(RE)PRESENTING EMPIRE:
THE ROMAN IMPERIAL CULT IN ASIA MINOR, 31 BC–AD 68

by

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For Lyndell.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

With minor deviations to avoid possible confusion, abbreviations will be those accepted in the following editions. For works of ancient authors, see Oxford Classical Dictionary (OCD), 3rd ed. (1996); For modern journals, series, and multivolume books, the following abbreviations are used:

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AjPh	*American Journal of Philology*
AMI	*Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
ANRW	*Aufsteig und Niedergang der Romischen Welt*
BCSMS	*Bulletin of the Canadian Society of Mesopotamian Studies*
BJS	*British Journal of Sociology*
CA	*Current Anthopology*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CQ	*Classics Quarterly*
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
Ist. Mitt.	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Instanbul*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSAH	*Journal of the Society of Architectual Historians*
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*
OGIS	*Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RendPontAcc	*Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

GLOSSARY

Acroterium: One of the small pedestals, for statues or other ornaments, placed on the apex and at the basal angles of a temple pediment.

Agora: A public square that often contained shops, open-air markets and municipal buildings used for civic government.

Assize Center: A city designated to host regular court sessions presided over by the provincial governor.

Aedile: A Roman official responsible for the maintenance of public buildings and the regulation of public festivals.

Caesareum: A temple dedicated to Julius Caesar, Augustus or one of the later Julio-Claudian emperors. Can also be applied more generally to any imperial cult temple.

Augusteum: Any temple or shrine dedicated to the emperor Augustus. Can also be applied more generally to any temple of the imperial cult.

Balustrade: A rail and the row of balusters or posts that support it, as along the front of a gallery or staircase.

Bucranium: A sculptured ornament, representing the head or skull of a sacrificed bull, which has been adorned with wreaths.

Capitolium: Any temple dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The name derives from the location of the first temple dedicated to the god, which stood on the Capitoline hill in Rome.

Cella: The inner room or sanctuary of an ancient Greek or Roman temple, in which the statue of the god was situated.

Chora: The surrounding territory controlled by a Greek city. This territory normally contained a plethora of separate small villages and towns.

Dolium: A large ceramic or stone vessel used to store wine, olive oil and other liquid perishables.

Euergatist: Literally, someone who does good works—much like a modern philanthropist. In the cities of Asia Minor, *euergatists* were typically aristocrats who funded the construction of buildings, festivals, and sacrifices in order to win prestige for themselves and their cities.

Genius: The personified spirit of a person, place or thing, which received divine worship. The concept is akin to the Sumerian *me*, Egyptian *ka* and Persian *fravashi*.

Gnomon: An object, such as the needle of a sundial that projects a shadow used as an indicator.

Loggia: An open-sided, roofed or vaulted gallery, either freestanding or along the front or side of a building, often at an upper level.

Neochoros and *Neochorate*: In the Augustan period, each of the Roman provinces in Asia Minor had one city designated as "*neokoros*," which translates loosely as "temple warden." The *neokoros* city was granted the honor of overseeing the imperial cult at a provincial level. This entailed, among other things, holding annual festivals, which were attended by delegates from cities throughout the province.

Pronaos: The area located in front the *cella* of a Graeco-Roman temple, which is usually occupied by a colonnaded porch.

Prostyle: Having a row of columns across the front only, as in some Greek and Roman temples.

Pteron: A raised colonnade or peristyle.

Sebasteion: A temple or shrine dedicated to one or more members of the imperial family.

Stoa: A Greek colonnaded walkway with a blank rear wall and sidewalls.

Temenos: The holy area around a temple, altar or shrine. Traditionally, a masonry wall or an inscribed set of boundary stones demarcated the *temenos* of a Graeco-Roman temple.

Tetrastyle: Having four columns.   In the case of a Roman temple, the word refers to the number of columns along the front of the porch.

CHAPTER ONE:

Introduction

During the Julio-Claudian period (31 BC–AD 68), the cities of Asia Minor (Fig.

1-2) erected a series of lavish temples dedicated to the worship of the Roman emperor.

These temples of the Roman imperial cult hosted a variety of rituals including animal

sacrifices and loyalty oaths performed on the emperor's behalf. Each temple was adorned

with an ornate sculptural program designed to articulate the legitimacy of Roman rule to

the people of Asia Minor. This dissertation explores the complex cultural processes that

led to the creation of these temples and their socio-political function within Anatolian

society. I argue that the ideological program of the Roman imperial cult was developed

through a close collaboration between the imperial administration and local elites living

in the cities of Asia Minor. These local elites acted as self-appointed cultural liaisons,

who translated the basic tenets of Roman imperial ideology into a visual language that

was easily intelligible to local viewers in their home communities. The end result of this

translation process was the creation of new, hybridized visual language of power that

integrated elements from a wide variety of representational traditions. This included not

only the art of Greece and Rome, but also that of the Achaemenid empire, which ruled

over Asia Minor from 546 to 333 BC. It is my contention that several key

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elements of the visual program of the Roman imperial cult were directly inspired by tropes first mobilized by the Persian king, Darius the Great (522–486 BC). For example, I argue in Chapter Four that the group of ethnic personifications adorning the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias directly recalls the tomb façade of Darius I at Naqsh-i Rustam, which also depicts a conceptually similar group of personifications meant to symbolize the physical and notional boundaries of the Persian empire. Creative emulations such as this one implicitly likened the power of the Roman emperor to that of the Persian 'King of Kings." They also helped to ensure that the ideological program of the Roman imperial cult was easily intelligible to local viewers in Asia Minor, who were more familiar with lingering representations of Persian art than the art of imperial Rome itself.

Modern scholars have traditionally dismissed the notion that 'Oriental' kingship played any substantive role in the development of the Roman imperial cult.[1] This categorical denial of Persian and Egyptian influence on the Roman imperial cult arises out of strong Orientalist bias, which continues to permeate much of classical scholarship.[2] It is important to note that scholars, such as G. Hölbl and F. Herklotz, have recently come to acknowledge the role that pharaonic traditions played in shaping the form and function of the Roman imperial cult in Egypt.[3] Unfortunately, however, there is no equivalent work (to my knowledge) currently being conducted in Asia Minor. It is not within the purview of my current study to measure the full extent of Egyptian influence on the

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[1] See, e.g., Price 1984b, 25-26 and 77ff; Fishwick 1987, 2.
[2] Said 1979; Bernal 1987.
[3] Hölbl 2001; Herklotz 2007.

Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor.[4] Nevertheless, I do make fleeting references to

Egyptian material when it seems particularly relevant.

