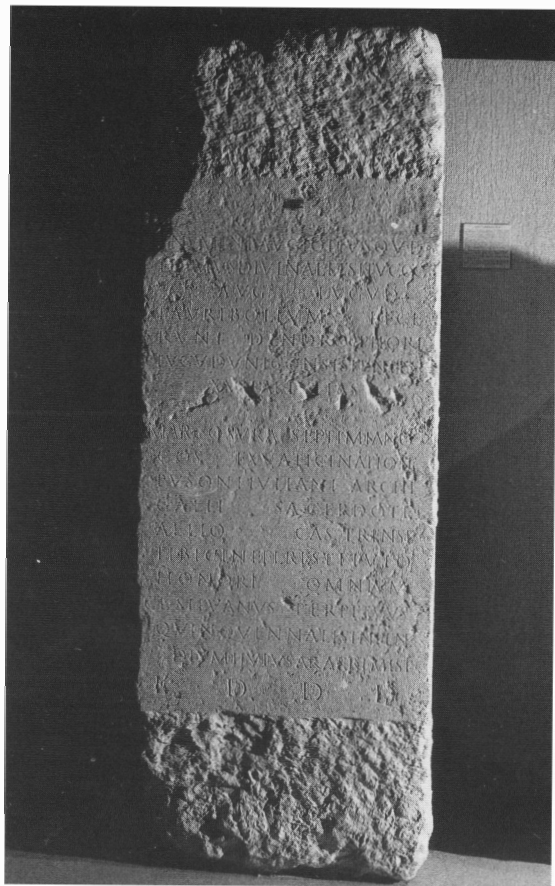
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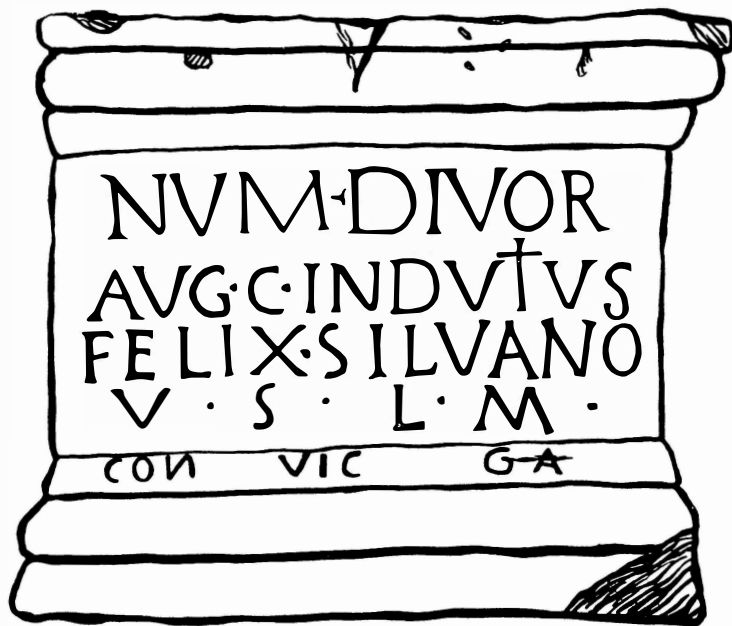
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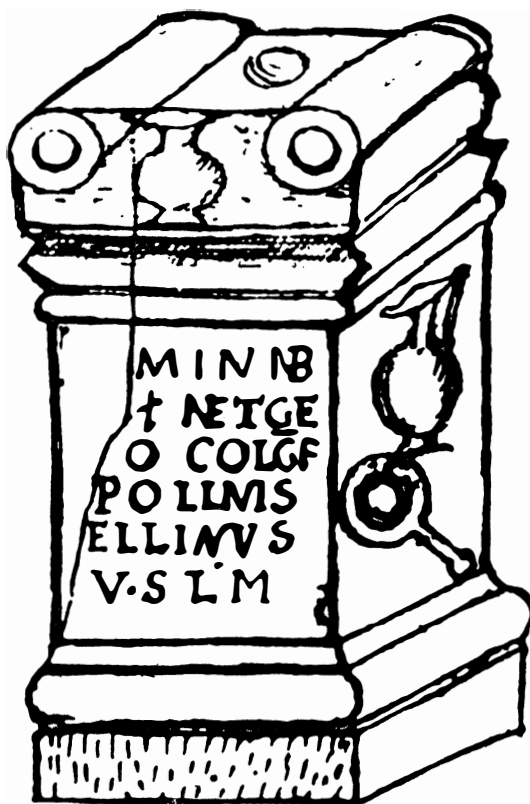
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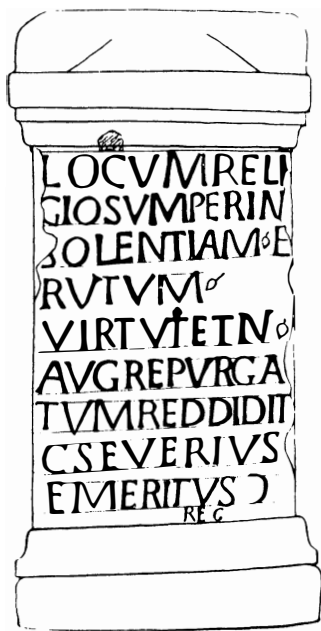
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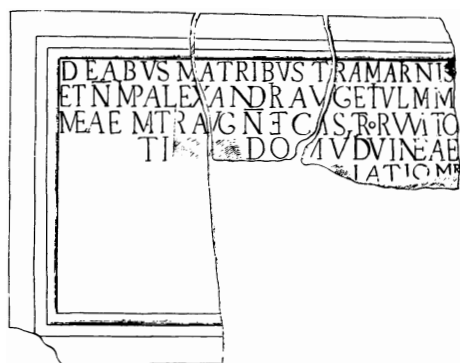
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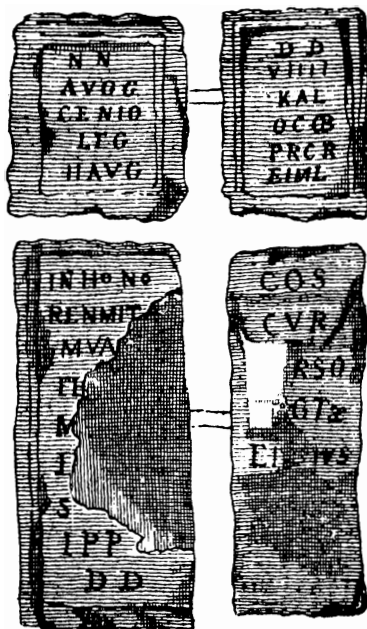
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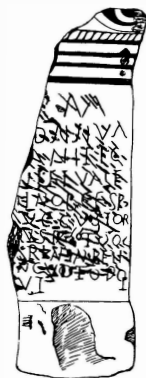
