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Dea Roma and the Roman Virtues: A Comparative Study in the Policy and Practice
of Deified Abstractions

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to provide an in-depth study of the goddess Roma and the development and spread of her cult across the eastern and western halves of the Roman Empire from the second century BC to the reign of Augustus. In the east the institution of her cult was the result of expanding Roman influence in the region, and served as a means for people to conceptualise the presence of Roman power. In contrast to this, her worship in the west, as part of the imperial cult, was mandated by the emperor Augustus. In order to better understand the place of Roma in the context of the western empire, I argue that it is best to view her as a deified abstraction. The deified abstractions were a group of divinities in Rome that embodied a specific ideal or concept (the goddess Concordia embodying concord, Pax embodying peace etc.). In order to view the goddess in this manner, I examine what it meant for Roma to embody 'Rome', and what this would have meant to the people who worshipped her. This examination also takes into account the views of scholars such as Mellor, who view Roma as little more than a political tool and a by-product of Greek sycophancy, as well as those scholars who view the deified abstractions in Rome as a carry-over of archaic Roman religion that held little importance to the people of Rome. Such opinions, I argue, are both erroneous and untenable.

The thesis is divided into four sections, in order to best arrange the material. In the first chapter I examine several select cult sites and draw on a large body of epigraphic and literary evidence, and argue that Roma came to be central to the religious life of a number of Greek city-states. This includes an examination of cults where Roma was associated with other, more established, divinities, many of whom were symbolic to a particular city. In the second chapter I examine the development of Roma's role in the eastern imperial cult. This again entails looking at selected sites for which there is a reasonable body of evidence. The religious function of Augustus in these cults forms an integral part of the discussion, and examining how the emperor wished to be seen by the inhabitants of the provinces. The third chapter examines the role of several deified abstractions in Rome itself. I argue that their worship formed an integral part of Roman religious life, as deities responsible for whatever specific power their name designated. In the final chapter I discuss the development of the role of Roma in Rome and the western provinces, both as a personification of the Roman state, and as a deity in the western imperial cult. Roma's function in the western imperial cult

is then compared to the role the deified abstractions fulfilled in the religious structures of Rome.

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Contents

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	4
Introduction	6
Chapter 1: Roma in the Greek East	8
Chapter 2: Roma in the Eastern Imperial Cult	38
Chapter 3: Deified Abstractions in Rome	69
Chapter 4: Roma in the Latin West	92
Conclusion	113
Bibliography	115

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Introduction

From the beginning of the second century BC down to the imperial period, the cult of the goddess Roma proliferated across the Greek-speaking east of the Mediterranean, as Rome's influence and power in the region continued to expand. With the transition in Rome from a Republican to Imperial system of government, her cult was absorbed into the newly introduced imperial-cult centres of the east, where she was worshipped alongside the emperor Augustus.

What scholarship does exist concerning the goddess has tended to focus solely on the political role her cult played in the various regions concerned. This, in my opinion, is to greatly understate the place of the goddess in the context of the religious life of the Greek city-states that initiated her cult, and cannot adequately explain the continued existence of her cult-centres, some of which continued to function for a number of centuries.

A political conception of the goddess has also been held with regard to her introduction in the western provinces of the empire as a part of the imperial cult. In this context we will be dealing with an entirely different set of motivations for introducing her worship; understanding the role and place of the goddess in Augustan ideology requires that she be examined in a similar light to a separate group of Roman deities that were rapidly taking on Augustan associations: the deified virtues.

Like Roma, where the Roman deified virtues have been the subject of scholarship, they have been perceived as a remnant of archaic Roman religious thought, of which worship was in no way taken seriously. Again, I contend that this is not the case and that the worship of the deified virtues formed an important part of Roman religious life. As the function of these divinities equated closely to the abstract concept they embodied (e.g. Concordia is responsible for bringing concord, Pax for peace etc.), I will use these goddesses as comparative material to help understand the role Roma was to play in Rome and the western provinces of the empire (i.e. if Roma is meant to represent and impart 'Rome', what exactly does this mean?).

The body of evidence that must be examined for this project presents a difficult problem, in that it is simultaneously incredibly broad, and a full examination is beyond the scope of this

thesis, and it is also, at times, greatly inadequate owing to its fragmentary nature. In order to overcome these difficulties, it is my aim to draw on a number of different sources of information to ensure that the outcomes presented are based on as much evidence as possible. Epigraphic and numismatic sources will be supplemented by literary accounts where such accounts exist. I will not attempt to undertake a broad overview of the development of the cult of Roma, but rather select certain key examples where the surviving evidence allows us the greatest possible insight into the perceived character and function of the goddess.

Discussion of the goddess Roma and the deified virtues has been divided into four chapters in an attempt to best arrange the material, both chronologically and thematically. In the first chapter I will deal with the origins of the goddess in the east and the spread and development of her cult during the Republican period. This will focus on her worship, both individually and as a member of a number of joint cults. The second chapter will focus on the development of Roma's role in the eastern imperial cult and ascertain whether her characteristics, established in the first chapter, remained the same in this new cult or whether there was a change in the way she was perceived. In the third chapter I will discuss a number of deified abstractions in Rome. This will focus on the origins of their cults, their role in Roman religious life, and their place in the Augustan principate. The final chapter will focus on the introduction of Roma to the west, first as a personification in Rome under the Republic, and then as a deity in the western provinces during the reign of Augustus. This discussion will draw on information and outcomes developed throughout the thesis in order to establish the role and character of Roma in the west.

Periodicals have been cited using the abbreviations found in *L'Année philologique*. Ancient authors and collected works have been cited according to the abbreviations found in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd Edition.

Chapter 1

The goddess Roma presents a number of difficulties when trying to establish what role she fulfilled in a religious context. Whereas the names of deities such as Concordia, Fortuna and Pax¹ are directly linked to their function, what it means for Roma to influence and grant ‘Rome’ to her worshippers is by no means immediately apparent. To understand the function of Roma during the period of Rome’s expansion in the east it is necessary to discuss how the Greeks understood Roman rule following the decline of the Hellenistic kingdoms. Owing to the fragmentary and diverse nature of the evidence related to the goddess, the picture that emerges can, at times, be ambiguous. In looking at different kinds of evidence, the aim of this chapter will be to establish whether or not there was any consensus on the role and function of the goddess. The kinds of evidence that will be examined are: poetry that was written for, or included, Roma; cults where the worship of the goddess was combined with that of another divinity, and how the goddess’s cult spread in Asia Minor and in Macedonia, Greece and the Greek islands. I aim to interpret how Roma and the Romans were perceived during this period and how the goddess functioned in the various cities of the Greek-speaking east. This will provide the necessary background information for looking at the role of the goddess in the imperial cult, both in the eastern and western provinces of the Roman Empire.

Roma in Poetry

While it is possible to trace the spread and development of the cult of Roma through the use of epigraphic and numismatic evidence, as well as occasional references in literary sources, the question whether or not the goddess had any mythological significance is more difficult to answer. Mythological narratives of other Greek divinities seek, broadly, to establish a divinity in so far as their origin, function and relation to other deities is concerned, and it would be interesting to ascertain whether or not the character of Roma was developed in a similar manner. Unfortunately, the surviving evidence for a mythological narrative regarding Roma is deficient: only two complete poems dealing with the goddess are extant, whilst the only other evidence of this nature consists of another fragment from the Republican period and a short poem from the imperial period.² References to her in the works of various historians, with regard to the Republican period, focus mainly on her temple foundations and

¹ These goddesses and their place in Roman religious practice are discussed in chapter three.

² Mellor (1975), 125-127 discusses other pieces of poetry that feature Roma as a personification rather than a deity. This distinction is best seen in Rome itself and will be examined in chapter four.

on diplomatic transactions between Greek city-states and Rome. During the Imperial period the focus shifts to references to the foundation of joint cults of her and Augustus. This section will analyse those surviving poems that are focussed on or dedicated to Roma, and discuss whether or not there are any similarities between them. This will not be done to argue that the goddess had a definitively established mythology, but rather to see if there was any general opinion or consensus about Roma's characteristics outside the establishment of her cults and their accompanying praise of Rome and Roman power.

Melinno's Hymn to Roma

That this hymn comes down to us at all is entirely an accident of preservation. Stobaeus, a Greek writer living in the 5th century AD, included Melinno's hymn in his *Eclogues* in a section entitled 'On Courage'.³ Stobaeus included the hymn because the Greek *Ρώμη* has two meanings: it can either be the name for Rome/Roma, or mean 'strength'.⁴ Stobaeus mistakenly read the latter meaning of *ῥώμη* and believed the hymn to be an ode to strength.⁵ The hymn itself is written in the Sapphic metre in the artificial language used for choral poetry,⁶ but differs from the normal use of the Sapphic metre in that each stanza functions as an isolated whole rather than flowing into the next. This suggests that the hymn was intended to be sung in five separate stages for ritual purposes,⁷ although this is speculative and does not have great bearing on the current discussion. The best treatment and analysis of this hymn is that of C.M. Bowra and this discussion draws on his article.

Suggested dates for when Melinno wrote the hymn have ranged between the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD,⁸ although the subject matter and content would appear to be better suited to a Republican rather than Imperial date. If this poem was written in the imperial period one would expect at least some mention of an emperor, particularly Augustus, since Roma was most closely associated with him. Given that the prominence of Roma declined under subsequent emperors and that her worship was gaining in popularity in the 2nd century

³ Stob. *Flor.* 3.7.12.

⁴ Cf. Plutarch's discussion (*Rom.* 1.1) regarding the link between the word *ῥώμη* and the name of Rome.

⁵ Erskine (1995), 368.

⁶ Plant (2004), 99.

⁷ Bowra (1957), 22.

⁸ Erskine (1995), 368. Bowra (1957), 28 provides a good overview of the scholarly debate surrounding the dating of this hymn.

BC it is more likely that Melinno was writing during this period, although exact dating of the hymn is impossible.⁹

I welcome you, Roma, daughter of Ares,
war-loving queen crowned in gold,
you who live in holy and eternally strong Olympus
on earth.

To you alone, most revered, Fate has given
royal glory of invulnerable rule,
so that holding sovereign power
you may lead.

Beneath your yoke of powerful straps
the chests of the earth and the white sea
are bound-tight; and you safely steer
the cities of your peoples.

While the greatest eternity defeats all
and reshapes life, sometimes in this way, sometimes in that,
for you alone a fair wind of rule
does not change.

In truth, you alone of all bear the most powerful
great spear-carrying men
making them spring up like Demeter's plentiful fruits
from men.¹⁰

The primary focus of this hymn is the power of Roma and it opens by addressing the goddess as a daughter of Ares. Such a parentage serves several different purposes and the association of the Greek war god with this new martial divinity is understandable. This choice of parent is also interesting because, according to Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, the only other daughters that Ares had were the Amazons.¹¹ Indeed, a fragment from the *Aethiopsis* specifically names Penthesilea as his daughter.¹² This comparison of Roma to an Amazon, as Bowra has argued,¹³ is again highlighted if, in the second line of the hymn, the golden crown Roma is said to wear refers to the girdle the Amazons wore as a sign of their strength and superiority.¹⁴ Melinno's choice of Ares as a father and the comparison of Roma to the

⁹ Bowra (1957), 28.

¹⁰ Trans. I.M. Plant (2004), 100.

¹¹ 2.989-991: "...for by race [the Amazons] were the daughters of Ares and the nymph Harmonia, who bore to Ares war-loving maids..."

¹² West (2003), 111: "The Amazon Penthesilea arrives to fight with the Trojans, a daughter of the War god..."

¹³ Bowra (1957), 23.

¹⁴ Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.9: "Now Hippolyte had the belt of Ares in token of her superiority to all the rest."

Amazons through this parentage are in keeping with the hymn's overall theme of the martial strength of this new divinity.

Although Roma has features in common with the Amazons, her power far surpasses theirs because she is a goddess. Whilst it cannot be said that Roma being a daughter of Ares ever became an accepted mythology, we can see that Melinno is attempting to find a place for this goddess, who represents the new power of Rome present in the Greek world, within the traditional Greek pantheon. Bowra makes a passing remark with regard to Mars, Ares' Roman equivalent, and his role as the father of the twins Romulus and Remus,¹⁵ but there is a greater point to be made here. While Ares' role as the Greek war god makes him a perfectly reasonable candidate for Roma's parentage, it would make equal sense to honour the goddess symbolic of Roman power by associating her with the divine father of Rome's founders, if this poem is indeed a hymn and was sung in a cult context.

Having stated that Roma's rule has been given to her by Fate Melinno goes on to describe the rule as being over "...the earth and the white sea..." (line 10). This idea of rule over land and sea was one that has its roots in the Hellenistic period and was frequently applied to Hellenistic rulers.¹⁶ An anonymous epigram of the third century BC assigned rule over land and sea to Rhodes and Philip V (as a descendant of Heracles).¹⁷ Another epigram, written sometime before the battle of Cynoscephalae (197 BC), again assigns power over land and sea to Philip and describes him as being to mortals what Zeus is to the gods.¹⁸ Whether or not such power was held by the individual in question is not important: rule over land and sea was a compliment paid to respectable individual sovereigns or city-states.¹⁹ For Melinno, Roma has taken over the power that was once held by the likes of Rhodes and earlier Hellenistic monarchs and, as the hymn goes on to say, it is now Rome that offers protection and guidance to the peoples of the east (lines 11-12). In the same way that Melinno adds Roma to the traditional Olympian pantheon, or at the least made her the offspring of one of the major gods, the powers that she has over the Greek world are the same as those that were traditionally assigned to the Hellenistic monarchs.

¹⁵ Bowra (1957), 23.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 23. Augustus would later use this same phrase to describe his victories after the Battle of Actium. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3 with regards to the *Ara Pacis*.

¹⁷ *Anth. Pal.* 6.171, 9.318.

¹⁸ *Anth. Pal.* 16.6.

¹⁹ Momigliano (1942), 54.

In the final two stanzas Melinno addresses both the duration of Roma's rule and the type of warriors that she commands. The fourth stanza describes how time will eventually defeat and change everything, but Roma alone will not be subject to it and thus her rule will last forever. While the idea of *Roma Aeterna* would later become one of the goddess's greatest attributes, and the specific form of the goddess that was worshipped when she was introduced to Rome under the emperor Hadrian, Melinno's hymn is the first extant reference to the eternity of the rule of Rome.²⁰ Such a concept may also stem from the notion that glory and great deeds are immune to the passage of time.²¹ Roma's accomplishments as a conqueror, therefore, have made her and her rule unchangeable by time and this ties in with the notion that Roma and Rome were given this enormous amount of power by Fate (line 5). Tied in with this notion of the eternity of Roma's rule are the men that "...spring up like Demeter's plentiful fruits..." (line 19) in that, if Roma's rule is to be eternal, there need to be Romans who continue to maintain the power that the goddess commands. The power of the Romans and their ability to expand their sphere of influence became a prominent theme in the writings of Greek historians. Polybius, for example, dedicated a large portion of the sixth book of his *Histories* to outlining the workings of the Roman government and military, highlighting how they were superior to those found in the Greek city-states.²² A further factor was that the population of Rome at any point was far greater than that of the Greek *poleis*,²³ which further contributed to their ability to maintain and extend their military force. The writing of *The Histories* would have been roughly contemporaneous with the putative composition of this hymn in the early- to middle-second century BC, showing that there was an interest in attempting to explain how Rome had managed to rise to its level of power and dominion in such a short space of time. Using Polybius as a guide, these notions about the superiority of the Romans can be carried over into Melinno's hymn. Roma's dominion is eternal because of the way the Romans govern themselves and, because this system is superior to that of the Greeks, her continued presence is guaranteed. The comparison of the number of Roman soldiers to the fruits of Demeter serves to highlight Roma's new position in Greece: in the same way that the growth

²⁰ Mellor (1975), 123.

²¹ Bowra (1957), 26.

²² Polyb. 6.11-18 believed that Rome's success was due to its complex constitution, which he described as being a mix between monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. This mixed constitution, as Polybius saw it, granted the Roman state a level of stability unparalleled amongst the Greek city-states. Livy's digression on Alexander the Great (9.48-52) provides a similar overview of the superiority of the Roman system of governance and military training compared to those of the Macedonians.

²³ The exact population numbers, however, are very difficult to ascertain. See Lo Cascio (2001), 111-138 for the difficulties establishing the population of Rome, and Hansen (2006), 35-63 for similar difficulties with the Greek *poleis*.

of vegetation is Demeter's divine function, Roma's presence and dominance in Greece, through the Romans she commands, is divinely appointed.²⁴

As was stated earlier, the fragmentary nature of the literary treatment of Roma makes it impossible to assign the goddess any definite mythology or place in the Greek pantheon, but certain aspects and perceptions of the goddess can be gleaned from what evidence has survived. Melinno's hymn gives this new divinity a place in the wider context of Greek divinities by making her a daughter of Ares. The power that she is said to possess is traditional in that it stems from those given to the Hellenistic monarchs,²⁵ but she is not made the equivalent of a mortal king as her power has been given to her by Fate and, unlike mortal men who age and die, her rule is said to last beyond the ravages of time. Finally, by comparing the Roman men she is in charge of to the fruits of Demeter, the hymn proclaims that Roma's power and rule are as divinely granted as those of Demeter, a well established and traditional Greek divinity.

Alpheius of Mytilene

Melinno's *Hymn to Roma* is the longest surviving poetic treatment of the goddess, but many of the ideas present in it are echoed in an epigram by Alpheius of Mytilene. As with Melinno's hymn, the dating of this epigram is problematic: in view of the motif of rule over land and sea, some place the epigram in the early empire,²⁶ perhaps as late as the Emperor Claudius' conquest of Britain²⁷ in 43 AD. If this were the case, however, it would seem unlikely that Roma should be given praise rather than Claudius himself. Since this epigram is closely modelled on another epigram by Alcaeus of Messene,²⁸ the dating of which is more

²⁴ Bowra (1957), 27.

²⁵ The cults of the Hellenistic kings were originally instituted as a way for the Greeks to interpret and represent a form of rule that was not traditionally in keeping with the notions of an individual, independent city-state. The cults also established the rulers as central to the political and social spheres of life in the city, most commonly as benefactors, protectors or saviours of the city in question. With the rise of Roman power the most prominent deity to take over this role was Roma, alongside other cults such as those of the Roman Benefactors. For the establishment of the Hellenistic ruler cults and their influence on the later cults of Roman power, see Price (1984), 23-47.

²⁶ Mellor (1975), 125.

²⁷ Gow and Page (1968), II 426.

²⁸ *Anth. Pal.* 9.518: "Heighten your walls, Olympian Zeus; all is accessible / to Philip; shut the brazen gates of the gods. / Earth and sea lie vanquished under Philip's sceptre: / there remains the road to Olympus." Whether this epigram was meant to be a sincere work of flattery (as Walbank (1942) and (1943) believes) or a sarcastic attack on Philip and his character (as Edson (1948) believes) is a debate that need not affect the current discussion. As Momigliano ((1942), 53) rightly points out, what matters is that Alpheius of Mytilene understood it to be serious when he used it as a model for his own epigram in honour of Roma.

secure (late-third to early-second century BC),²⁹ and it addresses Roma rather than an emperor, I am inclined to follow Bowra's dating of the late first century BC:³⁰

Bolt great Olympus' unwearied gates, O god;
guard the sky's holy acropolis, O Zeus.
Already sea and land are subdued to the spear of Roma;
the path to heaven remains untrodden.³¹

As Mellor has shown,³² it was quite common for Roma to be worshipped and styled in a manner similar to the Hellenistic kings. Given the similarities between Alpheius' epigram and that of Alcaeus of Messene, in that Roma is presented as being powerful enough to attempt to conquer Olympus, as Philip V is presented by Alcaeus, it is clear that Alpheius is referring to Roma the goddess, rather than the Romans or the city of Rome.

Roma's treatment in this epigram is very similar to that of Melinno's in that the conquest of land and sea is again attributed to the goddess. What Alpheius highlights, however, is just how far Roma's reach is: she is so powerful that Zeus himself must guard Olympus, in case she decides to conquer it as well. The epigram provides us with no further information regarding Roma's character other than the degree of power she was seen to have held.

Paeon in honour of T. Quinctius Flaminius

The final piece of poetry dealing with Roma comprises the final few lines of a Paeon sung by a chorus in Chalcis following sacrifices and libations in honour of T. Quinctius Flaminius. The lines are preserved in Plutarch's *Life of Flaminius*:³³

And the Roman faith we revere,
which we have solemnly vowed to cherish;
sing, maidens,
to great Zeus, to Roma,
to Titus, and
to the Roman faith: hail, Paeon Apollo hail,
Titus our saviour.

²⁹ Momigliano (1942), 54.

³⁰ Bowra (1957), 27.

³¹ *Anth. Pal.* 9.526.

³² Mellor (1975), 112-115, (1981), 957-958. *Soter* and *Euergetes* were two epithets commonly given to Roma, although others, such as *Epiphanes* and *Nikephoros*, are also recorded.

³³ *Flam.* 16.4.

The benefit that this fragment of poetry has over both Melinno's hymn and Alpheius' epigram is that it can be securely dated to 191 BC, five years after Flamininus' declaration of Greek freedom. Chalcis was one of the three 'fethers of Greece' in which the Romans initially maintained garrisons.³⁴ These garrisons were removed in 194 BC³⁵ and Flamininus became the patron of Chalcis.³⁶ The primary focus of the Paeon, apart from Flamininus, is the Roman faith. The Greeks were familiar with the emphasis the Romans placed on the concept of *fides*, and many Greek states had entered into the *pistis/fides* of the Romans during the course of Rome's expansion into the region.³⁷ Alternate versions of the founding of the first temple to the deified Fides are included in various Greek foundation myths of Rome. One of these has the first temple established on the Palatine by Rhome, a granddaughter of Aeneas.³⁸ The idea that the city was named after an eponymous Rhome dates back to the fifth century BC,³⁹ while the foundation of the temple of Fides by Rhome is mentioned by the third century BC historian Agathocles of Cyzicus.⁴⁰ Similarly, the Romans attributed the foundation of an altar and sacred rites to Fides to King Numa.⁴¹ The historicity of these accounts is not important to the current discussion; perception is what matters the most. The other important deity included in the paeon is Zeus. Zeus and Roma were frequently worshipped in joint cults, but the phrase used in the Paeon, 'great Zeus' (*μέγας Ζεύς*) deserves further attention. It is possible that this term was an attempt by the poet to translate "Jupiter Optimus Maximus" and thus place Chalcis under the protection of the chief Roman god,⁴² as well as under Roma. It is also perhaps not entirely unimportant, given the grouping of *pistis* and *μέγας Ζεύς*, to bear in mind that the temple of Fides on the Capitol in Rome was close to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.⁴³

The surviving poetry that either has Roma as a primary character or mentions her does not allow for any certain conclusions to be drawn about whether the goddess had a mythology or

³⁴ Livy 33.31.

³⁵ Livy 34.49-51.

³⁶ For Flamininus' use of the Greek notion of liberty as a means of securing long-term support for himself and the Romans, see Walsh (1996), *passim*.

³⁷ For difficulties in the argument that the concepts of *pistis* and *fides* were inherently incompatible with one another, see Gruen (1985a), *passim*.

³⁸ Festus 329L.

³⁹ Wiseman (1995), 50. Cf. Cleinias (*FGrH* 819 F I), who records that she was the daughter of Telemachus and was married to Aeneas.

⁴⁰ Festus 329L.

⁴¹ Livy 1.21.3, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.75.3, Plut. *Num.* 16.1. The altar was most likely situated on the Capitoline. For its location, see Freyburger (1986), 263-265.

⁴² Mellor (1975), 121.

⁴³ Cic. *Off.* 3.104, *LTUR* (1995), 252.

not. Melinno's hymn is the closest to a mythological narrative that we have, in that it makes Roma the daughter Ares, one of the main Olympian deities, but it falls short of providing an account of any deeds that are common to narratives of other deities. The primary focus of both Melinno's hymn and Alpheius' epigram is the extent of the power Roma holds, power that was once held by the Hellenistic kings. The fragment of the Paeon to T. Flamininus shows the importance of the connection between Roma, *pistis*/Fides and Zeus/Jupiter. Based on the extant evidence we can see that Roma appears primarily as a martial divinity in terms of character and was closely linked to the protection and guidance of the Greek city-states in which cults to her were founded. Equally she was seen to embody the concept of *fides*, one of the most important Roman concepts, particularly when it was applied to relations between Rome and another city.

Roma in Joint Cults

While the small surviving body of poetry is useful in sketching a broad outline of Roma's function, the overall paucity of textual accounts relating to the goddess makes it difficult to secure a more definite picture of her role in Greek religion. It becomes necessary, therefore, to look at other forms of evidence in an attempt to fill in these blanks. One method of doing this is to look at other deities that Roma was associated with in various contexts. While Mellor maintains that not much understanding can be gained by observing where Roma was worshipped alongside another divinity,⁴⁴ his conclusion is based on his belief that Roma was a political figure, rather than a religious one, which, in his opinion, precludes any major religious significance the goddess may have had for those who worshipped her.⁴⁵ The reason for looking at these combined cults is that the functions of other Greek divinities are better known to us. If we take their functions into account, as well as the specific context in which we find them alongside Roma, we can deduce how Roma functioned in these cults. Owing to limitations of space only certain divinities that best illuminate the function of Roma in a given context will be discussed.

Roma, Zeus Philios and Homonoia

The most common deity found alongside Roma during the Republican period was Zeus. A

⁴⁴ Mellor (1975), 129.

⁴⁵ Fears (1977), 339, Davis (1977), 205, Drummond (1978), 94.

treaty⁴⁶ between the cities of Plarasa / Aphrodisias, Cibyra and Tabae was made in the names of Zeus Philios, Homonoia and Roma. This treaty most likely dates to the second century BC.⁴⁷ The goddess Homonoia embodied the Greek concept of harmony and concord. The aim of *homonoia* was to ensure the continuance of civil harmony in the city-state itself,⁴⁸ as well as concord between different Greek cities.⁴⁹ A cult of Zeus Eleutherios and Homonoia of the Hellenes may have existed as early as the fourth century BC,⁵⁰ and Homonoia alone was worshipped at an altar at Thera from the third century BC.⁵¹ She was later equated with the Roman goddess Concordia. Zeus Philios, ‘Zeus the friendly’, had two functions: first, he oversaw friendship between individuals, and friends could swear oaths in his name,⁵² while on a larger scale he oversaw the taking of oaths.⁵³ In this case invoking him in a treaty is completely understandable as the treaty seeks to foster peace and friendship between the cities mentioned. Zeus Philios and Homonoia can, therefore, fulfil the same function in that they serve to ensure amicable relations between the cities signing the treaty as well as ensuring friendly relations between themselves and Rome.

The role of Roma in this treaty can be best understood when we take into account that, for the Greeks, Rome did not have a patron divinity in the same way that, for example, Athens had Athena. As the deification of Rome’s power Roma, for the Greeks, became the patron divinity of Rome.⁵⁴ The inclusion of Zeus Philios and/or Homonoia in treaties or other instances where the establishment of peaceful relationships is recorded is fairly common, hence their inclusion in this treaty.⁵⁵ Roma, here functioning as the patron divinity of Rome, must therefore serve a similar function. Her inclusion in the treaty most likely indicates that these cities were dependent on Rome.⁵⁶ This is emphasised by a clause in the treaty that forbids the cities to oppose the Romans, as well as to take action against one another. Roma’s function here is to both protect the terms of the treaty in the same way that Zeus Philios and Homonoia do, as well as safe-guard Roman interests.

⁴⁶ Reynolds (1982), Doc. 1, pg. 6-7.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 6.

⁴⁸ Sheppard (1984-1986), 229.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 231-237.

⁵⁰ West (1977), 307, 316.

⁵¹ *IG* 12.3 1336, 1341, 1342; West (1977), 308.

⁵² Cook (1964 II.2), 1176.

⁵³ Ibid, 1175.

⁵⁴ Mellor (1975), 128.

⁵⁵ For examples see Reynolds (1982), 7-8.

⁵⁶ Reynolds (1980), 70.

Roma, Demos and the Graces

In Athens, by the reign of Augustus, there were three cults of Roma, one of which was a combined cult of the Demos of the Athenians, the Graces and Roma. The priesthood of this combined cult is recorded in an inscription in the Theatre of Dionysus where specific seats were reserved for particular individuals.⁵⁷ The other two cults will be discussed later in the section concerning the combined cults of Augustus and Roma.

Scholarly discussion of the cult of Demos and the Graces highlights two problems: when was the original cult founded and when was Roma added to it? We have sufficient evidence that allows us to make fair assumptions about the former problem and the role the cult played in Athenian religious life. The earliest epigraphical evidence that may refer to the cult of Demos and the Graces⁵⁸ dates from just after 229 BC and may refer to a priest of the cult.⁵⁹ If this is correct, it would relate to the political situation in Athens after 229 when the city found itself free from Macedonian control after the death of Demetrius II. The founding of the cult, therefore, most likely dates to around this time in the 220s BC.⁶⁰

Trying to ascertain when Roma was added to the cult of Demos and the Graces relies on evidence that shows when she was not a part of it. Inscriptions for the period c. 229 to 100 BC mention only Demos and the Graces.⁶¹ This evidence gives us a *terminus post quem* of 100 BC for Roma's inclusion in the cult. Oliver has argued that Roma's addition to the cult can be dated to the reign of Tiberius.⁶² During the imperial period, however, Roma was worshipped primarily in conjunction with Augustus, and the establishment of new cults either to her or including her began to decline. Such a late date for her inclusion is, therefore, unlikely and the addition of Roma to the cult of Demos and the Graces most likely dates sometime between 100 BC and the reign of Augustus. Since the original cult of Demos and the Graces was instituted to celebrate Athenian freedom from Macedonian control, it is possible that Roma's inclusion in the cult marked a similar grant of freedom by the Romans. Two such instances occurred during this time period: after he had besieged the city, Sulla

⁵⁷ *IG II²*, 5047.

⁵⁸ *IG II²*, 834, ll 25-26.

⁵⁹ Wycherley (1957), 59.

⁶⁰ Mikalson (1998), 172, Parker (1996), 269, Oliver (1979), 106, Habicht (1997), 180.

⁶¹ *IG II²*, 844, 908, 909, 987, 1006, 1008, 1011, 1028.

⁶² Oliver (1979), 107.

gave Athens its freedom in 86 BC,⁶³ and after his defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus, Julius Caesar pardoned the Athenians in 48 BC.⁶⁴ Linking the inclusion of Roma to the cult of Demos and the Graces to these events is purely speculative but, given the lack of definitive evidence, is logical in the light of the cult's original foundation and purpose.

The concept of the Demos was incredibly important in Athens since it embodied both the Athenian people as a whole, as well as the *ekklesia* that ratified Athenian decrees.⁶⁵ As a personification Demos dates back to the fourth century BC, although the cult of Demos and the Graces marks the first time that it was deified and received a place of worship.⁶⁶ The deified Demos is a religious translation of the political ideals current at the time of Athens' liberation from Macedonian control⁶⁷ in 229 BC, while the Graces function as a symbol of Athenian gratitude to their benefactors and of political obligation.⁶⁸ Mellor, because of his work's focus on Roma as a political entity rather than a religious one, regards her inclusion in the cult as "...bitterly ironic".⁶⁹ Roma's inclusion, however, is perfectly logical when one considers the history of both the character of the Athenian *demos* and of the cult of the Demos and the Graces and the role it had in Athenian society. Whether the dating for Roma's inclusion in the cult is accepted or not, the fact that she was included at all with these deities representative of freedom and the ideals of Athenian *demokratia*⁷⁰ at all is telling. If Roma's inclusion in the cult of Demos and the Graces can be dated to an event such as Pompey's or Caesar's pardoning of the city, the cult continues to celebrate the freedom enjoyed by the Athenians; Roma's inclusion simply highlights the point that the Athenians now owe that freedom to the Romans. Roma's function in this context is, therefore, the same as in the Aphrodisian treaty: she oversees and protects the freedom of the Athenians and the relationship they have with their benefactors. That there was a seat reserved for the priest of Demos, the Graces and Roma in the theatre of Dionysus alongside the priest of Augustus and

⁶³ Strabo 9.1.20, Flor. 1.40.10-11.