My primary focus in this study is to trace the legacy of Achaemenid imperial art

and ideology in the visual program of the Roman imperial cult. To this end, I have

chosen to concentrate my research on three, well preserved imperial cult temples located

in and around the province of Galatia (Fig. 2). The Roman province of Galatia

comprised a wide swath of territory stretching from Pisidia and Phrygia Paroreius in the

south to Paphlagonia in the north. It is also incorporated a large area of eastern Phrygia

extending up to the provincial border with Asia, as well as much of the Lycaonian plain

to the west.[5] This area is ideally suited for the purposes of current study for two reasons.

First of all, it contains a number of well preserved imperial cult temples dating to Julio-

Claudian period (31 BC–AD 68): most notably, the *Augusteum* at Pisidian Antioch and

the neochorate Temple of Roma and Augustus at Ankara (Fig. 2). There is also a lavish

Sebasteion located in the city Aphrodisias, just outside Phrygian border with Caria.

The second reason that I have chosen to study this region is its geographical

location on the eastern border of Roman empire. Long before the arrival of the Romans

in Asia Minor, the region of greater Phrygia was integrated into the Persian empire for

over two hundred years, c. 546–333 BC (Fig. 1). Cyrus the Great's conquest of Lydia (c.

546) was a major turning point in the history in central Anatolia. For the first time, the

people of Lydia and Phrygia were integrated into a vast, multi-national empire, ruled by

an external, foreign king. The Achaemenids developed a complex ideological system of

text and images designed to legitimate Achaemenid imperial rule in the western satrapies

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[4] This is a topic that I plan to address fuller detail in a later study.
[5] On the geography of Galatia, see Mitchell 1980.

of the Persian empire.[6] This ideological system centered on the person of the king, whose divine charisma and military acumen symbolically held the empire together. Another important feature of this ideological system was the use of ethnic personifications to signify both the real and symbolic limits of empire. The Achaemenid kings disseminated imperial ideology to Asia Minor through a variety means (i.e., sculptural monuments, letters, seals, coins, etc.), where it was later adapted and adopted by local Anatolian dynasts, such as Mausolus, Errbina and Perikle.[7]

The texts and images left by the Achaemenid kings provided a convenient blueprint for the artistic programs of all later Anatolian empires, including that of the Romans. Although the Hellenistic kings attempted to distance themselves from the "decadence" of the Persians, the imperial program of Achaemenids had a lingering effect on representational strategies in Asia Minor for centuries after the fall of the Persian empire.[8]

Much like the Romans, the Achaemenid kings of Persia also relied on local elites to modulate imagery emanating from imperial center to better suit local viewing contexts around the empire. One of these elites, an Egyptian admiral by the name of Udjahorresene, left a lengthy autobiographical inscription, in which describes helping Cambyses II to tailor his public image to suit the expectations of local population in Egypt.[9] We can be fairly certain that another local elite, similar to Udjahorresene was also responsible for the Babylonian version of the Bisitun relief, which was modified to

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[6] For a thorough discussion of Achaemenid imperial ideology, see Chapters Four and Five.
[7] For discussions of the dissemination of Achaemenid art and ideology to the provinces of Asia Minor, see Root 1979 and 1989; Davesne 1998; Dusinberre 2000 and 2003; Kaptan 1996 and 2002; Dusinberre 2000 and 2003; Papalexandrou 2003. This process is discussed at length in Chapter Four.
[8] Root 1994. For a general discussion on the reuse and reinterpretation of monuments, see Alcock 2001; Papalexandrou 2003; Sinopoli 2003.
[9] Udjahorresene maintains that he also served as an advisor to Darius the Great near the end of his life. See Lichtheim 1980, 36ff.

reflect the cultural preferences of local viewers.[10] The Achaemenid reliance on local

elites to translate imagery from the center to the periphery provided an important

precedent for the system elite collaboration established in Asia Minor during the reign of

the emperor Augustus. Following in the footsteps of men like Udjahorresene, local elites

in the cities of Asia Minor acted as ciphers translating the basic tenets of Roman ideology

into a visual idiom easily intelligible to local viewers.

Organization of the Dissertation:

I begin my study, in Chapter Two, by exploring the theoretical underpinnings of

modern scholarship on the Roman imperial cult. For decades, scholars have divided the

study of the Roman imperial cult into two separate cultural spheres: the Greek East and

Latin West. I attempt to demonstrate that this highly problematic conceptual division has

its roots in F. Haverfield's theory of "Romanization" and ultimately in the imperial ideology

of the ancient Romans themselves.[11] Since the publication of S.R.F. Price's book, *Rituals

and Power*, most scholars working in the eastern provinces have come to view the

Roman imperial cult as an intrinsically "Greek" religious institution.[12] This insistence on

labeling the imperial cult as "Greek" obfuscates far more than it clarifies. It is my

contention that we must abandon the use of the adjective "Greek" when referring to the

Roman imperial cult in the eastern provinces, particularly in culturally and ethnically

diverse regions, such as the central highlands of Asia Minor. I argue instead that we

should conceptualize the Roman imperial cult as an intrinsically hybrid cultural

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[10] Seidl 1976 and 1999. See Chapter Four for further discussion.
[11] Haverfield 1905-1906 and 1923.
[12] Price 1984b.

institution, which integrated elements from a wide variety of peoples, cultures and representational traditions including the Greeks, Romans and Achaemenid Persians.

The core of my dissertation (Chapters Three - Five) consists of three separate case studies. In each of these chapters, I examine the remains of one individual *Sebasteion* and attempt to place it within its proper cultural context. I have chosen to focus on Pisidian Antioch, Aphrodisias, and Ankara largely on the basis of preservation, but also for more lofty reasons as well. Each of these sites possessed a very different cultural history Antioch was a Roman colony, Aphrodisias a Greek *polis* and Ankara a Galatian capital. My hope is that the distinct cultural differences will allow me to 1) trace common themes across cultural and geographical zones and 2) highlight the unique differences among the three sites.

In Chapter Three, I examine my first case study: the *Augusteum* at Pisidian Antioch. In 25 BC, the emperor Augustus dispatched a colony of Italian veterans to settle in the Hellenistic city of Pisidian Antioch. Upon their arrival, the Italian colonists initiated the construction of a lavish sanctuary complex dedicated to the worship of the emperor Augustus and his family. This sanctuary featured an elaborate program of text (i.e., an inscribed Latin copy of the *Res Gestae*) and images carefully chosen to legitimate Roman rule at Pisidian Antioch. Conventional wisdom holds that the *Augusteum* was built exclusively *by* and *for* the Italian colonists alone, without any assistance from the preexisting local population. This theory rests, however, on a number of faulty assumptions about the nature of colonial society, which need to be reevaluated. Through a close re-examination of the sculptural, architectural and epigraphic evidence, I demonstrate that the construction of the *Augusteum* was not a unilateral process, but

rather a collaborative effort between the Italian colonists and Graeco-Phrygian elites designed to unite Antioch's disparate colonial population into a single, unified and easily governable whole.