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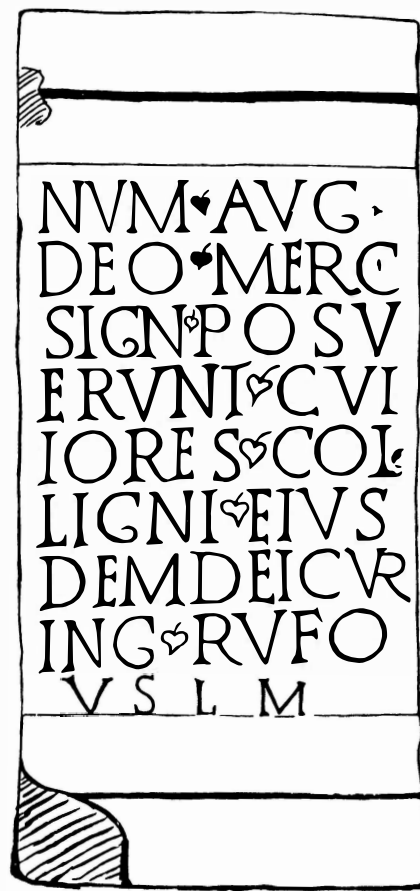
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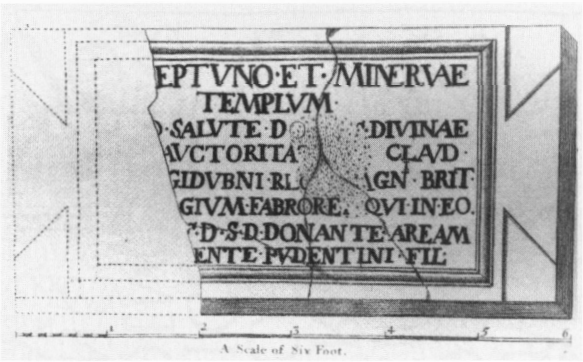
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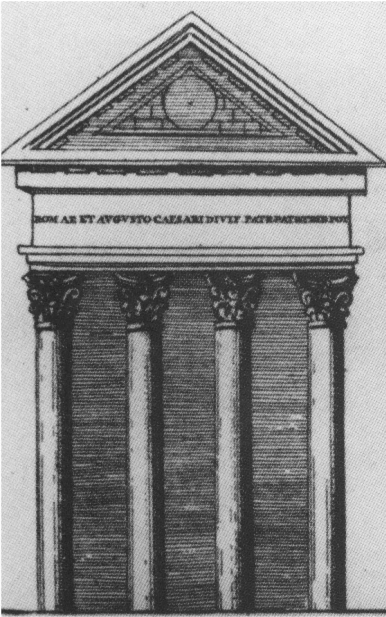
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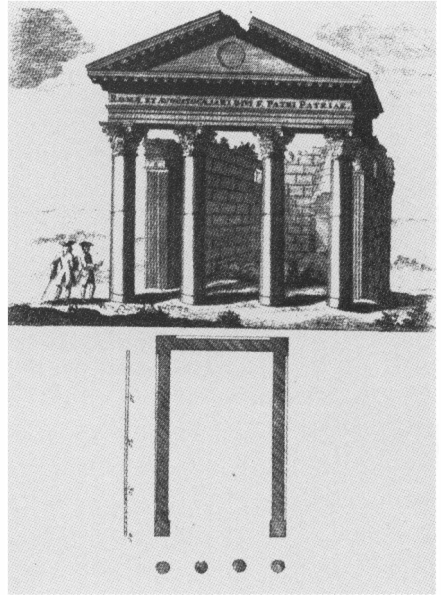
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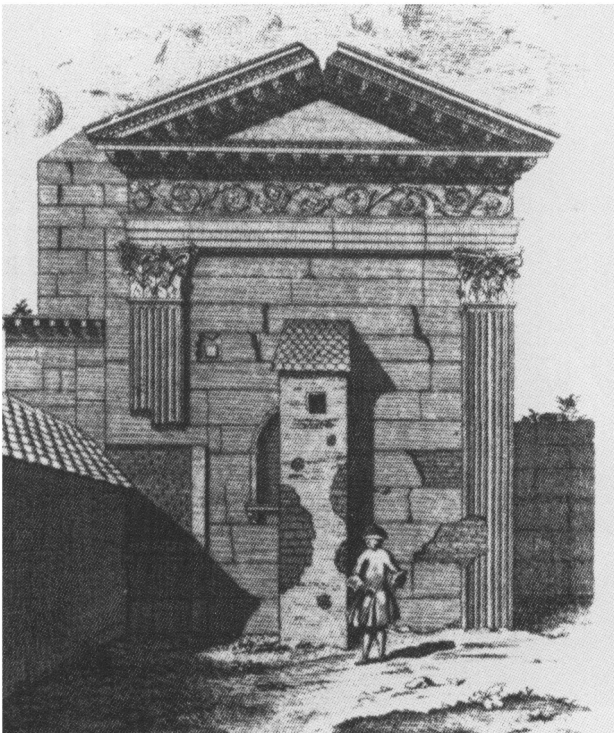
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a)