⁶⁴ Dio 42.14.2.

⁶⁵ Lawton (1995), 55, Glowacki (2003), 450.

⁶⁶ Mikalson (1998), 174. Lawton (1995), 56 notes that a cult of Demos and the Nymphs may have existed in Athens in the mid-5th century BC, but the dating of the inscription attesting such a cult (*IG I²*, 854) is problematic.

⁶⁷ Parker (1996), 272.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 273. Oliver (1979), 112 asserts that the Graces here are associated with the refinements of civilised life and the moral obligations that come with said civilisation. While the Graces certainly can stand for a kind of obligation, given the political nature of Demos I am inclined to follow Parker in understanding the Graces as embodying political obligations and gratitude.

⁶⁹ Mellor (1975), 103.

⁷⁰ Mikalson (1998), 173.

Roma testifies that this cult continued to function alongside that of the imperial cult,⁷¹ showing how rooted the worship of Roma came to be in the city.

Roma, Demos and Hestia

Having examined the associations of Roma and the Athenian *demos* in Athens itself, we can now consider another cult where these two divinities were worshipped alongside one another, this time in conjunction with the goddess Hestia on Delos. Given that Delos fell within Athens' sphere of control, it provides an interesting opportunity to investigate the spread of Athenian religious practices and how they came to be associated with the established Delian cult of Hestia, as well as the reasons for the inclusion of Roma in this new combined cult.

Relations between Athens and Delos date back to the Pisistratid period in the sixth century BC. Pisistratus had ordered that Delos be purified and the dead moved away from the temple in order to allow the gods to be properly worshipped on the island.⁷² The Athenians had the island purified again, this time as a result of a plague outbreak, in 426 BC.⁷³ Despite enjoying brief periods of independence during the fourth century BC, Delos remained under Athenian control until 314 BC,⁷⁴ whereafter it remained independent until it was given back to the Athenians by the Romans in 167 BC. The Athenians were often harsh masters: in 422 BC they ordered that the Delians be removed from the island for defiling the purification ritual that took place four years earlier.⁷⁵ The Delians were restored to their homes in 421 BC on the instructions of the oracle at Delphi,⁷⁶ although they would later be expelled again in 167 BC as Athenians began to migrate to the island.⁷⁷

The existence of the combined cult of Hestia, Demos and Roma is attested by two fragmentary inscriptions relating to the priesthood of the cult,⁷⁸ dating to around 158/7 BC and 129/8 BC respectively,⁷⁹ and centred on the Delian *prytaneion*, the building that housed

⁷¹ Mellor (1975), 104.

⁷² Hdt. 1.64, Asheri (2007), 125.

⁷³ Thuc. 3.104, Diod. Sic. 12.58.6-7. Hornblower (2003), 517-531 provides an in-depth commentary on the event, with supplementary notes by Brock (1996) *passim*.

⁷⁴ Reger (1994), 15, Habicht (1997), 246.

⁷⁵ Thuc. 5.1.

⁷⁶ Thuc. 5.32.

⁷⁷ Habicht (1997), 247.

⁷⁸ *ID 2605*: ...[*Ἐ*]στίας [*Δήμου*, *Ῥώμης*...], *ID 1877*: ...ἱερὸς [*Ἐστίας*, *Δήμου*, *Ῥώμης*...]

⁷⁹ Mellor (1975), 65 n. 245.

the common hearth of Delos and a building that was sacred to Hestia.⁸⁰ This location is the first indication of the cult's function: in the Greek city-states the *prytaneia* were looked after by those in the highest levels of power in the *polis*⁸¹ whose duty it was to maintain the public hearth. The *prytaneion* was the political centre of a Greek state that housed the hearth (*ἑστία*), while the goddess (*Ἑστία*) was the symbolic centre of the community.⁸² Rome had made Delos a free port under Athenian supervision in 167 BC and the creation of this cult most likely dates to around this time.⁸³ If this is the case, the combined cult of these divinities served to highlight the political realities on Delos at the time. The Athenians continued the worship of the gods already found on Delos,⁸⁴ thus the cult of Hestia continued to function as it had before the Athenians' arrival, albeit with the addition of Demos and Roma. Demos highlights the Athenians' control of Delos and its inclusion brought together divinities representative of both Delian and Athenian politics. The inclusion of Roma indicates the importance of Rome in the Athenians' control of Delos: since the island had been given to Athens by Rome, for the Athenians to retain control of Delos they needed to remain on good terms with the Romans.⁸⁵ The combined cult of these divinities, therefore, represented the political reality of Delos at the time and the various powers involved in Athens' control of the island.

That the cult was introduced for political reasons does not mean that it had no religious value or that its importance diminished once the initial period after its creation had passed. An inscription dating from 158/7 BC,⁸⁶ which lists Athenians serving in Delian cults, appears to be written in hierarchical order of importance.⁸⁷ If this is the case, then during the second half of the second century BC the cult of Hestia, Demos and Roma was second only in importance to that of Delian Apollo, which was beyond question the most important cult on the island. Roma's place in the cult grew so that by 103/2 BC the priest of the cult is simply referred to as a priest of Roma.⁸⁸

⁸⁰ Miller (1978), 13.

⁸¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.65.4, Merkelbach (1980), 81. Malkin (1987), 114-134 provides an excellent overview of the symbolic role of the *prytaneion*, along with the fire and hearth it housed, in various Greek cities.

⁸² Kajava (2004), 3.

⁸³ Mellor (1975), 136.

⁸⁴ Habicht (1997), 251.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 254-255.

⁸⁶ *ID* 2605.

⁸⁷ Mikalson (1998), 216.

⁸⁸ *SEG* 32.218.40, 127-128, 264-265.

As with other cults where Roma is combined with another divinity, the view of most scholars is that her function was political. Mellor describes the creation of this cult and the *Romaia* held on Delos as another example of Greek sycophancy,⁸⁹ but to do this both undermines the importance of the cult in terms of political realities of the time, and underplays the great significance of Roma in the East as Rome's power and influence continued to expand. Delos was the most important trading port in the Aegean, while the institution central to the Delian community housed a cult of Roma, highlighting her importance as a deity that oversaw the relations between cities and the continued benefaction of the Romans.

Roma and Salus/Hygieia

An inscription, surviving only in the writings of Cyriacus of Ancona, names M. Tullius Cratippus as a priest of Roma and Salus at Pergamum.⁹⁰ The inscription is in Latin and the priesthood is held by a descendant of another Cratippus who received Roman citizenship from Julius Caesar at Cicero's request,⁹¹ possibly the elder Cratippus' son or grandson.⁹² Salus here is the Latin rendering of the Greek goddess Hygieia who was worshipped in Pergamum.⁹³ To understand the connection between Roma and Salus/Hygieia, therefore, it is necessary to look at both goddesses to understand their functions, similarities and differences.

Before looking at Hygieia the goddess, it is necessary first to understand what the Greeks understood by the word *hygieia* itself. In a technical sense *hygieia* is the opposite of *nosos*, meaning 'sickness' or 'disease'. Such a definition can be found in the works of Galen,⁹⁴ but this idea of health had a long history and was mentioned by a variety of ancient writers across a variety of different literary genres.⁹⁵ *Hygieia*, therefore, is the concept of good health and the goddess Hygieia personifies this important ideal.⁹⁶ Since tracing the spread and development of the cult of Hygieia throughout Greece is beyond the scope of this section, I will provide a broad outline of her function and associations with other divinities, primarily Asclepius, in order to compare her to the Roman Salus.

⁸⁹ Mellor (1975), 65.

⁹⁰ *CIL* 3.399.

⁹¹ Plut. *Cic.* 24.5.

⁹² O'Brien-Moore (1942), 34.

⁹³ A Latin dedication from the Aesclepeion in Pergamum is made *Asclepio et Saluti* (O'Brien-Moore (1942), 31, n. 33).

⁹⁴ Gal. *Meth. Med.* 1.5.4.

⁹⁵ E.g. Sext. Emp. (*Math.* 11.49-51) quotes from a number of works that make reference to *hygieia* and its importance in everyday life.

⁹⁶ Wilkins (2005), 136. For a broad overview of the role of Hygieia and her relation to Asclepius, see Compton (2002), *passim*.

Hygieia had a number of different cult sites in Greece. In Athens, from the first half of the fifth century BC, there is evidence for a cult of Athena Hygieia on the Acropolis.⁹⁷ That Athena Hygieia functioned as a goddess responsible for the maintenance of good health emerges from Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*: during the building operations on the Acropolis, a builder lost his footing and fell:

Pericles was much cast down at this, but the goddess appeared to him in a dream and prescribed a course of treatment for him to use, so that he speedily and easily healed the man. It was in commemoration of this that he set up the bronze statue of Athena Hygieia on the acropolis near the altar of that goddess, which was there before, as they say.⁹⁸

Plutarch's account of the dedication of the statue, as well as the older altar to Athena Hygieia, may well be the result of later Athenian traditions⁹⁹ and the later function of Hygieia as an autonomous deity associated with Asclepius. Athena Hygieia could, as this story suggests, function as a healing divinity and heal those who were afflicted and in need of such help. This is the only example, however, of Athena Hygieia functioning in such a manner; in general the goddess was believed to operate on a communal level by maintaining the health of the citizen body as a whole, rather than healing specific individuals when they were ill.¹⁰⁰ Although Hygieia functioned as a healing divinity for the community of Athens, the extent to which this distinction was applied to other communities is uncertain. Nevertheless, it is useful to note that the original function of the Roman goddess Salus was closer to that of Athena Hygieia than to Hygieia alone, and it is possible that Athena Hygieia had a minor influence on the assimilation of Hygieia to Salus.

The combined cult of Hygieia and Asclepius appears to have originated in the Peloponnese.¹⁰¹ Pausanias describes two statues in a sanctuary of Asclepius at Titane, one of Asclepius and one of Hygieia, where the statue of Hygieia was virtually impossible to see because it was covered in strands of women's hair and dressed in Babylonian clothing.¹⁰² The manner in which Hygieia's statue was dressed, along with the offerings of hair, indicate that

⁹⁷ Stafford (2005), 123.

⁹⁸ Plut. *Per.* 13.8.

⁹⁹ Keesling (2005), 69-70.

¹⁰⁰ Parker (2005), 413.

¹⁰¹ Parker (1996), 177. See Stafford (2000), 152 and (2005), 122 for discussion and evidence.

¹⁰² Paus. 2.11.6.

this was an archaic cult, most likely pre-dating the fourth century BC.¹⁰³ Hygieia's first appearance in Athens as an entity separate from Athena follows the introduction of the Epidaurian Asclepius in 420 BC.¹⁰⁴ Whether or not Hygieia was thought of as Asclepius' daughter at this time is not clear,¹⁰⁵ but with time their association would become one of father and daughter.¹⁰⁶ Irrespective of whether or not the two were seen as being related or whether Hygieia simply formed a part of the cult of Asclepius, the main point is that they were healing divinities responsible for the restoration of good health to those who came to Asclepius' sanctuaries. The importance of Hygieia as a healing divinity is perhaps best exemplified by the hymn written in her honour by Apriphron of Sicyon, c. 400 BC,¹⁰⁷ that extols the virtues of good health, and how all that an individual has in life ultimately derives from Hygieia. During the Hellenistic period the kinds of sacrifices to Asclepius and Hygieia expanded and were made by the Boule, Demos, children and women of Athens, often specifically requesting health and safety.¹⁰⁸ It is with this information in mind that the role of Hygieia must be compared against that of the Roman Salus.

There are two different aspects of Salus that need to be discussed: first *salus* as the Roman concept of 'safety' and 'welfare', particularly associated with the state but also with regard to personal welfare,¹⁰⁹ and second the goddess's later identification with the Greek Hygieia. The first temple of Salus in Rome was situated on the Quirinal and its construction began in 306 BC under a contract let by the censor C. Junius Bubulcus.¹¹⁰ The temple had been vowed during the Second Samnite War when Bubulcus was consul, most likely in the year 311 BC,¹¹¹ and dedicated in 302 BC when Bubulcus was dictator.¹¹² While Livy does not mention a specific reason for Bubulcus' vow, the overall context is indicative of her function in the

¹⁰³ Stafford (2000), 153 and (2005), 123. Hom. *Il.* 2.729-32 mentions Asclepius, but makes no reference to him either as a divinity or as having a role in healing. See Garland (1992), 116-135 for an overview of the origins, introduction and development of the cult of Asclepius.

¹⁰⁴ *IG II²*, 4960 fr. a.

¹⁰⁵ Stafford (2000), 159.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. *IG II²*, 4473, Paus. 1.21.4, who describes the sanctuary on the Acropolis as having statues "...of the god and his children."

¹⁰⁷ *Apud Ath.* 15.702: "Hygieia, most revered of the blessed gods, may I dwell with you for the rest of my life, and you be the gracious inmate of my house. For if there is any delight in wealth or in offspring, or in royal dominion which makes men equal to gods, or in those desires which we seek to capture by Aphrodite's hidden nets, or if any other joy or surcease from toil has been revealed to men by the gods, it is with your help, blessed Hygieia, that they all flourish and shine in the Graces' discourse. Without you, no man is happy."

¹⁰⁸ Mikalson (1998), 266.

¹⁰⁹ Fears (1981b), 859. Fears sees Salus as being a Romanised version of the Greek concept of *soter*.

¹¹⁰ Livy 9.43.25, *LTUR* (1999), 229-230.

¹¹¹ Ziolkowski (1992), 144.

¹¹² Livy 10.1.9.

Roman state: as the Second Samnite War saw the Romans defeated on many occasions, Salus was vowed a temple on the condition that she protect the state during this period of difficulty. That the temple was constructed and dedicated shows that, for the Romans, the goddess was seen to have maintained her end of the bargain.¹¹³ Salus' function, in this instance, differs from that of the independent Hygieia because Salus offers, for lack of a better term, salvation¹¹⁴ for the state.

The introduction of the cult of Aesculapius in Rome, however, was to redefine the role and function of Salus. After consulting the Sibylline Books in 293 BC following an outbreak of pestilence it was decided that Aesculapius needed to be brought to Rome from Epidaurus (the same place from which the Athenians brought him in 420 BC). Owing to the consuls' involvement in the Third Samnite War only a day of supplication was offered to the god in that year,¹¹⁵ and envoys were sent the following year to Epidaurus to bring the god to Rome where a temple was set up on the Tiber Island.¹¹⁶ The earliest attestation we have of the assimilation of Salus and Hygieia comes from the year 180 BC, when another plague outbreak occurred in Rome. The Sibylline Books were again consulted and advised that gilded statues be offered to Apollo, Aesculapius and Salus.¹¹⁷ The playwright Terence also makes reference to Aesculapius' and Salus' role as healing divinities.¹¹⁸ Vitruvius states that temples to Aesculapius and Salus should especially be set up at healthy sites that were appropriate to their function as healing divinities.¹¹⁹ Since it is unlikely that Cratippus held the priesthood of Roma and Salus long after 29 BC,¹²⁰ Vitruvius' work shows that the identification of Salus with Hygieia was well established in Roman religious thought by this period.

What, then, was the sense in combining a cult of a healing deity with that of Roma? It is important to note that, while Salus was identified with Hygieia and became a healing deity, the concept of *salus* not only retained its original sense in relation to the safety of the state but

¹¹³ Marwood (1988), 2.

¹¹⁴ Axtell (1907), 13, Fears (1981b), 860.

¹¹⁵ Livy 10.47.7.

¹¹⁶ Val. Max. 1.8.2 records the envoys sent to Epidaurus to bring Aesculapius to Rome.

¹¹⁷ Livy 40.37.2-3.

¹¹⁸ Ter. *Hec.* 338.

¹¹⁹ Vitruvius 1.2.7.

¹²⁰ O'Brien-Moore (1942), 31. The development and proliferation of the joint cult of Roma and Augustus, along with the relative decline in importance of older cults of Roma, makes this unlikely.

also extended it to the general well-being and health of individuals.¹²¹ That Hygieia and Salus were assimilated to one another not only in Rome but also in Pergamum is plain from the Latin inscriptions that equate the two. In this context it is likely that Hygieia fulfilled Salus' original function as a protective divinity of the city of Pergamum. Roma here functions in the same way she has functioned in other cities where her cult was combined with other divinities: along with Hygieia she protected Pergamum and its links to Rome.

The inclusion of Roma in joint cults and her association with various divinities in different Greek city-states clarifies her function as one closely linked to the internal running, and foreign relations, of the state in question. This is not to understate her religious significance since she was, in several instances, added to cults that were of greater antiquity than she herself was, and in doing so associated her with the religious and social thinking of the state.

Roma in Asia Minor

Having looked at some of the primary associations of Roma we can now look at how her cult spread across the Greek East. Evidence that will be considered includes the construction of temples and altars or the institutions of festivals and games. Since there is a considerable body of evidence relating to the goddess and the various honours awarded to her, I shall consider only that which relates directly to the spread and development of her cult and the context in which these honours were granted. The evidence to be examined will be primarily from Asia Minor, as this region provides the only evidence for temple construction during the Republican period. Evidence from Macedonia, Greece and the surrounding islands before the institution of the imperial cult will give a broader perspective of how the goddess was worshipped in various circumstances.

In AD 29 delegations from eleven cities in Asia Minor were sent to Rome. Each city was vying for the privilege of erecting a temple of Tiberius, Livia and the Senate. Tacitus records that part of Smyrna's case to be allowed to host the temple was that it had been the first city to construct a temple to Roma. This had been built in 195 BC.¹²² Smyrna at the time had been attempting to retain its independence against Antiochus, who, in retaliation, ordered that a

¹²¹ Marwood (1988), 12.

¹²² Tac. *Ann.* 4.56, Shotter (1989), 186, Martin and Woodman (1989), 221-222.

small garrison be left in the city.¹²³ In response to this the Smyrnaeans appealed to Rome for help.¹²⁴ The establishment of the temple of Roma, therefore, was one way in which the Smyrnaeans could display their allegiance to Rome and their willingness to help her, should Rome be prepared to do the same thing. Smyrna's past aid to Rome was something that the delegation of AD 29 took care to emphasise during their arguments.

At the time the Smyrnaeans constructed their temple, Rome was facing considerable threats in the form of Macedon, Carthage and various Eastern kings.¹²⁵ To have an ally in Asia Minor would have been of strategic importance to the Romans. Roman intervention on behalf of Smyrna would give impetus for other cities to grant honours to Roma,¹²⁶ and the Smyrnan cult served as a model for others when the granting of honours to the goddess became more widespread. That the temple in Smyrna was of great importance to the city is attested by the fact that Roma continued to be worshipped on her own in this temple without the inclusion of Augustus well into the third century AD.¹²⁷

While the Smyrnaeans had built the first temple to Roma, they were not necessarily the first city to grant honours to the goddess. A fragmentary inscription from Chios records the foundation of games in honour of Roma.¹²⁸ Dating the text is again problematic since the epigraphic evidence and the evidence from the content can suggest two distinct time periods. Based on evidence from the letter forms and writing style the inscription would best fit a date somewhere between 267 and 200 BC.¹²⁹ Some, however, have argued that, based on the historical content, such an early date is unlikely¹³⁰ and arguments can be made for dating the institution of these games to either 189/8 BC or 228 BC.¹³¹ Any of these dates would imply that the worship of Roma was gaining momentum: if the earlier date applies it means that the idea of Roma and the deification of the Roman state was already in circulation in Asia Minor before the Smyrnaeans constructed her first temple. Since games in honour of Roma are found in a number of cities which did not necessarily have a temple to the goddess, the early

¹²³ Livy 33.38. 3-4.

¹²⁴ Livy 34.59.1, 35.17, Gruen (1984), 543.

¹²⁵ Shotter (1989), 186.

¹²⁶ Mellor (1981), 959. Gruen (1984), 187 gives several examples of such proliferation of cults of Roma but, like Mellor, ascribes it to nothing more than Greek sycophancy.

¹²⁷ Knight (2005), 116.

¹²⁸ *SEG*, XVI.486. Text of inscription is that of Derow and Forrest (1982), 79-80.

¹²⁹ Derow and Forrest (1982), 86.

¹³⁰ Eg. Mellor (1975), 60 and Walbank (1963), 3.

¹³¹ For both arguments see Derow and Forrest (1982), 87-91.

Issues of dating aside, the content of the inscription needs to be discussed as it provides an early, and rare, example of how the Greeks at times made use of Roman mythology and history when dealing with, and worshipping, Roma. The text is highly fragmentary and virtually every line has had to be restored in places, but the general outline of what it contained can be discerned. The text records the foundation of a festival in honour of Roma¹³² which may have included sacrifices, processions and games.¹³³ Lines 25-29 show that in some way Romulus and Remus were connected with this festival.¹³⁴ How they were involved is not entirely clear because of the state of the text, although it is possible that a recitation of the founding myths of Rome¹³⁵ or an engraving of the twins' genealogy¹³⁶ was in some way involved. If the reference is to a graphic representation there is also the possibility that it represented the twins being suckled by the she-wolf.¹³⁷ Greek accounts of Rome's foundation were being written as early the fifth century BC. These accounts vary greatly from one another and developed over time, but there is evidence to suggest that some authors were at least partially familiar with native Roman accounts of the city's foundation.¹³⁸ Irrespective of how the twins were incorporated into this new festival, their inclusion highlights not only how Roman power was being perceived in a religious sense¹³⁹ in the form of Roma but that, in certain areas, Greek knowledge of Roman mythology was being adapted to suit the context of worshipping this new goddess.

Festivals and games in honour of Roma became a fairly common way for city-states to show their allegiance to Rome. While it is possible that the festival on Chios began at an earlier date than others, several other cities instituted their own festivals in the second century BC as a mark of thanks for assistance they had received from Rome. For example, the Euboean League instituted a festival to Roma,¹⁴⁰ known as *Romaia*, which was to be held in the city of Chalcis. The most likely date for the institution of this festival is the aftermath of the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 BC and was probably the result of Flamininus' removal of the Roman

¹³² Lines 4-6.

¹³³ Derow and Forrest (1982), 83.

¹³⁴ "... comprising the story of the birth of Romulus, the founder of Rome, and his brother Remus. According to that story it came about that they were begotten by Ares himself, which one might well consider to be a true story because of the bravery of the Romans." Translation by Wiseman (1995), 161, based on the text in Derow and Forrest.

¹³⁵ Erskine (1995), 378.

¹³⁶ Lintott (1993), 176.

¹³⁷ Derow and Forrest (1982), 86.

¹³⁸ Wiseman (1995), Ch. 4 provides an excellent overview of the various Greek accounts of Rome's foundation and how these developed over time.

¹³⁹ Gruen (1987), 177-178.

¹⁴⁰ *IG XII 9.899b*.

garrison from Chalcis, which would place its foundation in 194 BC.¹⁴¹ This is only a year after the goddess's temple was constructed at Smyrna and shows that awareness of both Roman power, and of this new divinity embodying these qualities, was beginning to spread rapidly.

The city of Araxa in Lycia provides an interesting example of how deeply-rooted the worship of Roma could become in a community and how the importance of being allied to Rome was perceived. An inscription¹⁴² records honours bestowed on Orthagoras, a citizen of the city, amongst which there is mention of *Romaia* held in honour of Roma *Epiphanes* ('the manifest').¹⁴³ The bottom half of the inscription is completely broken off, but the extant lines have been reasonably well preserved. As with the inscription from Chios, attempting to date this inscription is difficult and a number of possibilities have been argued,¹⁴⁴ although, based on the actual content of the inscription, a date of sometime around 180 BC seems the most likely.¹⁴⁵ Fortunately, for the purposes of the present discussion, the dating of the inscription itself is not of crucial importance, as my focus is on dating the introduction of the *Romaia* at Araxa. The Araxan inscription provides the only example of the epithet *Epiphanes* directly applied to Roma.¹⁴⁶ The epithet was applied either to a divinity or king (Ptolemy V was the first king to use it) who manifested their power,¹⁴⁷ usually with regard to events of a military nature.¹⁴⁸ The institution of such a festival, therefore, should most likely be dated at a point when the Lycians had demonstrably been assisted by the Romans.

As previous honours granted to Roma were given either as thanks for, or in hope of, receiving help from Rome, the institution of the Lycian *Romaia* most likely had similar motivations. Following the Battle of Magnesia in 190 BC the Lycians learned that they had been selected by the Romans as a gift for Rhodes,¹⁴⁹ and consequently the Ilions sent an envoy to the Romans to ask for Lycia's freedom. The Lycians may have hoped that Rome's mythological link to the Trojans would lend their plea some weight. The result was a situation where the

¹⁴¹ Mellor (1981), 958.

¹⁴² *SEG XVIII* 570.

¹⁴³ Line 71.

¹⁴⁴ See Bean (1948), 51-56 for a summary of the arguments.

¹⁴⁵ Larsen (1956), 159.

¹⁴⁶ Mellor (1975), 115.

¹⁴⁷ Nock (1928), 40.

¹⁴⁸ Mellor (1975), 114.

¹⁴⁹ Polyb. 21.24.7, Livy 37.56.5.

Ilians reported that they had secured Lycia's freedom when this was, in fact, not the case.¹⁵⁰ It is natural to believe that the Lycians were aware of the temple of Roma built by the Smyrnaeans in 195 BC and that their own *Romaia* were instituted as part of their own attempt to garner favour from the Romans during the settlement of Asia.¹⁵¹ The two games held in honour of Roma mentioned in the Araxa inscription can then be dated to 189 and 185 BC.¹⁵² As the Lycians had not been granted their independence and continued to seek help from Rome in regaining their autonomy from the Rhodians,¹⁵³ it is plausible that they maintained their worship of Roma in an attempt to bolster this effort.¹⁵⁴ This is made evident by the fact that the *Romaia* held in 185 BC would have taken place after Lycia had been given to the Rhodians.

The Lycians were finally granted their freedom in 168 BC after the battle of Pydna.¹⁵⁵ It is at this time¹⁵⁶ that the Lycians appear to have dedicated a statue of Roma in Rome to Jupiter and the Roman People on the Capitoline:

The Lycian state, having acquired its ancestral democracy, [dedicated] Roma (i.e. a statue of the goddess Roma) to Jupiter Capitolinus and to the Populus Romanus on account of its excellence (i.e. of the Populus Romanus) and benevolence and good service to the Lycian state.¹⁵⁷

What this individual statue may have looked like is impossible to guess, but the wording of the Greek section of the text (*τὴν Ρώμην* – *the Roma*) would suggest that it was the only statue of the goddess in the vicinity at the time the dedication was inscribed.¹⁵⁸ The giving of this statue helps to show the level at which the worship of this goddess was entrenched in that not only were games voted in her honour in Lycia, but also giving a statue of her to the Romans was perceived as a great token of appreciation to the Romans for having granted

¹⁵⁰ Polyb. 22.5.

¹⁵¹ Larsen (1956), 156.

¹⁵² Larsen (1966), 1640.

¹⁵³ Polyb. 25.5, Livy 41.6.12.

¹⁵⁴ Larsen (1956), 156.

¹⁵⁵ Polyb. 30.5.12.

¹⁵⁶ This inscription is also the source of scholarly debate as regards its dating. Some have argued for a Sullan date, but as the text contains no reference to the *amicitia* or *societas* that existed between Rome and Lycia by that stage, a date of soon after 167 BC seems more plausible. See Mellor (1975), 204, (1978), 322 and Larsen (1956), 156.

¹⁵⁷ *CIL* I², 725. Translation adapted from Mednikarova (2003), 123.

¹⁵⁸ Larsen (1956), 169, n. 30.

them their freedom. Since the Romans at this stage did not worship Roma themselves, the dedication of the statue would have been a purely Lycian idea.

Only two other temples to Roma are directly attested, both of which are in Asia Minor and were constructed at times when the Romans had either offered assistance to a particular city or when that city was seeking Roman aid. Livy records that in 170 BC an embassy from the city of Alabanda had announced to the senate that they had constructed a temple to Roma and had initiated games (*Romaia*) in her honour.¹⁵⁹ It has been argued that the date for this embassy also provides a rough date for the construction of the temple and the institution of the cult,¹⁶⁰ although it seems more likely that this announcement was more a reminder to the senate of the Alabandans' past loyalty than of a recent decision the city had taken.¹⁶¹ If this is the case, a dating of around 189/188 BC is plausible, coinciding with the aftermath of the Battle of Magnesia.¹⁶² The only other temple we know of comes from Miletus where a reasonably well-preserved inscription records sacrifices and games granted to the Roman People and to Roma.¹⁶³ The inscription records that, at the time it was being set up, games in honour of the Roman People and Roma were held in the city but the *Romaion* (the temple of Roma) itself was still under construction. The inscription can be dated to 130 BC,¹⁶⁴ meaning that the temple itself must have been finished sometime soon after. The Milesians had been allied to Rome since the Romans had been at war with Antiochus¹⁶⁵ and it is possible that the games mentioned in the text had been instituted at this time. The construction of the *Romaion* seems to indicate a restructuring of the cult, perhaps as a result of the fall of the Attalids,¹⁶⁶ although this reconstruction of events is only tentative. While dating these temples, like so much of the evidence regarding Roma, is not certain, they do fall into the same pattern as those already discussed in that they were built as tokens of allegiance to Rome and in recognition of the protection that the Romans offered, a protection and power that was worshipped in the form of the goddess Roma.

¹⁵⁹ Livy 43.6.5.

¹⁶⁰ E.g. Weinstock (1971), 403, n. 2.

¹⁶¹ Mellor (1975), 42.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁶³ *IMilet.* 203.

¹⁶⁴ Sherk (1984), 42.

¹⁶⁵ Livy 37.16.2.

¹⁶⁶ Mellor (1975), 54.

Roma in Greece

While Asia Minor provides a large amount of evidence for the spread and development of Roma's cult, including the only temples known to have been dedicated to her alone, the evidence from mainland Greece, the Greek islands and Macedonia is of a different nature. There is no surviving evidence of temples dedicated to Roma alone, and most often she either received an altar (sometimes alongside another divinity), or was included in the cella of another divinity's temple. As I have already looked at how Roma's worship alongside other divinities can shed light on her function, this section will give only a brief overview of how she was worshipped in Greece to serve as a backdrop to her worship alongside Augustus in the imperial period.