In Chapter Four, I proceed to my second case study: the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias. Here, I discuss the influence of Achaemenid art and ideology on the artistic program at *Sebasteion*. The *Sebasteion* featured an elaborate program of relief sculpture, including a series of over fifty ethnic personifications representing peoples from around the empire. The majority of these *ethne* took the form of idealized Greek matrons, whereas several of the more bellicose tribes were represented in the guise of Amazon warriors, cowering at the feet of the Roman emperor. When viewed together, these two separate types of personifications viscerally illustrated not only the futility of military resistance, but also the material benefits of political cooperation. It is my contention that rather than a copy of some lost Roman original, the *ethne* series was, in fact, the continuation of a deeply rooted local artistic tradition, stretching back to the reign of the Persian King, Darius the Great (522–486 BC). By couching Roman power in an idiom familiar to Anatolian viewers, the designers of the *Sebasteion* helped to ensure that the new realities of Roman rule were both intelligible and palatable to the inhabitants of Carian Aphrodisias.

I move on in Chapter Five to examine the meaning of *Res Gestae* in the cultural context of Roman Galatia. Classical scholars have traditionally ignored the materiality of *Res Gestae* inscription, opting instead to interpret it much as they would any other ancient textual source. As a result, most scholars have analyzed the text solely from the

perspective of a literate Roman viewing audience.[13] It is important to note, however, that

the only three extant copies of the *Res Gestae* came from imperial cult temples in the

Asia Minor.[14] Out of these three copies, by far the best preserved is the bilingual version

of the *Res Gestae* inscribed on the walls of the Temple of Roma and Augustus at

Ankara.[15] I argue that, rather than a simple disembodied text, the *Res Gestae* was, in fact,

a potent visual symbol with a strong precedent dating back to the famous Bisitun

inscription of Darius the Great in the late sixth century BC. Here, as in my discussions of

architecture and sculptural embellishment, I stress the multi-valence of the *Res Gestae*

inscription as a means of communicating across a wide, multicultural audience**.**

Throughout my dissertation, I attempt to demonstrate that that Roman imperial

cult in Asia Minor was the product of a cultural dialogue between the imperial

administration and local communities. I argue that this cultural dialogue was reflected in

the hybrid character of the imperial cult temples at Pisidian Antioch, Aphrodisias and

Ankara. By focusing on these three case studies, I am able to trace broad, regional

patterns in the visual language of the Roman imperial cult, as well as to highlight unique

differences in the appearance of specific temples. Perhaps the most important pattern that

emerges out of my analysis is the omnipresence of visual imagery, which ultimately

derives from the artistic program of the Persian king, Darius the Great. This observation

has significant implications not only for study of the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor,

but also for the field of Greek and Roman art as a whole. Scholars have traditionally

denied that the Achaemenid Persians exercised any substantial influence on the artistic

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[13] See, e.g., Mommsen 1887; Gagé 1935; Brunt and Moore 1967; Yavetz 1984; Ramage 1987.
[14] Brunt and Moore 1967, 2; Güven 1998, 32-37.
[15] Knecker and Schede 1936; Schede nd Schultz, 1937.

production of Greece and Rome.[16] If my analysis is correct, however, this most basic of

assumptions will have to be reevaluated and, at long last, discarded.

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[16] M.C. Root (1985 and 1994) has repeatedly challenged this claim. My work simply builds on her already
cogent arguments.

CHAPTER TWO:

Envisioning Empire:
Ideology, Cultural Hybridity and the Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor

> A tradition can hold and take hold of a people, can lead them to believe
> that the past is the future and their master is their servant, and can
> thereby sustain a social order in which the vast majority of people are
> subjected to conditions of domination and exploitation.
>
> -- John Thompson

Every empire faces a fundamental question of legitimacy: what gives one polity

the right to rule over another? The simple primacy of brute force is one answer to this

question, but in most imperial systems a more far subtle constellation of ideas, beliefs,

and symbols is developed to justify the realities of empire. For the Romans, the idea of

humanitas or"civilization"acted as the driving force behind expansion.[17] During the

nearly two centuries of internecine war that preceded the reign of the emperor Augustus

(31 BC–AD 14), the senatorial elite in Rome developed a new political ideology designed

both to legitimize and to fuel imperial conquest. At prompting of their leaders, the

Roman people began to imagine themselves as the lone bastion of culture in a world

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[17] Brunt 1976; Woolf 1998, 54-60; Webster 2001, 209-210; Williams 2001, 91-101; Hingley 2005, 26-29.
This concept is discussed at length below.

populated by corrupt and barbaric tribes; imperial expansion was a divine mandate and conquest an act of kindness.

This ideological system found its ultimate expression in the form of the Roman imperial cult.[1] Beginning in the reign of the emperor Augustus, cities across the empire began to erect lavish temples dedicated to the worship of the Roman Emperor and his family. These monuments provided an ideal forum for articulating and internalizing the basic tenets of Roman imperial ideology. It is my contention that the emperor Augustus and his advisors worked together with members of provincial elite to develop a dynamic new visual language of power that appealed to both Roman and provincial viewers alike. This new visual language skillfully combined elements of Roman triumphal art (i.e., trophies, captives, etc.) with symbols drawn from the iconographic repertoire of earlier empires in the east. The end result was hybrid visual language that effectively expressed the temporal and spatial universality of Roman imperial rule in terms easily accessible to viewers throughout the empire.

During the Julio-Claudian period (31 BC–AD 68), the construction of imperial cult temples was typically a collaborative effort initiated by local elites in consultation with the Roman authorities.[2] This was particularly true in the Greek *poleis* of the eastern

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[1] The "Roman imperial cult" is a blanket term invented by modern scholars to cover a range of ritual practices performed emperor's behalf. This includes cults at the provincial, civic and household level. There is no term either in Greek or Latin equivalent to "imperial cult." See Price 1984b, 2-7; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 5-21; Burrell 2004, 1-3.