b)



c)

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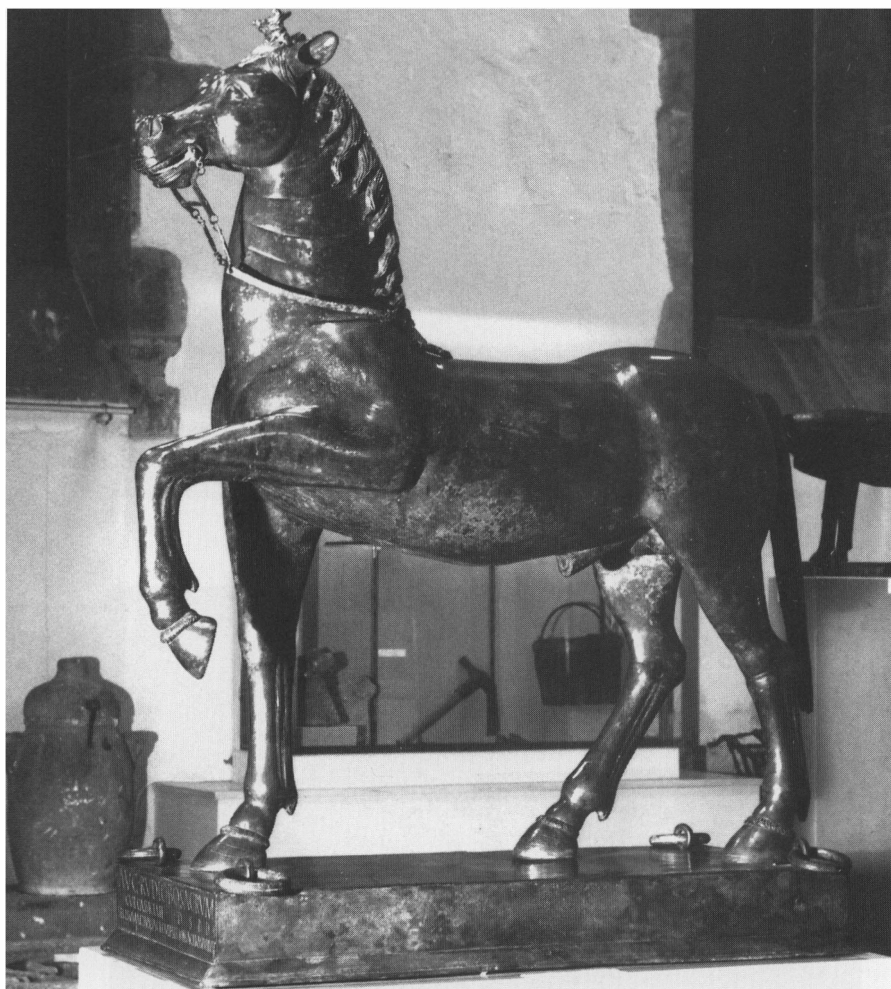
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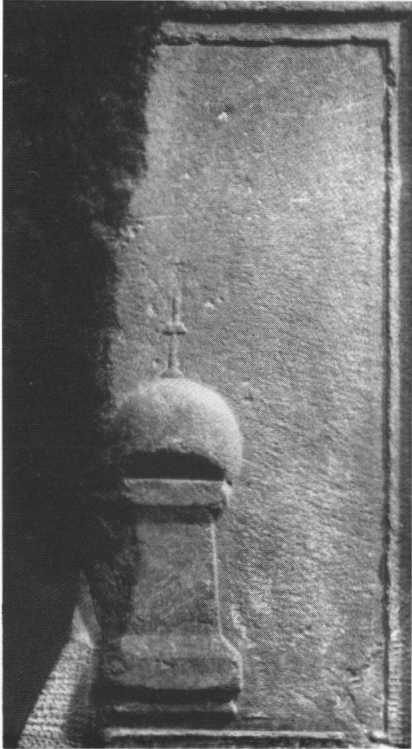
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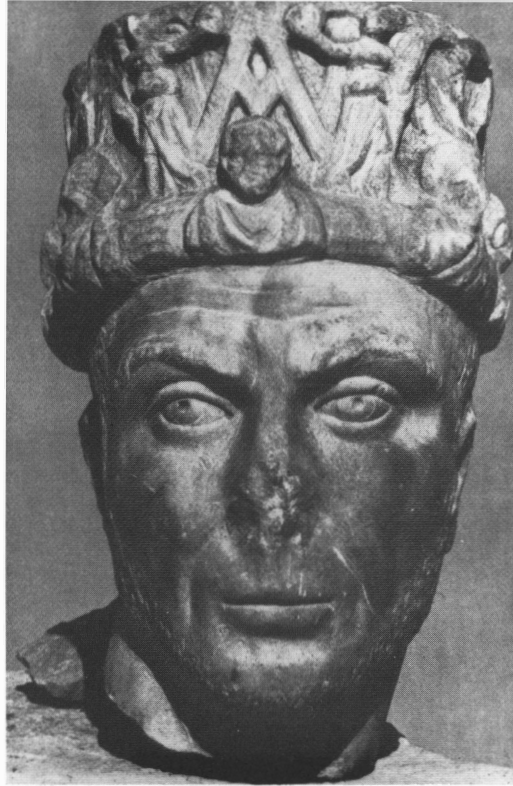
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Relief on bronze sword-sheath from Mainz.



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b) Imperial priest wearing crown with busts, from Adana.



c) Statue of Julian the Apostate (?) wearing crown.



a)



b)

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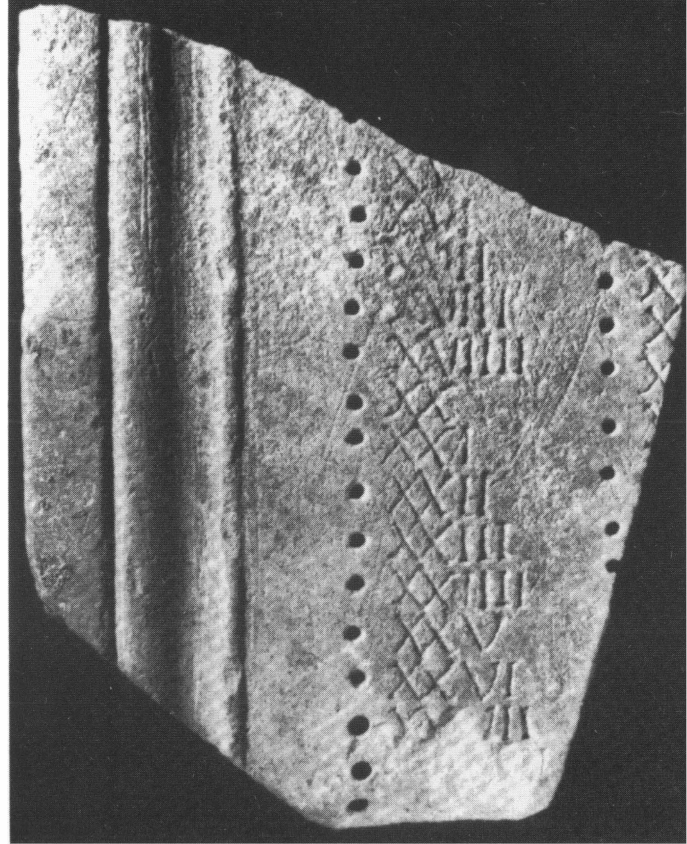
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a)



b)



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a) Relief from Ptuj showing rite of supplication.



b) Rite of supplication at Aquileia.

PLATE XCII



a)



b)

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c)



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a)

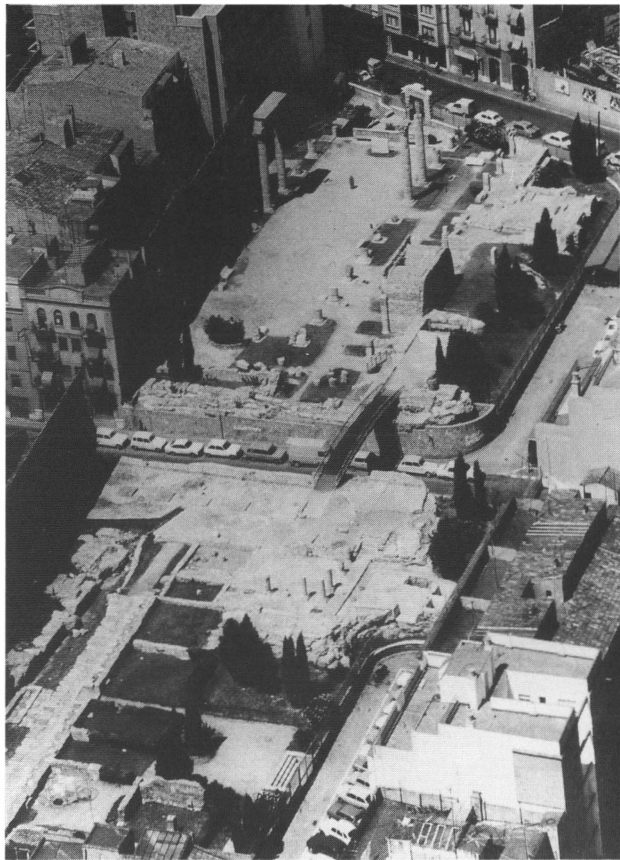


b)



c)

a)-c) Inscribed bell from Tarraco.