Macedonia provides evidence of two cults, from distinct time periods, that show how the worship of Roma changed to suit the political atmosphere of the time and the Macedonians' relationship with Rome itself. The first cult to consider is that of Roma and Zeus Eleutherios, a joint cult found in several Macedonian cities,¹⁶⁷ but the evidence from Abdera and Thessalonica dates to the imperial period, which is not relevant to the current discussion. An inscription from Petres, however, mentioning a priest of Roma and Zeus Eleutherios indicates that the joint cult existed in Macedonia during the Hellenistic period.¹⁶⁸ Since Zeus Eleutherios was responsible for the granting of freedom,¹⁶⁹ it is necessary to date the foundation of this cult to a period when Macedonia was given a grant of freedom with the help of the Romans. Given that the cult formulas used in the inscriptions¹⁷⁰ are all identical, it stands to reason that the three cities actually instituted their cults at the same time.¹⁷¹

As is normally the case, the dating of the Petres inscription is problematic. Edson links the foundation of this joint cult with a coin issue from 148-146 BC by the quaestors L. Fulcinius and C. Publilius. The two had served under Metellus Macedonicus during his suppression of the revolt against Roman rule led by Philip VI Andriscus¹⁷² in 148 BC. Mellor disagrees with this dating, arguing that this may have been a plausible occasion to introduce the worship of

¹⁶⁷ Mellor (1975), 107.

¹⁶⁸ Edson (1940), 134.

¹⁶⁹ On the development of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios and its links to those of Zeus Soter, see Raaflaub (2004), 108-117.

¹⁷⁰ ...Διὸς Ἐλευθε[ρίου καὶ Ῥώμης...]

¹⁷¹ Edson (1940), 134.

¹⁷² Ibid.

Roma but not that of Zeus Eleutherios. He instead favours an earlier date of 168/167 BC following the Battle of Pydna and Macedonia's 'liberation' from Antigonid control and subsequent reorganisation into four separate and independent republics.¹⁷³ Unfortunately there is no way to date this inscription definitively and both proposed dates provide a suitable point at which this joint cult may have been introduced. What is important to note, however, is the role of Roma in this cult. Irrespective of when the cult was introduced, the goddess would have served as a focal point for the Macedonians to direct their appreciation for Roman intervention and the help that the Romans had provided. This is in keeping with similar grants of worship to the goddess that have been examined. That inscriptions relating to this cult were still being made in the imperial period attests to its importance in the various Macedonian cities and how cults of Roma that predate the imperial period continued to function alongside her worship in the imperial cult.

In addition to the cult of Roma and Zeus Eleutherios, the city of Thessalonica had a priest of Roma and the Roman Benefactors. The development of the idea of the Romans as the benefactors of the Greek world is first attested in inscriptions from the second century BC, as Rome's power and influence in the area began to spread.¹⁷⁴ The term 'common benefactors' became a way of describing the Romans with regard to their place in the Greek East,¹⁷⁵ and it was this concept of the Romans that was worshipped in the joint cult of Roma and the Roman Benefactors.¹⁷⁶ Although the idea of the Romans as benefactors was widespread across the Greek East, Thessalonica is the only city known to have had this particular joint cult. This would imply that the Thessalonians instituted the cult in response to a specific instance where they received Roman benefaction, rather than them emulating the cult practices of another city.

Finding such an occasion that would explain the cult's founding is again widely open to speculation. Edson favours a date of 42 – 41 BC based on numismatic and literary evidence. Before the Battle of Philippi Brutus had promised his soldiers the sack of Thessalonica and Sparta should they be victorious.¹⁷⁷ Following Brutus' and Cassius' defeat at Philippi M. Antonius granted Thessalonica the status of a free city, which was commemorated on a coin

¹⁷³ Mellor (1975), 108.

¹⁷⁴ Erskine (1994), 70.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁷⁷ Plut. *Brut.* 46, App. *B Civ.* 4.118.

issue dating to that period.¹⁷⁸ Mellor disagrees with this dating, favouring one before 95 BC, and argues that the most likely period for the foundation of the cult was the defeat of Andriscus.¹⁷⁹ That the cult was in existence in 95 BC is attested by an inscription that contains the phrase *τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐβεργέταις*.¹⁸⁰ Although a foundation date before 95 BC for the joint cult is correct, it is impossible to determine by how much the cult's foundation antedates this inscription. Nevertheless, the cult is interesting because it distinguishes between the power of Rome (represented by the goddess Roma) and the actual people of Rome (represented by the deified Roman Benefactors). Since no other cult like this is attested in the surviving evidence, it cannot be said that such a distinction was universal, but it does assist in further pinpointing the nature of Roma and the powers she embodied.

While the cities of Macedonia instituted joint cults of Roma and cities such as Athens added Roma to the joint cult of Demos and the Graces, the Greek mainland provides very little evidence relating to the worship of Roma. There is little evidence for priesthoods or altars and no evidence at all for temples; instead the bulk of the evidence relates to the institution of *Romaia*.¹⁸¹ Most often the *Romaia* were added to an already existing festival¹⁸² or, such as the games instituted in 194 BC in honour of Flamininus, she is not the primary focus of the games.¹⁸³ The institution of these games provides us with a timeline indicating the spread of Roman power, but they offer very little in terms of insight into the worship of the goddess herself.

While the evidence for public cults of Roma in Greece is lacking, there is evidence to show that the goddess was the recipient of private cults. On the island of Delos, apart from the joint cult to Hestia, Demos and Roma, there are two surviving altars to Roma alone. One of these was set up by the Poseidoniasts, a group of merchants from Berytus. Their altar to Roma was placed in a chapel that formed part of a larger complex dedicated to Poseidon. When this complex was completed is unknown, but construction was underway when the Poseidoniasts issued a decree¹⁸⁴ honouring their Roman benefactor in 153/152 BC¹⁸⁵ who was funding the

¹⁷⁸ Edson (1940), 133.

¹⁷⁹ Mellor (1975), 108.

¹⁸⁰ *IG X.21.4*.

¹⁸¹ Mellor (1975), 97.

¹⁸² Rigsby (2010), 310.

¹⁸³ Mellor (1975), 99.

¹⁸⁴ *ID 1520*.

¹⁸⁵ Habicht (1997), 261.

complex's construction. This would mean that the private cult was initiated not long after the first surviving inscription attesting the cult of Hestia, Demos and Roma. The dedicatory inscription from the altar remains¹⁸⁶ and the text most likely dates from around 100 BC, although it is possible that this altar replaced an earlier one.¹⁸⁷ The Poseidoniasts also set up the earliest surviving statue of Roma, where she is addressed as θεὰ Ῥώμη Εὐεργέτις, 'the goddess Roma the Benefactress'. The statue was set up as a thank-offering to Rome for their kindness and benefaction towards the Poseidoniasts' guild and their homeland of Berytus.¹⁸⁸

Another private association on Delos, the Compataliasts, also chose to erect a statue of Roma. The statue was erected in the Compataliasts' agora and the dedicatory inscription,¹⁸⁹ which contains the names of two Roman consuls, allows the statue's foundation to be dated to 94 BC.¹⁹⁰ The statue of Roma shared a chapel with a statue of Pistis that had been set up in 98/97 BC.¹⁹¹ The Compataliasts consisted of Italians and the slaves and freedmen of Italian families who were dedicated to the worship of the Lares Compitales.¹⁹² The group's worship of the Lares Compitales would have served to reaffirm their own national identity and links to Rome and Italy.¹⁹³ The placement of the statues of Roma and Pistis highlights two important points: first, the connection between Rome and Roman power and the importance the Romans placed on the concept of *fides* with regard to their dealings with foreign peoples and, second, a way the Compataliasts could display their nationality alongside their worship of the Roman Lares Compitales.

Understanding the role of Roma in the context of Greek religion requires handling a variety of different forms of evidence in order to create fuller understanding of the function of this goddess. This chapter has shown that the worship of Roma and the institution of her different cults were tied to a particular city or area's relationship with Rome. Cults for the goddess could be founded either as a thank-offering to the Romans as a way of recognising their assistance, or as a way of attempting to garner Roman favour in a given situation. The political nature of the cults' foundations, however, should not detract from their religious

¹⁸⁶ ID 1779.

¹⁸⁷ Mellor (1975), 155.

¹⁸⁸ ID 1778, Mellor (1975), 145.

¹⁸⁹ ID 1763.

¹⁹⁰ Mellor (1975), 151.

¹⁹¹ ID 1761, Mellor (1975), 66.

¹⁹² Stek (2009), 196.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

importance. Sceptically it could be argued that it was politically crucial to acknowledge Roman power, which would account for the continuance of these cults. A number of these cults of Roma, however, survived well beyond the institution of the imperial cult, highlighting the importance of this goddess despite the shift from Republican to Imperial government in Rome. Outside the various cult foundations, in terms of characteristics, Roma was perceived as a martial deity responsible for the protection of the different cities with which Rome had ties.

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Chapter 2

The fall of the Roman Republic and the transition to imperial rule was to alter the way in which the goddess Roma was worshipped drastically. While she had previously been worshipped alongside both deities and individuals,¹⁹⁴ her worship in combination with that of Augustus was something that the emperor himself had initially mandated. This marks a clear distinction from the way in which cults to Roma had previously been initiated: under the Republic, each city that chose to initiate a cult of the goddess did so on its own and structured the cult in a way that suited that individual city. During the imperial period, however, the manner in which Roma and Augustus were worshipped was set within parameters that the *princeps* himself had decided on. During the Republican period the Greeks had chosen to worship Roma as the divine embodiment of Roman power because Rome did not have a single leader, the equivalent of a Hellenistic king, as the Republican system had been specifically designed to prevent any individual from attaining such power.¹⁹⁵ Roma became the figure around which praise and worship could most safely be established. The reign of Augustus changed this dynamic of power, as there now was a single head of the Roman state whose power was recognised as being superior to that of the Senate and People. The purpose of this chapter is to look at how the worship of Roma changed during this period and how, and to what degree, perceptions of her changed as Augustus now became the primary focus of religious worship in the Greek-speaking east. By examining different cult sites to Roma and Augustus, considering the evidence for Augustus' shared worship with Roma and how peoples of the Greek-speaking east perceived Augustus, I will attempt to understand whether the power he was perceived to grant was in any way different to the powers that Roma was already seen to possess.

Interpreting the Importance of the Imperial Cult

In the previous chapter I discussed modern scholarly interpretations of Roma that tended to view her as simply a political entity that was little more than the by-product of Greek

¹⁹⁴ The worship of Roma and Flamininus was discussed in the previous chapter. The joint cult of Roma and P. Servilius Isauricus is discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁹⁵ That the people of the Greek-speaking east recognised this is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that, while there were cults of Roma, the Roman *demos* and the Roman Benefactors, there is no evidence that suggests the Senate was the recipient of cult during the Republican period. The most plausible reason for this is that, unlike the other cults of Roman power, the power and position of the Senate were impossible to define in terms of existing Greek political structures. See Erskine (1997), *passim*.

sycophancy towards their new Roman masters. Various scholars have pointed out the problems in attempting to maintain this position, and a closer examination of the evidence available to us shows that the worship of this divinity could not have continued for as long as it did if she held no religious significance to those who worshipped her.

By comparison with the scholarship on Roma, what has been written about the phenomenon of ruler cult, even that relating specifically to the worship of the Roman emperors, is far more voluminous. There are similarities, however, in the ways in which the worship of both the emperors and Roma has been evaluated, with the standard view of many scholars being that the imperial cult served political, not religious, ends.¹⁹⁶ Such a view, however, cannot fully explain why some of the earliest examples of cults of Augustus and Roma continued to function not only after Augustus' death, but also after the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, when such purported sycophancy and political allegiance would have been better placed with the new emperor and dynasty.¹⁹⁷ While it would be equally misguided to attempt to argue that political motivations played no part in the imperial cult, it is important to bear in mind that, in studying any form of religion, any number of interpretations can be simultaneously correct depending on the viewpoint that is taken into account.¹⁹⁸ Whilst the imperial cult may have served political ends, for those involved in the day-to-day worship of Roma and Augustus the cult was, understandably, a religious experience. Owing to limitations of space and available evidence, I will not attempt to interpret what impact the imperial cult had on the various different groups of people that comprised each individual city's population. The focus will rather be on defining the context in which different cults were established across the Greek-speaking half of the Roman empire, establishing how long these cults continued to operate, any changes to them that may have been documented, and what conclusions can be drawn from this, particularly with reference to how Roma may have been viewed in this new and shifting religious context.

In 29 BC, following his victory at Actium, Octavian allowed for the institution of two different kinds of cults, the first being that of Divus Julius and Roma and the second of

¹⁹⁶ Price (1984), 11-22, rebutting the political approach, highlights a number of problems evident in the study of the imperial cult. These include a tendency to view the imperial cult from a Christianised point of view, attempts to separate political and religious structures which, in reality, were bound to one another in the ancient world, and various forms of modern prejudices and presuppositions on the supposed sycophancy inherent in Greek culture.

¹⁹⁷ The continued worship of Augustus after his death is dealt with in detail by Lyasse (2008), *passim*.

¹⁹⁸ Gordon (2011), 39.

himself and Roma. Dio reports the following on the institution of the cult of Divus Julius and Roma:

[Octavian], meanwhile, besides attending to the general business, gave permission for the dedication of sacred precincts in Ephesus and in Nicaea to Roma and to [Julius] Caesar ... These cities had at that time attained chief place in Asia and in Bithynia respectively. He commanded that the Romans resident in these cities should pay honour to these two divinities ... [Octavian] permitted the aliens, whom he styled Hellenes, to consecrate precincts to himself, the Asians to have theirs in Pergamum and the Bithynians theirs in Nicomedia.¹⁹⁹

Understanding why Octavian permitted a cult of Roma and himself, whilst insisting that Roman citizens in Ephesus and Nicaea worship Roma and Julius Caesar, requires a careful and thorough handling of the evidence Dio provides. I will deal first with the cult of Roma and Caesar. At face value Octavian's insistence on a cult of Julius Caesar and Roma for Roman citizens could be based purely on Roman religious conservatism. Living Romans could not (or should not) be worshipped as divinities while they were alive but, since Caesar had been formally deified by a decision of the Senate and People (i.e. by a *lex*), he was a perfectly acceptable choice for Roman citizens to worship. This explanation is perhaps strengthened because Dio states that no emperor, starting with Augustus down to Dio's own age, had allowed himself to be worshipped in Rome or in Italy, and that such divine honours were reserved solely for emperors after their deaths.²⁰⁰ Whilst Rome and the western provinces of the Empire will be dealt with in the final chapter of this thesis, a few pertinent points need to be made about what Dio is saying in general. Ephesus was where the proconsul of the province of Asia was stationed, and Nicaea is singled out by Dio because it was the provincial capital of Bithynia and the city of his birth. Both cities had a sizeable Roman population.²⁰¹ In these instances, owing to the large number of Romans in these cities, we are not dealing with religious contexts that are necessarily typical across the east. These cults were also different to those found in a number of other cities because they were meant to function on behalf of the entire province and not just the cities in which they were founded.²⁰² Dio's concern is with these provincial cults and does not take into account the private worship of the emperors.²⁰³ All this information needs to be borne in mind when

¹⁹⁹ Dio 51.20.6.

²⁰⁰ Dio 51.20.6.

²⁰¹ Reinhold (1988), 154.

²⁰² Gradel (2002), 76.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 75. The private worship of the emperors would not have been a concern to historians, who chose to focus instead on matters affecting the provincial elite. Gradel (2002), Ch. 3 *passim* provides a good overview of the evidence relating to the private worship of the emperors, particularly Augustus, in Italy during their lifetimes.

looking at both combined cults and the reasoning behind Augustus' decision to choose who should be worshipped alongside Roma and who was permitted to worship in which cult.

Given that the cults of Roma and Caesar were meant to service two provincial capitals with a sizeable body of Roman citizens, Octavian's order that these two divinities be worshipped most likely derives, in part, from his desire to appear to be upholding traditional Republican religious sentiments. Neither cult of Caesar and Roma appears to have functioned for very long and each drops out of the written and epigraphic record relatively early on.²⁰⁴ When they did function, however, they were most likely meant to serve as a more indirect means by which Roman citizens could worship Octavian/Augustus. In Rome, following Caesar's death and deification, Octavian had made great use of a number of different means to advertise the message that he was *divi filius*, the son of the god.²⁰⁵ Even though Octavian's propagandistic use of Caesar in Rome had greatly decreased by 31 BC,²⁰⁶ the cult of Roma and Caesar in the provinces can be seen to serve a similar end. Octavian was a new ruler who had only recently come to hold unchallenged power following the Battle of Actium. In keeping with his show of modesty and religious restraint he could not allow Romans to worship him directly, so the worship of Caesar would have been a more suitable alternative, as it did not stray completely from Republican ideals, but still recognised the new political situation in Rome.

The political overtones aside, the cult of Caesar and Roma in Ephesus is particularly interesting because this city provides the clearest evidence for how the worship of this goddess changed over time. The earliest evidence we have for Roma's worship in Ephesus dates from the beginning of the first century BC when her priest served as the city's eponymous official.²⁰⁷ The foundation of the cult most likely dates to around 133 BC, after the demise of the Attalid dynasty²⁰⁸ and the handing over of the state to Roman rule. Her worship was later combined with that of Publius Servilius Isauricus. Isauricus had been co-consul with Julius Caesar in 48 BC and then proconsul of Asia from 46 to 44 BC. Isauricus was seen as a benefactor of the province and, as a token of thanksgiving, the Ephesians added

²⁰⁴ Gradel (2002), 74. The cult at Ephesus appears either to have been remodelled, making Roma and Augustus the primary recipients of cult but incorporating the worship of Divus Julius, or to have been replaced entirely by a new cult of Roma and Augustus. See Weinstock (1971), 403.

²⁰⁵ See Ramage (1985), 236-241.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 237.

²⁰⁷ *OGIS* 437.

²⁰⁸ Mellor (1975), 57.

him to their existing cult of Roma.²⁰⁹ When his worship was established is not directly attested, although it would have been either during or shortly after his tenure as proconsul, but an inscription shows that the cult continued to function well into the imperial period.²¹⁰ Octavian had been engaged briefly to Servilia, Isauricus' daughter, before his reconciliation with Antonius.²¹¹ As compensation for breaking off the engagement Octavian had Isauricus appointed as consul for a second time in 41 BC.²¹² The new cult of Caesar and Roma would not have directly replaced that of Roma and Isauricus, since their worship was based in the city's gymnasium rather than in its own temple.²¹³ Rather, it is likely that this older cult served as a model on which the worship of Caesar and Roma was based. The persistence of the Isauricus and Roma cult is perhaps a result of the similarities between it and the newer cult, as well as the fact that it honoured a man closely associated with both Caesar and Octavian.

The Ephesian and Nicaean cults are important not because they were the first to associate Roma and Caesar, since the two had already been voted joint honours at Mytilene in 45 BC,²¹⁴ but rather because they are the first instance where the worship of Roma was publicly made open to Romans²¹⁵ and endorsed by a formal resolution from the Roman government. As a result, the cults would have presumably allowed those Romans living in the cities to become more familiar with Roma and for her to become assimilated into Roman religious thought, rather than simply being a goddess worshipped by Greeks and foreigners.²¹⁶ The fact that Roma was a well-established deity in the east also meant that these two cults would start off on a firm footing,²¹⁷ since worshipping Roman power would not have been an alien concept and, rather than introducing an entirely different cult, the emphasis was simply being shifted from Roma alone to her in conjunction with Caesar. The incorporation of Caesar and Roma in the Ephesian and Nicaean cults was, therefore, the best way in which Augustus

²⁰⁹ Cic. *Fam.* 13.66-72 would also suggest that his tenure as proconsul of Asia was highly regarded back in Rome.

²¹⁰ *IvE* 3.702 c. AD 100. See Friesen (1993), 9-10 for discussion of the evidence.

²¹¹ Suet. *Aug.* 62, Treggiari (1991), 156.

²¹² Dio 48.4, Friesen (1993), 9.

²¹³ Friesen (1993), 10. The inscriptions that mention the priests of Roma and Isauricus link the priesthood with the Ephesian gymnasium.

²¹⁴ *IG* 10.2.25 records honours voted to Julius Caesar and Roma Nikephoros.

²¹⁵ Whittaker (1996), 97.

²¹⁶ The differences between Roma in the eastern and western provinces of the empire will be discussed in the final chapter.

²¹⁷ Whittaker (1996), 97-98.

could prepare the groundwork for the worship of himself without appearing to overstep the mark of traditional Roman beliefs.

While the cults of Roma and Caesar at Ephesus and Nicaea were the first to introduce Roma to Roman worshippers officially, it was the combined cult of Roma and Augustus that would spread throughout the Greek East, at both the provincial and city level, and also serve as the model for the imperial cult in the western provinces. Dio mentions the two original cults of Roma and Augustus at Pergamum and Nicomedia but, unlike the cult of Caesar, Dio does not mention Roma in connection with the cult of Augustus:

...[Octavian] permitted the aliens, whom he styled Hellenes, to consecrate precincts to himself, the Asians to have theirs in Pergamum and the Bithynians theirs in Nicomedia.²¹⁸

Although Dio does not mention Roma, we know from Tacitus²¹⁹ and from numismatic evidence that depict the temple with the legend ROM.ET.AVG.COM.ASIAE²²⁰ that Roma was, in fact, included in the cult. Suetonius also makes a more general statement that Augustus never granted permission for cults to be established to him unless Roma was included,²²¹ although this only refers to the public and state worship (i.e. those that were granted formal permission) of Augustus during his lifetime, and does not take into account private or municipal-level worship of the emperor alone.²²² It is also possible that the temple at Nicomedia included the worship of the Senate and the Genius Populi Romani alongside Augustus and Roma, as legends from the city's coins seem to attest.²²³ Since these two temples were the first to introduce the joint cult of Roma and Augustus, a number of issues need to be discussed. First, as was important when looking at the Republican foundations for cults of Roma, we need to establish the precise context in which Asia and Bithynia requested a temple of Augustus. Second, we need to establish why Augustus insisted that Roma share in the cult. Thirdly, we need to examine how Augustus was perceived in this religious context in order to ascertain whether or not the function of Roma has changed. Lastly, we need to take a brief look at how long these temples continued to function to see how embedded the

²¹⁸ Dio 51. 20.7.

²¹⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 4.37.3: speech of Tiberius mentioning the temple at Pergamum.

²²⁰ Mellor (1981), 977, n. 161.

²²¹ Suet. *Aug.* 52.

²²² Tac. *Ann.* 1.73 states that all Roman households shortly after the death of Augustus had votaries of the emperor in them. Such private worship most likely reflects conditions prior to his death as well. See Gradel (2002), 110-112.

²²³ Burrell (2004), 148.

worship of these two divinities became in this particular area, before moving on to look at how and when other cities established similar temples and cults.

As a part of the Treaty of Brundisium signed in 40 BC, M. Antonius was allocated the eastern provinces of the empire²²⁴ which served as his stronghold before his defeat at Actium. In 32 BC the two consuls and a number of senators who supported Antonius had fled to the east to join him against Octavian and his supporters.²²⁵ We are told that every city of the east helped Antonius in his preparations for war against Octavian, the expense of which took its toll on the eastern provinces.²²⁶ The effects of these wartime preparations, coupled with Antonius' alleged mismanagement of his provinces,²²⁷ left the east in a difficult state once Antonius was defeated.²²⁸ Allowing for bias and exaggeration in the sources, it is still clear that those living in the eastern provinces of the empire wanted to quickly distance themselves from the memory of Antonius and display their allegiance and loyalty to the new power in Rome. This is particularly evident if we consider that, when the *koinon* of Asia originally requested permission to build a temple to Octavian, their intention was to initiate the worship of the emperor alone, on the same model as those of the cults of Hellenistic kings, and made no mention of worshipping Roma alongside him.²²⁹ Such appeals indicate not only the willingness of the people in the east to accept Octavian as Rome's new leader but also that they hoped, by showing him the necessary respect and honour, that he might improve the general conditions of the east.²³⁰

²²⁴ App. *B Civ.* 5.65, Dio 46.29.

²²⁵ Dio 50.2.

²²⁶ Plut. *Ant.* 56.4-5.

²²⁷ E.g. Aug. *RG* 24: "I replaced in the temples in all the cities of the province of Asia the ornaments which my antagonist in the war, when he despoiled the temples, had appropriated to his private use." This is one example of how Augustus set himself and his position apart from his predecessors. While it was common practice to display works of art taken from captured cities, the Romans differentiated between grand public displays and perceived private excess. Augustus here is restoring public ornaments which had been taken by Antonius for private use. See Cooley (2009), 210-212 for commentary.

²²⁸ The poor state of the province led to Augustus and Agrippa issuing an edict (*SEG* XVIII, no. 555) in 27 BC. The edict was intended to protect any sacred property and ensure that it was not removed or plundered, as had happened during the civil wars. The proconsul was charged with ensuring that any sacred property removed was restored to its proper location.

²²⁹ *IPriene* 105, Witulski (2010), 17-18.

²³⁰ Magie (1950), 440. This is reflected in the language used in dedications made to Augustus by the Asian *koinon* which, rather than giving thanks for specific benefactions or deeds performed by Augustus, celebrated those actions that favoured the province in general. Price (1984), 54-57 discusses the language used in these texts and the differences between them and earlier dedications made to the Hellenistic kings. An edict of the Asian *koinon* in 9 BC also altered the calendar of the province's cities, making the New Year begin on Augustus' birthday. See Sherk (1984), 124-127 for inscriptions and notes.

In order to understand why Augustus insisted that Roma not only be worshipped alongside him, but that her name also be given the primary position in the pairing, it is necessary to look at Julius Caesar's assassination. Caesar's assassination was, in part, due to the various honours that were bestowed upon him that were seen to surpass those that were in keeping with the traditions of Republican Rome. Some of these honours were far reaching, such as the position of perpetual dictator, but for the current discussion what is important was the religious honours voted to him, which included sacrifices, games and statues of himself placed in the various temples in Rome.²³¹ Moreover he was given his own *flamen*, awarded the title of Divus Julius and worshipped as a god in his lifetime.²³² While the title of *divi filius* was a useful propaganda tool when he was consolidating his power, Octavian was careful, in some contexts at least, to distance himself from the idea of his own divinity, stressing the difference between Caesar the deified god and himself as a man living among the Romans.²³³ Rather than making claims to divinity in the same way that Caesar did, or was perceived to have done, Octavian chose instead to present himself as being divinely favoured. The methods employed to do so were dependent on his constitutional position and the events of the time and, as such, vary over different time periods.²³⁴ The distinction between being divine and having divine favour is a small but very important one, as it allowed Octavian to glorify himself whilst remaining within the bounds of what Republican tradition would allow. It also allowed him to sharply contrast his own behaviour with that of M. Antonius, or at least the version of Antonius' behaviour that has been preserved. A large part of Octavian's propaganda against Antonius in the period leading up to Actium had been to accuse Antonius

²³¹ Suet. *Caes.* 76, App. *B Civ* 2.106.

²³² This point is disputed. Cicero mentions the title of *Divus* in *Phil.* 2.110. In this part of the speech, which took place on 19 September 44 BC, Cicero chastises M. Antonius for not yet becoming inaugurated as Caesar's *flamen*. Since Caesar was only consecrated in 42 (Dio 47.18) it stands to reason that this title was in use before his death. See Weinstock (1971), 307-308, 386ff. Gradel (2002), Ch. 3 provides a useful discussion of the primary sources, although the outcomes he reaches need to be approached carefully. Cf. Wardle (2002).

²³³ Ramage (1985), 236-241 provides a good overview of how Octavian/Augustus went about distancing and stressing the differences between himself and the deified Caesar.

²³⁴ Pollini (1990), *passim* discusses the different ways in which Octavian/Augustus associated himself with various divinities, using primarily the evidence from coins. Attempts to understand this particular aspect of Augustus' reign are complicated by several factors: coins, although one of the most prolific and easily dateable forms of evidence, are at times difficult to interpret owing to their small size. It is also not entirely clear the level to which Augustus or the Senate had input in the design of the coins, and the use of them as evidence must also take into account whether they were issued by a mint under Roman authority, and therefore intended to be circulated across the provinces, or by a mint in a smaller, autonomous area, and therefore intended for local use only. Whether the evidence was manufactured for private or public consumption is also a concern, as pieces made for Augustus' private use cannot be taken to represent any form of policy so far as his public image is concerned. The use of any of this evidence also needs to take into account the events occurring around the time of its manufacture, as well as Augustus' constitutional position at the time, as this will help clarify the reasoning behind the divine associations he created.

of "...conduct [un]becoming of a citizen..."²³⁵ Such conduct had included Antonius allowing himself to be referred to as either Osiris or Dionysus, and Cleopatra as Isis.²³⁶ Given the conduct of both Caesar and Antonius, Octavian's decision to permit his worship only in conjunction with Roma can best be seen as a balancing act. It allowed him to satisfy the provincials who wished to offer him cult, something which had a well-established precedent in the east, while at the same time conceding to Roman religious sensitivities by not appearing to indulge in the same excesses as his adoptive father and former political rival at a time when his position and hold on power were still challenged.

Since Roma had been worshipped in the east for nearly two centuries before 29 BC, her function in the Greek religious sphere had already been defined: Roma was responsible for the maintenance of relations between a city and Rome and embodied the power and benefactions that Rome was seen to grant on those areas that fell within its sphere of influence. With the introduction of the new cults of Roma and Augustus it becomes necessary to investigate whether this function remained the same or whether Augustus had a different function that operated in conjunction with Roma.

In order to understand what role Roma had in the imperial cult it is first necessary to understand how Augustus would have been perceived in a religious context. As these cults present a religious association between Augustus and a deified abstraction embodying the Roman state, the best way to understand Augustus' function is to look at how he presented

²³⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 17.1.

²³⁶ Dio 50.25. Cleopatra's association with Isis is perfectly understandable in an Egyptian context. Isis, one of the primary divinities of the Egyptian pantheon and consort of Osiris, was seen to personify the Egyptian throne. Since the Pharaoh was believed to be an earthly incarnation of the god Horus, Cleopatra, in her capacity as Pharaoh of Egypt, was directly linked to the goddess (For the development of the role of Isis in the Egyptian pantheon, see Witt (1971), Chs. 1-2). The negative associations Octavian was able to use in his propaganda against Antonius and Cleopatra derive from the chequered past Isis' cult had had in Rome. In 58 BC the Senate ordered that altars on the Capitol to Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates and Anubis be destroyed, and they were only restored owing to popular uprising against their destruction (Varro *apud Tert. Nat.* 1.10). In 53 BC the Senate again ordered that temples to Isis and Serapis that had been privately built should be torn down (Dio 40.47). In 50 BC, when no workers could be found who were willing to carry out the destruction ordered by the Senate, the consul himself destroyed the doors of the temples (Val. Max. 1.3.4). In 48 BC the Senate once again ordered the destruction of a temple to Isis (Dio 42.26). In 43 BC the triumvirs, Octavian included, voted to construct a new temple of Isis and Serapis (Dio 47.16), although this plan never came to fruition. All these actions against the cult of Isis took place during periods of political instability in Rome and where a return to more traditional Roman practices was desired. Octavian's references to Cleopatra as Isis (Dio 50.25) fall within a very similar framework: he represents a return to traditional Roman Republican virtues while she (and by extension, Antonius), represent that which is foreign and what will bring about the downfall of traditional Roman ways of life. Antonius' presentation of himself as Dionysus/Osiris was also not confined to Egypt. See Dio 50.5.3 with Reinhold (1988), *ad loc.* For the ways in which Augustus differentiated himself from Antonius and Cleopatra after his conquest of Egypt, see Dundas (2002).

his relationship to the state in the political sphere and then apply this to the cult. The most useful piece of evidence for this is the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. When Augustus composed this work is a matter of scholarly debate. In the text itself Augustus states that “[a]t the time of writing I am in my seventy-sixth year”,²³⁷ which would place its composition sometime between his birthday on 23 September AD 13 and his death on 19 August AD 14. Despite this, scholars have taken the granting of the title *Pater Patriae* in 2 BC as the intended climax of the work, with other information being added in after Augustus’ death by Tiberius.²³⁸ More recently, however, scholars²³⁹ have argued that attempts to justify an earlier date are pointless and that there is little reason to doubt Augustus’ own statement with regard to when the work was composed. Irrespective of when the work was composed, for the present purpose of this thesis the important fact is that the *Res Gestae* presents Augustus’ own account of how he wished his actions to be viewed and remembered.²⁴⁰

The surviving copies of the *Res Gestae* all originate from three sites associated with the imperial cult.²⁴¹ The two versions of the text that were used, copies of the original Latin text in Rome and a paraphrased account in Greek, differ slightly, and their placement and use differed between the sites. Before undertaking a more detailed examination of the sites themselves, however, the text can be used to identify a more general depiction of Augustus and his benefactions. As these were so closely associated with imperial cult centres, it can be argued that ideas contained therein can be carried over into the religious sphere and define the function of Augustus in the new combined cults with Roma.