[2] This process of collaboration is best documented in case Tiberius' neochorate temple at Smyrna. According to Tacitus (*Ann*. 53), a delegation of representatives from the *koinon* of Asia arrived in Rome in 23 AD to request formal permission to construct neochorate temple in honor of Tiberius, Livia and the Senate. Tiberius acceded to their request and allowed individual cities to petition the Senate for the right to house the temple. We are told that the Senate granted the honor to Smyrna as a reward for services rendered to Rome during the late Republic. It is generally accepted that Tiberius dispatched imperial artisans to help design and construction of the temple Smyrna; however, it is impossible to know for certain given that the temple is no longer extant. We can safely assume that the neochorate temples at sites, such as Pergamum, Ankara and Nicaea, were also conceived through a similar vetting process. See Price 1984b, 64; Ratté, Howe and Foss 1986, 63-65; Burrell 2004, 38-42.

Roman empire, where ruler worship long predated the reign of the emperor Augustus.[3]

Participation in Roman imperial cult provided provincial elites at various levels—

politicians, merchants, rich freedmen, etc.—with a convenient way to compete with one

another for political prestige, while simultaneously demonstrating their loyalty to the

Roman emperor and his family.[4] Because the funding and craftsmen needed for the

construction of imperial cult temples came from local sources, provincial designers

exercised a great deal of freedom in choosing visual tropes, which they felt best

expressed Roman ideology to a local viewing audience. This freedom of design helped

to ensure the imperial cult monuments were easy intelligibility to local viewers. It also

allowed provincial elites to negotiate power within the imperial system by accentuating

certain elements of the official ideological paradigm that particularly favored their own

city, culture or ethnicity. I discuss this process of selective amplification at length below

in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

Only in very rare circumstances was the Roman imperial cult imposed on an

unwilling local population. The most notable example of this phenomenon is the Altar of

the Three Gauls at Lugdunum (Lyon), which was built by Augustus' stepson, Drusus,

following an unsuccessful Gallic revolt in 12 BC.[5] The altar, which according to Strabo

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[3] During the Hellenistic period, ruler worship was widely practiced in the Greek *poleis* of the Eastern Mediterranean. In some areas, however, divine kingship had even deeper roots, e.g., in Egypt, where as early as the Old Kingdom (2686 BC – 2134 BC), the pharaohs were considered to be the earthly incarnation of the sun god, Horus. On ruler cults in the Hellenistic world, see Walbank 1981, 210-218; Price 1984, 23-47; Fishwick 1987, 6-20; Chaniotis 2003, 431-446; Herklotz 2007, 34-47. On divine kingship in Egypt and Asia Minor, see Taylor 1931, 1-34; McEwan 1934; Schafer 1997; Hölbl 1999, 1-24 and 2001, 77-123.

[4] Price 1984b, esp. 62-77; Zanker 1988, 297-322.

[5] For a discussion of the Altar of the Three Gauls, see Fishwick 1978 and 1987, esp. 83-183; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 246-252; McMullen 2000, 103. The majority of the state-mandated imperial cult sanctuaries were located in the western provinces of Germany and Gaul. See also the *Ara Ubiorum* in Cologne, Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 252-254. The *Augusteum* at Philae in Egypt was one of the few imperial cult temples in the eastern provinces built by a Roman administrator, specifically, the *praefect* Rubrius Barbarus. See Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 219-222; Arnold 1999, 237; Herklotz 2007, 407.

displayed "the names of sixty tribes and also the images of each one (4.3.2 [Trans. H.L. Jones])," symbolized Augustus' administrative reorganization of Gaul into three separate districts with sixty tribal sub-units—a move that was undoubtedly designed to disrupt pre-existing local power structures that encouraged hostility towards Roman rule.[6] Cases such as this one, although rare, demonstrate the important role that the imperial cult played in Augustus' plans to eliminate political and military resistance throughout the empire.

Defining Terms: Ideology and Power

Before continuing any further, it is necessary that I define some of my terminology. Ideology is an imprecise term that carries with it a great deal of historical baggage.[7] Since the time of Napoleon, politicians have used the word "ideology" to slander rival belief systems and the word is generally understood today in Marxist terms to mean a cocktail of ideas mixed-up by capitalist elites to induce "false consciousness" in the mass proletariat.[8] Moving away from the more pejorative usages of the term, I define ideology instead as any symbolic system designed to prescribe, naturalize and legitimate the distribution of power within society.[9] If we accept this definition, we must also accept that every society hosts an array of competing ideological systems, which co-exist agonistically.[10] Systems of elite of ideology are inevitably challenged by counter-

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[6] Woolf 1998, 216-217.

[7] On the history and uses of ideology as a theoretical construct, see Duby 1985; Thompson 1990, 28-52; Eagleton 1991, 1-32.

[8] Eagleton 1991, 11.

[9] This definition is akin to what Thompson describes as a "neutral conception of ideology." Thompson, 1990, 52-55. See also Althusser 1984, 36-44; Giddens 1979; Duby 1985, 152.

[10] Contra the "dominant ideology thesis" of Marx and Engels. See Abercrombie and Turner 1978, 149-170; Thompson 1990, 37-40; Baker 1992, 2-5.

ideologies generated both at the grass roots level and by other rival elites.[11] This is important to remember when discussing the ideological program of the Roman imperial cult, which in many ways resembles a Marxist "dominant" ideology. Although widely disseminated and internalized, Roman imperial ideology was by no means the only hegemonic belief system operative in the Roman empire. Rival belief systems in the form of monotheistic religions, such as Christianity and Judaism, as well as smaller scale social movements—often referred to as "brigandage" in our historical sources—continually emerged to challenge the fundamental legitimacy of Roman authority.[12]

This leads us to the question of functionality—how exactly does ideology prescribe, legitimize and structure power? E. DeMarrais, L.J. Castillo, and T. Earle have proposed that ideology works through a phenomenon called "materialization," a process involving the transformation of ideology into material symbols "in order to be part of a human culture that is broadly shared by members of society."[13] While DeMarrais et al. are right to recognize that ideology is dependant on material symbols for dissemination, their understanding of how ideology structures social power fixates on the physical aspect of symbols, treating ideology simply as a fancy form of economy: "An ideology rooted in a material medium can be controlled in much the same way that other utilitarian and wealth goods may be owned, restricted, and transferred through the institutions of political economy."[14] This model, in my view, undervalues the ideas contained in symbols and metaphorical constructs, which have a power all their own.

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[11] Baker 1992, 4-11. On the development of resistance ideologies, see Millar 1989; Brumfiel 1998; Van Dommelen 1998; Webster 2001.

[12] On resistance movements in the Roman empire, see Shaw 1984, 1993 and 1995; Horsley and Hanson 1985; Smith 1999.

[13] DeMarrais et al. 1996, 16. Theorists have long emphasized the importance of material symbols as the vehicle for ideology. See Geertz 1982; Althusser 1984, 36-44; Thompson 1990, esp. 58-59.