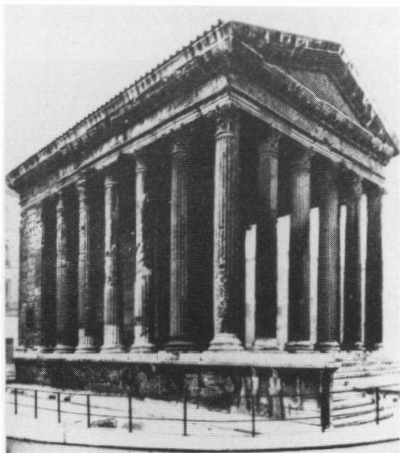


a)

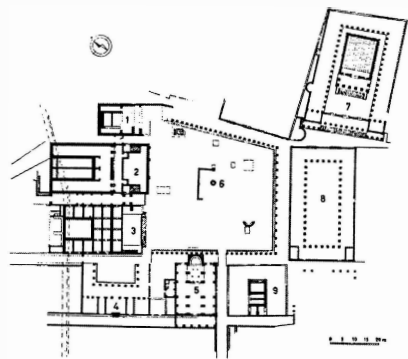


b)

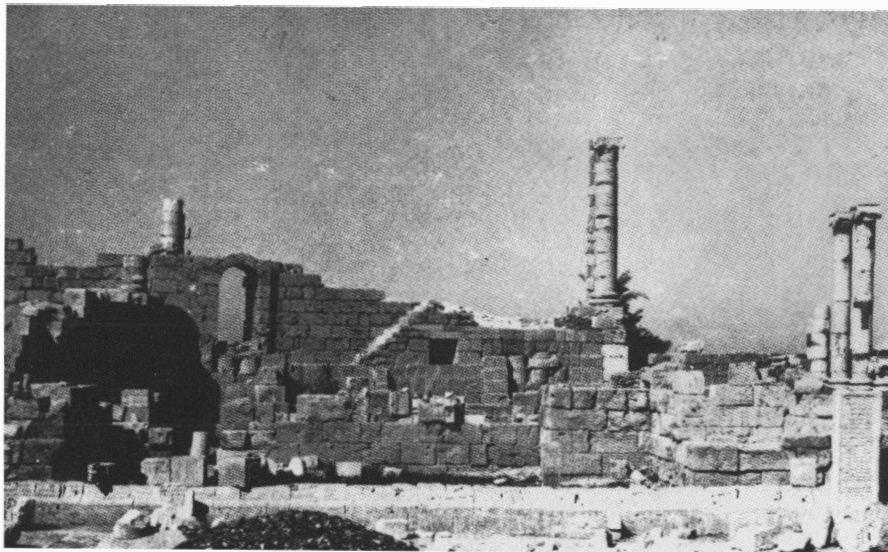
a)-b) Lower forum at Tarraco.



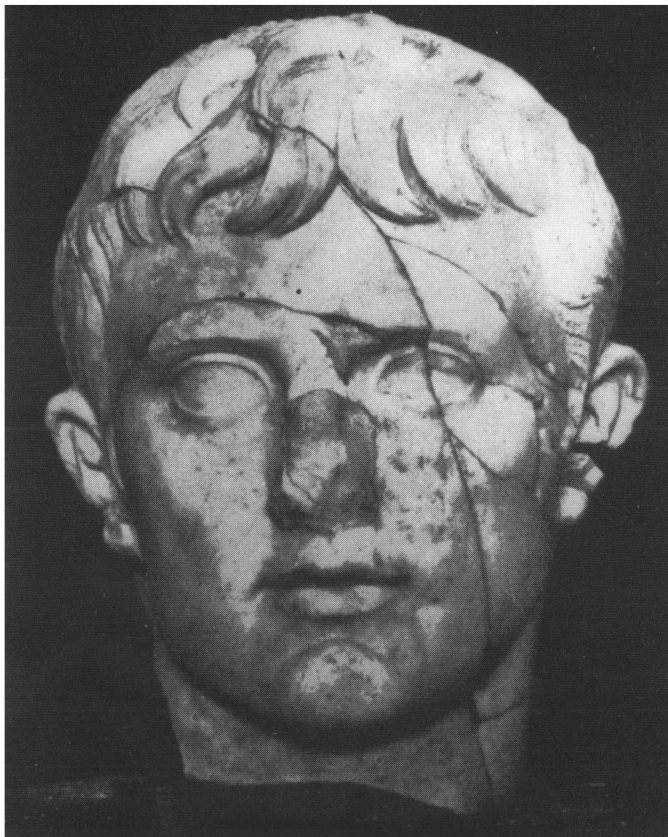
a) Temple of Roma and Augustus at Vienne.



b) Plan of Forum Vetus, Lepcis Magna.



c) Temple of Roma and Augustus, Lepcis Magna.



a) Head of statue of Augustus from imperial temple, Lepcis Magna.



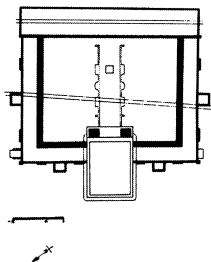
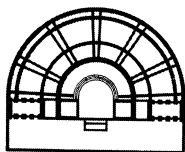
b) Head of statue of Roma from imperial temple, Lepcis Magna.



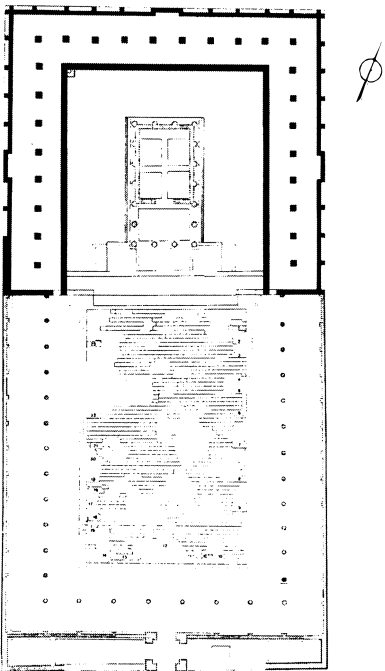
a) Colossal statue of Augustus, theatre of Orange.