Augustus’ role alongside Roma in a religious sense is best understood if we compare it to Augustus’ relationship to the Roman State. Throughout the text of the *Res Gestae* Augustus emphasises the actions he took to ensure that Rome and its empire was protected. Referring to the year 44 BC, Augustus states that:

[the Senate] entrusted to me as propraetor, together with the consuls, the task of taking precautions that nothing should harm the state.²⁴²

²³⁷ *RG* 35.2.

²³⁸ Eg. Brunt and Moore (1967), 6.

²³⁹ E.g. Ramage (1987), 13, Cooley (2009), 42-43.

²⁴⁰ Brunt and Moore (1967), 4, Cooley (2009), 43.

²⁴¹ The possible existence of a copy from the province of Asia is discussed later in this chapter.

²⁴² *RG* 1.3. The translation is that of Cooley (2009) from the Greek text of the *Res Gestae*. The Greek text is more useful for the current discussion as we need to understand how Augustus was perceived in a provincial context.

In 27 BC Octavian received the honorary name 'Augustus'. He describes the general reasons for this as follows:

...after I had extinguished the civil wars, although I was in control of all affairs in accordance with the prayers of my fellow citizens, I transferred the rights of ownership from my power to that of the Senate and People of Rome.²⁴³

Whether Augustus claims to have restored the Republic has been much debated; what form would such a restoration have taken? Did Augustus have sufficient constitutional powers to grant such a restoration? Was such a restoration as important to Augustan propaganda as modern scholarship has suggested?²⁴⁴ Did Augustus actually make such a claim? For the purposes of the current discussion whether or not such a 'restoration' actually took place is unimportant. Rather, the above statement reflects Augustus' view of his own relation to the state,²⁴⁵ and similar formulations appear in other contemporary sources.²⁴⁶ Equally, an inscription belonging to an unidentified Augustan monument set up in 29 BC states that its erection was a result of "...the Republic having been preserved..."²⁴⁷ by Augustus' actions. Looking beyond the political likelihood of the terminology employed, the fact of the matter was that the new age of peace that the Romans enjoyed was a result of Augustus' actions. Despite the fact that the Republican system had proven to be ineffectual during the first century BC, by and large it was still viewed as the only acceptable form of government for Rome and her Empire.²⁴⁸ By claiming to uphold the system Augustus was able to place himself at the very centre of it.²⁴⁹ The preservation of the State would have been viewed as one of his greatest benefactions to the Roman people, of which he cites numerous examples

²⁴³ *RG* 34.1.

²⁴⁴ Judge (1974) provides a good overview of the problems of viewing the 'restoration' as a corner-stone of Augustan propaganda, arguing that Augustus never made such a claim at all. Turpin (1994) provides an excellent discussion on the 'restoration', looking at it not as a constitutional movement but, rather, as Augustus highlighting a pinnacle point in his rise to power.

²⁴⁵ Vell. Pat. 2.89.3: "The civil wars were ended after twenty years ... The old traditional form of the republic was restored." Suet. *Aug.* 28 (quoting an edict of Augustus): "May it be my privilege to establish the State in a firm and secure position, and reap from that act the fruit that I desire; but only if I may be called the author of the best possible government, and bear with me the hope when I die that the foundations which I have laid for the State will remain unshaken."

²⁴⁶ E.g. Hor. *Odes* 1.3, Verg. *Aen.* 6.777-807.

²⁴⁷ *ILS* 81, Rich (2010), 182.

²⁴⁸ Meier (1990), 57. It was not the actual reality of Republican government, but rather the idea of the Republic, which remained strong with various groups of people for a great variety of reasons. Livy, writing during this period of transition, perhaps best exemplifies the great regard the Republic was held in when he wrote in his preface "...that I may avert my gaze from the troubles which our age has been witnessing for so many years, so long at least as I am absorbed in the recollection of the brave days of old ...". On the nature of Roman historiography, see Mellor (1999), 185-200.

²⁴⁹ Meier (1990), 66-67.

throughout the course of the *Res Gestae*. This tendency to emphasise his euergetism has been used to argue that the text as a whole was written by Augustus as a case for his deification.²⁵⁰ If this was the case, the temples of Galatia would have been very fitting choices for the text's inscription.²⁵¹ If we take this relationship between the *Princeps* and Rome as Augustus presented it and apply it to the religious sphere of the cult of Roma and Augustus, it would then mean that Roma, symbolic of old Republican values and the protection offered by Rome in the east, continues to have the same religious function she always had. In the same way that the mortal Augustus was the protector of the Roman state, the divinised version of him found in this joint cult would have overseen and protected Roma, allowing her to continue granting the benefactions with which she had become associated.

The Pergamene Temple of Augustus and Roma

Roma and Augustus continued to be worshipped at the original imperial temple at Pergamum well after the emperor's death. Telephus, a Pergamene scholar writing in the 2nd century AD, wrote a work in two books on the temple.²⁵² The work itself is now lost and is mentioned only in the *Suda*, but the fact that there is hardly any evidence for works of a similar nature highlights the importance this particular temple must have held in Pergamum.²⁵³

An inscription containing a *senatus consultum* relating to the foundation of the temple of Trajan and Zeus Philios in Pergamum,²⁵⁴ dated to around AD 113/114,²⁵⁵ also helps to identify how long the temple of Roma and Augustus continued to function. When the games associated with the Trajanic temple were being instituted, the Roman Senate ordered that the new games should be made equal to those offered to Roma and Augustus. The annual games held in honour of Roma and Augustus were instituted at the time of the temple's foundation and were the only games of this nature to be held in Asia for fifty years.²⁵⁶ The fact that these games were still being celebrated during the reign of Trajan indicates not only that they continued to be an important feature of the religious calendar of the city, but also that they

²⁵⁰ Bosworth (1999), Gradel (2002), 280-282.

²⁵¹ Gradel (2002), 282.

²⁵² *FGrH* 505 T I.

²⁵³ Price (1984), 133.

²⁵⁴ *IGR* 4.336: ... *in civitate Pergamenorum ... cuius est quod in eadem civitate in honorem Romae et divi Aug. institutum est* ... Text in Abbott and Johnson (1926), 389-390.

²⁵⁵ Schowalter (1998), 236.

²⁵⁶ Price (1984), 104.

were sufficiently entrenched that the Roman Senate viewed them as a useful model on which to base the later games for Trajan and Zeus Philios. We also know that the choir established by Augustus to sing hymns in honour of himself and Roma was still functioning at the beginning of the second century AD and celebrated four major festivals each year.²⁵⁷ These hymnodes were also responsible for the imperial mysteries that took place in Pergamum.²⁵⁸ All this information clearly indicates that the Pergamene temple of Augustus and Roma continued to be of importance in the city long after its initial foundation.

The Nicomedian Temple of Augustus and Roma

How long the temple at Nicomedia continued to function is more difficult to determine as we rely almost solely on numismatic evidence. Dio makes no mention of *Sebasta Romaia*, games in honour of Roma and Augustus, in connection with Nicomedia as he did with Pergamum,²⁵⁹ and we cannot assume that they existed.²⁶⁰ Moreover, there are no known hymnodes who serviced this temple such as those set up by Augustus in Pergamum.²⁶¹ Since the surviving numismatic evidence representing the temple dates from the reign of Hadrian,²⁶² we cannot say how long the cult continued to function after Hadrian's reign. While it is possible that a statue of Hadrian and a duplicate statue of Roma accompanying the emperor were added to the temple at a later date,²⁶³ all we can conclude is that the temple was in operation up until the reign of Hadrian and that it may have gained somewhat renewed prominence once the statue of the reigning emperor was added to it. The lack of any evidence for games or a choir also means that it is not possible to recreate with any certainty the cult activities that took place at this particular temple or the form, iconographic or otherwise, in which Roma and Augustus were worshipped here.

The Cults of Julius Caesar and Roma

Attempting to establish how long the cults of Julius Caesar and Roma continued is virtually impossible. The archaeological remains of the temple in Ephesus have been tentatively

²⁵⁷ Price (1984), 118.

²⁵⁸ For a discussion of the Pergamene evidence see Pleket (1965), 341-346. Cf. Price (1984), 190-191.

²⁵⁹ Dio 51.20.9, *IGR* 4.498.

²⁶⁰ Burrell (2004), 151.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 152.

²⁶² See *Ibid.*, 148-150 for bibliography and descriptions of coins.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 151.

identified next to the city's *prytaneion*. The architectural form of this temple, if it is indeed that of Caesar and Roma, mirrors those of the late first century AD.²⁶⁴ Whilst this provides us with a loose dating for the temple's construction, it does not help to determine how long it continued to operate. Neither the temple at Nicaea nor the temple at Ephesus is attested by any surviving epigraphic or numismatic evidence. It can be assumed either that these temples did not continue to function for very long or that they never achieved any level of notable prominence. The reason for their relative insignificance is that neither was instituted to serve the majority of worshippers in their respective cities, since they were for the use of Romans living there. Moreover, their institution was directly linked to the political situation of the time:²⁶⁵ Octavian needed to put on a display of modesty with regard to accepting divine honours. Over time, and particularly because of the spread of the cult of Roma and Augustus, the cult of Caesar and Roma would have become unnecessary.

Augustus and Roma in Athens

In the previous chapter I discussed why and when the worship of Roma was added to the pre-existing cult of Demos and the Graces in Athens during the Republican period. In the imperial period Roma was worshipped in two other places: the temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis and, albeit tentatively located, in the annex of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. The different contexts of each institution will shed further light on the function and place of Roma at this time in Greek religious thought.

That a temple of Roma and Augustus existed on the Athenian acropolis is shown by the temple's surviving dedicatory inscription.²⁶⁶ Although the inscription contains the names of the hoplite general Pammenes, who also served as the priest of Roma and Augustus, the archon Areos, and that of Megiste, the priestess of Athena at the time, attempts to date the temple's construction are nevertheless problematic. Nothing is known about Areos other than that his archonship was held either before 17 BC or after 11 BC, as the names of the archons are known for the intervening period.²⁶⁷ Pammenes is known from other surviving evidence,

²⁶⁴ Friesen (1993), 11, n. 21, 67. The temple was constructed with a double cella in the Italian, rather than Greek, style.

²⁶⁵ Friesen (1993), 11.

²⁶⁶ *IG II²* 3173.

²⁶⁷ Whittaker (2002), 26.

but his career spanned a long period,²⁶⁸ so again a dating of before 17 BC or after 11 BC is possible.²⁶⁹ Since the priesthood of Athena was held for life, it is similarly unhelpful in providing a more exact date for the temple's construction. Most scholars date the beginning of the temple's construction to around 27 BC,²⁷⁰ although arguments have also been made for 19 BC²⁷¹ and after 12 BC.²⁷² Any degree of certainty, therefore, is impossible to obtain.

If we take the institution of the cult of Roma and Augustus and the construction of their temple as two separate topics, however, the difficulties in dating the temple itself need not vitiate the present discussion. That a priest of Augustus and Roma is mentioned in the temple's dedicatory inscription reveals that the actual cult was in existence before the temple's completion.²⁷³ If we take the earlier date for the foundation of the cult and place it just after the victory at Actium, it is easy enough to find reasons why the Athenians wanted to grant Octavian these honours. Before Actium the Acropolis had housed statues of Antonius and Cleopatra in the guise of the gods.²⁷⁴ The Athenians would have known about the temples granted to Pergamum and Nicomedia and wished to distance themselves from the memory of M. Antonius. To institute a similar cult not only showed their own allegiance to the new emperor, but was also in line with a precedent established by Octavian himself. In the century leading up to Augustus' final rise to power Athens had found itself on the wrong side of Roman power in four consecutive wars – siding with Mithridates VI of Pontus,²⁷⁵ with Pompey the Great against Caesar,²⁷⁶ with Brutus and Cassius against the Triumvirate²⁷⁷ and, finally, with Antonius against Octavian.²⁷⁸ Given this turbulent past with the Romans, it is

²⁶⁸ Schmalz (2009), 297-298 contains an epigraphic bibliography and commentary on Pammenes' career and priesthoods.

²⁶⁹ Whittaker (2002), 26.

²⁷⁰ Mellor (1975), 139, Shear (1981), 363.

²⁷¹ Schmalz (2009), 80.

²⁷² See Whittaker (2002), 32-34 for a summary of the different arguments.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁷⁴ Dio 50.15.

²⁷⁵ A paucity of evidence makes it difficult to understand the exact reasoning behind Athens' change of allegiance during this war. See Habicht (1997), 297-304 for discussion.

²⁷⁶ Cic. *Fam.* 9.9 may imply that Athens had wished to remain neutral during this particular conflict, although Pompey's presence in the area would have made this impossible. See Habicht (1997), 350-352.

²⁷⁷ Plut. *Brut.* 24.1 states that the Athenians were eager to welcome Brutus into the city, while Dio 47.20.4 states that Brutus and Cassius were awarded bronze statues set up near those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton to honour their attempt to save the old Republican order. On Brutus' stay in Athens and the Athenians' reasoning for welcoming Caesar's assassins, see Raubitschek (1957) and Habicht (1997), 356-359.

²⁷⁸ After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius Athens had been both Antonius' base of operations in the east and home for a number of years. At different periods either he and Octavia or he and Cleopatra were highly regarded by the citizens of Athens. See Habicht (1997), 360-365.

understandable why the Athenians would have gone out of their way to accommodate Augustus and celebrate him and his new power in Rome.

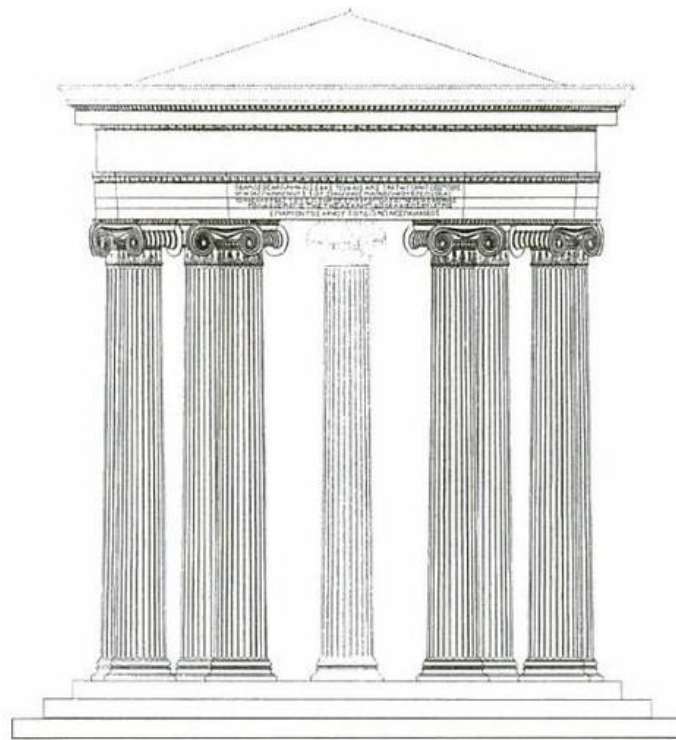


Figure 1: Reconstruction of the temple of Roma and Augustus.²⁷⁹

The most important information as to how Roma and Augustus were viewed in Athens at this time can be deduced by looking at the placement of the temple on the Acropolis. The temple was situated just east of the Parthenon and lay on exactly the same axis.²⁸⁰ The east side of the Parthenon featured that temple's main entrance, so anyone wanting to enter or visit it would first have to walk past the temple of Roma and Augustus.²⁸¹ The temple of Roma and Augustus was also designed so that its supporting columns did not engage with one another, rendering the temple's contents, especially its cult statues, visible from all angles of approach²⁸² (Fig. 1). Anyone approaching the Parthenon would have been forced to acknowledge Roma and Augustus' presence outside the main temple to Athens' patron deity. Physically and symbolically, the power of Rome and its leading citizen were now firmly placed in the heart of Athenian cultural identity.

²⁷⁹ Thakur (2007), 110.

²⁸⁰ Shear (1981), 363.

²⁸¹ Thakur (2007), 112.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 111.

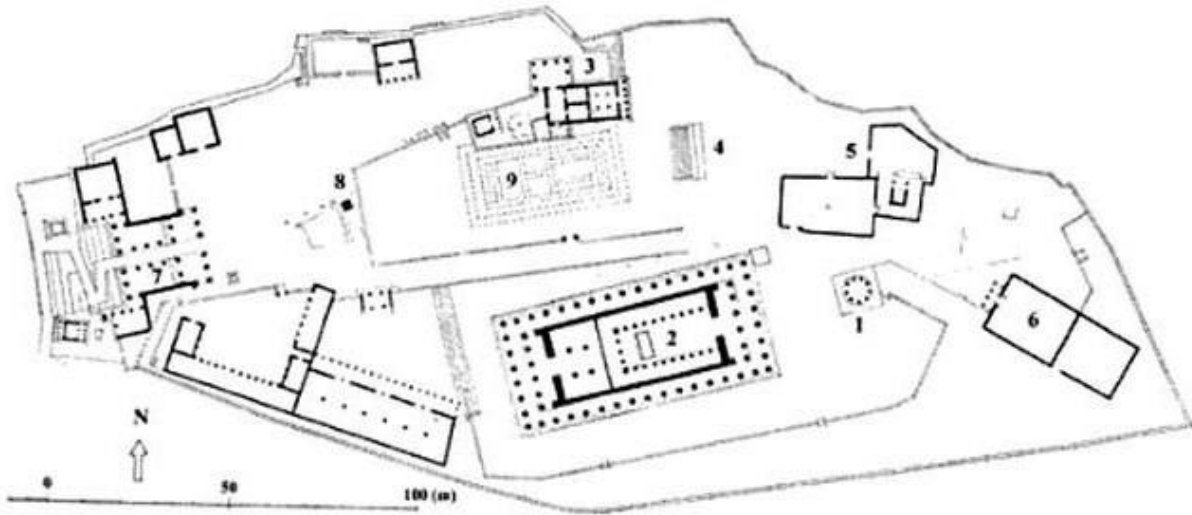


Figure 2: Restored overhead plan of the Acropolis. (1) Temple of Roma and Augustus, (2) Parthenon, (3) Erechtheion, (4) great altar, (5) temple of Zeus Poleius, (6) sanctuary of Pandion, (7) Propylaea, (8) statue of Athena Promachos, (9) old temple of Athena.²⁸³

This symbolic placement, however, is not limited to the temple's relationship to the Parthenon (Fig. 2). To the north of the new temple was the shrine of Zeus Polieus,²⁸⁴ an important religious site dating well back into antiquity, as the rituals associated with Zeus Polieus show.²⁸⁵ On the north-facing side of the Parthenon lay the Erechtheion. Strabo, writing during the Augustan age, mentions an ancient temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis.²⁸⁶ Similarly, Pausanias makes reference to the ancient wooden image of Athena, "...which is on what is now called the Acropolis, but in the early days the Polis"²⁸⁷ and also mentions a temple of Athena Polias.²⁸⁸ Whilst both Strabo and Pausanias simply refer to it as a temple of Athena Polias, the building in question is most likely the Erechtheion,²⁸⁹ which appears to have served as the architectural model for the temple of Roma and Augustus.²⁹⁰ As it housed the worship of Athena in another of her roles as the patron goddess of Athens, the relative proximity of the two temples, as well as the shared architectural forms, would have invited associations between the role of Athena Polias with the newly instituted worship of Roma and Augustus.

²⁸³ Thakur (2007), 105.

²⁸⁴ Whittaker (2002), 26.

²⁸⁵ Paus. 1.24.

²⁸⁶ Strabo 9.1.16: "On the rock is the sacred precinct of Athena, comprising both the old temple of Athena Polias ... and the Parthenon built by Ictinus."

²⁸⁷ Paus. 1.26.6.

²⁸⁸ Paus. 1.27.1.

²⁸⁹ For evidence of the building's identity as the Erechtheion, see Herington (1955), 19-20. For the history of the Erechtheion see Hurwit (1999), 200-209.

²⁹⁰ Thakur (2007), 111. For the architectural style of the Erechtheion see Haselberger (2005), 136-138.

The site of the temple of Roma and Augustus, therefore, had been deliberately chosen by its architects to have an effect on those people who saw it. The temple was by no means the most imposing building on the Acropolis, but this was not the intention. Its close proximity to the Parthenon, the shrine of Zeus Polieus and the Erechtheion simply served to acknowledge the presence and authority of Rome and the emperor in Athens.²⁹¹ The deities in question with whom Roma and Augustus were topographically associated also give us more insight into how the new additions functioned. Athena Parthenos, Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus were all intricately associated with the divine protection of the city of Athens. In the aftermath of Actium, it was exactly this kind of divine protection that Athens needed. After Actium the city enjoyed the benefits of being properly allied to Rome and Roman power. As in the other cults that have been examined, this power is embodied by Roma while Augustus was the guarantor that Athens would not be punished and Rome's benefactions made manifest. This links to the mortal Augustus' decision not to punish the Athenians for siding with Antonius.²⁹²

While the Republican cult of Demos, the Graces and Roma and the imperial cult of Roma and Augustus are firmly attested, there is the possibility that Roma and Augustus were also worshipped in another part of the city. The priest who served the temple of Roma and Augustus is referred to as the "Priest of the Goddess Roma and Augustus *Soter* on the Acropolis."²⁹³ The reference to the Acropolis would have been unnecessary unless it was meant to distinguish that particular cult from another one elsewhere in the city.²⁹⁴ Indeed, proof of another cult of Augustus in the city is found on another seat in the Theatre of Dionysus that was reserved for the "Priest and High Priest of Augustus Caesar."²⁹⁵ The location of this second cult has been associated with an annex added onto the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Athenian Agora.

The stoa of Zeus Eleutherios was constructed in the 5th century BC. Dating the construction of the new annex itself is problematic, as only a very small fragmentary inscription relating to it has survived,²⁹⁶ and attempting to date an inscription based on its letter forms is notoriously

²⁹¹ Thakur (2007), 117.

²⁹² Augustus' *clementia* was a strong feature of the emperor's self-portrayal and is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

²⁹³ *IG II²*, 3173.

²⁹⁴ Thompson (1966), 182.

²⁹⁵ *IG II²*, 5034.

²⁹⁶ Thompson (1937), 62: *ὁ δῆμ[ος...]οῦ νιόν[...]*

unreliable.²⁹⁷ Based on what limited evidence is available a date in the Augustan period is possible for the annex's construction.²⁹⁸ The plan of the annex mirrors that of a temple with a double cella, which would suggest that it was constructed with the purpose of connecting a new cult to that of Zeus Eleutherios.²⁹⁹ Given that there is no evidence that explains what the annex was used for and no evidence that directly ties the cult of Augustus attested by the theatre seat to the annex, linking the two depends on using other evidence available to us.

Evidence from across the empire shows that Augustus was often worshipped alongside, or equated with, Zeus.³⁰⁰ In Athens we know that Livia was worshipped as Artemis Boulaia,³⁰¹ presumably in the Bouleuterion,³⁰² which would indicate that the Agora was a suitable area to have shrines and places of worship for members of the imperial family. Thompson suggests that one of the annex's two *cellae* was reserved for the worship of Augustus and possibly other members of the imperial family. He is hesitant, however, to place the worship of Roma in the second cella, stating that it is unlikely that she would be worshipped in three parts of the city³⁰³ which, in my view, is a weak argument at best. Roma is the most plausible deity to associate with Augustus.³⁰⁴ Roma herself was often worshipped alongside Zeus during the Republican period. As mentioned in the previous chapter, several Macedonian cults were dedicated to Roma and Zeus Eleutherios, and evidence from Abdera and Thessalonica shows that their cults to Roma and Zeus were still in operation during the imperial period. From the imperial period we also know of a Macedonian priesthood of Zeus, Roma and Augustus dating to around AD 1.³⁰⁵ Evidence from Macedonia does not, of course, prove that Athens followed similar practices. Nevertheless, if the stoa did house a cult of Augustus, Roma remains the most reasonable candidate to be worshipped alongside him. Given that both Augustus and Roma were worshipped in conjunction with Zeus in different cults across the Greek world, it would make sense that their combined cult was added to that of Zeus

²⁹⁷ Thompson (1966), 181.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 181, although a more general dating of the 1st century BC is also possible. Cf. Shear (1981), 364 and Whittaker (2002), 33.

²⁹⁹ Thompson (1966), 180-181.

³⁰⁰ Weinstock (1971), 304: "[Augustus] was Zeus Aineiades, Zeus Sebastos Kronides, Zeus Eleutherios in Egypt, Zeus Patroos in Asia, [Zeus] Olympius at Athens and in Asia, Iuppiter Augustus at Cyrene and in Dalmatia..."

³⁰¹ Shear (1981), 363.

³⁰² Thompson (1966), 183.

³⁰³ Ibid., 186.

³⁰⁴ Mellor (1975), 140. Whilst the double cella is perhaps strange since the temple on the Acropolis was in no way compartmentalised, the temple of Roma and Augustus at Lepcis Magna had a divided cella for the two divinities. See Fishwick (2004), 245.

³⁰⁵ Beard, North and Price (1998), 360, Rubin (2008), 68 n.152, Friesen (1993), 26.

Eleutherios. That Roma is not mentioned in the title of the second priesthood of Augustus does not immediately exclude her, as her title was often dropped from the names of imperial priesthoods despite other forms of evidence showing that she continued to be present alongside Augustus.³⁰⁶

The Imperial Cult in Galatia

We have already seen that certain imperial temples, such as the temple of Roma and Augustus at Pergamum, continued to function and were important places of religious worship well after the death of Rome's first emperor. While this shows the importance of a specific cult centre in a particular community, it is equally important to see if there was any attempt on behalf of the Romans themselves to ensure that Augustus' accomplishments were remembered in the provinces. The best example of this is the temple of Roma and Augustus and Ancyra in Asia Minor, the primary source for the *Res Gestae* of Augustus.

The construction of the temple of Roma and Augustus at Ancyra most plausibly began shortly after Galatia's incorporation into the Roman Empire.³⁰⁷ Since Galatia had only recently become a Roman province and its population comprised a number of different ethnic groups,³⁰⁸ the construction of this temple would have been a way for its people as a whole to acknowledge and show allegiance to the power of Rome³⁰⁹ and would have served as a means of creating a provincial identity for Galatia's inhabitants. The cult would have functioned similarly to the others already discussed in that, in this particular context, Roma embodied the symbolic power of Rome and Augustus was the individual responsible for bringing Roma's power and benefactions to Galatia, as he had ordered the incorporation of the province.

³⁰⁶ This was often the case in the western provinces of the empire. Examples of this are discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

³⁰⁷ The dating of the temple's construction is problematic. A priesthood for Augustus and Roma in Galatia appears to only have been implemented c. AD 19/20. Whilst it is impossible to secure a definite date the temple must have been agreed upon, built and dedicated sometime between the organisation of Galatia as a Roman province in 25 BC and the formation of the priesthood of Augustus and Roma in AD 19/20. See Burrell (2004), 167-168 for a discussion of the evidence and the likelihood of an Augustan date for the temple's construction. Cf. Hardin (2008), 69, Mitchell (1993), 103.

³⁰⁸ Strabo 12.4.4.

³⁰⁹ Güven (1998), 32.

Whenever the temple of Roma and Augustus was constructed, we know it continued to function after Augustus' death, as an inscription on the temple attests to feasts and sacrifices taking place there sometime between the years AD 23 and AD 29.³¹⁰ When Augustus died, the local elites in Galatia would have been eager to ensure the smooth transition of loyalty from Augustus to Tiberius. By inscribing the *Res Gestae* on the temple's walls the elite citizens of Ancyra were not only supporting the memory of Augustus but also showing their support for his successor.³¹¹ We know that the publication of the inscription must post-date Augustus' death: Suetonius mentions that Augustus had left a copy of the text with the Vestal Virgins that he wished to have inscribed on two bronze pillars which were placed outside his Mausoleum.³¹² The preamble to the text, as inscribed on the temple at Ancyra, also refers to the emperor as *divus* Augustus, which would place the inscription after Augustus' death and subsequent deification on 17 September AD 14.

Associating the memory of Augustus in the form of the *Res Gestae* with this particular temple does not appear to have been part of the original plan for the temple's construction. Since the temple was completed before Augustus' death, possibly by AD 10,³¹³ and the text of the *Res Gestae* would not have been known until after the Vestal Virgins had handed over Augustus' documents to the Senate, there is no way that the walls on which the Latin and Greek inscriptions are found could have originally been designed for this purpose. Setting up the inscriptions, therefore, required the walls to be smoothed down to accommodate the text.³¹⁴ The text itself also required alteration to better appeal to its provincial audience, since the original Latin text had been written by Augustus primarily for the benefit and understanding of the people of Rome.³¹⁵ Rather than being a direct translation of the Latin text, the Greek version of the *Res Gestae* was an adaptation of the original. Terminology and institutions that the people of Rome would have been familiar with have been explained throughout the text, whilst the translator has also omitted parts of the Latin text where it was not possible to translate the significance of certain Roman events to a provincial audience. Similarly, the imperialist tone taken by Augustus in the Latin original has been toned down, most likely out of a desire not to alienate the Galatians who had only recently been brought

³¹⁰ *OGIS* 533, Price (1984), 268.

³¹¹ Rubin (2008), 122-123.

³¹² Suet. *Aug.* 101.

³¹³ Mitchell (1993), 103.

³¹⁴ Burrell (2004), 167, Cooley (2009), 9.

³¹⁵ Brunt and Moore (1967), 4, Yavetz (1984), 8-20, Bosworth (1999), 13.

under the control of Rome.³¹⁶ Given that there are several instances where the translator was clearly not entirely familiar with certain Roman terms and institutions,³¹⁷ it seems that the Greek text was produced locally in Galatia, and was not an official translation made in Rome. If this was the case, it is unclear who instructed that the text be translated or who decided that the *Res Gestae* should be inscribed on the temple's walls.³¹⁸ Nevertheless, by inscribing the text on the temple it shows a clear desire to associate Augustus' own view of himself with this cult site. The association of Augustus' deeds with his function in the religious sphere of the province gains further weight if we accept the idea that the *Res Gestae* was composed by Augustus primarily as an argument for his own deification.³¹⁹ The Greek version of the *Res Gestae* plays down the fact that Galatia was just another territory conquered by Rome, and instead emphasises the benefactions and protection Augustus granted to Rome. Carried over into the religious sphere, Roma served to represent the benefactions and protection of Roman power, whilst Augustus was responsible for ensuring that nothing hindered Roma and her responsibilities.