[14] DeMarrais et al. 1996, 17.

Power in the most basic terms is the ability of agent A to cause agent B to perform a desired action. Power thus arises, as M. Mann has suggested, out of multiple social arenas.[15] Mann identifies four sources of social power: military, political, economic and ideological. However, political power relies far too much on military and ideological power, in my opinion, to require a separate category. I assert rather that there are three sources of power: force, economics and ideology. I do not differentiate these categories because I believe they are in self-contained nodes; on the contrary, I see them as interconnected fields of power; for example, as DeMarrais et al. have clearly demonstrated, economic and ideological power are fused in material symbols. I draw the contrast between force, economics and ideology because they stimulate action in three fundamentally different ways. The effectiveness of force as a means of persuasion is rather straightforward: agent B performs action X either out of fear of agent A or under compulsion by agent A. Economic power, on the other hand, relies on material necessity: agent B performs task X in return for goods provided by agent A. Out of the three, ideological power is by far the most complex and difficult to define. At a fundamental level, ideology functions by establishing and naturalizing parameters for human action: agent B performs action X because he or she thinks it the right thing to do. There is no need for a human agent to stimulate action in this case; symbols alone exercise persuasive power. Individuals, however, can also derive power from ideological systems: agent B performs action X because he or she is persuaded by the authority of high priest A. In this interaction, agent A exercises power due to his position in an ideological system.

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[15] Mann 1986. Mann's four-part schema has been highly influential in shaping the scholarly discourse on ideology and power, particularly in the field of sociology. See, e.g. Domhoff 1993 and Whitmeyer 1997.

The production of ideological power, therefore, depends on the creation of a cosmological framework, i.e., a set of essential notions about time and space that define human experience.[16] These ideas are extremely powerful in and of themselves as they provide a template for most types of social interaction. The legitimation of specific power relationships becomes possible simply by linking historical events, social groups and personages to a cosmological frame via various forms of symbolic logic.[17] Through the careful employment of texts, iconography and architecture individuals can acquire a degree of ideological legitimacy with relative ease. The fact that ideological narratives so effectively structure social reality largely explains why states are obsessed with promulgating ideology—it is far more cost effective than economic and military forms of control!

Roman Imperial Ideology

The majority of Rome's territorial expansion took place in a roughly fifty year period between 221-168 BC. Prior to this time, the Mediterranean was characterized by a delicate balance of power: in the east, rival Hellenistic kingdoms ruled over Greece, Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Egypt, while the Carthaginian Empire controlled North Africa and Spain. In comparison to these superpowers, Roman Italy was considered a cultural and economic backwater. However, following Rome's upset victory over Carthage in the Punic Wars (221-202 BC), the status of Italy changed drastically. No longer a second rate world power, Rome became the dominant force in the Mediterranean. The defeat of the Macedonian king Perseus at Pydna in 168 BC only

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[16] See, e.g., Millar 1989; Brumfiel 1998; Woolf 2001a.
[17] Thompson has compiled a comprehensive list of what he terms "ideological modes of operation." These include legitimation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation and reification. See Thompson 1990, 60-73.

served to reinforce this fact and extended Roman control all the way from Spain to Greece.

The decisive victories scored by Rome left the world stunned. Polybius, a Greek aristocrat deported to Rome in the aftermath of Pydna, was one of the first writers to articulate the question that was on everyone's minds: how did the Romans do it? The *Histories* of Polybius, in fact, begin with the now famous quote:

> There can surely be no one so petty or so apathetic in his outlook that he has no desire to discover by what means and under what system of government the Romans succeeded in less than fifty-three years in bringing under their rule almost the whole of the inhabited world, an achievement unparalleled in human history (1.1).[18]

Roman military power was an undeniable reality, but the ideological basis for Roman rule had yet to be constructed. The senatorial elite in Rome expended a great deal energy over the next two hundred years developing a system of ideology to legitimize the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean. Out of this process emerged the new imperial ideal of *humanitas*.[19]

The concept of *humanitas* in the Roman mind came to describe the essential qualities of being human. This is the term the Roman elite used to construct the civilized "self" and inversely to imagine the barbarian "other." At the root of the word is actually the noun *homo* meaning "man." Unlike the classical Greeks who had defined their identity along ethnic lines, the Romans conceived of a more fundamental human condition.[20] All nations had once lived as savages before the discovery of culture and thus were all equally capable of civility and barbarity (Vitr. *de Arch* 2.5 and 1.6). What separated the

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[18] Translation by Scott-Kilvert 1979, 41.
[19] Brunt 1976; Woolf 1998, 54-60; Webster 2001, 209-210; Williams 2001, 90-101; Hingley 2005, 26-29.
[20] Webster 1996b, 116-117; Woolf 1998, 54-60; Hingley 2005, 64-67.

humans from the savages was a set of customs and values known as civilization or

'*humanitas*.' This included the practice of sedentary settlement, agriculture, urbanism,

bathing, proper dress (i.e., the toga), proper table manners, the study of liberal arts, as

well as the possession of certain abstract virtues such as industry, frugality, courage,

chastity and respect for authority (Tac. *Agricola* 21). The Romans, of course, imagined

themselves to be in possession of *humanitas* while all other nations in one respect or

another all fell short of the mark. Even the Greeks, who were commonly credited with

inventing civilization, had become decadent and corrupt in the eyes of the Romans.[21]

It is not difficult to see how this worldview served as justification for Rome's

endless expansion. The Romans, according to this logic, succeeded in conquering their

neighbors because they had divine mandate to civilize their opponents. Pliny the Elder

(21-79 AD) explains Rome's exceptional role as disseminator of culture in his *Natural

History*:

> (Rome is) a land nourished by all, and yet parent of all
> lands, chosen by the power of the gods to make even
> heaven more splendid, to gather together the scattered
> realms and to soften their customs and unite the discordant
> wild tongues of so many people into a common speech so
> they might understand each other, and to give civilization
> to mankind (*humanitatem homini*), in short to become the
> homeland of every people in the entire world (3.39).[22]

Pliny legitimates Roman imperialism on the grounds that it is part of a civilizing mission

with the ultimate end being the complete indoctrination of mankind. In this way, Pliny

spatially universalizes Roman rule making *imperium* into a sort of cosmological constant.

Similar to the British and French colonialists of the nineteenth century, Pliny represents

the relationship between Rome and its provinces using a familial metaphor: Rome is the

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[21] On the legacy of Greece in the Roman empire, see Alcock 1993, esp. 1-32 and 2001a; Lomas 1996.
[22] Translation by Woolf 1998, 57.