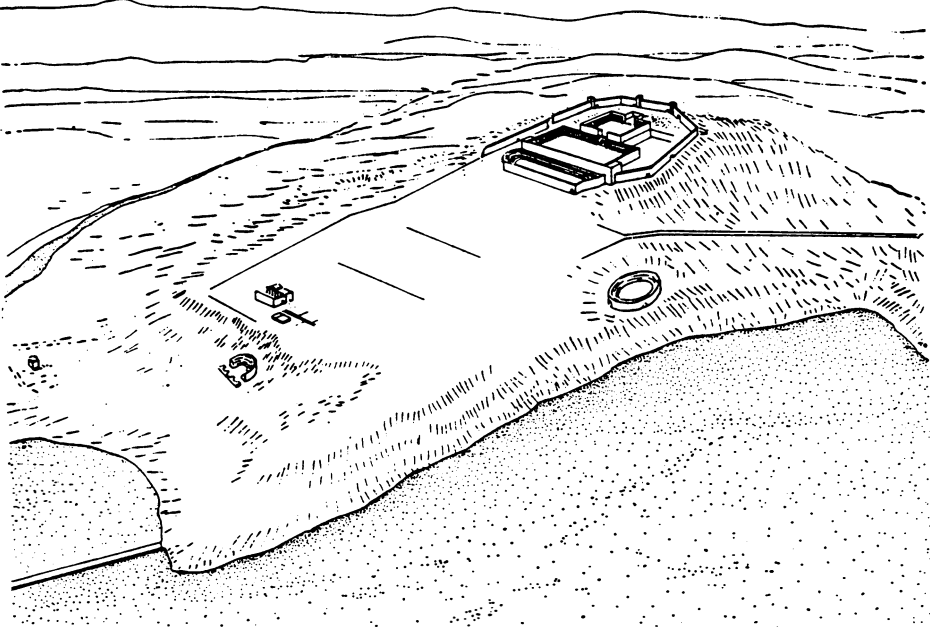
b) Theatre at Mérida with statue of emperor.



a) Plan of theatre aligned with imperial sanctuary at Aventicum.



b) Plan of Flavian monumental sector, Conimbriga.



c) Reconstruction of provincial complex at Tarraco, showing provincial temple with portico.



a)



b)

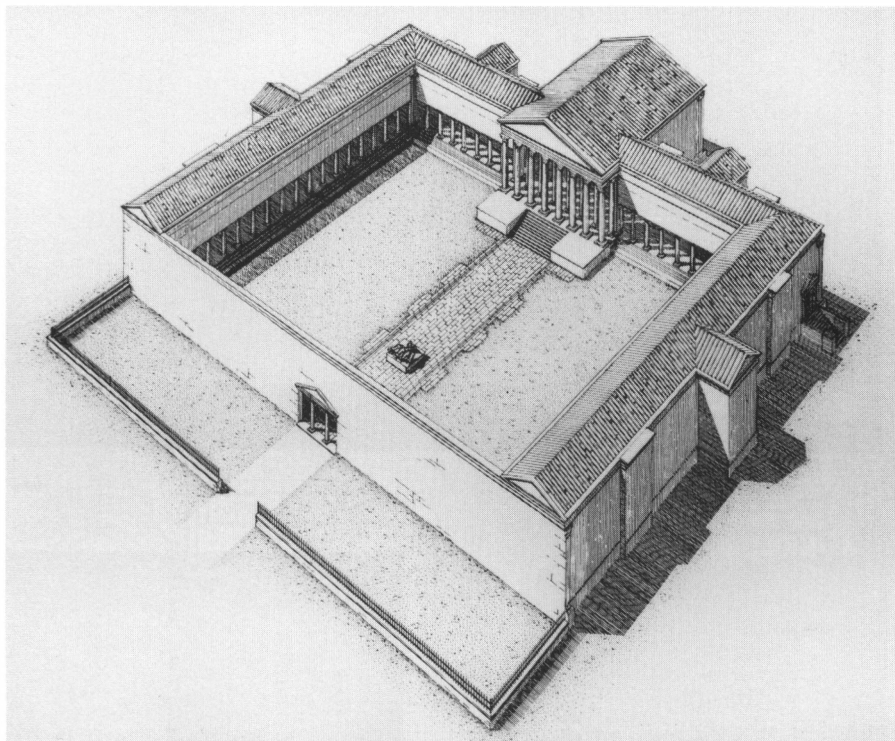
a)-b) Busts of Augustus and Livia with inscription of Atespatus.



a) Portrait Bust of Marcus Aurelius (?).



b) Portrait bust of Lucius Verus.



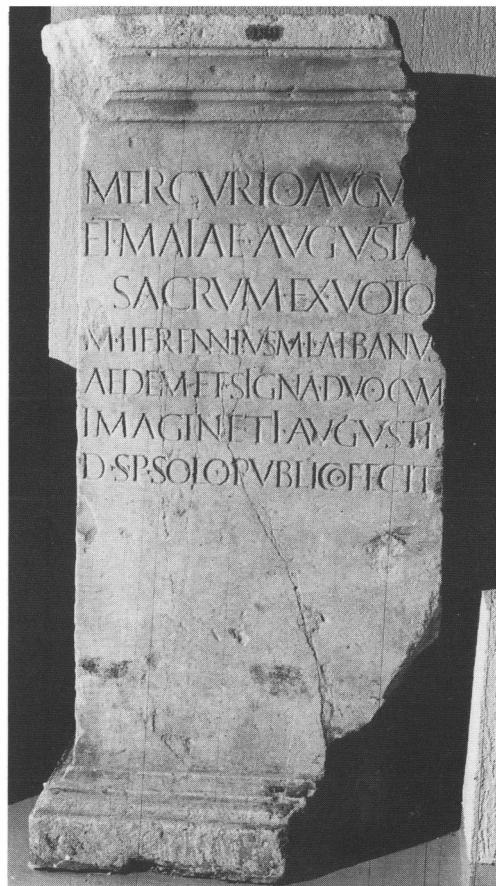
Reconstruction in perspective of sanctuary of Cigognier.



a)



b)

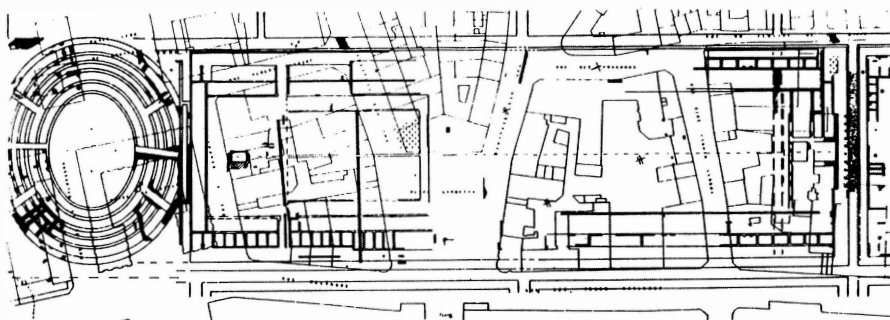


c)

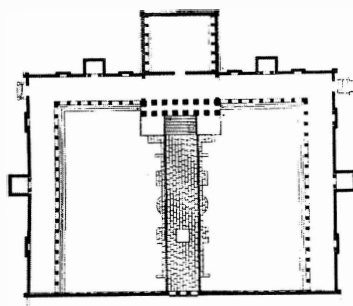
a)-c) Votive altars of M. Herennius Albanus.



a) Wall painting from Pompeii showing bearers carrying *ferculum* with *aedicula* during a festival in honor of Perdix, inventor of the carpenter's saw.



b) Forum and amphitheatre at Amiens.