The attempt to ensure the continuation of Augustus' memory is further underlined when we look at the other surviving copies of the *Res Gestae*. The imperial temple at Pisidian Antioch carried the Latin version of the *Res Gestae*, although the highly fragmentary nature of the text and the haphazard way in which the site was originally excavated means that it is largely impossible to reconstruct the way in which it was set out on the temple. One possible reconstruction is that the text was placed on the central arch of the temple's *propylon*, creating a similar effect to the layout found at Ancyra.³²⁰ The other possibility is that it was inscribed on the pedestal bases that projected outwards in front of the *propylon*.³²¹ It is impossible to speculate further. The temple itself was built to serve two divinities, one of whom was Augustus, but the surviving evidence permits no certainty as to the identity of the other divinity.³²² Given the evidence from across the Empire, and specifically from Ancyra, it

³¹⁶ Cooley (2009), 26-30 discusses several key differences in the Latin and Greek texts and how the Greek text was tailored towards a provincial audience.

³¹⁷ Wigtil (1982), *passim*.

³¹⁸ Arguments include direct orders given by Tiberius, a spontaneous decision by the people of Ancyra due to their loyalty to Augustus, and orders given by the provincial governor in order to gain the support of Tiberius. See Gordon (1968), 129.

³¹⁹ An argument made by Bosworth (1999).

³²⁰ Cooley (2009), 47, referring to the reconstruction proposed by W.M. Ramsay.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 47, referring to the reconstruction proposed by D.M. Robinson.

³²² Suggestions have included the Anatolian god Mên Askaênos (Strabo 12.3.31), Cybele, and Jupiter. See Rubin (2008), 55-67 for discussion.

is at least probable that the temple was built for the worship of both Roma and Augustus.³²³ In the unlikely event that Roma was not worshipped at this temple, the association of Augustus' deeds with his cultic self would still be the same as that found at Ancyra. If Roma was worshipped in the temple, then their combined function is exactly the same as those seen at every other imperial temple across the Greek East.

Although not in Galatia itself, but rather in the neighbouring province of Asia, evidence has recently come to light regarding another possible copy of the *Res Gestae*. In their corpus of inscriptions from the city of Sardis, Buckler and Robinson include a small fragment of text that was found by peasants in 1913.³²⁴ The fragment is simply described as being "...from a letter of an emperor or proconsul... [from] about the 1st century A.D."³²⁵ A letter from Buckler to William Ramsay in 1929, however, suggests that Buckler originally believed the fragment to have formed part of a hitherto unattested copy of the *Res Gestae* set up in Sardis. As the fragment is very small it is impossible to reconstruct with any certainty, although Thonemann suggests, based on his proposed reconstruction of the text, that it corresponds closely to chapters 21 and 22 of the Greek text of the *Res Gestae* as it survives at Ancyra and Apollonia.³²⁶ His reconstruction of the text, however, suggests a slightly better adaptation of the original Latin text into Greek.³²⁷ That the fragment was brought in by peasants means that we do not have an archaeological context for its discovery, although if it is from a copy of the *Res Gestae* it would be reasonable to assume, in light of the evidence from Galatia, that it was set up alongside a temple to the imperial cult. We know that Sardis had a temple of Augustus in 5 BC³²⁸ that served the local population, and it is likely that this temple included the worship of Roma alongside the emperor.³²⁹ We also do not know when Sardis became *Neokoros* for the first time, or which emperor's worship was associated with this grant,³³⁰ although it does indicate that Sardis was an important location for the imperial cult.³³¹ All of this evidence is highly speculative; however, if this fragment does come from a copy of the *Res Gestae* outside Galatia, and if it was inscribed on the side of a temple to Roma and

³²³ Mellor (1975), 144-145.

³²⁴ Buckler and Robinson (1932), no. 201.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 155.

³²⁶ Thonemann (2012), 286.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 286-287.

³²⁸ Buckler and Robinson (1932), no. 8. Roma had been worshipped in Sardis since the late 2nd century BC, where her priest served as one of the city's eponymous officials. See Buckler and Robinson (1932), no. 93.

³²⁹ Ratté, Howe and Foss (1986), 65.

³³⁰ See Burrell (2004), 100-103 for the available evidence and the possible emperors it could be associated with.

³³¹ A temple that could have housed the official imperial cult has been tentatively identified. See Ratté, Howe and Foss (1986), *passim*.

Augustus, it shows that the association of Augustus' political and social acts with his functions in the divine realm were not limited solely to Galatia and were promoted in other provinces of the east as well.

The Imperial Cult in Judaea

The ability of the cult of Roma and Augustus to endure, as both a political and religious institution, is best seen perhaps in the temples constructed in Judaea. The following discussion will only focus on the temple of Roma and Augustus at Caesarea Maritima. Whereas a lot of the evidence related to both the cult of Roma and of Roma and Augustus so far discussed has been highly fragmentary, and thus difficult to interpret, the temple at Caesarea Maritima is carefully described by Josephus, and the site has been thoroughly excavated. In terms of the ideology that surrounded the imperial cult, the temple at Caesarea Maritima is interesting because it was built in an area dominated by a monotheistic religion, a region where the worship of the living Roman emperor by the majority of the population would seem unlikely. Archaeological evidence, coupled with Josephus' writings from the late first century AD, suggest that the temple continued to function after the death of Augustus. The following discussion will focus on the construction of the temple and why it was built, how long it continued to serve in operation and which group(s) of people it was intended for.

The city of Caesarea Maritima was built by Herod over the remains of an earlier settlement known as Straton's Tower.³³² Straton's Tower was originally a Phoenician port town founded sometime in the fourth or third century BC.³³³ The city served as an important trade link throughout the Hellenistic period and archaeological remains suggest that it had ties to a number of cities across the Mediterranean.³³⁴ It came under Roman influence when it was annexed by Pompey and made a part of the province of Syria³³⁵ before being given to Herod in 31 BC by Octavian, following his defeat of Antonius and Cleopatra.³³⁶ Herod rebuilt and expanded the city between 22 and 10 BC and named it Caesarea in honour of his patron.³³⁷ Caesarea was well placed to become an important centre of trade in Herod's kingdom, as it

³³² Jos. *BJ* 1.408.

³³³ Netzer (2006), 94.

³³⁴ For an overview of Straton's Tower from the time of its founding to its refounding as Caesarea, see Levine (1975), 5-14.

³³⁵ Joseph. *AJ* 14.76.

³³⁶ Joseph. *BJ* 1.396.

³³⁷ Kahn (1996), 130.

was built on the foundations of a once-thriving merchant city. Indeed, Caesarea would remain an important city for trade well into the fourth century.³³⁸

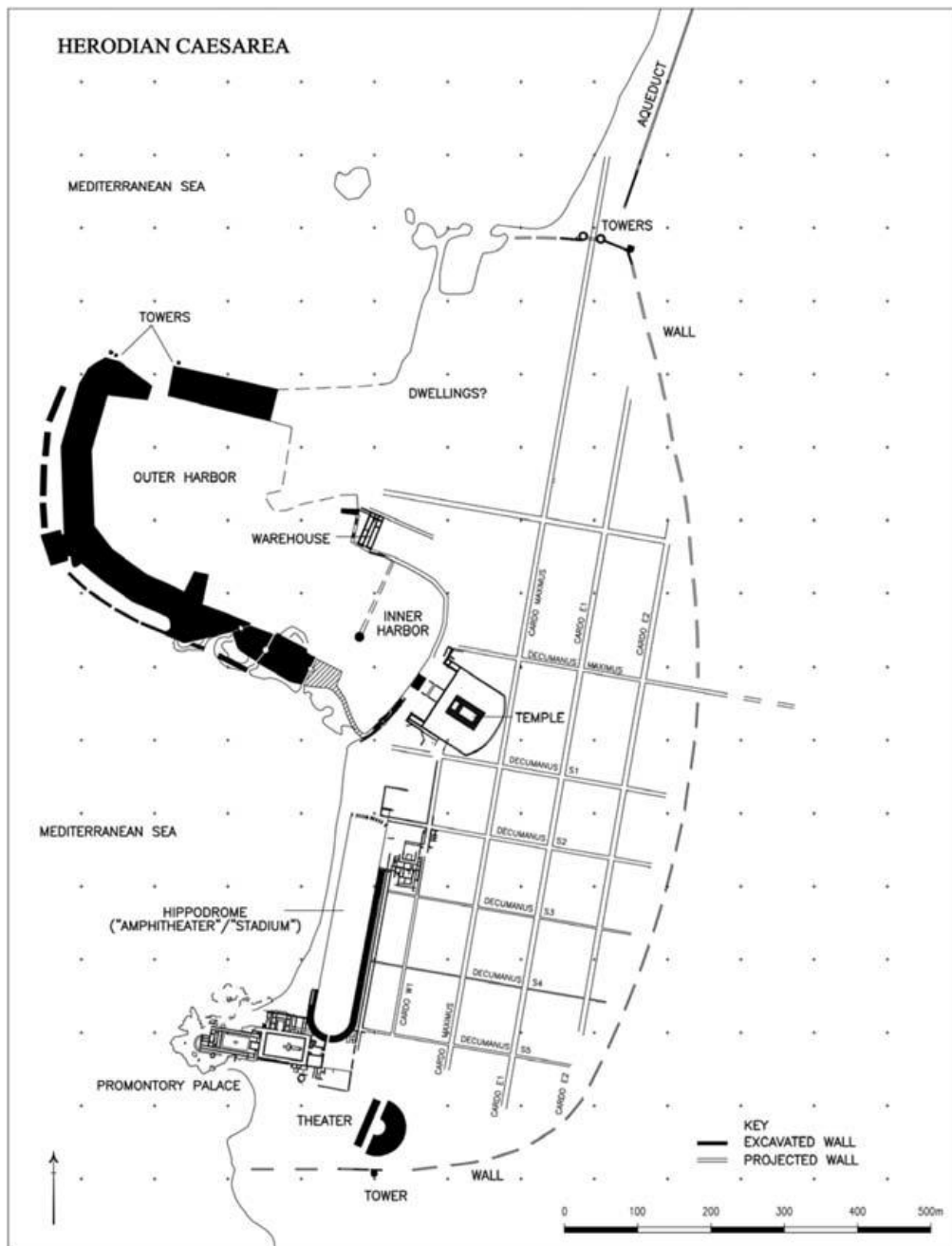


Figure 3: Map of Caesarea Maritima³³⁹

³³⁸ Levine (1975), passim.

³³⁹ Burrell (2009), 468.

The temple of Roma and Augustus was located in the city's waterfront and was easily visible to any ships coming into the harbour (Fig. 3). Josephus provides a description of the temple's location within the harbour and its imposing appearance:

On an eminence facing the harbour-mouth [at Caesarea Maritima] stood Caesar's temple, remarkable for its beauty and grand proportions; it contained a colossal statue of the emperor, not inferior to the Olympian Zeus, which served for its model, and another of Roma, rivalling that of Hera at Argos.³⁴⁰

Although Josephus refers to this temple as one of Augustus, the inclusion of a colossal statue of Roma indicates that the temple was also dedicated to her, otherwise the statue would have served no purpose.³⁴¹ While a detailed reconstruction of the temple is difficult, because of the relatively few remains from the structure,³⁴² we can ascertain that its dimensions were roughly 26.8m north to south, 46.4m west to east, and its height approximately 20.5m.³⁴³ The temple's dimensions mean that the only building larger than it in Caesarea was the lighthouse. Herod clearly constructed the temple with the intention that it should dominate the view not only from the city but also for the ships that were sailing into the harbour.³⁴⁴

Why did Herod build the temple, whom was it meant to serve, and what would it have meant to the people of Caesarea? The reason behind Herod's grand displays of loyalty to Augustus can be found in his history as a Roman client king. M. Antonius was his original patron who had pressed the Senate into declaring him the king of Judaea.³⁴⁵ Octavian's defeat of Antonius at Actium meant that Herod needed to appeal to Rome's new leader. Herod sailed to Rhodes to address Octavian and offer him his loyalty, which Octavian accepted. He secured Herod's position and confirmed him as king of Judaea.³⁴⁶ The political logic behind renaming Straton's Tower as Caesarea is perfectly clear and the foundation of a temple in honour of Augustus is in keeping with similar statements of loyalty seen across the empire,³⁴⁷ although here the statement of loyalty is more explicit. The renaming of the city and the construction of the temple, along with various other building projects that Herod undertook,

³⁴⁰ Joseph. *BJ* 1.414. Josephus gives a similar description of the temple in *AJ* 15.339.

³⁴¹ Hardin (2008), 30, n. 40.

³⁴² See Kahn (1996), *passim* for a discussion of the surviving fragments of the temple.

³⁴³ Taylor (2006), 571.

³⁴⁴ Rocca (2008), 317. See Joseph. *BJ* 1.412 for a brief description of the lighthouse, named after Drusus, the son of Livia.

³⁴⁵ Jos. *BJ* 1.284-285, Dio 49.22.6.

³⁴⁶ Jos. *BJ* 1.386-392.

³⁴⁷ Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 60.

cemented his position in his kingdom. Herod could not claim descent from the Jewish priestly families and, therefore, his position as king was a tenuous one without the support of Rome.³⁴⁸ It is unlikely, however, that the renaming of the town or the construction of the temple had any great effect on Augustus himself, since such displays of loyalty were not unique to Herod. The renaming of the city, and the construction of the temple especially, physically displayed to his subjects that Herod had the support of Rome,³⁴⁹ which in turn justified his position of power.

During Herod's reign Caesarea Maritima had a mixed pagan and Jewish population.³⁵⁰ The non-Jewish portion of the population varied at different times owing to the comings and goings of merchants entering the city. Archaeological remains indicate that the temple of Augustus and Roma was the only pagan temple in the city at the time of its construction.³⁵¹ For the pagan inhabitants of Caesarea, therefore, this temple would have been important in that it would have been the sole focus of religious worship in the city.

Ascertaining how long the temple of Roma and Augustus was an important place of worship depends on examining archaeological evidence that shows how long the temple continued to be in service. The most obvious indication that the temple continued to function after the deaths of Herod and Augustus comes from the writings of Josephus himself, who was writing towards the end of the first century AD. That he describes the temple must mean that it was still in existence, and his mention of the statues most likely indicates that they were still housed in the temple structure. Archaeological remains provide a much greater insight into the continued functioning of this temple. Excavations have so far identified seven distinct layers of construction³⁵² ranging from the Herodian to Byzantine periods.³⁵³ Indeed, the temple as Josephus saw it had already undergone additional construction since the reign of Herod. The vaults mentioned by Josephus as lodgings for sailors³⁵⁴ were not a part of the temple's original platform,³⁵⁵ showing that the platform was expanded between the time of the temple's founding and Josephus' visit to Caesarea. That there was continued

³⁴⁸ Kahn (1996), 130.

³⁴⁹ Gruen (2009), 18.

³⁵⁰ McLaren (2005), 260.

³⁵¹ Rocca (2008), 315. Other pagan temples and sanctuaries in the city post-date Caesarea's incorporation as a provincial city in AD 6.

³⁵² Kahn (1996), 134.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 136.

³⁵⁴ Joseph. *BJ* 1.413.

³⁵⁵ Kahn (1996), 136.

reconstruction occurring into the Byzantine period does not, of course, indicate that the temple continued to function as a centre for the imperial cult. Nevertheless the information provided by Josephus, coupled with evidence from other parts of the Greek-speaking east where such cults continued to operate beyond the death of Augustus, likely indicate that the imperial cult at Caesarea Maritima was still in operation towards the end of the first century AD.

The statues of Augustus and Roma that were placed in the temple deserve particular attention.³⁵⁶ The original statues that served as their models, namely that of Zeus at Olympia and the Argive Hera, are described by Pausanias:

[Zeus] sits on a throne, and he is made of gold and ivory. On his head lies a garland which is a copy of olive shoots. In his right hand he carries a Victory, which, like the statue, is of ivory and gold; she wears a ribbon and - on her head - a garland. In the left hand of the god is a sceptre, ornamented with every kind of metal, and the bird sitting on the sceptre is the eagle.³⁵⁷

The statue of Hera is seated on a throne; it is huge, made of gold and ivory... She is wearing a crown with Graces and Seasons worked upon it, and in one hand she carries a pomegranate and in the other a sceptre.³⁵⁸

The commissioning of these statues fits well with the impressive grandeur that Herod hoped to achieve in this temple's construction, as suggested by its mere dimensions. That Augustus was often represented or equated with Zeus has already been mentioned, but the statue of Roma deserves particular attention. The literary depictions of the goddess that have been dealt with so far focussed on her martial characteristics, something that was reflected in her iconography.³⁵⁹ The statue of Hera, however, was unarmed. The statue of Roma must also have been without the martial attributes more commonly associated with the goddess, otherwise the comparison between the cult statue in Caesarea and that of Hera at Argos would not be immediately apparent.³⁶⁰ In this particular context, by changing the appearance

³⁵⁶ It will be assumed throughout the current discussion that Josephus' reference to the statue of Hera at Argos meant that it served as the model for the statue of Roma.

³⁵⁷ Paus. 5.11.1.

³⁵⁸ Paus. 2.17.4.

³⁵⁹ Representations of a seated Roma in cultic contexts are fairly widespread, but these always include images associated with her martial characteristics. See Vermeule (1959), 31-35 for numismatic representations, 68-71 for representations on gems, and 84-88 for gems that depict cult statues.

³⁶⁰ Gersht (2001), 76.

of Roma, Herod would have altered both the way that the goddess herself and her association with Augustus were perceived.



Figure 4: Gemma Augustea³⁶¹

Understanding why Herod chose to depict Roma in this manner is further complicated by the fact that there are no similar models that depict the goddess's relationship with Augustus in this way. Whilst there are images that depict Roma seated alongside a Jovian Augustus, such as the Gemma Augustea from Rome (Fig. 4),³⁶² the iconography employed depicts Augustus *like* Jupiter, not *as* Jupiter. The augural staff that he holds shows that he can interpret the will of Jupiter,³⁶³ as opposed to the cult statue at Caesarea Maritima that held a sceptre with an eagle on it as the statue of Olympian Zeus had. Similarly, Roma is depicted with her more usual martial attributes, not in a manner similar to Hera/Juno as we find at Caesarea. Whilst such a portrayal confirms that it was not only possible to equate Augustus with Zeus/Jupiter,

³⁶¹ Zanker (1990), 231.

³⁶² Dated to either the end of Augustus' life (Pollini (1990), 338) or shortly after his death and deification (Zanker (1990), 233).

³⁶³ Pollini (1990), 338.

but to also represent him in a similar manner, it does not shed any further light on why Herod chose to model his cult statue of Roma on that of Hera at Argos.

Since there is no suitable evidence with which we can compare the cult statues of Augustus and Roma at Caesarea Maritima, it becomes necessary to pursue other avenues in order to interpret why the goddess was portrayed as she was in this temple. The most likely interpretation links back to the reason that the temple was founded in the first place. It was the backing of Rome and Augustus that ensured Herod remained on the throne after the death of Antonius, and this support is physically represented in these statues. It has already been seen throughout this chapter that in other imperial cult sites around the Greek-speaking east Roma retained the religious function that she had developed under the Republic, with Augustus now acting the divine guarantor of Roma's benefactions. In this specific temple that association was taken one step further: those coming to the temple would have been well aware of the fact that Greek mythology made Hera the wife of Zeus. The role of Augustus in protecting those things that Roma grants to a foreign city, already given a religious overtone through their joint worship in a number of temples in other cities, is further entrenched here by drawing a comparison between the theogamy of Zeus and Hera and the idea that Roma's (both the goddess and the city itself) continued benefaction relies on Augustus' continued protection.

In this chapter I have attempted to show how the goddess Roma was interpreted after her worship was incorporated into the newly established imperial cult. It cannot be said that the goddess's function deviated from that which was established during the Republican period; Roma continued to embody the power and protection that Rome and the Romans offered to those areas that fell under her influence and control. The inclusion of Augustus mirrored that of the political situation across the empire at the time he came to power: Roma is still representative of the protection afforded by the Romans, but that protection is only possible through the actions of Augustus. This power dynamic, in both a political and religious sense, was often made apparent by placing the imperial cult temples in highly prominent areas in a city, making their presence and worship central to the life in that city. The largely fragmentary body of evidence available to us has meant that a single temple or city cannot provide any decent level of insight into how this goddess was perceived by those that worshipped her. By comparing the available evidence from a number of locations, however, we can see that perceptions of the goddess were relatively similar across the different

provinces and that, far from being the political shell that many scholars have made her out to be, her worship formed an integral part of religious life in a number of cities for protracted periods of time.

Chapter 3

The presence and representation of Roma in the eastern provinces makes perfect sense in light of Rome's growing power in that part of the Mediterranean. The institution of cults to the goddess can be seen as a desire on behalf of the peoples of the Greek-speaking east to conceptualise Roman power at a time when the *poleis* came under Roman control. The role of the goddess as symbolic of Roman power and protection over the east continued after her worship was incorporated with that of Augustus. In Rome itself her worship was introduced by the emperor Hadrian, but before this images of her were made using a number of different media from the mid-Republican through to the imperial period. These representations, along with her worship in the imperial cult in the western provinces, would have been a Roman, rather than a Greek, initiative, and thus it becomes necessary to understand how the Romans perceived this goddess. The religious systems of the Greeks and Romans differed, and the use of Roma in Rome and the western provinces appears similar to the Roman tendency to deify concepts that they viewed as being valuable. This chapter will look at several different deified abstractions that will be used as comparative material for looking at the introduction of Roma to the west in the final chapter of this thesis.

As with Roma, few studies dealing with the worship of the deified abstractions have provided any insight into the importance of these deities. The primary issue is that, although the abstractions were deified and had all the traditional trappings of Roman cult, they are viewed as being less than actual divinities. The work of Axtell (1907), the first to provide an in-depth study of the deified abstractions, presented conclusions that exemplify this manner of treating these gods and goddesses: throughout the work the Roman pantheon is divided up into "...*real deities*, [such as] Neptune, Mars and Venus",³⁶⁴ while the deified abstractions are referred to as "artificial deities".³⁶⁵ Others, such as Mattingly (1937), have seen the deified abstractions as belonging to the more primitive stages of Roman religion, purely functional in character and more akin to *numina* than the supposed "great gods".³⁶⁶ Lind (1974) argues that the 'ridiculous' array of deified abstractions was more an exercise in philosophical thought rather than presenting the Romans with a true religious method of worship.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁴ Axtell (1907), 77. Emphasis is my own.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 78.

³⁶⁶ Mattingly (1937), 107.

³⁶⁷ Lind (1974), 112, 118.

I shall argue that such conclusions are both unhelpful and run counter to the evidence that we have. Most scholars who have reached conclusions like these compare these divinities to those members of the Roman pantheon who were equated with a Greek equivalent that came with a rich and varied mythology. Such an approach is not helpful in understanding the place and role of these divinities, since few Roman deities had mythologies outside those that they either had inherited from their Greek counterparts or had had modelled on Greek mythological narratives. Using the large number of deified abstractions as a method of arguing that they were more philosophical than religious also leads to conclusions that do not agree with the evidence we have for them. Although Roman cult was highly traditional and retained many of its cultic practices long after the reasons behind such practices were forgotten, it makes sense that, if the deified abstractions did not have a place in the religious system of Rome, they would have dropped out of use.³⁶⁸ Since theoretically any concept could have been deified and made the object of cult,³⁶⁹ the worship of the deified abstractions such as Victoria, Honos, Virtus, Fortuna and so on must have brought to the Romans something of importance since their worship continued until paganism was overtaken by Christianity in the fourth century AD. Such conclusions, therefore, must be disregarded in order to approach these deified abstractions in an objective manner to understand the reasoning behind the foundation of their cults and the place they had in the wider context of Roman religion.

Most recently Clark (2007) has provided a far more thorough and insightful discussion into the role and place of the deified abstractions in Roman cult. A problem with this work, however, is that because the Romans did not distinguish between majuscule and miniscule letters, the modern reader cannot easily differentiate between the divinity and the quality (e.g. Concordia and *concordia*). To overcome this problem, the author has decided to treat each mention of a quality as having at least some theological overtone.³⁷⁰ Her work clarifies when the abstractions received their cults, but not always why they were chosen over other qualities or other members of the Roman pantheon.³⁷¹ Although there is a lot of room for further study concerning these divinities, my study is not concerned with the why, but rather with the when, showing how the historical context in which the cult of a deified abstraction was

³⁶⁸ Varro *Ling.* 6.19 provides a useful example: the goddess Furrina, who had both a *flamen* and a festival day (the *Furrinalia*), and as such must once have been an important deity in the archaic Roman state, was barely known to anyone in Varro's time.

³⁶⁹ Lipka (2009), 127.

³⁷⁰ Clark (2007), 20-21.

³⁷¹ Schultz (2008), 1210.

introduced helps to explain the Roman perception of these divinities. To examine the deified abstractions in the same manner as Clark would require attempting to ascertain whether or not every mention of a quality in the surviving literary and epigraphical evidence pertains to the quality or the deity, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

In this chapter I will aim to show that the deified abstractions were no less divine than the likes of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, and that their worship was seen as a crucial component of Roman state cult. Evidence will be drawn primarily from historical and literary sources, since they provide the greatest insights into the events leading up to a cult's foundation. These will be supplemented with epigraphic, archaeological and numismatic evidence. Where the historicity of an account is in question, the debate will be summarised, but the primary focus will be on the tradition itself and what information regarding the deified abstractions and their importance in Roman religion can be gleaned from it.

With regard to the definitions used throughout this chapter the term 'deified abstraction' will designate those divinities that the Romans saw as conferring upon them desirable results such as concord, victory, fortune etc. This designation is based on the classifications found in the works of Cicero³⁷² and Varro.³⁷³ It is not intended to imply that the deified abstractions are in any way somehow less divine than any other Roman divinity.³⁷⁴ Owing to the large number of abstractions that were worshipped in Rome, the focus of this chapter will be the divinities Concordia, Fortuna and Pax.

Concordia

The first foundation of a temple to Concordia in Rome is traditionally ascribed to M. Furius Camillus, although this tradition has aroused much debate. The only two authors who mention this temple's foundation are Plutarch and Ovid:

...[Camillus turned] to the Capitol, [and] prayed the gods to bring the present tumults to their happiest end, solemnly vowing to build a temple to Concordia when the confusion was over.³⁷⁵

³⁷² *Nat. D.* 2.60-62, *Leg.* 2.11.28. On the distinction between Cicero's *res expentendae* and *virtutes*, see Fishwick (1991), 460.

³⁷³ *Ling.* 5.73-74, 6.73. Although Varro does not specifically state that these abstractions are gods, they form part of a discussion relating to the etymology of the names of other gods.

³⁷⁴ On the difficulties in trying to categorise these divinities, see Fears (1981b), 830-833.

³⁷⁵ *Plut. Cam.* 42.

Furius, the vanquisher of the Etruscan folk, had vowed the ancient temple [of Concordia], and he kept his vow.³⁷⁶

Livy's narrative,³⁷⁷ however, contains no mention of such a vow, and the discovery of two kinds of Etruscan tufa in the concrete used for the later Opimian temple provide the only possible evidence for the temple's construction.³⁷⁸ Whilst the temple is generally considered a fictitious addition to the Camillus story,³⁷⁹ the tradition itself is informative. The date for the vowing of this temple would have been 367 BC, during the troubled period surrounding the passing of the Licinian-Sextian rogations that dealt with debts, land distribution and the restoration of the consulship which resulted in the compromise that one consul should be patrician and the other plebeian.³⁸⁰ The passing of these rogations presented the *plebs* with their first large-scale victory during the Struggle of the Orders³⁸¹ and saw violent outbreaks between plebeians and patricians.³⁸² Regardless of the problems surrounding the historical accuracy of the temple's foundation, that some ancient authors place a founding of a temple to Concordia following this particular incident is useful in that it provides a context where it was deemed suitable to invoke this goddess's assistance.

While Camillus' vow and dedication of a temple to Concordia are problematic, the traditional location of his temple derives most probably from that of the later Opimian temple. This part of the Forum Romanum became known as the *Area Concordiae*³⁸³ and it is here, based on the evidence of the Elder Pliny³⁸⁴ and Livy,³⁸⁵ that the first monument of Concordia was built, the bronze *aedicula* of Cn. Flavius near the precinct of Vulcan.³⁸⁶ The son of a freedman, Flavius met with great opposition from the patricians when he posted the dates of legal proceedings in the Forum, these having previously been restricted to the archives of the

³⁷⁶ Ov. *Fast.* 1.641-642.

³⁷⁷ Livy 6.42. Oakley (1997), 722 argues that, since no long-term civil harmony followed this grant of power to the *plebs*, it is possible that Livy chose to omit the vow because he deemed it inappropriate.

³⁷⁸ For the tufa as evidence of the temple's construction see Rebert and Marceau (1925), 56. That such a discovery indicates only that older material was used in the building of the later temple, see Levick (1978), 220, Momigliano (1942), 116, Ziolkowski (1992), 23. Cf. *LTUR* (1993), 316-320.

³⁷⁹ Green (2004), 291.

³⁸⁰ Livy 6.35.

³⁸¹ Raaflaub (1986), 203. Von Fritz (1950), however, highlights the problems and contradictions present in Livy's narrative and questions the actual significance the passing of these laws had.

³⁸² Livy 6.11ff.

³⁸³ Livy 39.56.

³⁸⁴ *HN* 33.6, who locates the shrine as being in *Graecostasi*. Cf. Varro *Ling.* 5.155.

³⁸⁵ Livy 9.46, who locates the shrine as being in *area Volcani*.

³⁸⁶ Livy 40.19.2.

pontiffs.³⁸⁷ As a result of this, and his subsequent growth in popularity among the Roman *plebs*, he was made *curule aedile* in 304 BC, much to the displeasure of the patricians. As with the trouble surrounding the Licinian-Sextian laws, tensions erupted between the plebeians and patricians and Flavius vowed a temple to Concordia should the two orders be reconciled.³⁸⁸

Although Flavius' vow had originally been for a *temple* to Concordia, what was ultimately constructed was a bronze *shrine* for the goddess.³⁸⁹ This was because no public funds had been made available for the temple's construction, and instead Flavius funded the shrine from fines imposed on people practicing usury.³⁹⁰ Under pressure from the People, the pontiff dictated to Flavius the words for dedicating the altar, despite the fact that custom stated that no one could dedicate a temple or altar other than one of the consuls or a commanding general. Like Camillus' temple of Concordia, this shrine was built to commemorate the goddess's intervention during a time of trouble amongst Rome's social classes, while its location on the Graecostasis, the meeting place where foreign delegations waited before being admitted to the Senate, meant that it could function equally as a tribute to the ideals of international concord.³⁹¹ If this was the case, it can be seen that Concordia was concerned with the continued harmonious relationships Rome had, both among its own classes and with the wider international community.

While Flavius' shrine would have been the first cult site to Concordia in Rome, the first full-scale temple was vowed by the praetor L. Manlius in 218 BC.³⁹² The vow is recorded by Livy:

A religious difficulty arose about an unfulfilled vow. On the occasion of the mutiny amongst the troops in Gaul two years before, the praetor, L. Manlius, had vowed a temple to Concordia, but up to that time no contract had been made for its construction. Two commissioners were

³⁸⁷ Livy 9.46.

³⁸⁸ Plin. *HN* 33.6.19.

³⁸⁹ For the similarities between the founding of this cult and the cult of Homonoia in Syracuse, see Curti (2000), 80-81.

³⁹⁰ Plin. *HN* 33.6.19.