'parent of all lands.'[23] This establishes a long-term dependency relationship, where

subjects are forever seen as children learning from their parent, thus justifying indefinite

occupation of captured territories.

The construction of this ideological system by the Roman elite made a significant

impact on provincial administration. On the one hand, it dictated a standardized

procedure for incorporating all new lands; first, the Romans crushed barbarian resistance;

then they taught the new subject peoples "culture," and finally, they remained to monitor

their subjects and uphold the law. The second part of this process, however, caused a

great deal of variation in Roman policies toward the provinces. Conquered nations, in

reality, varied immensely as to the amount of "culture" (i.e., urban infrastructure, literature

etc.) that they possessed prior to Roman occupation. The Hellenistic kingdoms, for

instance, were highly urbanized and highly cultured, typically even more so than Italy

itself. This was in contrast to provinces like Britain and Gaul, where the local population

enjoyed almost none of the cultural elements deemed essential to Roman *humanitas*. As

a result, the Romans adopted a somewhat different approach to administering their

provinces: those provinces located in the east merely required guidance, while those in

the west demanded complete material and cultural restructuring. The impact of Rome's

ideological bias against the cultures of north Europe was most evident in areas such as

Gallia Narbonensis and Belgica, where the existing Gallic *oppida* were systemically

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[23] British and French colonialists in the nineteenth century regularly described their subjects as "children"
or "childlike." This is almost undoubtedly due to the influence of Roman writers, such as Pliny the Elder.
As R. Hingley (2005, 22-29) has observed, British and French colonialists in the nineteenth century great
greatly admired the Roman empire and imagined themselves as the heirs to their "civilizing" mission. See
also Brunt 1965; Said 1979, 31-49; Webster 1996a; Freeman 1996. On the metaphor of childhood in
colonialist rhetoric, see Nandy 1983, 11-18.

dismantled and replaced with new, Gallo-Roman cities equipped with all the public

amenities necessary for Roman urban living (i.e. temples, aqueducts, *fora*, etc.).[24]

Romanization and the Imperial Cult

The ideological system devised by the Romans to legitimate their empire

continues to exercise a powerful hold on the collective imagination of modern scholars.

This is due in no small part to the popularity of the theoretical framework known as

'Romanization.'[25] In 1905, the British archaeologist, F. Haverfield, first coined the term

'Romanization' to describe the process by which the Romans 'civilized' the provinces.[26]

Based on his reading of the ancient textual sources, Haverfield argued that the Romans

implemented a deliberate policy to assimilate provincial populations into the empire by

forcing them to adopt Roman language, religion and material culture.[27] According to

Haverfield, this process of cultural diffusion ultimately led to the creation of a single,

pan-imperial culture, which 'extinguished the distinction between Roman and

provincial.'[28] Haverfield acknowledged nevertheless that Romanization was not an

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[24] On the urbanization of Gaul and the German frontier zone, see Woolf 1998, 112-141; Wells 1999, 171-186; McMullen 2000, 85-123.

[25] For decades, scholars have relied on the theory of Romanization to explain cultural change in the Roman provinces. For a historiographic discussion, see Freeman 1997; Webster 2001. Only recently have archaeologists begun to develop new theoretical models to replace Romanization. Scholars such as P. Van Dommelen (1998 and 2006) and J. Webster (2001) have advocated using models borrowed from post-colonial theory, e.g. H. Bhabha's theory of cultural hybridity. By contrast, T. Habinek and A. Schiersaro (1998) have attempted to create an entirely new theoretical framework based on the concept of the so-called "Roman cultural revolution." See also Woolf 2001b. A third group has argued for modifying the traditional conception of "Romanization" to reflect new advances in scholarly thinking, e.g., Millett 1991, esp. 1-8; Terrenato 2001. My current discussion is indebted to all of three approaches, which each has its own distinctive set of strengths and weaknesses. See Alcock 2001b; Pieterse 2001.

[26] Haverfield 1905-1906 and 1923.

[27] Haverfield 1923, 11.

[28] Haverfield 1923, 18.

altogether "uniform" or "monotonous" process.[29] In the eastern Mediterranean, the Romans

encountered peoples, such as the Greeks and Egyptians, who had already attained a high

level "civilization."[30] This made the diffusion of Roman culture to the eastern provinces

not only ineffectual, but also unnecessary. Haverfield concluded that the Romanization

of the eastern provinces was strictly "political" in nature and had little lasting impact on the

long-term development of Greek culture and society.[31] In his view, only in the "barbaric"

western provinces did the Romans succeed in fully transforming indigenous societies into

mirror images of their Roman conquerors.

Haverfield's theory of Romanization has significantly influenced how scholars

have approached the study of the Roman imperial cult. For example, it is commonly

accepted that Roman imperial cult in western provinces served an overtly political

function: namely, the cultural assimilation of local populations into the Roman empire.[32]

As D. Fishwick writes, "One must always remember that in the west the imperial cult at

the provincial level was basically a political device designed to weld the empire

together."[33] By contrast, scholars working in the eastern provinces have traditionally

emphasized the genuine religious aspects of imperial cult, which first emerged in the

"Greek" cities of Asia Minor following the Battle of Actium in 31 BC.[34] In his seminal

work, *Rituals and Power*, S.R.F. Price has argued that the Roman imperial cult in Asia

Minor was an indigenous response to Roman power, which catered specifically to the

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[29] As Haverfield writes, "The Romanization was real. But it was necessarily, not altogether uniform and monotonous throughout all the wide Roman lands. Its methods of development and its fruits varied with local conditions, with racial and geographical differences . . . Not only in the further east, where (as in Egypt) mankind was non-European, but even in the nearer east, where an ancient Greek civilization reigned, the effect of Romanization was inevitably small." Haverfield 1923, 12.

[30] Haverfield 1923, 12.

[31] Haverfield 1923, 13.

[32] See, e.g., Taylor 1931, 208; Fishwick 1978, 1253 and 1987, 350; Rives 2001 427.

[33] Fishwick 1987, 273.