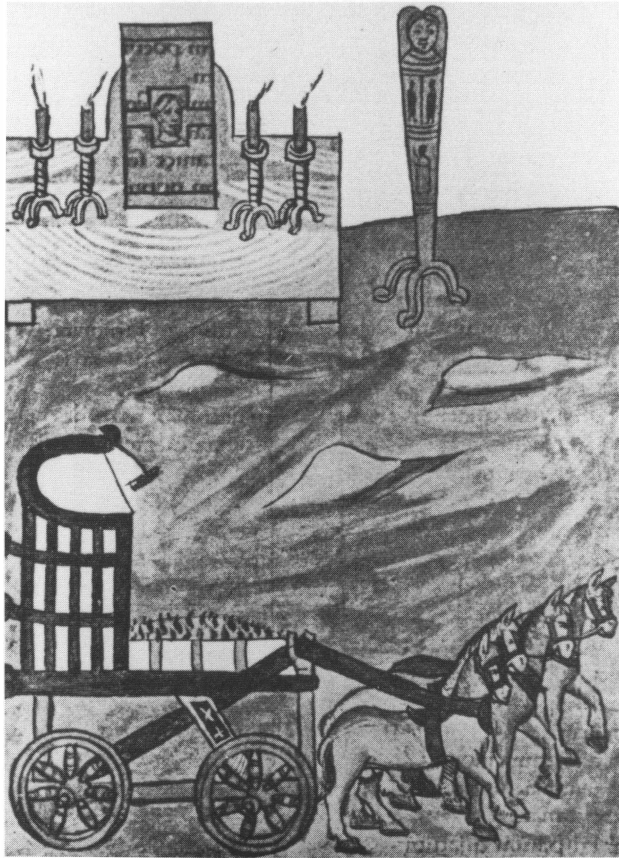
c) Tentative plan of sanctuary at Cigognier.
Cigognier.



a) Bronze sceptre-head portraying Antoninus Pius (?).



b) Bronze standard found at Avignon.



a) Insignia of *praefectus praetorio per Italiam*, showing the emperor's picture flanked by candles on candlesticks.



b) Representation of seated orator, from Fendeille.

PLATE CVI



a)

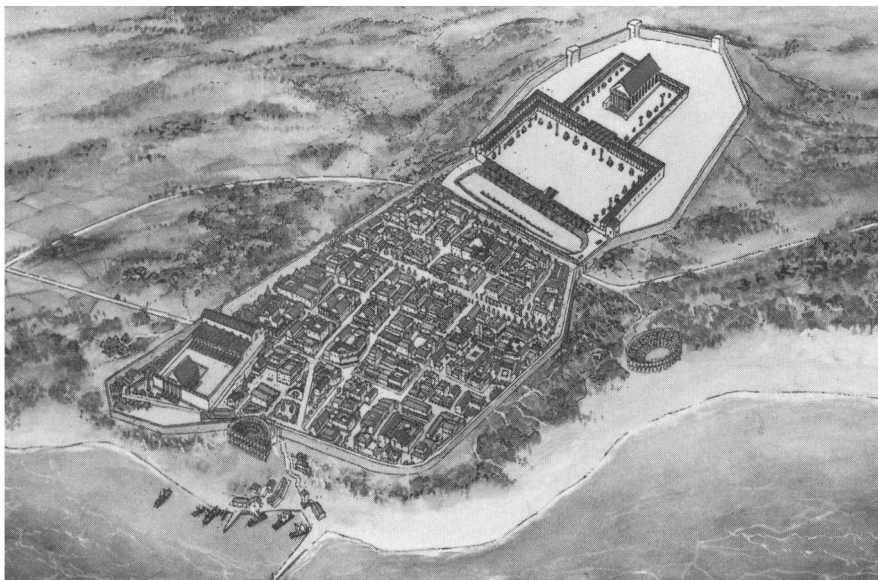


b)

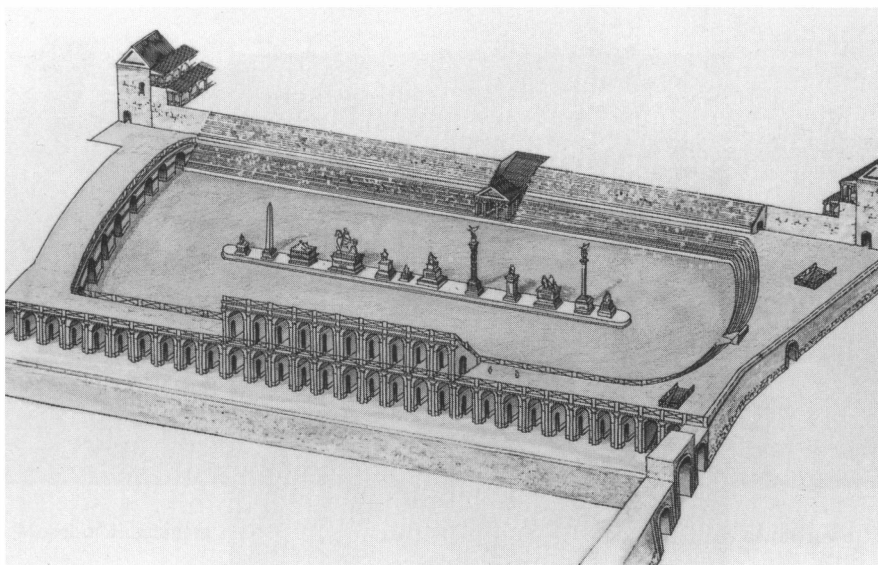


c)

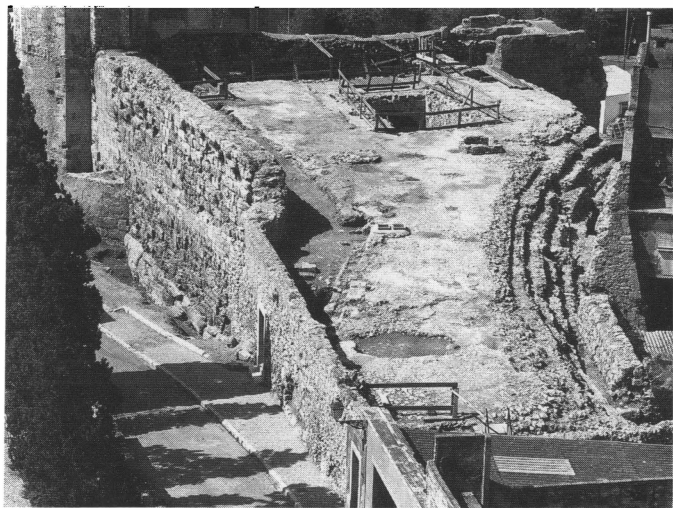
a)-c) Amphitheatre at Tarraco.



a) Hypothetical reconstruction of Tarraco in the early Empire.



b) Hypothetical reconstruction of circus at Tarraco.



a)

a)-b) Roman circus at Tarraco.