³⁹¹ Levick (1978), 221.

³⁹² Richardson (1978b), 263, assuming again that the temple of Camillus was never built. Such a conclusion is backed up further by Livy's mention of a prodigy regarding the temple (26.23.4). If more than one temple to Concordia had existed in Rome at this time, one might assume that Livy would differentiate between the two, which he does not. See Momigliano (1942), 116. Ziolkowski (1992), 23 similarly states that references to Concordia in the surviving literature most likely refer to Manlius' temple.

appointed for the purpose by M. Aemilius, the City praetor, namely, C. Pupius and Caeso Quinctius Flaminius, and they entered into a contract for the building of the temple within the precinct of the citadel.³⁹³

The temple was dedicated in 216 BC by the brothers M. and C. Atilius.³⁹⁴ Livy states that the temple was built *in arce*, which would place it somewhere on the north-eastern crest of the Capitoline Hill.³⁹⁵ Unlike Flavius' shrine and Camillus' temple, Manlius did not vow his as a result of internal political stress. Rather, this vow was made as a result of a mutiny of troops in the same year Rome declared war on Carthage, marking the beginning of the Second Punic War. At the moment that Hannibal was marching on the Alps troops, who were charged with protecting Italy, could not afford to be mutinying. Concordia was invoked in order to calm the troops and restore order amongst their ranks. That Concordia was understood to have fulfilled her role is evident from the fact that the failure to build her temple was seen as a problem two years later; the goddess had restored calm amongst the troops and now, in order to maintain her benevolence, the promised temple must be built.

While the previous cult centres are mentioned in only a few of the ancient narratives, the first well-documented temple of Concordia was erected in 121 BC in the consulship of M. Opimius. Following the death of C. Gracchus and many of his followers, a temple of Concordia was built to commemorate the restoration of unity achieved by the death of the Gracchans.³⁹⁶ Unlike the previous centres related to Concordia, this temple's construction was met with great indignation from the plebeians, so much so that

...beneath the inscription on the temple, somebody carved this verse: "A work of mad discord produces a temple of Concord."³⁹⁷

This temple was built in one of the most visible and frequently visited locations of the Forum;³⁹⁸ the unpopular reaction to its construction stemmed from the view that it was a monument in honour of a victory over fellow citizens.³⁹⁹ This temple, therefore, was intended to symbolise the *concordia* that, in effect, resulted from the continuance of the patrician

³⁹³ Livy 22.33.7.

³⁹⁴ Livy 23.21.7.

³⁹⁵ Richardson (1992), 98.

³⁹⁶ Appian (*B Civ.* 1.26) and Augustine (*Civ. D.* 3.25) state that the temple's construction was ordered by the Senate, while Plutarch (*C. Gracch.* 17) states that Opimius alone was responsible for the temple's erection.

³⁹⁷ Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17.

³⁹⁸ Clark (2007), 121. For a discussion of the size of the temple see Rebert and Marceau (1925), 56-64.

³⁹⁹ Levick (1978), 219, Richardson (1978b), 263. Cf. Plut. *C. Gracc.* 17: "...it was felt that he was priding himself and exulting and in a manner celebrating a triumph in view of all this slaughter of citizens."

hierarchy and the continued submission of the plebeian class.⁴⁰⁰ Although this was similar to those cult centres that preceded it in that it was founded at the end of a period of civil unrest between Rome's social classes, the *concordia* it invoked was different from that of Camillus' temple and Flavius' shrine, both of which celebrated a return to civil harmony following concessions secured by the plebeians, whilst in this instance no such concession had been gained.

During the Republican period the temple served on various occasions as a meeting place for the Senate during periods of civil disturbance, including the trial of Catiline⁴⁰¹ and Cicero's orations against Antonius,⁴⁰² a use that continued into the imperial period,⁴⁰³ although how often meetings were held here is uncertain.⁴⁰⁴ The censor C. Cassius had also placed a statue of the goddess in the Curia in 154 BC.⁴⁰⁵ Since it was hoped that Concordia would bring harmony to meetings where it was deemed important to display unity,⁴⁰⁶ sessions that occurred either in the temple of Concordia or that had the presence of the goddess in the Curia were intended to ensure that the Senate as a whole maintained *concordia* in their meetings.⁴⁰⁷

Opimius' temple was the last cult centre dedicated to the goddess until the reign of Augustus⁴⁰⁸ when, in 7 BC, two different constructions were undertaken.⁴⁰⁹ The first is that of Livia, recorded in Ovid:

To you, too, Concordia, Livia dedicated a magnificent shrine,
which she presented to her dear husband. But learn, the age
to come, that where Livia's colonnade now stands, there once
stood a huge palace.⁴¹⁰

The primary difficulty with the information presented by Ovid is that he refers to an *aedes* of Concordia in the *Porticus Liviae*. An *aedes* usually designates a temple, but can also be used

⁴⁰⁰ Stamper (2005), 56.

⁴⁰¹ Cic. *Cat.* 3.21, Sall. *Cat.* 46.

⁴⁰² E.g. Cic. *Phil.* 2.8, 2.44, 3.12, 5.6.

⁴⁰³ E.g. Dio 58.11. The temple also functioned as a meeting place of the Arval Brethren: Henzen (1874), iv, xlii.

⁴⁰⁴ Talbert (1984), 119.

⁴⁰⁵ Cic. *Dom.* 130.

⁴⁰⁶ Taylor and Scott (1969), 536.

⁴⁰⁷ On the importance of Concordia in the political calendar of the year, see Curti (2000), 82-83.

⁴⁰⁸ Dio 44.4 records the Senate's vote of a temple of Concordia Nova in 44 BC in honour of Julius Caesar's establishment of peace in Rome. There is no evidence, however, that this temple was actually built.

⁴⁰⁹ See Flory (1984), 311 – 312.

⁴¹⁰ Ov. *Fast.* 6.637-640.

to refer to a shrine.⁴¹¹ Before deciding which of these is the more likely, the most important factor to bear in mind is that this dedication to Concordia was made solely by Livia and is separate from her involvement in Tiberius' rebuilding of Opimius' temple as the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae*.

Before investigating the significance of Concordia in connection with the *Porticus Liviae*, it is necessary to discuss whether the goddess was given a temple or a shrine in the colonnade. Although no visible traces of the colonnade remain, dimensions of the entire structure are preserved on three fragments of the Severan marble plan of Rome, which show that the building measured roughly 115m long and 75m wide.⁴¹² The size of the colonnade would not have been capable of housing a normal-sized Roman temple. We are therefore left with two options if we are to follow Ovid: either a temple was constructed near the *Porticus* and the two were in some way linked with one another,⁴¹³ or the *Porticus* as a whole was dedicated to the goddess and was regarded in its entirety as a temple of Concordia.⁴¹⁴ While these are possibilities, the marble plan indicates that there was a smaller structure at the centre of the *Porticus* in the shape of small concentric squares. Such a structure would be a likely location for a shrine to Concordia.⁴¹⁵ While Ovid's reference to an *aedes* of Concordia may indicate that the *Porticus Liviae* as a whole came to be associated with the goddess, his use of the word should be taken to indicate that, in terms of actual buildings, the goddess is more likely to have received a shrine in the centre of the *Porticus*. Having ascertained this, we must now look at how the placement of a shrine to Concordia in the *Porticus Liviae* aids in our understanding of the significance of this goddess in the context of the late first century BC.

The *Porticus Liviae* had been built by Augustus for his wife on the land once occupied by a palatial house belonging to Vedius Pollio. Pollio bequeathed the property to Augustus in his will, and Augustus had the house torn down to make way for his construction of the *Porticus*.⁴¹⁶ Reciprocally, Ovid states that the shrine of Concordia Augusta was built by Livia and presented to Augustus.⁴¹⁷ In this way the deity associated with the colonnade would have

⁴¹¹ Ov. *Fast.* 6.310.

⁴¹² Platner-Ashby (1929), 423.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁴¹⁴ Richardson (1978b), 267.

⁴¹⁵ Swan (2004), 74, Flory (1984), 310. Haselberger (2002), 204 notes that this central feature may have been a fountain or either a shrine or temple to Concordia, while Richardson (1978b), 269 uses Eumachia's colonnade dedicated to Concordia in Pompeii as a parallel to argue that no such structure inside the *Porticus Liviae* existed.

⁴¹⁶ Dio 54.23, Suet. *Aug.* 29.4.

⁴¹⁷ *Fast.* 6.637-638.

been strongly linked to the relationship between Augustus and Livia, as *concordia* was often seen by the Romans as key to a strong marriage.⁴¹⁸ In this way the Concordia that was worshipped inside the *Porticus Liviae* differed from those other dedications to her in that this shrine was meant to represent the *concordia* that existed in the marriage between Augustus and Livia, rather than a divinity associated with the harmony between the Roman classes, which had been characteristic of previous dedications to the goddess. By extension, this form of *concordia* provided a model for the harmonious relationship between husbands and their wives in Roman society in general.

The date of this shrine's dedication also illuminates the nature of this specific form of Concordia. Dedicated on 11 June, the *dies natalis* of Livia's shrine coincides with a period in the Roman festival calendar when cults and rites that are associated with women abound;⁴¹⁹ Livia herself had restored the temples of the Bona Dea Subsaxana⁴²⁰ and Fortuna Muliebris,⁴²¹ and undertook various bequests in aid of families who could not raise their children and to provide dowries so that daughters could marry.⁴²² All of Livia's involvement in acts associated with women publicly displayed the ideals of her husband's moral legislation.⁴²³ This strong emphasis on the role of women and the way in which women should behave during the Augustan period is directly linked to the Concordia whose worship Livia established. This form of Concordia was not responsible for the reconciling of the orders as previous cult centres of the goddess had been; rather she was representative of, and oversaw, the type of harmony and stability provided to Rome through women in their roles as wives and mothers.

In the same year that Livia dedicated her shrine to Concordia in the *Porticus Liviae*, Tiberius undertook to restore Opimius' temple of Concordia in his own name and that of his brother Drusus.⁴²⁴ The restoration began following Tiberius' German triumph,⁴²⁵ although it was dedicated much later, either in AD 10⁴²⁶ or AD 12,⁴²⁷ most likely as a result of the time

⁴¹⁸ Treggiari (1991), 251-253.

⁴¹⁹ See Flory (1984), 314.

⁴²⁰ *Ov. Fast.* 5.157-58.

⁴²¹ *CIL* 6.883: *Livia Drusi f. uxs[or Caesaris Augusti]* with Val. Max. 1.8.4 for the temple's location. Discussed later in this chapter.

⁴²² Vell. Pat. 2.130, Dio 58.2-3.

⁴²³ Flory (1984), 319, Purcell (1986), 92, Severy (2003), 134.

⁴²⁴ Dio 55.8.2.

⁴²⁵ *Ov. Fast.* 1.645-650, Dio 55.8.2.

⁴²⁶ Dio 56.25.1.

Tiberius spent on Rhodes from 6 BC until AD 4. The most important feature of this restored temple, however, was the form of Concordia it was dedicated to: Concordia Augusta.⁴²⁸ Sometime before 36 BC Augustus had been voted the right to hold banquets in the temple of Concordia,⁴²⁹ creating a direct connection between himself and the concord experienced in Rome as a result of his reign.⁴³⁰ Whilst Concordia was generally responsible for ensuring the continuance of concord in Rome, Concordia Augusta specifically functioned as the divine embodiment of the concord experienced in Rome during the age of Augustus.

Rather than simply restoring the old temple, however, Tiberius greatly enlarged its precinct⁴³¹ and embellished it with many different artworks, including statues of Aesculapius, Apollo, Juno,⁴³² Latona with the infants Apollo and Diana,⁴³³ Mars and Mercury⁴³⁴ and Liber.⁴³⁵ Tiberius also placed in the temple a statue of Vesta he bought from the Parians,⁴³⁶ and Augustus donated the ring that once belonged to Polycrates of Samos,⁴³⁷ as well as four obsidian elephants.⁴³⁸ The temple and the collection of works that it housed were intended to evoke several different meanings relating to Concordia. First, it was meant to recall the *concordia* of the orders for which the temple had been established, in line with Tiberius' own Republican sentiments.⁴³⁹ That the temple's re-establishment was paid for using the money gathered from the spoils of Tiberius' German campaigns recalls the goddess's role in her previous cult foundations: *concordia* has been re-established in Rome after an enemy had been put down. The temple's history also meant that Tiberius could elevate himself to the same level as Camillus and Opimius as a man who had helped to restore the *concordia* of the State.⁴⁴⁰ Second, the imagery employed served as a reminder of the peace and concord that

⁴²⁷ Suet. *Tib.* 20.

⁴²⁸ Ehrenberg and Jones (1967), 45 for entries in the *Fasti Verulani* and *Fasti Praenestini*. For the use of the epithet *Augusta* with relation to the deified abstractions, see Fishwick (1991), 462-465.

⁴²⁹ Dio 49.18.6: In 36 BC Augustus set up statues of Antonius in the temple of Concordia and allowed him to dine there with his wife, Octavia, and his children, so as to display Cleopatra as the source of discord in the Roman state. Kellum (1990), 278.

⁴³⁰ Severy (2003), 203, Levick (1976), 62: The association with Augustus is further entrenched with the fact that its date of rededication, January 16, was the anniversary of Octavian's assumption of the name 'Augustus'.

⁴³¹ For a description of the temple see Stamper (2005), 141-144.

⁴³² Plin. *HN* 34.73.

⁴³³ Plin. *HN* 34.77.

⁴³⁴ Plin. *HN* 34.89.

⁴³⁵ Plin. *HN* 35.131.

⁴³⁶ Dio 55.9.

⁴³⁷ Plin. *HN* 37.2.

⁴³⁸ Plin. *HN* 36.196.

⁴³⁹ Rutledge (2012), 269-271.

⁴⁴⁰ Levick (1976), 37.

had been achieved during the Augustan age.⁴⁴¹ Finally, it was meant to portray to the people of Rome a sense of *concordia* within the imperial family, to assuage any fears the populace may have had following Augustus' death.⁴⁴² These various functions meant that Concordia Augusta served as a symbol of the continuance of a secure and peaceful state administered by a stable dynasty.

Rather than a semi-divinity that certain scholars have considered the deified abstractions to be, Concordia can be seen as a significant goddess who was invoked during periods of instability in Rome, with cult centres being built for her in return for her assistance in restoring the concord of the *respublica*. Her role expanded over the course of time to the point where she became an important figure in the message conveyed during the Augustan period regarding the peace enjoyed in the Roman world following decades of civil war.

Pax

Pax, the goddess of peace in the Roman world, was a late addition to the list of deified abstractions. Some have argued that her first appearance on coinage dates to the late second century BC,⁴⁴³ but the earliest uncontested numismatic representation of *Pax* comes from around 44 BC.⁴⁴⁴ The existence of colonies such as *Pax Iulia*,⁴⁴⁵ and the possible existence of altars to the goddess in them, may indicate that Julius Caesar intended to introduce her worship to Rome.⁴⁴⁶ It was under Augustus, however, that *Pax* became more prominent, both on coin issues, often in conjunction with *Victoria*,⁴⁴⁷ as well as in her first cult centre in Rome, the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, which will be the primary focus of this discussion.

Before focusing on the *Ara Pacis* we must first look at another event involving Augustus and *Pax* that helps to highlight the associations this goddess had with various other Roman divinities, as well as providing some points of reference for the later discussion of the *Ara Pacis*. In 11 BC, when the Senate and people contributed money so that statues of Augustus could be set up, Augustus instead decided that such donations should be used to construct

⁴⁴¹ Kellum (1990), 278-283.

⁴⁴² Tac. *Ann.* 1.4, Levick (1976), 62, Severy (2003), 203, Rutledge (2012), 270.

⁴⁴³ Crawford (1974), 287 (262.1), 866.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 490 (480.24), 866.

⁴⁴⁵ *CIL* 2, 47 = *ILS* 6899.

⁴⁴⁶ Weinstock (1960), 46. Cf. Clark (2007), 251-252.

⁴⁴⁷ Sutherland (1951), 29-30; Hölscher (1967), 94-96.

statues of *Salus Publica*, *Concordia*, *Pax*⁴⁴⁸ and *Janus*,⁴⁴⁹ with the completed statues possibly being erected the following year.⁴⁵⁰ Where these statues were set up is unknown,⁴⁵¹ but their construction may be related to the *Ara Pacis* and the festival of these four divinities on 30 March.⁴⁵² While the connection between the goddesses of safety, concord and peace are simple to understand, the link between them and *Janus* is less self-evident and requires further explanation.

Augustus records that the Senate voted that the doors of the temple of *Janus*, which had only been closed twice in Rome's history, be closed three times during his reign, celebrating the fact that peace had been secured throughout the Roman world.⁴⁵³ While the closing of the temple of *Janus* is a much remarked upon feature of the first Emperor's reign, there is another fact to consider: the doors were closed three times, but the peace that each closing represented was disturbed and wars recommenced.⁴⁵⁴ Virgil's *Aeneid* provides a poetic treatment of the opening of the gates of *Janus*:

...there are twin gates of War (so men call them), hallowed by religious awe and the terrors of fierce Mars: a hundred brazen bolts close them, and the eternal strength of iron, and *Janus* their guardian never quits the threshold. Here, when the sentence of the Fathers is firmly fixed on war, the Consul, arrayed in Quirinal robe and Sabine cincture, with his own hand unbars the grating portals, with his own lips calls forth war...⁴⁵⁵

Peace and war, therefore, are closely tied to one another in this rite. It follows that in order for peace to be won, it is necessary for the Romans to gain victory over their enemies. The closing of the doors of *Janus* did not necessarily mean that Rome was at peace with its neighbours; rather it meant that peace had been established within the Empire's borders.⁴⁵⁶ Symbolically, the temple of *Janus* was viewed as a prison, and the closing of the temple doors symbolised *Janus*' protection of peacetime,⁴⁵⁷ and it is therefore entirely appropriate to

⁴⁴⁸ Dio 54.35.

⁴⁴⁹ Ov. *Fast.* 3.881-882.

⁴⁵⁰ Rich (1990), 215.

⁴⁵¹ Weinstock (1960), 49.

⁴⁵² Ov. *Fast.* 3.879- 882.

⁴⁵³ Aug. *RG* 13.

⁴⁵⁴ Gruen (1985b), 54.

⁴⁵⁵ Virg. *Aen.* 7.607-614.

⁴⁵⁶ Gruen (1985b), 59.

⁴⁵⁷ What *Janus* was protecting in the temple, however, differs depending on the source. For Ennius (*Ann.* 225-226) *Janus* imprisoned *Discord* in the temple during peacetime, and war was a result of *Discord* breaking free from the temple. For Virgil (*Aen.* 1.293-296) *Janus* imprisoned *Furor*, following the Ennian model. Horace (*Ep.*

associate him with Pax.⁴⁵⁸ The associations between Pax, Salus Publica and Concordia recalls the logical connection that peace brought with it safety and concord to the Roman state.

The main centre for the cult of Pax Augusta was the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. The Senate's vote to build the *Ara Pacis* is recorded by Augustus:

When I returned from Spain and Gaul, in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Publius Quinctilius, after successful operations in those provinces, the senate voted in honour of my return the consecration of an altar to Pax Augusta in the Campus Martius, and on this altar it ordered the magistrates and priests and Vestal Virgins to make annual sacrifice.⁴⁵⁹

The *Ara Pacis* itself has been the subject of much scholarly research in various fields of speciality. I will focus here on the so-called 'Tellus' panel on the Eastern side of the *Ara Pacis*, the Roma panel opposite it, and various other smaller reliefs relating to Pax.



Figure 5: 'Tellus' panel on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*.⁴⁶⁰

The primary problem scholars face with regard to Pax Augusta and the *Ara Pacis* is that nowhere on or in the structure is a representation of the goddess immediately visible.⁴⁶¹ This

2.1.255-256), however, viewed Janus as the protector of Pax and kept her in the temple. For the differing interpretations of the role of Janus during peace and war, see Green (2000).

⁴⁵⁸Syme (1979), 192. Syme's discussion is useful in understanding the poetic and historical narratives surrounding the opening and closing of the temple of Janus.

⁴⁵⁹ Aug. *RG* 12.

⁴⁶⁰ Zanker (1988), 174.

absence has been explained in various ways, even by arguing that the *Ara Pacis* as we have it is not the same as the monument mentioned in the literary sources.⁴⁶² Such arguments, however, are unconvincing and, I believe, Pax does appear on the *Ara Pacis* in the so-called ‘Tellus’ panel (Fig. 5). This panel has aroused much academic debate: the goddess on the panel has been variously interpreted as Italia,⁴⁶³ Terra Mater/Tellus, Venus, Pax,⁴⁶⁴ or varying combinations thereof.⁴⁶⁵ Despite this, it is generally agreed that, whoever the goddess may be, she and her companions are meant to symbolise the abundance brought about by Augustus’ reign.⁴⁶⁶ Since this goddess has been taken to symbolise the abundance of Augustan peace it is reasonable to deduce that she is, in fact, the goddess Pax Augusta.

In the ‘Tellus’ panel at the feet of the goddess are two animals, a sheep and a heifer. The frieze representing the sacrificial procession on the altar itself shows the same two animals with the addition of another bovine, possibly a steer. In Ovid we find that a white heifer was the appropriate animal to sacrifice to Pax,⁴⁶⁷ whereas the sheep and steer may have been intended as preliminary sacrifices to Janus and, if the other bovine is a steer, to Jupiter.⁴⁶⁸ Such preliminary sacrifices to these gods, and especially to Janus, are a common feature of Roman religious rites⁴⁶⁹ and are particularly appropriate to Pax, given their close association. The presence of sacrificial animals appropriate for both Pax and Janus, as well as similar animals on the sacrificial frieze on the altar itself, is strongly indicative of the fact that the goddess in the ‘Tellus’ panel can be identified as Pax Augusta.

The identity of the goddess’s two companions has equally been the focus of debate: identifications suggested include nymphs,⁴⁷⁰ *Auræ*⁴⁷¹ and *Horæ*.⁴⁷² One of the claims made by Augustus that is useful in the current discussion is that, through his victories, he had

⁴⁶¹ Weinstock (1960), 53, Gruen (1985b), 62, Elsner (1991), 54

⁴⁶² See Weinstock (1960) for the argument that this cult centre is not, in fact, the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, and Toynbee (1961) for counter arguments. Galinsky (1992), 469 argues that, since Augustus had already set up a statue of Pax elsewhere, to represent the goddess on the *Ara Pacis* would be redundant. Cf. Toynbee (1953), 80.

⁴⁶³ Toynbee (1953), 81, Simon (1967), 28, Elsner (1991), 5.

⁴⁶⁴ Torelli (1982), 42-43.

⁴⁶⁵ Galinsky (1992), 457.

⁴⁶⁶ Galinsky (1992), 472.

⁴⁶⁷ *Fast.* 1.720. Cf. Henzen (1874), 85, 66a.

⁴⁶⁸ Simon (1967), 15 refers to the bovines as both being heifers. Ryberg (1949), 91 refers to one bovine as being a steer and the other a heifer.

⁴⁶⁹ E.g. Livy 1.32, 8.9.6, Cato *Agr. Orig.* 141.

⁴⁷⁰ Toynbee (1953), 81.

⁴⁷¹ Simon (1967), 27.

⁴⁷² De Grummond (1990), *passim*.

restored peace on both land and sea.⁴⁷³ The two companion-figures in the ‘Tellus’ panel, irrespective of their identification, have been taken to symbolise this *pax terra marique*.⁴⁷⁴ The two figures have been placed so that they mirror one another symmetrically and focus our main attention on the central goddess. In terms of the *pax terra marique*, since one is sitting on a sea-monster in the ocean and the other on a swan over land, they can be interpreted as *mare* and *terra* respectively. If the identification of these two figures is correct it is possible to interpret the ‘Tellus’ panel as a monumental representation of the Augustan peace on land and sea by combining the goddess Pax with companions that are symbolic of the extent of her influence.

The final aspect of the ‘Tellus’ panel to consider when recognising the central figure as the goddess Pax are the children that she holds. These children are one of the main elements that have been used to identify this goddess as one associated with human fertility, suggesting identification with the likes of Ceres,⁴⁷⁵ Tellus and Terra Mater. Another possibility exists, however. One striking problem with identifying the central goddess as Pax is that nowhere are a *caduceus* or *cornucopia*, the two most common attributes of the goddess, represented. If, however, we consider that the birth of children is a product of peacetime,⁴⁷⁶ the two children can be viewed as attributes of Pax. Augustus’ moral legislation, the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*, the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* and the later *Lex Papia Poppaea*, are indicative of Augustus’ interest in preserving the social structures of Roman society, of which a key factor was the birth and rearing of children.⁴⁷⁷ Although the *Lex Papia Poppaea* postdates the construction of the *Ara Pacis*, Augustus appears to have attempted to pass moral legislation as early as 28 BC, although opposition to it meant that it was never passed into law.⁴⁷⁸ The emphasis Augustus placed on marriage and the birth of legitimate children were a means of establishing an ideology that legitimised his rule.⁴⁷⁹ The association of the children with Pax on the *Ara Pacis*, therefore, is perfectly sensible. So far as the missing attributes of the goddess are concerned, it is possible that the children are meant to represent the *caduceus* as the products of peacetime, and the fruits in the goddess’s lap are meant to

⁴⁷³ Aug. *RG* 13. Cf. Livy 1.19.3. See Momigliano (1942) for the history of this phrase.

⁴⁷⁴ Simon (1967), 28, De Grummond (1990), 673, Galinsky (1992), 472.

⁴⁷⁵ Spaeth (1994), 73.

⁴⁷⁶ De Grummond (1990), 665.

⁴⁷⁷ Dio 56.6.4-56.7.5.

⁴⁷⁸ Syme (1959), 42; Frank (1975), 43.

⁴⁷⁹ Frank (1975), 48.

represent the absent *cornucopia*.⁴⁸⁰ In this way, while the typical attributes of Pax are not found in the panel, they are otherwise represented through the presence of the children and the abundant produce in the goddess's lap.

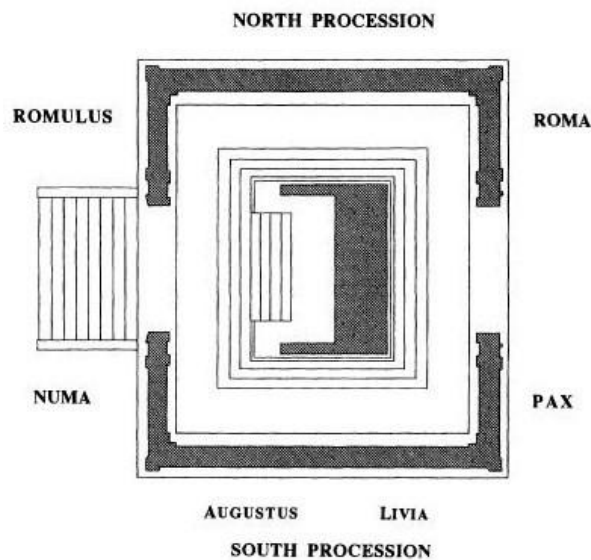


Figure 6: Diagram of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*.⁴⁸¹

The Roma panel opposite the 'Tellus' panel provides us with further indications that the goddess in question is Pax Augusta. As demonstrated in earlier discussions, Roma was strongly associated with military conquest and was largely martial in character. We have also seen that peace in the Roman world was ultimately dependant on military victory. Since it is likely that Roma in her panel and Pax in hers mirrored one another iconographically,⁴⁸² these panels were meant to highlight once again the strong connections between war and peace in Roman thought. Just as the continued benefactions Roma granted in the east were seen as being dependent on Augustus, so, in Rome, the current peace being experienced by its citizens was the direct result of Augustus' actions. Roma, in this context, therefore represents Augustus' military victories over Rome's enemies, whilst Pax in her panel represents the peace brought about by these victories. This connection between the martial Roma and Pax is further entrenched if one considers that the *Ara Pacis* itself was located a mile from the pomerial line, where tradition placed the transition of a magistrate's power from the military

⁴⁸⁰ Rehak (2006), 112.

⁴⁸¹ Rehak (2001), 199.

⁴⁸² Toynbee (1953), 80, De Grummond (1990), 667. Just as Pax and Roma were meant to mirror one another, Romulus, in the North Western panel, as a warlike Roman king, corresponds to Roma, while identifying the figure in the South Western panel as Numa, a peaceful king, corresponds to Pax (Fig. 6) (Rehak (2001), 199).

to domestic spheres.⁴⁸³ Even Weinstock, who argued that this building was not the *Ara Pacis*, recognised the associations and similarities that could be drawn between Pax and Roma.⁴⁸⁴ Although the identification of the goddess on the ‘Tellus’ panel is likely to be a continued source of debate, there is, at the very least, a strong possibility that she is Pax Augusta.

The goddess Pax played an important role in the religious rites of Rome from the time of Augustus. Her connections with Janus associated her with the traditional religious rites relating to war and peacetime, while the statues erected to her, *Salus Publica* and *Concordia* helped to emphasise the gifts peacetime brought to the Romans. In terms of her functions, the main source of information derives from identifying the goddess on the ‘Tellus’ panel of the *Ara Pacis* as Pax Augusta. Her representation with various symbols relating to abundance and fertility emphasises her role as a divinity who, by overseeing peace in Rome, brought about prosperity. Additionally, her associations with Janus and Roma indicate that both the deity and the concept of *pax* were reliant on war and martial victory, in that it was through Augustus’ successful campaigns that the Romans were able to enjoy the benefits of peacetime.

Fortuna

Fortuna, the goddess embodying the forces of fortune and chance, is perhaps the deified abstraction with the widest sphere of influence. Epithets of this goddess associated her with all aspects of life in both the private and public spheres, as well as a protectress of the imperial family under the empire.⁴⁸⁵ The aim of this section will be to look at the goddess in a broad sense only, in order to understand her importance in Roman society, but I will make reference to specific cults in order to demonstrate what it was the Romans expected of her and what they believed she was capable of bringing to them.

Fortuna was worshipped in Rome from an early stage: various cult sites are ascribed to king Servius Tullius, namely the temple of *Fors Fortuna trans Tiberim*,⁴⁸⁶ the temples of Fortuna

⁴⁸³ Torelli (1992), 29-30.

⁴⁸⁴ Weinstock (1960), 49.

⁴⁸⁵ For a detailed list of epithets of this goddess see Kajanto (1981), 510-516.