[34] Price 1980, 1984a and 1984b; Zanker 1988, 297-306; Burrell 2004.

political and religious needs of the Greek *polis*.[35] To his credit, Price recognizes that the imperial cult essentially functioned as an elaborate form of gift exchange between the Roman emperor and his subjects.[36] Nevertheless, he rejects the idea that the Roman administration played any significant role in shaping the form, function or content of the Roman imperial cult in the east.[37] In keeping with Haverfield's theory of Romanization, Price maintains that the imperial cult in Asia Minor was inspired not by Roman or Anatolian traditions, but rather by the "dominant Greek culture" of the eastern Mediterranean world.[38]

The portrayal of the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor as a quintessentially 'Greek' cultural institution is extremely problematic for two reasons.   First of all, it assumes that Greek culture was an autonomous system, which existed in opposition to that Rome. This view, however, fundamentally misunderstands the true dynamics of Roman imperial rule in Asia Minor. The annexation of the Roman provinces of Asia, Bithynia and Galatia ensured that a steady stream of goods, peoples and ideas continually flowed back and forth between Rome and the provinces.[39] Through mechanisms such as trade, colonization and military service, Anatolian society became intimately entangled with that of Rome. By its very nature, Roman imperialism in Asia Minor was a dialogic process, which resulted in the melding of Roman and provincial cultures.[40] The Roman imperial cult was both a product and catalyst of this ongoing cultural dialogue. Anatolian elites worked together with Roman administration to develop a shared set of cultural

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[35] Price 1984b, esp. 234-248.
[36] Price 1984b, 65-77.
[37] Price 1984b, esp. 78-100.
[38] Price 1984b, 87.   See also Price 1984b, 78.
[39] For general discussion on cultural contact in ancient Mediterranean, see LaBianca and Scham 2006. In Asia Minor specifically, see Mitchell 1993; Yegül 2000.
[40] On the hybrid nature of Anatolian culture under Roman rule, see Yegül 2000.

codes (i.e., art, architecture and rituals), which they could use to articulate and negotiate the new, social realities of Roman imperial rule. As a result, the ideological program of the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor was neither truly Greek nor Roman, but rather a hybrid synthesis of the multiple cultural systems.[41]

Moreover, the traditional insistence on studying the Roman imperial cult *in Graecuo vacuo* has also caused scholars to overlook other potential sources of cultural influence, particularly those from the ancient Near East. Since the days of A.D. Nock and W.W. Tarn, modern scholars have consistently dismissed the notion that "oriental" kingship played any substantive role in the development of the Roman imperial cult.[42] As Duncan Fishwick writes, "the idea of paying cult to a man in his lifetime is essentially Greek. Insuperable difficulties attend any attempt to find its origins in the divinity of the Egyptian Pharaoh or in the concepts (often confused) of oriental kingship in Asia Minor."[43] This categorical denial of "oriental" influence on the Roman imperial cult arises not only from a blatant Eurocentric bias, but also from a general unwillingness to study the imperial cult in a specific historical context.[44] The majority of the existing book

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[41] The theoretical concept of "cultural hybridity" was first introduced by the post-colonial theorist, H. Bhabha (1990 and 1994), to describe the process by which colonial subjects blur the borders between local and imperial identities. According to Bhabha, colonial subjects synthesize various aspects of the dominant culture with their indigenous culture to create a composite identity, often accentuating different elements depending on the situation. This is not just a simple mixing of influences, but rather "the effect of an ambivalence produced within the rules of recognition of dominant discourse as they articulate the signs of cultural difference" (Bhabha 1994, 110). In other words, colonial subjects synthesize cultural traits in order dissolve tidy Self-Other dichotomies propagated by the imperial center. Without clear boundaries, essentialist categories cannot exist and collapse. Nevertheless, it is important that we not view hybridity strictly in terms of resistance. Hybridization is equally a means of translation, integration and, above all, negotiation. By incorporating aspects of the dominant culture, colonial subjects build a channel for interaction and dialogue with their colonizers, in a sense, further integrating themselves into colonial system. See Nandi 1983.
[42] See Tarn 1928; Nock 1928; Price 1984b, 25-26 and 77ff.; Fishwick 1987, 2. Only recently have classical scholars begun to recognize the influence of pharaonic traditions on the form and function of the Roman imperial cult in Egypt. See Hölbl 2001; Herklotz 2007. L.R. Taylor is the lone scholar to argue that Roman imperial cult grew organically out of the worship of the Persian king. See Taylor 1927 and 1931.
[43] Fishwick 1987, 2.
[44] On the widespread Orientalist bias in classical scholarship, see Said 1979; Bernal 1987.

length treatments of the Roman imperial cult are either synchronic in nature or geographically wide-ranging in scope.[45] The huge breadth of these surveys has helped to create the illusion that the Roman imperial cult was a relatively homogenous institution, which took one form in the Latin West and another in the Greek East.[46] Above and beyond any lingering Orientalist bias, it is this disjoining of the Roman imperial cult from of its proper historical context that has ultimately led to the perpetuation of the current Eurocentric development model.

I seek to redress the methodological shortcomings of previous scholarship by emphasizing the need for localized, regional studies of the Roman imperial cult and its monuments. Thus I have chosen to focus my research primarily on the imperial province of Galatia located in the highlands of central Asia Minor.[47] Galatia is ideally suited for a regional study because it contains a number of well-preserved imperial cult monuments ranging in date from the reign of Augustus (31 BC–AD 14) to Nero (AD 54–68). These temples are not only well preserved, but also particularly lavish in ornamentation. For example, the only three temples known to have displayed an architecturally inscribed copy of the *Res Gestae*, Augustus' official autobiography, are located in the cities of Ankara, Apollonia and Pisidian Antioch.[48] Architectural embellishments such as the *Res Gestae* provide an ideal platform for investigating the reception and creative adaptation of Roman imperial ideology in the cultural context of Asia Minor.

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[45] See, e.g., Taylor 1931; Fishwick 1987; Price 1984b; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985.
[46] The more temporally and spatially focused works by Gradel (2002), Burrell (2004) and Herklotz (2007) are all steps in the right direction. See also Rives (2001) on the imperial cult in North Africa.
[47] I also examine the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias. The city of Aphrodisias was located in the Roman province of Asia just outside the border with Galatia. Strabo (12.13) lists Aphrodisias among the cities of Greater Phrygia, but it was generally considered a city of Caria. I have chosen to include Aphrodisias in my study due to its relative geographical proximity to Galatia, as well as the excellent preservation of its *Sebasteion*. See Smith 1987, 1988 and 1990.
[48] Brunt and Moore 1967, 2; Güven 1998, 32-37.