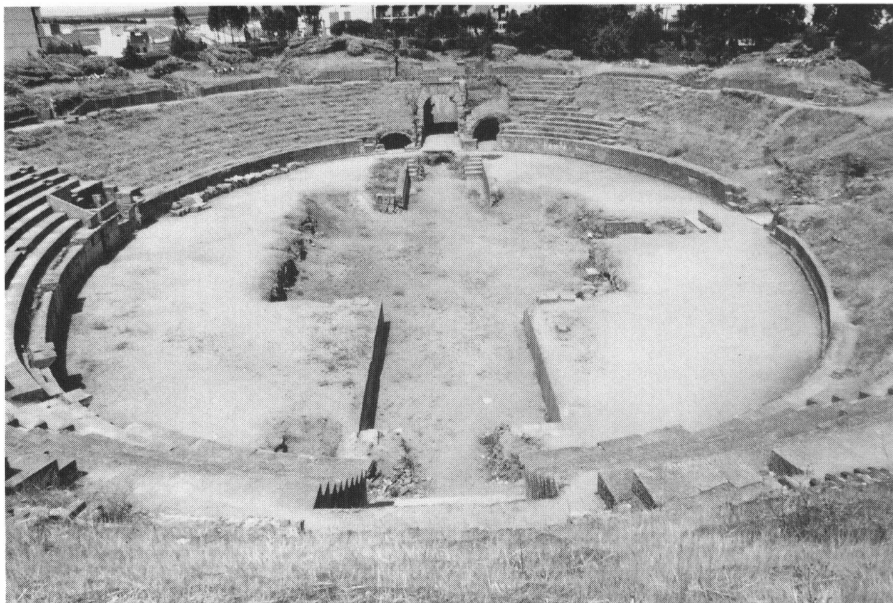


b)



Model of Lugdunum showing circus and federal sanctuary on opposite sides of the town.

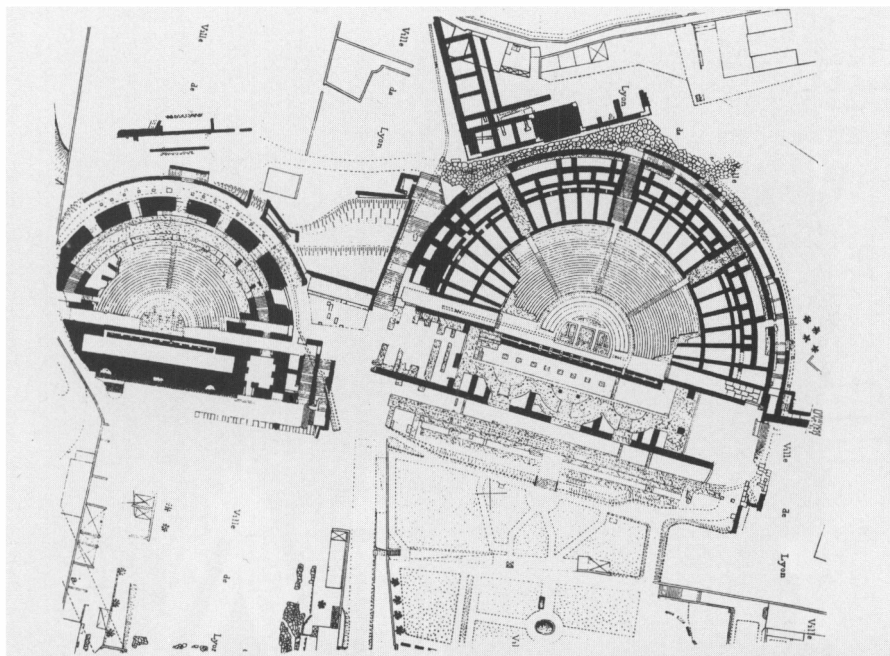
PLATE CX



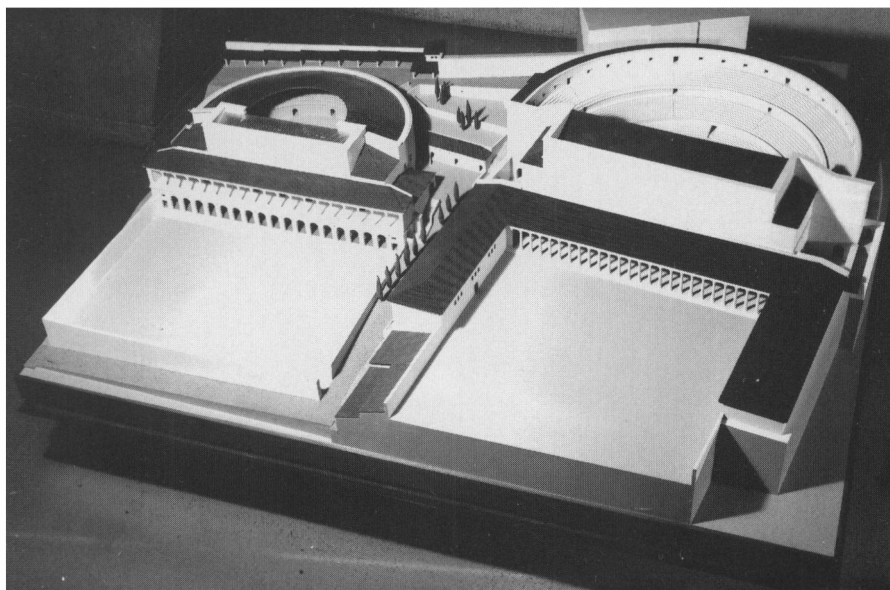
a) Amphitheatre at Emerita.