⁴⁸⁶ Varro *Ling.* 17, Ov. *Fast.* 6.773 – 784. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.27.7 erroneously refers to this temple as that of Fortuna Virilis. Livy’s account of Servius’ reign does not mention the construction of this temple, although it is mentioned with regard to Sp. Carvilius’ construction of a second temple in 293 BC (10.46.14).

and Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium,⁴⁸⁷ as well as smaller offerings to various other forms of the goddess, including Fortuna Obsequens, Primigenia, Virilis and Privata.⁴⁸⁸ The belief that Servius Tullius founded the cult of Fors Fortuna, as well as the fact that her double name can be taken to indicate that her worship dates from the earliest stages of Roman religion,⁴⁸⁹ show that the idea of a divine being overseeing the fortunes of people had existed in Rome for a long time. Fortuna was commonly equated with the Greek Tyche, whose functions were similarly far-reaching; the array of epithets associated with Fortuna show that the Roman goddess, in her various guises, oversaw the needs of a large number of different groups of people.⁴⁹⁰

It is probable that, of the various epithets given to Fortuna, Fors Fortuna is the most ancient. Fors Fortuna, in a broad sense, designates an aspect of Fortuna that can be understood as the “goddess who brings”.⁴⁹¹ While the Latin *fors* could designate ‘chance’⁴⁹² and certain scholars have viewed this goddess in this sense,⁴⁹³ it is probable that her existence predates the time when the Latin *fors* obtained this meaning, and it is most likely that her original aspect was a goddess of good luck.⁴⁹⁴ Ovid describes the festival of Fors Fortuna, held on 24 June, as follows:

The common folk worship this goddess because the founder of her temple is said to have been of their number and to have risen to the crown from humble rank. Her worship is also appropriate for slaves, because Tullius, who instituted the neighbouring temples of the fickle goddess, was born of a slave woman.⁴⁹⁵

This notion of Fortuna as fickle (*dubia*) stems from the goddess’s later identification with the Greek Tyche, the deified abstraction associated with blind chance.⁴⁹⁶ In referring to Fors Fortuna as a fickle goddess, Ovid clearly understands this divinity in terms similar to that of the Greek Tyche. Of greater interest, however, are the people who are attending the goddess’s

⁴⁸⁷ Ov. *Fast.* 6.569ff.

⁴⁸⁸ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 74; the Latin equivalents for Plutarch’s Greek are those of F.C. Babbitt’s translation. Cf. *Fort. Rom.* 10, while *Fort. Rom.* 5 is the only literary account that ascribes the foundations of these cults to Ancus Marcius.

⁴⁸⁹ Lazarus (1985), 360. Other examples cited to support this notion include Anna Perenna, Lues Rues and Mater Matuta.

⁴⁹⁰ Brendel (1960), 43, n. 14.

⁴⁹¹ Lazarus (1985), 362, citing Ter. *Hec.* 386-388.

⁴⁹² Cf. Non. 425.6: “... ‘fors’ is a chance event of the moment; ‘Fortuna’ is the goddess herself...”

⁴⁹³ E.g. Billington (1996), 129.

⁴⁹⁴ Kajanto (1981), 505.

⁴⁹⁵ Ov. *Fast.* 6.781-784.

⁴⁹⁶ Kajanto (1981), 505.

festival: common folk and slaves. Columella advises farmers to sing songs of praises to Fors Fortuna on market days;⁴⁹⁷ Donatus tells us that unskilled people were known to attend the goddess's festival as well.⁴⁹⁸ In these instances what we have is not a deity of blind chance, or the fickle Tyche in Roman guise, but a goddess of luck being worshipped by those who would have needed her assistance the most: slaves for their freedom, farmers to ensure a good harvest and sales, unskilled people to find work etc. So Fors Fortuna should not be viewed as a simple aspect of a goddess whose large array of functions means that she was no more distinct than a *genius*,⁴⁹⁹ or the Greek Tyche in Roman dress, but rather as a protective deity and bringer of luck associated with the lower classes of Roman society.

By contrast Fortuna Muliebris oversaw the fortunes of, and issues relating to, women. Like the dedication of temples to other deified abstractions, the temple of Fortuna Muliebris was vowed as a result of an internal crisis facing the Roman state in the form of Cn. Marcius Coriolanus, a general in the Roman army.⁵⁰⁰ Having been tried *in absentia* and exiled from Rome following the plebeian revolt of 494 BC, Coriolanus defected to the neighbouring Volscians, where he successfully managed to get the Volscian cities to rebel and led them against Rome. After two attempts to deter him failed, Coriolanus' mother, Veturia, and his wife, Volumnia, along with a group of other Roman women, went out to his camp to try and dissuade him from attacking the city, which they successfully managed to do.⁵⁰¹ In return for their accomplishment the Senate decreed that the women could choose for themselves how they wished to be rewarded:

It occurred to the women after some deliberation to ask for no invidious gift, but to request of the senate permission to found a temple to Fortuna Muliebris on the spot where they had interceded for their country, and to assemble and perform annual sacrifices to her on the day on which they had put an end to the war.⁵⁰²

When the temple was dedicated it featured two statues, one provided by the Senate and one by the matrons.⁵⁰³ The statue of the goddess provided by the matrons is recorded as twice

⁴⁹⁷ *Rust.* 10.316.

⁴⁹⁸ *Don. In Ter. Phor.* 841.

⁴⁹⁹ Axtell (1907), 10.

⁵⁰⁰ While the war with the Volscians serves to frame the Coriolanus episode, the primary antagonist is a Roman who betrays his country to the enemy and plans to attack the city.

⁵⁰¹ *Livy* 2.33.5-40.12.

⁵⁰² *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 8.55. Cf. *August. Civ. D.* 4.19, *Plut. Cor.* 37.

⁵⁰³ *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 56.2-3. It is possible that this double representation is a late development imported from Antium (Wardle (1998), 255 (quoting Champeaux (1982), 343-349).

making known the fact that she was happy with their choice of a cult foundation to her.⁵⁰⁴ The Senate, having heard of this, ordered that further sacrifices should be offered to the goddess annually, while the priestess told the women that only *univirae* would be allowed to touch and place garlands on the statue.⁵⁰⁵ To be a *univira* was a status for Roman women to be proud of;⁵⁰⁶ they were viewed as being the ideal Roman matrons, and their participation in cult activities was meant to bring with it a certain level of fortune that attached itself to their status.⁵⁰⁷ Their participation in the cult of Fortuna Muliebris worked in two distinct ways: as representative of a proper Roman matron, the *univirae* served as models for other women to emulate, particularly since the worship granted to the goddess was meant to be aimed at newly-married women.⁵⁰⁸ Second, the *univirae* themselves were meant to embody a particular form of fortune that came with having only been married to a single man, and it is this type of fortune that is embodied in this aspect of Fortuna. Such a conclusion is corroborated if we consider the participation of Livia who was, as discussed with relation to Concordia, strongly associated with cults of women, and she herself represented the ideal matron in Augustan society.⁵⁰⁹ Her association with this cult probably explains Dionysius' extended narrative on its foundation, since interest in the cult would likely have increased in the Augustan period.⁵¹⁰

However, the information found in the accounts of this cult's foundation is most likely anachronistic, particularly the reference to *univirae*. During the fifth century BC divorce would have been an exceptional occurrence and this purported restriction would have affected only remarried widows; in fact respect for *univirae* would have increased in later times as they became more and more uncommon.⁵¹¹ Livia's involvement becomes particularly prominent when we consider the moral legislation enacted by Augustus during his reign and the importance placed upon marriage and the birth of legitimate children. The foundation account about the women marching out to defend Rome and the limitations placed on the type of women that could participate in the cult's activities helps us to understand how

⁵⁰⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 56.3-4, Val. Max. 1.8.4, August. *Civ. D.* 4.19.

⁵⁰⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 56.3-4. Cf. Tert. *Monog.* 17.

⁵⁰⁶ Eg. Prop. 4.11. 38 - 39: "On this stone it may be read that I / Have been espoused to one alone."

⁵⁰⁷ Lightman and Zeisel (1977), 20.

⁵⁰⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 56.4.

⁵⁰⁹ *CIL* 6.883 attests to Livia's participation in the restoration of this cult. While Livia herself was not an *univira*, she did hold a remarkable position in Roman society. See Purcell (1986), 85-88 for the grants of power given to her by Augustus.

⁵¹⁰ Orlin (1997), 27, Severy (2003), 136.

⁵¹¹ Clark (2007), n. 46, 43-44.

this cult came to demonstrate the role women were thought to have in the Roman state: Coriolanus' mother had defended Rome's territory by dissuading her son from attacking the city; likewise, Roman women who married only once and remained faithful to their husbands defended the city through their role as mothers to legitimate children.⁵¹²

While it is entirely possible to view this cult as little more than another method by which Augustan moral legislation was promoted (as indeed it was), it must be noted that Livia only helped restore the cult, rather than founding it. During the Republican period Fortuna Muliebris would have overseen the fortunes of a significant group of women, although the ways in which she did this are now hard to discern from the later Augustan image of the goddess. The traditional element of the cult, however, was key to the concept Augustus and Livia were trying to promote, namely that well-behaved women were the long-standing guarantors of a moral state.

In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus records the Senate's decision to erect in his honour an altar to Fortuna Redux:

The Senate consecrated in honour of my return an altar to Fortuna Redux at the Porta Capena, near the temple of Honos and Virtus, on which it ordered the pontiffs and the Vestal Virgins to perform a yearly sacrifice on the anniversary of the day on which I returned to the city from Syria in the consulship of Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinucius, and named the day, after my cognomen, the Augustalia.⁵¹³

Augustus returned to Rome in 19 BC after having settled the affairs of Sicily, Greece, Asia and Syria. Of the large number of honours that people wished to grant him, the altar and holiday celebrating his return are the only ones he accepted.⁵¹⁴ Fortuna Redux was responsible for the safe return of Augustus to Rome. This was no minor function, since at the time Augustus was seen as being the only person who could govern Rome effectively,⁵¹⁵ and in this way the goddess was responsible for the ongoing safety of the Roman State. The altar itself was relatively modest,⁵¹⁶ but the importance of the goddess and the altar lies not in the size of the monument, but rather what they came to represent.

⁵¹² Wardle (1998), 255.

⁵¹³ Aug. *RG* 11.

⁵¹⁴ Dio 54.10.

⁵¹⁵ Dio 54.10, Birley (2000), 722.

⁵¹⁶ Richardson (1992), 15, *LTUR* (1995), 275.

In the same way that the representations of Pax and Roma opposite one another on the *Ara Pacis* show that peace and martial victory are reliant on one another, the decision to place this altar outside a temple to Honos and Virtus is significant. These divinities had several temples in Rome: the one mentioned by Augustus was originally dedicated to Honos alone by Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus⁵¹⁷ in 233 BC, later vowed to Honos and Virtus by M. Claudius Marcellus in 208 BC,⁵¹⁸ and finally dedicated by his son in 205 BC;⁵¹⁹ a temple to Honos alone, built on the site of an ancient altar,⁵²⁰ most likely between the years 292 and 219 BC⁵²¹ outside the Porta Collina; finally, a temple built by C. Marius⁵²² following his victories over the Cimbri and Teutones. Honos was a military deity⁵²³ while Virtus was a goddess of courage in battle.⁵²⁴ The location of the altar of Fortuna Redux, in close proximity to a temple which was associated with two of the doughtiest commanders of the Republic (Q. Fabius Maximus and M. Claudius Marcellus), cast on Augustus the glow of military virtue, underlining the notion that he was protected by Fortuna.

Fortuna was not always a benevolent deity, however. The Elder Pliny⁵²⁵ and Cicero⁵²⁶ both record that there was an altar to Mala Fortuna on the Esquiline. Cicero records that this altar was ancient even in his day,⁵²⁷ and no written account reveals when or why this altar was dedicated. That this malevolent deity, similar to the deified abstractions Febris (Fever) and Orbona (Bereavement), received an altar at all is telling. While Fors Fortuna, Fortuna Muliebris and Fortuna Redux were worshipped by various peoples for the gifts they brought to people, the worship granted to Mala Fortuna was intended to keep misfortune at bay.⁵²⁸

In this section I have shown that Fortuna was a deity who was worshipped by people across Rome's social classes. Her various epithets and functions, therefore, cannot be taken simply

⁵¹⁷ Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61.

⁵¹⁸ Livy 27.25, Val. Max. 1.1.8, Plut. *Marc.* 28.1. For the artworks it housed from the sack of Syracuse, see Cic. *Rep.* 1.21, *Verr.* 2.4.121, Livy 26.32, Asc. *Pis.* 44.

⁵¹⁹ Livy 29.11.

⁵²⁰ Cic. *Leg.* 2.58.

⁵²¹ Ziolkowski (1992), 57. An inscription dedicated to Virtus (*CIL* VI 3735) may also have belonged to this temple and might indicate that Virtus was worshipped alongside Honos at a later stage.

⁵²² Vitruvius. *Praef.* 17, 3.2.5 for a brief description of the temple.

⁵²³ Axtell (1907), 22.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, 25. Wardle (1998), 227 remarks, with reference to the construction of Marius' temple, that these two divinities were appropriate for the triumph of a *novus homo*.

⁵²⁵ *HN* 2.16.

⁵²⁶ *Nat. D.* 3.64.

⁵²⁷ *Leg.* 2.28.

⁵²⁸ In a similar fashion, Val. Max. 2.5.6 reports that people worshipped Febris so that she would not afflict them as much as those who did not pay their due respects.

to argue that this goddess was in some way less powerful than any other member of the Roman pantheon. Contrary to arguments that have suggested that Fortuna, along with the other deified abstractions, was in fact a divinity of little power, her vast range of functions indicates that she was believed to be a powerful force capable of intervening in the private lives of people, as well as ensuring the protection of the emperors and, by extension, protecting the fortunes of Rome itself.

Whilst this overview has only touched on the place of deified abstractions in Roman religious thought, it provides useful comparative material to the function of the goddess Roma. Like Roma, the deified abstractions provide exactly what their names suggest. In the east Roma provides 'Rome' in that she is representative of the ideas and ideals the peoples of the east had about Roman power and the protection and benefits Rome's presence in the east brought with it. Similarly, the deified abstractions provide benefits that the Romans deemed necessary or important in their society, and the choice of epithet designated which portion of the Roman population they were intended to oversee. With this information in mind what must finally be discussed is how Roma's role was perceived when she was transferred to the west, both in terms of her representations in Rome (many alongside deified abstractions) prior to the institution of her cult under Hadrian, as well as her place in the imperial cult in the western provinces of the empire.

Chapter 4

Discussions thus far have focussed on the developing role of the goddess Roma during the Republican and Imperial periods in the eastern half of the empire. It has been seen that, over a prolonged period of time, the goddess's role as the embodiment of Roman power was well-defined and constant, even after her incorporation into the imperial cult. In this final chapter I will examine the role of Roma in Rome during the Republican period and attempt to explain why she is represented on a variety of media, despite the fact that she was not worshipped in Rome during this time. This will include looking at evidence where she and a number of different deified abstractions are represented alongside one another in order to ascertain Roman perceptions of Roma during this period. This information will then be used to examine the goddess's place in the imperial cult in the western provinces and Augustus' reasoning for introducing Roma to the west when, unlike in the east, there was no established precedent for her worship.

Numismatic Representations of Roma

From the third century BC the Roman mint produced a number of coin issues with a helmeted female figure that have been taken to be Roma. The large number of coins available, coupled with the relative ease with which they can be dated, provides useful evidence for examining specific historic events that may elucidate how the Romans perceived Roma under the Republic. As the goddess was not worshipped in Rome until the introduction of her cult by the emperor Hadrian, it is necessary to make a distinction between the deified and the personified Roma. The deified Roma is the goddess that I have examined in the eastern provinces; lacking the trappings of cult, such as priests, temples, altars etc., Roma the personification personifies the city of Rome and the Roman state, but without any specific religious overtones.

Whether the helmeted figure actually does represent Roma is, however, a matter of scholarly debate. Such an identification relies on establishing a chronology for the coin series that is in agreement with the other evidence for the goddess. The earliest Roman coin issue to depict the figure cannot be dated with complete accuracy, but was minted sometime between the

First and Second Punic Wars.⁵²⁹ The figure occurs concurrently with the introduction of a new legend on the coins: ROMA gradually replaces the older ROMANO legend.⁵³⁰ The legend, however, is not useful in identifying the figure as Roma, as it appears on a number of coins where the figure is not present.⁵³¹ As the legend itself is not helpful, identifying the figure as Roma relies on two points: first, as all the evidence so far examined has indicated a Greek origin for the goddess, was there a Greek precedent that the Romans could have followed in representing this figure? Second, working with what little iconographic evidence a coin can provide, is there anything about the figure that would aid in its identification as Roma?



Figure 7: Pistis crowning Roma. From Locri in Southern Italy.⁵³²

In chapter one I discussed the possibility that Chios established *Romaia* in honour of Roma sometime between 267 and 200 BC, which would indicate that the notion of a deified Roma existed before the construction of her first temple in Smyrna in 195 BC. In Italy, after the Pyrrhic War, those cities who had sided with Pyrrhus against Rome now had to try and find ways to secure Roman favour. Locri, one of Pyrrhus' former allies, had a pro-Roman government placed in power⁵³³ which issued a series of didrachms that depict a seated Roma being crowned by Pistis (Fig. 7).⁵³⁴ When this particular series was minted is itself a matter of debate. Mellor disagrees with the dating of the coin's issue to the aftermath of the Pyrrhic War, preferring to date it after the Second Punic War.⁵³⁵ Crawford argues a date after the Second Punic War is too late, but does not give any explanation.⁵³⁶ The dating to the aftermath of the Pyrrhic War, however, would seem more suitable. Locri needed to cement its relationship with Rome and, as we have seen in the later paean to Flamininus, the Greeks

⁵²⁹ Crawford (1974), 41.

⁵³⁰ Sutherland (1974), 33.

⁵³¹ See, for example, Crawford (1985), 50.

⁵³² Head (1911), 104.

⁵³³ Lomas (1993), 56.

⁵³⁴ BM *PCG* V C 14, Crawford (1985), 33.

⁵³⁵ Mellor (1975), 109.

⁵³⁶ Crawford (1974), 724, n. 4.

were aware of the importance the Romans placed on the *fides* between themselves and their allies. Whilst the settlements reached between Rome and the states of Magna Graecia following the Pyrrhic War are very poorly documented,⁵³⁷ and it is therefore difficult to know exactly what agreement was reached between Rome and Locri, what is important to note is that this coin presents Locri's own view of its relationship with Rome.⁵³⁸ Given that the Locrians had alternated between being allies and enemies of Rome several times during the course of the war,⁵³⁹ any act of benevolence shown to the city by the Romans in the post-war settlements would have been interpreted as an act of *fides*.⁵⁴⁰ The relations between Rome and Locri during this time mean that it is plausible to argue for dating the coin issue to this period. It also shows that a concept of a personified Roma existed in Magna Graecia relatively early on in Rome's rise to power in the Mediterranean. Rome's interactions with the cities of Magna Graecia were also the catalyst for the adoption of Greek customs in Rome,⁵⁴¹ and it is certainly possible that the personified Roma was one aspect of Greek culture that the Romans adopted and began to employ on their own coin issues.



Figure 8: Helmeted head of Roma. Post-211 BC.⁵⁴²



Figure 9: Obverse of helmeted Roma with Victoria on the reverse attaching a wreath to a palm branch. 265-242 BC.⁵⁴³

The issue of the iconography of the helmeted figure, who is depicted wearing a winged Phrygian helmet,⁵⁴⁴ also requires attention. If the figure is Roma then the helmet is perfectly understandable, given that she was usually depicted as a martial goddess. Mellor has argued that, because the helmet is Phrygian, it may mean that the figure is Rhome,⁵⁴⁵ an eponymous Trojan captive found in certain Greek foundation myths that attempt to explain the name of

⁵³⁷ Lomas (1993), 52.

⁵³⁸ Dmitriev (2011), 249.

⁵³⁹ Dio 10.6.

⁵⁴⁰ Dmitriev (2011), 249.

⁵⁴¹ Lomas (1995), 348.

⁵⁴² Crawford (1974), 158, 54/1.

⁵⁴³ Ibid., 138, 22/1.

⁵⁴⁴ Grueber (1970), 14, Crawford (1974), 722.

⁵⁴⁵ Mellor (1981), 975.

Rome.⁵⁴⁶ This, however, seems unlikely, as the Romans themselves did not adopt the figure of Rhome in their own foundation myths.⁵⁴⁷ Crawford suggests that the use of the Phrygian helmet is merely an artistic embellishment that does not serve to identify the figure. I, however, am more inclined to give greater weight to his suggestion that the helmet reflects an early Roman notion of their Trojan ancestry.⁵⁴⁸ The main issue with the iconography is that the helmet itself is winged (e.g. Fig. 8). Like the style of the helmet itself, these wings must have some iconographic significance. The only goddess whose iconography is known to have included both armour and wings is Victoria.⁵⁴⁹ Victoria had been worshipped in Rome since at least 294 BC when a cult was dedicated to her during the Samnite Wars by L. Postumius Megellus.⁵⁵⁰ The figure on the coins, however, cannot be Victoria as Victoria appears on different coin issues alongside her (Fig. 9). Also from the period of the First Punic War is a didrachm issue with the helmeted figure on the obverse and Victoria on the reverse.⁵⁵¹

Based on the evidence available, it is reasonable to suggest that the helmeted figure can be identified as a personified Roma. The Locrian coin provides a Greek precedent for this kind of depiction, which the Romans could have been familiar with; this is in keeping with a Greek origin for the goddess consistent with all the evidence so far discussed. The Phrygian helmet worn by the figure may show a Roman adaptation of the personification to suit their own cultural context, while the wings may suggest that the Romans borrowed some of Victoria's iconography and applied it to this new personification.⁵⁵² Given that the early coins were minted either during or just after the First Punic War, a synthesis of the personification of Rome with elements suggestive of victory would make perfect sense.

Working on the hypothesis that the figure in question is Roma, for the purposes of this thesis what now needs to be examined is her usage alongside representations of deified abstractions.

⁵⁴⁶ For a discussion and sources behind the various myths of the Trojan Rhome, see Mellor (1975), 17-19.

⁵⁴⁷ Crawford (1974), 722.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 722, n. 2. The development of the Trojan foundation myth for Rome is dealt with in detail by Erskine (2001), providing an overview of both Greek and Roman evidence for the myth, as well as the vital role of Magna Graecia in transmitting the myth from a Greek to a Roman audience. Cf. Gruen (1992), 6-51, esp. 26-29.

⁵⁴⁹ Meyboom (1995), 160.

⁵⁵⁰ Livy 10.33.9. The Romans also identified another more archaic goddess, Vica Pota, with Victoria (*Asc. Pis.* 52). Livy (2.7.12) mentions that her temple was on the Velia. The temple was most likely founded during the period 292-219 BC, while the festival of the goddess took place on 5 January (Ziolkowski (1992), 171). Cicero, (*Leg.* 2.11.28) derives her name from *vicendi* and *potiundi*. If this etymology is correct, as Ogilvie (1965), 251 and Dyck (2004), 334 suggest, it must be remembered that Vica Pota was a goddess *of* victory, while Victoria was the deified form of the concept.

⁵⁵¹ Crawford (1985), 42, Fears (1981a), 775.

⁵⁵² Hölscher (1967), 75, also identifies the figure accompanying Victoria as Roma.

We need to examine when they were issued in order to see what link, if any, existed between the personified Rome and the concepts that were so important to the religious and cultural life of the city.



Figure 10: Obverse of helmeted Roma. Reverse with Victoria in a biga. 157-156 BC.⁵⁵³



Figure 11: Denarius reverse. Roma seated on shields, crowned by Victoria. 96 BC.⁵⁵⁴

Given the early associations of Roma and Victoria, it is not surprising that Victoria is the deified abstraction most commonly found on coins that feature Roma during the Republican period. One particular representation, which features an obverse of Roma and a reverse of Victoria in a *biga* (Fig. 10), was minted regularly down to the late Republic. This first issue is thought to commemorate the Romans' victory at the Battle of Pydna and Rome's growing power in the Mediterranean.⁵⁵⁵ While such representations were fairly common down to the end of the second century BC,⁵⁵⁶ from the first century there are a number of representations of Victoria crowning Roma (Fig. 11). Here Roma is depicted as being seated on a pile of armour; this iconography was later used on the Roma panel of the *Ara Pacis*⁵⁵⁷ and on the altar of the Julian *gens* in Carthage.⁵⁵⁸ The pairing of Roma and Victoria could also be used to celebrate past victories that were associated with particular families. A similar issue,⁵⁵⁹ again depicting a seated Roma being crowned by Victoria, was minted in 59 BC by a M. Nonius Sufenas. The legend on the reverse identifies Sufenas as a descendant of Sextus Nonius Sufenas,⁵⁶⁰ Sulla's nephew, and the man who instituted the *Ludi Victoriae Sullae*, games in honour of Sulla's victory over the Samnites, in 81 BC.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵³ Crawford (1974), 244, 197/1b.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 333, 335/1a.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 721, followed by Woytek (2012), 325.

⁵⁵⁶ See, for example, Crawford (1974), 327, 324/1.

⁵⁵⁷ Discussed in the previous chapter.

⁵⁵⁸ Discussed later in this chapter.

⁵⁵⁹ Crawford (1974), 445, 421/1.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 445.

⁵⁶¹ Vell. Pat. 2.27.6, Keaveney (1982), 190.

The worship of *Libertas*, another deified abstraction commonly represented alongside *Roma*, is a debated matter. Livy records that a temple to *Libertas* on the Aventine had been built during the Second Punic War by the father of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.⁵⁶² Augustus, in the *Res Gestae*,⁵⁶³ and a number of the *fasti*, record that the temple was actually dedicated to Jupiter *Libertas*.⁵⁶⁴ This confusion in the ancient sources has led to the notion that, so far as this temple is concerned, Jupiter *Libertas* and *Libertas* were virtually interchangeable.⁵⁶⁵ This notion is erroneous, as the two divinities embodied two distinct types of liberty: Jupiter was associated with the liberty of the Roman state, while *Libertas* represented the liberty of the individual, particularly with regard to the distinction between a freedman and a slave.⁵⁶⁶ Rather than there being confusion in the sources as to which divinity the temple belonged, numismatic evidence would suggest that the temple was dedicated to Jupiter *Libertas*, and that both he and *Libertas* had statues in the temple, and both were the subject of worship.⁵⁶⁷ This evidence shows that *Libertas* was the recipient of cult in Rome, albeit not in her own temple, before her image was first used in conjunction with *Roma* on coins.



Figure 12: Obverse with Helmeted *Roma*. Reverse with *Libertas* riding in a quadriga. 126 BC.⁵⁶⁸



Figure 13: Obverse with helmeted *Roma*. Reverse with *Libertas* riding in a quadriga. 125 BC.⁵⁶⁹

One particular issue, dated to 126 BC (Fig. 12), depicts *Roma* on the obverse and *Libertas* in a *quadriga* on the reverse. Behind *Roma*'s head is a voting urn, which has been taken to allude to the passing of the *Lex Cassia tabellaria* in 137 BC.⁵⁷⁰ The four *Leges Tabellariae*, passed between 139 and 107 BC, provided for the introduction of a secret ballot, while the

⁵⁶² Livy 24.16.19.

⁵⁶³ *RG* 19.2.

⁵⁶⁴ Ziolkowski (1992), 85.

⁵⁶⁵ See Clark (2007), 22.

⁵⁶⁶ Fears (1981b), 870. For the painting depicting the freed slaves following their manumission by Gracchus see Livy 24.16.18-19, with discussion by Koortbojian (2002).

⁵⁶⁷ Fears (1981b), 870, no. 180. This is based on a *denarius* in Crawford (1974), 405, 391/2. This argument is followed by Ziolkowski (1992), 86.

⁵⁶⁸ Crawford (1974), 290, 266/1.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 293, 270/1.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 290.

Lex Cassia specifically dealt with trials that were brought before the People.⁵⁷¹ These laws were passed in the name of the people's *libertas*.⁵⁷² Similarly, a separate issue dated to 125 BC, depicting an obverse with the head of Roma and a reverse with *Libertas* being crowned by *Victoria* (Fig. 13), was issued to commemorate the *Leges Porciae de provocatione*.⁵⁷³ These laws enacted the right of appeal for Roman citizens, imposing heavy fines on anyone found guilty of summarily executing a Roman.⁵⁷⁴ These particular series associate Roma with the concept of the *libertas* of the Roman People, which is in keeping with the goddess *Libertas*' religious function as the guarantor of individual liberty.

As with the coinage representing *Victoria*, these issues were used to advertise a family's connection⁵⁷⁵ to the passing of the laws and their role in the protection of Roman *libertas*. This association between Roma and the *populares*' view of their liberty continued to be depicted on Roman coinage for a protracted period of time, and later included images of *Venus* alongside Roma.⁵⁷⁶ The Roman People were keen to emphasise the importance they placed on their personal *libertas*.⁵⁷⁷ An issue dated to 48 BC (Fig. 14), featuring *Libertas* on the obverse and a seated Roma on the reverse, is another example of the associations between both *Libertas* the deity and *libertas* the concept with the personified representation of the Roman state.



Figure 14: Obverse with bust of *Libertas*. Reverse with Roma seated on shields, crowned by *Victoria*. 48 BC.⁵⁷⁸



Figure 15: Obverse with heads of *Honos* and *Virtus*. Reverse with *Italia* and *Roma* clasping hands. 70 BC.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷¹ Wirszubski (1960), 20.

⁵⁷² Cic. *Leg.* 3.39. See Wirszubski (1960), 50 for discussion of the importance of these laws.

⁵⁷³ Crawford (1974), 293.

⁵⁷⁴ Livy 10.9.4. See Botsford (1909), 250-253 for a summary of the three laws concerned.

⁵⁷⁵ The moneyers were a certain C. Cassius and M. Porcius Laeca, respectively.

⁵⁷⁶ Crawford (1974), 405-406, 391/3.

⁵⁷⁷ E.g. Caes. *B Civ.* 1.22.

⁵⁷⁸ Crawford (1974), 465, 449/4.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 413, 403/1.

The final deified abstractions I wish to discuss alongside Roma on coinage are Honos and Virtus, whose worship and cults were discussed in the previous chapter. An issue (Fig. 15), with an obverse containing the heads of Honos and Virtus and a reverse with Italia and Roma clasping hands, was most likely minted to commemorate the reconciliation of Rome and her Italian allies following the Social War and the census of 70 BC.⁵⁸⁰ The iconography of this issue is important in that the depiction of Roma mirrors the iconography of Virtus, and Italia that of Honos.⁵⁸¹ These parallels are interesting because *virtus*, the concept, is specifically a martial attribute, and Virtus a specifically martial deity.⁵⁸² This shared iconography of the two suggests that, in terms of their characteristics, the Romans conceived of Roma and Virtus in similar terms.

Whilst numismatic remains provide the bulk of the evidence for the existence of a personified Roma under the Republic, there are several scattered examples of the city being personified in Roman literature. The best representation of it comes from Cicero, who describes Roma greeting him as he returns to Rome from exile:

...when Roma herself seemed to dislodge herself from her fixed abode
and go forth to embrace her saviour.⁵⁸³

The use of the word *Roma* to designate the state or its people is uncommon in Latin literature: *res publica*, *populus Romanus* or *civitas* served as better collectives for the State.⁵⁸⁴ It is only in the age of Cicero that *Roma* begins to be commonly used in a collective sense,⁵⁸⁵ although this usage is not entirely without precedent. The earliest use of *Roma* as a collective comes from a quote of Ennius, also contained in Cicero, who presents Scipio Africanus as ordering Roma to halt her enemies.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁰ Crawford (1974), 413, Richardson (1978a), 245.

⁵⁸¹ Richardson (1978a), 245. For similarities in the iconography of Roma and Virtus, cf. Crawford (1974), 329, 329/1a, who identifies the figures on the obverse as Roma and the Genius Populi Romani, while Richardson identifies the figures as Honos and Virtus.

⁵⁸² McDonnell (2006), 211.

⁵⁸³ Cic. *Pis.* 52. Juvenal (10.122) also quotes from Cicero's poem *Consulatus Suus*, where he uses Roma to symbolise the Roman state.

⁵⁸⁴ Mellor (1981), 973.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 973.

⁵⁸⁶ Cic. *Fin.* 2. 32.106: *Desine, Roma, tuos hostes...*

The surviving body of evidence, primarily numismatic and supplemented by a few literary examples, allows us to draw several conclusions regarding the Romans' use of Roma during the Republican period. Rather than being a generalised personification of the state, Roma came to represent several key qualities that were highly regarded by the Romans (*libertas*, *virtus* etc.). Towards the end of the Republic, this role further expanded as she came to represent the people of Rome as a collective unit. This understanding of Roma underlines the fact that the Romans had at least a nominal notion of the characteristics and attributes that had been developed for her by the Greeks, and that these notions were largely in agreement with one another.

Why the Romans did not Worship Roma

As Roma had been personified during the Republic and her characteristics were similar to those exhibited in the east, it is necessary to examine why the Romans did not offer her cult, particularly since she was often associated with abstractions that had been granted divine status. The reason for this, I believe, is twofold: first, because the Romans already had specific deities that fulfilled her function and, second, the role and function that had been established in the east would serve no purpose in Rome itself.

In chapters one and two I discussed the role of Roma as a deified embodiment of the Roman state and its presence in the Greek-speaking east. In Rome, by contrast, this function was already fulfilled by the collective *Genius* of the Roman People. The concept of the *genius* is one that stems from archaic Roman religious thought and originally was conceived of as an individual's guardian spirit.⁵⁸⁷ The first instance of a collective Roman *Genius* appears in Livy when sacrifices are offered to it as part of the expiatory rites of 218/7 BC.⁵⁸⁸ Although Livy does not mention an epithet to qualify the specific role of this *genius*, it is typically taken to represent the *Genius Publicus*,⁵⁸⁹ which had a festival on the Capitol on 9 October.⁵⁹⁰ This collective *Genius* was modelled on the Athenians' cult of the Demos;⁵⁹¹ as we have seen, Roma was frequently worshipped alongside the Athenian Demos. Dio also mentions a

⁵⁸⁷ Censor. *DN* 2, MacCormack (1975), 134.

⁵⁸⁸ Livy 21.62.9.

⁵⁸⁹ Fears (1978), 282 and (1981b), 851, Fishwick (1987), 52.

⁵⁹⁰ Weinstock (1971), 206.

⁵⁹¹ See Fears (1978), *passim*.

Genius Populi Romani who had a shrine on the Capitol near the temple of Concordia,⁵⁹² which may have been conceptually identical to the *Genius Publicus*.⁵⁹³ The worship of the *Genius Publicus/Genius Populi Romani*, therefore, had its origins in the Mid-Republic. In addition the Romans also recognised a *Genius Urbis Romae*, which had a shield dedicated to it on the Capitol with the archaic formula *sive mas, sive femina*.⁵⁹⁴ Whilst this *genius* may be a later addition to the recognised powers of Rome and its people,⁵⁹⁵ taken as a whole, these *genii* presented the Romans with a more traditional method by which they could absorb the Hellenistic concept of ruler cult.⁵⁹⁶ As the Romans had already adapted an existing religious concept to accommodate the foreign notion of ruler cult, there was no need to adopt an additional foreign deity to fulfil the same purpose.

Appropriately for a martial divinity, Roma's worship in the east was associated with regions that fell under Roman control. The Romans, however, could not be their own benefactors, saviours etc. as Roma had been to the various peoples in the east; this would have rendered her primary characteristics wholly unnecessary in a Roman context. When Hadrian introduced the worship of Roma to Rome he did so by making the goddess more understandable to the population of the city. Rather than the Roma that represented Rome's dominion over her provinces, Roma *Aeterna* symbolised the eternity of the city, and the temple's consecration was likely linked to the newly celebrated *Natalis Romae*.⁵⁹⁷ That Roma shared the temple with Venus Felix would have associated her with the mythological history of the Romans' ancestry (through Venus Genetrix).⁵⁹⁸ The iconography of Roma's cult-statue also took on more distinctive Roman elements: numismatic evidence suggests that the seated Roma held an image of the Palladium.⁵⁹⁹

That Roma was conceptualised differently by the Romans than by the Greeks is also evident from the language used in the few scattered references to foundations of the goddess' cult during the Republican period. For the Greeks she was *thea* Roma; Tacitus, however, refers to

⁵⁹² Dio 47.2.3, 50.8.2.

⁵⁹³ Weinstock (1971), 206.

⁵⁹⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 2.351.

⁵⁹⁵ MacCormack (1975), 140.

⁵⁹⁶ Fears (1978), 286. Cf. Gradel (2002), 136, who views the cult of the *Genius Populi Romani* as a way for the Romans to conceptualise a *paterfamilias* of the State.

⁵⁹⁷ Fishwick (1987), 201. Hadrian also planned to remodel the Colossus of Nero and rededicate it to Sol, while a similar statue of Luna was to be built and placed near the temple, the combination of the sun and the moon symbolising eternity (SHA *Hadr.* 19.13 with Mellor (1981), 1022).

⁵⁹⁸ Mellor (1981), 1022.

⁵⁹⁹ Vermeule (1959), 36.

the temple at Smyrna as a *templum urbis Romae*.⁶⁰⁰ Livy also refers to the temple at Alabanda as a *templum urbis Romae*. For the games in honour of Roma at Alabanda, however, Livy specifically refers to *urbs Roma* as *diva*,⁶⁰¹ showing that he did recognise the divine status accorded to Roma by the Greeks. Later, in reference to the temple of Venus and Roma built by Hadrian, the author of the *Vita Hadriani* refers to the temple as *templum Urbis*.⁶⁰² This perception of Roma is also visible in Cicero's description, discussed above, where he envisions the city personified coming out to meet him. A similar differentiating can be seen in Dio and Suetonius' account of a dream of Q. Catulus. In the dream, Catulus sees Jupiter Optimus Maximus give a statue to a young Octavian. Dio states that this was a statue of Roma,⁶⁰³ while Suetonius states that the statue was of the Republic.⁶⁰⁴ Since the Romans could not understand or conceptualise Roma in the same way the Greeks did, they instead adapted her character to become a personified, and later deified, form of the city itself. This understanding, in turn, further aids the identification of the helmeted figure on Republican coin issues as Roma since, although they themselves did not worship the goddess, the Romans saw no inherent flaw in foreign peoples worshipping a deified abstraction representative of their city.

Augustus, Roma and the deified virtues

If, then, the Romans during the Republic used the worship of the *Genius Populi Romani* to offer cult to the collective Roman people, how then are we to interpret the worship of Roma alongside Augustus in the western provinces of the Empire? I conjecture that, in the western imperial cult, Roma functions similarly to a deified abstraction. Before turning to the foundations of the imperial cult in the west I will briefly look at several deified abstractions that Augustus used to advertise the benefits of his rule to use as comparative material.

⁶⁰⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 4.56.

⁶⁰¹ Livy 43.6.5.

⁶⁰² SHA *Hadr.* 19.13. The cult statue of Roma Aeterna, however, was of the seated Roma type familiar from coin issues and a similar representation on the Ara Pacis. See Vermeule (1959), 35-36.

⁶⁰³ Dio 45.2.3: ...εικόνα τῆς Ῥώμης...

⁶⁰⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 94.8: ...*signum rei publicae*...



Figure 16: Marble copy of the *clupeus virtutis* from Arles. 26 BC.⁶⁰⁵

Perhaps the best example of Augustus' association with various virtues is the *clupeus virtutis*. In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus records that the shield was granted to him by the Senate and People in honour of his *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia* and *pietas* in 27 BC.⁶⁰⁶ These four virtues formed part of the official imagery that Augustus used to define both his character as *princeps*, and the new conditions evident in Rome that had been brought about by his position.⁶⁰⁷ Nearly two years before this, on 28 August 29 BC, Augustus had erected an altar⁶⁰⁸ and statue of Victoria in celebration of his victories in Egypt in the Curia Julia.⁶⁰⁹ The shield was set up near the altar and statue of Victoria⁶¹⁰ and the association of the shield and its attendant virtues and the goddess Victoria expressed through a wide variety of media, particularly coin issues, from across the empire.⁶¹¹ Copies of the shield, such as the one from Arles (Fig. 16), were also set up in a number of different cities.⁶¹²

The four virtues celebrated on the shield all had religious overtones, as three of them were the recipient of cult in Rome at the time the shield was set up. The worship of Virtus, usually in association with Honos, has already been discussed. A temple to Pietas had been vowed by

⁶⁰⁵ Zanker (1990), 95.

⁶⁰⁶ *RG* 34.2.

⁶⁰⁷ Fears (1981), 889-890 lists Victoria, Pax, Fortuna Redux, Virtus, Clementia, Iustitia and Pietas as seven virtues that Augustus used as a part of his official imagery. For the argument that these virtues do not represent a 'canon' based on Greek philosophical thought, see Wallace-Hadrill (1981), *passim*.

⁶⁰⁸ *ILS* 8744.

⁶⁰⁹ Dio 51.22.1-2.

⁶¹⁰ Fishwick (1987), 111.

⁶¹¹ See Zanker (1990), 97 and Cooley (2009), 267-269.

⁶¹² Zanker (1990), 95.

Manius Acilius Glabrio during the battle of Thermopylae in 191 BC and was dedicated ten years later in the Forum Holitorium.⁶¹³ The *pietas* invoked in this temple's foundation is related to Rome's duty to protect its allies, which justified the war with Antiochus III.⁶¹⁴ The temple was destroyed by Julius Caesar in 44 BC to lay the foundations for what would later become the Theatre of Marcellus.⁶¹⁵ The worship of *Clementia* was a more recent addition to the circle of deified abstractions. In 45 BC the Senate voted to build a temple to *Clementia Caesaris*, although what form this temple was to take is disputed by the ancient authors. Appian⁶¹⁶ and Dio⁶¹⁷ record that the temple was to be dedicated to both *Clementia Caesaris* and Julius Caesar. Plutarch,⁶¹⁸ however, mentions only a temple to *Clementia*. Whilst the temple was depicted on a coin issue of 44 BC,⁶¹⁹ it is unlikely that it was actually built.⁶²⁰ Of the four virtues listed on the *clupeus*, only *iustitia* had not been deified at the time the Senate voted the shield to Augustus, but was granted a cult in AD 13 in honour of Tiberius' triumph of the Pannonians.⁶²¹ *Iustitia* was closely associated with the notion of the *bellum iustum*,⁶²² and Augustus was very careful to emphasise the fact that he had never undertaken a war that was unjust.⁶²³ The virtues on display in the Curia Julia were used to exhibit both Augustus' character and the way in which he conducted himself as a leader. By acting in accordance with these virtues he had successfully defeated the enemies of Rome and ushered in a new era of peace.

The virtues on the *clupeus virtutis* were only some of deified abstractions that began to take on imperial associations.⁶²⁴ The epithet *Augusta*, which was applied to a number of them, is equally important. The word *augustus*, as used under the Republic, denoted something that

⁶¹³ Livy 40.34.4-5.

⁶¹⁴ Fears (1981b), 865. There are, broadly speaking, two types of *pietas*: the first, of which this is an example, is *pietas erga deos*, which bound the Romans to the gods and, by extension, their obligations to their allies (see, for example, Diod. Sic. 28.3). The other is *pietas erga parentes*, which is perhaps best exemplified by the story in Pliny (*HN* 7.121) and Valerius Maximus (5.4.7). The story of a daughter feeding her imprisoned mother from her own breasts was later connected to this temple (Festus 228L).

⁶¹⁵ Dio 43.49.3 with Plin. *HN* 7.121. It is possible that Caesar moved the temple to a different location, as the *fasti* appear to indicate. See Richardson (1992), 290.

⁶¹⁶ App. *B Civ.* 2.106.

⁶¹⁷ Dio 44.6.4.

⁶¹⁸ Plut. *Caes.* 57.3.

⁶¹⁹ See Crawford (1974), 491, 480/21.

⁶²⁰ Weinstock (1971), 309, Whittaker (1996), 89. Konstan (2005), *passim* provides an excellent overview of the way in which Caesar's clemency would have been viewed by the Roman people in contrast to the more standard argument that clemency was disliked because of its supposed monarchical overtones.

⁶²¹ Ov. *Pont.* 2.1.25-34, 3.6.23-26. Degrassi 392: *Signum Iustitiae Augus[tae... Ti. Caesar dedicavit Planco et Silio co(n)s(ilibus)]*.

⁶²² Weinstock (1971), 243-245, Lott (1996), 268-269.

⁶²³ E.g. *RG* 26.2-3.

⁶²⁴ As discussed in the previous chapter, *Fortuna*, *Pax* and *Concordia* all took on Augustan overtones.

was inherently divine. When used to describe one of the deified abstractions, the epithet *Augusta* served a dual purpose in that it simultaneously enhanced both the *princeps* and the virtue concerned.⁶²⁵ The implication is that these are both states that are brought about by Augustus, as well as characteristics of Augustus which are divinely ordained.

The grant of the *clupeus virtutis* was important in aiding Augustus' definition of the principate and his role in it. The majority of the virtues listed on the shield had a well-established history of divinity and worship in Rome. These deified virtues, along with several newly introduced ones, all took on Augustan overtones and continued to help define both Augustus' character and his position in Rome for the duration of his reign. This information will now be used as comparative material to see whether similar associations were taken over by Roma in the imperial cult centres of the western provinces.

The Imperial Cult in the West

The inclusion of Roma in a number of western imperial cult centres served a different purpose to that found in the east. Unlike in the east, where her worship was well-established before the reign of Augustus, the western provinces of the Empire had neither a precedent for worshipping her nor a ruler. This indicates a deliberate choice on Augustus' behalf to insist on her inclusion, the purpose of which will be the primary focus of the following discussion. The purpose of the following discussion is not to discuss the imperial cult *per se*, but rather to focus on several select sites where Roma's inclusion is either firmly attested or can be placed beyond reasonable doubt, as a means of identifying characteristics of the goddess in the context of the western imperial cult.

The earliest imperial cult centre to Roma and Augustus in the western provinces of the empire was the Altar of the Three Gauls in Lugdunum on the confluence of the Saône and Rhône. The altar was inaugurated by Augustus' stepson, Drusus, in 12 BC⁶²⁶ as a means of placating the Gallic elite during the unrest caused by the census taking place in the province. The altar was to serve a dual purpose: first, to service the imperial cult and the worship of the emperor, and second to serve as an assembly point for various delegates from the three Gallic

⁶²⁵ Fears (1981), 888-889.

⁶²⁶ Livy *Per.* 139. Suet. *Claud.* 2 states that the altar was founded in 10 BC, the same year that the emperor Claudius was born. Being contemporary with the event, it is more likely that Livy's date is the correct one. See Fishwick (1987), 98-99 and (1996).

provinces.⁶²⁷ In regulating such an assembly, Drusus was building on an already established practice of representatives from the different provinces meeting, a practice that was in existence when Julius Caesar subjugated Gaul.⁶²⁸

As Drusus inaugurated the cult at Lugdunum, it is likely that Augustus himself had either planned or outlined its initiation himself.⁶²⁹ When the first cults to Roma and Augustus in Asia and Bithynia were established, Augustus outlined the form his worship in the east should take; the inclusion of Roma created a cult that was far more modest than what the Greeks had originally offered him. The inclusion of Roma in the west, along with the precedence her name took in the cult's titulature, had similar motivations: by nominally making Roma the dominant member of the pairing, Augustus was able to receive honours alongside her without expressly presenting himself as a god.⁶³⁰ This is also helpful in explaining the comparatively few sites where the worship of Roma is firmly attested: her introduction and worship was largely limited to those centres that functioned on the provincial level and had been organised with the input of either Augustus or a member of the imperial family. Her presence, however, helped to portray the message Augustus wanted to present to the provincial elite. The Gallic assembly that met at the altar had very little power in terms of the provincial government, so the altar acted as a means of simultaneously unifying the members of the elite while keeping the Roman government informed of any matters of importance.⁶³¹ The altar served as a reminder that what power and prominence its members did have was owed to Rome and its *princeps*.

As with the imperial cult centres in the east, the ancient authors do not mention that Roma was included at Lugdunum alongside Augustus. Numismatic evidence bearing the legend ROM. ET AUG., however, is certain proof that the goddess was included in this imperial cult centre. According to Livy the first priest (*sacerdos*) was a C. Julius Vercondaridubnus.⁶³² The Gallic Julii were descendants of families that had served under Julius Caesar during his campaigns in Gaul and, to a lesser extent, under Octavian during the period of the Civil Wars.⁶³³ That Vercondaridubnus' name survives in the brief epitome of Livy's book 139

⁶²⁷ Dio 54.32.1.

⁶²⁸ Christopherson (1968), 353, Fishwick (1987), 100-101.

⁶²⁹ Christopherson (1968), 352, Woolf (1998), 216.

⁶³⁰ Fishwick (1987), 129. Cf. Mellor (1981), 984-985.

⁶³¹ Christopherson (1968), 353-354.

⁶³² Livy *Per.* 139.

⁶³³ Drinkwater (1978), 824-831.

would suggest that either the priesthood or the man himself received a more detailed treatment in the original work.⁶³⁴ The term of office for this priesthood was a year and was structured in this way to ensure that as many members of the Gallic elite as possible were given an opportunity to hold it and express their loyalty, and that of their respective province, to Rome and Augustus.⁶³⁵ During the reign of Hadrian, the imperial cult of Lugdunum appears to have been expanded and centred on a *templum Romae et Augustorum*, and the focus of the cult shifted from Roma and Augustus to Roma and the collective *divi* of previous emperors.⁶³⁶



Figure 17: Sestertius of Augustus with reverse of the Altar at Lugdunum. c. 2 BC – AD 14.⁶³⁷

So far as the altar itself is concerned, in the absence of any archaeological evidence, numismatic evidence must be used to best recreate the structure's appearance. Coins from the reign of Augustus and Tiberius (e.g. Fig. 17) show the altar on the reverse.⁶³⁸ The decorations on the altar are a central civic crown flanked by laurel trees. On the altar, in the centre, were two *aediculae*, which presumably held representations of Roma and Augustus. The altar was flanked by columns supporting two statues of Victoria holding a victory crown.⁶³⁹ Such images are standard pieces of Augustan iconography, which recall the honours he received in 27 BC,⁶⁴⁰ and the importance of both the concept and goddess Victoria in Augustan ideology have already been stressed. Strabo, the only ancient author who describes the altar in any detail, mentions that it bore "...an inscription of the names of the tribes, sixty in number; and

⁶³⁴ Drinkwater (1978), 819.

⁶³⁵ Larsen (1955), 134.

⁶³⁶ Fishwick (1987), 308-316.

⁶³⁷ Ibid., Pl. XI, b.

⁶³⁸ Fishwick (2002), 112-113 convincingly argues that the altar coins do depict the altar itself rather than the precinct walls, which has been argued by other scholars.

⁶³⁹ Ibid., 10.

⁶⁴⁰ Severy (2003), 117.

also images from these tribes, one from each tribe...”;⁶⁴¹ this list would presumably have been inscribed on the side of the altar.⁶⁴² The statues of the tribes most likely stood slightly apart from the altar, perhaps in an adjacent grove.⁶⁴³

In addition to the Gallic provincial cult centred on Lugdunum, there existed a number of municipal-level sites for the imperial cult. One of these, from Arles, may indicate that Roma and Julius Caesar were worshipped alongside one another in the west. This assertion rests on the reconstruction of an inscription that names T. Julius as *flamen Romae et [...]* *Caesar*[...].⁶⁴⁴ Certain scholars have argued that the lacuna before *Caesar* should be reconstructed with *Aug.*,⁶⁴⁵ in which case we are simply dealing with another priesthood of Roma and Augustus. Others, however, have noted that the lacuna’s size would also allow for a reconstruction that would render the office as *flamen Romae et divi Caesaris*.⁶⁴⁶ While such nomenclature for the deified Caesar is unusual, as his official title was *Divus Iulius*, not *Divus Caesar*,⁶⁴⁷ given that this was a municipal-level cult, confusion in Caesar’s title is not out of the question, and such a reconstruction indicates the possibility that the cult of Julius Caesar and Roma, initiated by Augustus in the east, was in some way followed in the west as well.

A similar cult centre to the one at Lugdunum was also established near what is now Cologne, although evidence for it relies on using various extracts from Tacitus. The first reference we have for the existence of the altar dates from AD 14, when a delegation from the Senate was sent to meet with Germanicus while he was campaigning along the Rhine.⁶⁴⁸ We know that the altar was in existence in AD 9 when its priest, Segimundus, abandoned his position to join the Germanies in revolt against Roman rule.⁶⁴⁹ That Tacitus refers to Segimundus as *sacerdos* of the altar might imply that it was instituted along similar lines to the one at Lugdunum and included the worship of Roma alongside Augustus.⁶⁵⁰ As Segimundus was a member of the

⁶⁴¹ Strabo 4.3.2.

⁶⁴² Fishwick (2002), 10.

⁶⁴³ Fishwick (1989), 111, on the assumption that Strabo’s mention of a second altar near the one under discussion is a result of the text being corrupt.

⁶⁴⁴ *CIL* 12.647.

⁶⁴⁵ E.g. Christol (1996), 307-312.

⁶⁴⁶ Weinstock (1971), 408, Fayer (1976), 217, Mellor (1981), 999, Fishwick (1987), 130, n. 234.

⁶⁴⁷ Whittaker (1996), 95.

⁶⁴⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 1.39.1.

⁶⁴⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 1.57.2.

⁶⁵⁰ Fishwick (2002), 20.

Cherusci tribe serving as *sacerdos* at the ‘Altar of the Ubii’,⁶⁵¹ it is possible that, like the altar at Lugdunum, this centre was intended to help unify the German tribes post-conquest,⁶⁵² with the priesthoods being given to members of the German aristocracy.⁶⁵³ The altar itself was most likely dedicated at some point between 12 BC and 9 BC by Drusus while he was present in the area. It is also possible that a statue of Drusus stood near the altar.⁶⁵⁴



Figure 18: Panel depicting Roma holding Victoria on the altar of the *gens Augusta* at Carthage.⁶⁵⁵

Whilst her role was primarily linked to the provincial cults of the provinces, there are a few scattered examples of Roma being included in the private worship of the emperor. The altar of the *gens Augusta* from Carthage, most likely Augustan in date,⁶⁵⁶ is the best example of this. Dedicated by P. Perellius Hedulus, the altar formed part of a larger complex to the Augustan *gens* that Hedulus had set up on private land and at private expense.⁶⁵⁷

The elaborate decorations on the altar draw heavily on iconography common during the Augustan principate. One panel depicts a man, most likely Hedulus, robed and pouring libations while accompanied by a procession. This was likely intended to mirror the processional frieze on the *Ara Pacis*.⁶⁵⁸ Another panel depicts Apollo seated on a griffin while holding a laurel branch towards a tripod; both the deity and symbolism employed were

⁶⁵¹ Tac. *Ann.* 1.57.2.

⁶⁵² Carroll (2001), 40.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶⁵⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 1.43 with Mellor (1981), 988.

⁶⁵⁵ Zanker (1990), 316.

⁶⁵⁶ Rives (1995), 53.

⁶⁵⁷ Ehrenberg and Jones (1955), 96 no. 135: *gentis Augustae P. Perellius Hedulus sac. perp. templum solo privato primus pecunia sua fecit.*

⁶⁵⁸ Brent (2010), 35.

linked to the *pax Augusta*.⁶⁵⁹ The third panel depicts Aeneas fleeing Troy while carrying Anchises and leading Ascanius by the hand. The image recalls the theme of familial *pietas* which Augustus had taken great care to cultivate as a part of his public persona.⁶⁶⁰ For our purposes, however, the most important aspect of this altar is the panel depicting Roma (Fig. 18). Probably modelled on the Roma panel on the *Ara Pacis*, Roma is depicted seated on a pile of armour while holding Victoria in her outstretched hand. Victoria holds a shield in her hands, a reference to the *clupeus virtutis*. Both Roma and Victoria face an altar that holds a globe, *cornucopia* and *caduceus*. These symbols are representative of the prosperity and world rule that were the result of Augustus' various military undertakings.⁶⁶¹ It is likely that the image was intended as a reduced form of the Roma and Pax panels on the *Ara Pacis*. Pax Augusta has been replaced by the symbols of peace,⁶⁶² while Roma and Victoria symbolise the military victories necessary to secure peace.

Hedulus was most likely a freedman who immigrated to Carthage during the reign of Augustus. After acquiring land in the city he had the shrine built at personal expense as a means of showing his devotion to the emperor,⁶⁶³ and styled himself *sacerdos perpetuus* of the cult. The shrine was an entirely private affair and did not function as an officially sanctioned municipal cult; it was intended to be a public display of both devotion to the emperor and Hedulus' social status within the community.⁶⁶⁴ The evidence does not suggest that Roma received worship alongside the *gens Augusta*, but the fact that her imagery was included at all is telling. As this was a purely private cult, Hedulus had free rein to employ whatever iconography he desired. That he chose to use Roma highlights quite clearly the association between her and Augustus during the early years of the imperial cult in the west.

⁶⁵⁹ Rives (1995), 54, Brent (2010), 35.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶⁶² Zanker (1990), 315.

⁶⁶³ Rives (1995), 56-57.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 56 n. 83 with Zanker (1990), 316-323.

The purpose of this thesis as a whole has been to establish whether or not Roma in the west can be classified as a deified virtue. The evolution and spread of her cult throughout the east from the Republican to the imperial periods showed her to be a goddess representative of Roman power, created to help the peoples of the east represent the new power that played an integral part of their day-to-day lives. Her worship in the west was slightly different: with no precedent for her worship in the Republican period, her introduction was firmly bound to select imperial cult sites initiated by Augustus and certain members of his family. This final discussion will now compare the characteristics of Θεά 'Ρώμη and Dea Roma in order to ascertain how best the goddess can be categorised in these two distinct religious contexts.

If we are to include Roma among the great number of Roman deified abstractions, we must first deduce whether the same can be done for her cult in the east. In the *Theogony*, Hesiod included a host of abstractions among his list of the gods. These included Eunomia (order), Dike (justice) and Eirene (peace),⁶⁶⁵ as well as a host of vices.⁶⁶⁶ Although this shows that the idea of personifying various virtues (and vices) had a long history, the number of those that were the recipient of actual cult were far fewer in number. As in Rome, these abstractions symbolised concepts important to the city-state in question. A good example is the deification of Demokratia, who was worshipped alongside Tyche and Eirene in Athens from the fourth century BC,⁶⁶⁷ and who received a joint altar with Demos in the first century BC.⁶⁶⁸ The primary problem with including Roma amongst the deified virtues of the east stems from what she is meant to represent. By their nature⁶⁶⁹ the deified abstractions embody, broadly, virtues or desired states of being. Rome, symbolised by Roma, is not a virtue, but a physical city. The personification of cities in literature had a long history as well,⁶⁷⁰ and several, such as Rhodes⁶⁷¹ and Megalopolis,⁶⁷² were deified. Roma cannot, however, be placed entirely in either of these two categories. Whilst Roma was associated with several Roman virtues, such as *pistis/fides*, the idea of 'Rome' and what it would have meant to different areas of the east

⁶⁶⁵ Hes. *Theog.* 901-906.

⁶⁶⁶ E.g. Hes. *Theog.* 211-228.

⁶⁶⁷ *IG II²* 1496.

⁶⁶⁸ *IG II²* 4992. On the cult of Demokratia, see Smith (2011), 124-126.

⁶⁶⁹ On which see Stafford (2000), 1-36.

⁶⁷⁰ For a discussion on the development of the personified city-state in literature, see Yatromanolakis (2005), *passim*.

⁶⁷¹ Fishwick (1987), 50.

⁶⁷² Paus. 8.30.10.

is far too broad a notion to state that she embodied a singular, cohesive concept. 'Rome' was not a desired state of being in the traditional sense, but rather a political reality. Equally, she cannot be classed as a city goddess for a number of reasons. The Greek city goddesses were symbolic of the physical city itself; the Tyche of a city oversaw its fortunes while its citizenry could be embodied in cults such as the Demos. Roma, however, did not simply represent the physical city, but encompassed a variety of different aspects related to the Romans, including the state, its citizenry, and aspects of its culture. Second, the honours she received in a number of instances were modelled on those given to the Hellenistic kings, indicating that the cults of the city goddesses did not serve as a model for the worship of Roma. In the east, therefore, it is best to understand Roma as an amalgamation of several different kinds of divinity: she was simultaneously a divine ruler, a manifestation of Roman beneficence, and a representation of the city of Rome, its people and its politics.

The character of Roma in the west, however, is very different to the one found in the east, and it is for this reason that I believe that understanding the nature of the goddess is enhanced by viewing her as a deified abstraction. Throughout the course of the Republican period, where she was employed as a personification of the city of Rome, she came to be associated with a number of deified abstractions through joint representations on a variety of different coin issues. As we have seen, a great number of these deified virtues developed Augustan overtones during the establishment of the principate. Likewise Roma, whose worship in the west was solely the result of undertakings by Augustus and his family, began to take on similar overtones. Fishwick is correct in stating that in this context Roma became, essentially, a new creation,⁶⁷³ but this can be taken a step further. Roma in the west during this period is not the representation of Roman power as she had been in the east, but rather the deified embodiment of Augustan Rome. As the deified virtues brought with them conditions that were made possible by Augustus' achievements, so Roma's presence in the western imperial cult embodied the benefits bestowed on the provinces by Augustan Rome. The Golden Age of Augustus was a very real state of being to the Romans and the people of the provinces in the aftermath of the civil wars, and it was Roma that came to be the deified form of this abstract concept.

⁶⁷³ Fishwick (1987), 127-129.

Conclusion

Throughout the course of this thesis I have discussed the evolving nature of the goddess Roma and the place of her cult in the eastern and western halves of the Roman Empire from the institution of her cult at the beginning of the second century BC down to the Augustan principate. In this discussion I have argued that the views of scholars such as Mellor, who view Roma as little more than a political tool and a by-product of Greek sycophancy, are untenable, and do little to aid our understanding of the continued worship of this goddess.

In the first chapter, by examining several select cult sites and drawing on a large body of epigraphic and literary evidence, I argued that Roma came to be central to the religious life of a number of Greek city-states. The institution of her cult was a means by which a city's inhabitants could offer thanks to the Romans, frequently by associating her worship with cults that were already well established, and often symbolic, of that particular city.

In the second chapter I examined the development of Roma's role in the imperial cult. This again was done by looking at selected sites for which there is a reasonable body of evidence. In order to ascertain her role in the cult, it was first necessary to understand how the emperor Augustus would have been perceived in a religious sense. This was done by examining several pieces of evidence relating to Augustus' portrayal of himself, with specific reference to the *Res Gestae*, and then applying these to his cult figure. In doing so it was established that the character of Roma, developed over the course of the Republican era, remained unchanged, with Augustus now acting as the guarantor of her functions.

In the third chapter I examined the role of several deified virtues in Rome itself. In this discussion I argued that the role of the deified virtues cannot simply be regarded as a carry-over of archaic religious thought. This view, much like the views relating to Roma, cannot explain why the Romans chose to continue with the worship of these deities, nor explain why, if their worship was not taken seriously, their number continued to expand over time. I concluded that their worship formed an integral part of Roman religious life as deities responsible for whatever specific power their name designated.

In the final chapter I discussed the development of the role of Roma in Rome and the western provinces. Here I examined her origins as a personification symbolic of the Roman state, along with her associations with various deified abstractions. I then examined her role in the western imperial cult, concluding that, where her worship was established, she took on specifically Augustan overtones. By means of comparison, I then concluded that the role of Roma in the west is best understood if we are to understand the goddess as being a deified abstraction symbolic of Augustan Rome and all its associated benefits.

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