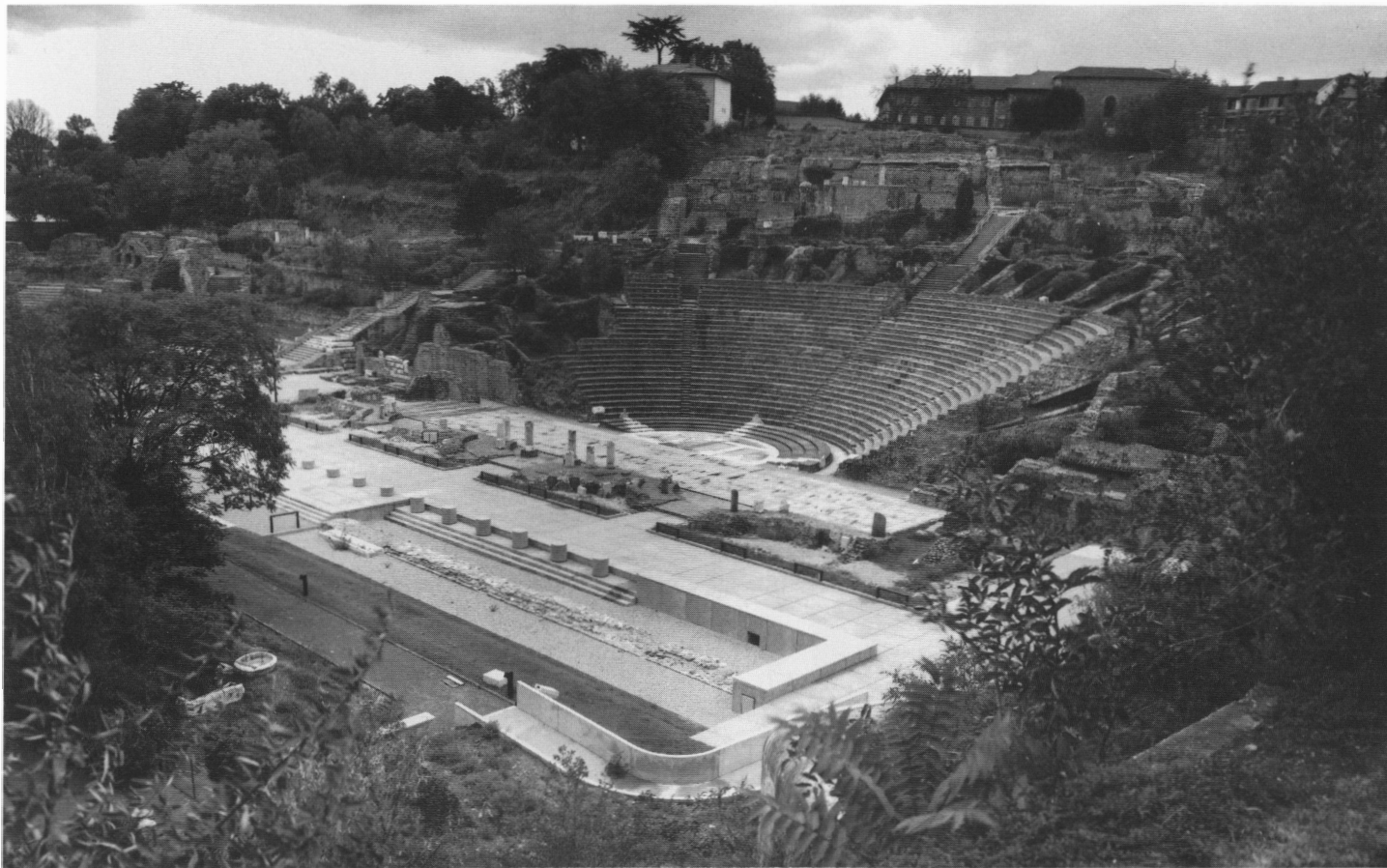
b) Circus Maximus at Emerita.



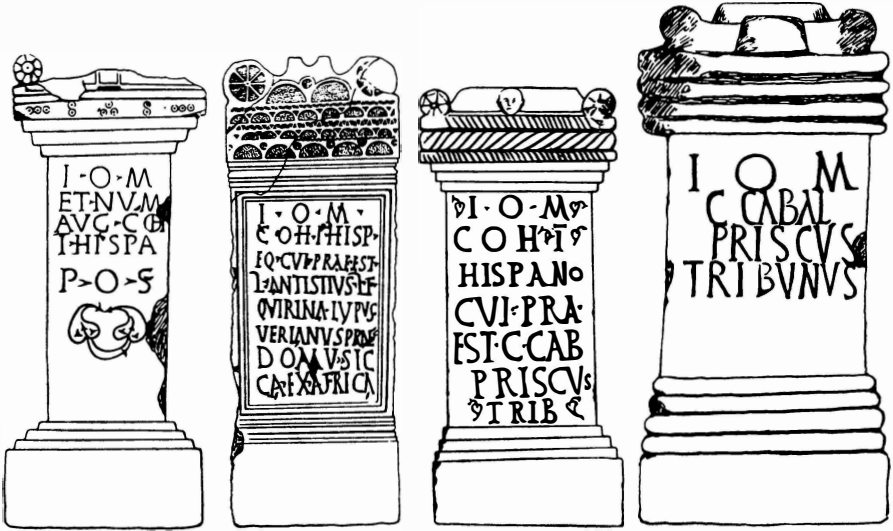
a) Plan of theatre and odeon at Lugdunum.



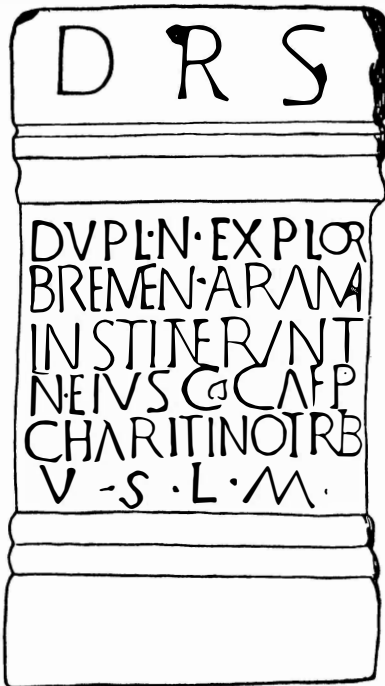
b) Model of theatre and odeon at Lugdunum.



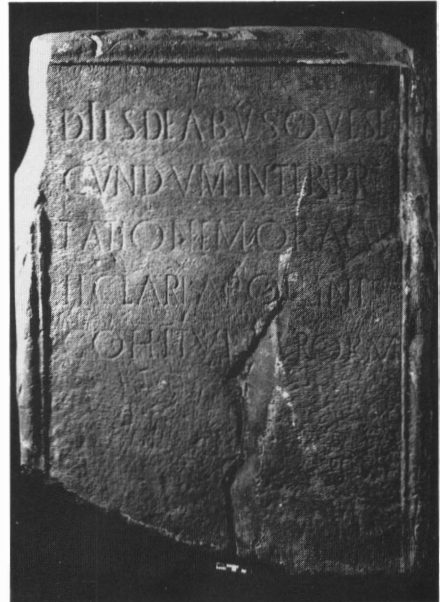
Remains of theatre and odeon at Lugdunum.



a) Altars dedicated to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, from Roman fort at Maryport.



b) Altar dedicated to Dea Roma on her birthday, from High Rochester.



c) Dedication slab set up according to instructions of oracle of Apollo of Claros, from Housesteads.