Moreover, I have also chosen to study these temples due to their geographical location on the eastern border of the Roman empire. Prior to the advent of Roman rule under reign of the emperor Augustus, the highlands of central Anatolia were controlled by a series of powerful Persian, Hellenistic and Galatian kings.[49] It is particularly significant for our purposes that the Achaemenid empire ruled over this region for roughly two hundred years (c. 546–333 BC). During this period, the local population became intimately acquainted with the art and ideology of Achaemenid empire, which was disseminated to the provinces through media, such as coins, seals and official monumental art.[50] Even hundreds of years after Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire, the Achaemenid kings of Persia continued to occupy an important place in the history and cultural memory of the diverse peoples and cultures of Anatolia. To understand the importance of the Achaemenids' legacy in Asia Minor, one must only look as far as *Hierothesion* at Nemrud Dağı, where the Commagenian King, Antiochus I (70-36 BC), established a cult to his heroic Achaemenid "ancestors."[51]

This memory was reawakened and intensified the rise of the Parthian empire during later half of the second century BC.[52] The Parthians posed a very real threat to Roman power in the Near East, both ideologically and militarily. Following the embarrassing defeats of Crassus (55 BC) and Marc Antony (37 BC) at the hands of the Arsacid kings, the emperor Augustus was obliged to pursue a policy of peaceful

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[49] On the cultural history of Galatia and Greater Phyrgia, see Sekunda 1991; Mitchell 1993, esp. 1-41.
[50] For discussions of the dissemination of Achaemenid art and ideology to the provinces of Asia Minor, see Root 1979 and 1989; Davesne 1998; Dusinberre 2000 and 2003; Kaptan 1996 and 2002; Dusinberre 2000 and 2003; Papalexandrou 2003.
[51] See Sullivan 1990, 193-197; Young 1996, 306-353; Jacobs 2000a and 2002.
[52] On the growth of the Parthian empire, see Debevoise 1938, 1-53; Wiesehöfer 1998.

coexistence with his Parthian neighbors.[53] This temporary cessation of military conflict, however, did little to alleviate the competition between Rome and Parthia. The rivalry simply moved off the battlefield and into the realm of ideology—and in the early years of Augustus' reign, Parthia seems to have had a distinct upper hand. Unlike the emperor Augustus, who was a relative newcomer on the eastern political stage, the Arsacid kings of Parthia had a well-established track record in western Asia. They traced their lineage directly back to the Achaemenid royal house and adopted the Persian title of "King of Kings."[54] The first king to advertise this connection through the medium of monumental art was Mithradates II (124-87 BC), who implicitly likened himself to Darius the Great, by commissioning a rock relief beneath Darius' famous victory monument at Bisitun.

The existence of a neo-Persian empire on Rome's eastern border directly challenged the legitimacy of Roman rule in regions such as Asia Minor and the Levant where Achaemenid kingship enjoyed a favorable legacy. I would argue, therefore, that Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor provided an ideal forum for disseminating Rome's ideological counter-response to the Parthian claims of Achaemenid legitimacy. One of the primary goals of my dissertation is to determine what effect this dialogue had both on the basic ideological message of the imperial cult and on the actual visual language used to project that message: In what ways was the Roman emperor likened to the kings of Persia and Parthia? In what ways was he differentiated? And what does this tell us about the greater overall reconfiguration of identity taking place in Anatolia during the Julio-Claudian period?

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[53] On Augustan policy towards the Parthians, see Zanker 1988, 186-192; Spawforth 1994, 241; Galinsky 1996, 155-158.
[54] Wiesehöfer 1994, 182 ff. and 1996, 59-60.

CHAPTER THREE:

Ruler Cult and Colonial Identity:
The Imperial Sanctuary at Pisidian Antioch Revisited

This chapter examines the architectural and sculptural program of the *Augusteum* at Pisidian Antioch. The city of Pisidian Antioch was located in southern Phrygia on the imperial highway linking Apamaea (Celaenae) to the Syrian capital of Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Figs. 1-2).[1] It was originally founded as a Seleucid colony in the third century BC. According to Strabo (12.8.14), the Hellenistic colonists who settled at Antioch hailed from the city of Magnesia-on-the-Meander. These Ionian colonists joined and intermixed with the preexisting local population of Phrygians and Pisidians, who lived in the area and worshipped the Anatolian god, Mên Askaenus.[2] Unfortunately, little is known about the Hellenistic colony besides the fact that it was organized along the lines of a typical Greek *polis* with a *boule*, *demos*, *strategoi* and *grammateis*.[3]

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[1] Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 4.

[2] Unfortunately, relatively little is known about Pisidian Antioch prior to Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, it seems safe to assume that the cult of Mên Askaenus (in some form) must have predated the arrival the Seleucid colonists in third century BC. An archaeological field survey would greater enhance our knowledge of Pisidian Antioch and its environs during the Phrygian and Persian periods; however, no survey of this kind has yet been conducted. On the cult of Mên at Pisidian Antioch, see Khatchadourian in press.

[3] Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 6-7. For a general discussion of the political organization of Greek *poleis* in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period, see Dmitriev 2004.

In 25 BC, the emperor Augustus re-founded Pisidian Antioch as a Roman colony and designated it as the regional assize center for lower Phrygia.[1] Soon after the re-foundation of the colony, the inhabitants of Pisidian Antioch erected a lavish sanctuary complex dedicated to worship of the emperor Augustus and his family. Scholars have long debated whether the Italian colonists erected the *Augusteum* on their own, or whether they had help from the population of the former Seleucid colony. Through a close re-examination of the archaeological evidence, I argue that the Italian colonists worked together with key members of the local Greco-Phrygian elite to construct the *Augusteum* at Pisidian Antioch.

The Roman Colonization of Pisidian Antioch

During the late first century BC, the city of Pisidian Antioch underwent a profound socio-cultural transformation. After nearly 250 years as a semi-autonomous Greek *polis* under the Seleucid, Attalid and Galatian kings, Antioch was officially annexed by the Roman Empire in 25 BC. As part of his campaign to pacify the recalcitrant region of Pisidia, the emperor Augustus dispatched a colony of Italian veterans from Legions V and VII to settle at Antioch.[2] These veterans were charged with the responsibility not only of guarding the strategic plain of lower Phrygia, but also of spreading Roman culture and institutions to the 'barbaric' mountain tribes of northern Pisidia.

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[1] Roman governors traveled throughout their province stopping at regional assize centers to adjudicate disputes. Their visits were typically met with great pomp and circumstance. The second century author, Dio of Prusa (35.15), provides a vivid picture of one of these gubernatorial visits, which describes as bringing together "a huge throng of people, litigants, jurors, orators, governors, attendants, slaves, pimps, muleteers, tinkers, prostitutes and craftsmen. Consequently those who have goods to sell get the highest price and there is no lack of work in city, either for the transport, or the houses or the women (Trans. S. Price 1984, 107)." On governors and assize centers in Asia Minor, see Mitchell 1993, 60-69.
[2] Ramsay 1916, 89-96; Levick 1967, 58-62; Mitchell 1976, esp. 302-308.

The precise number of veterans that Augustus dispatched to Antioch is difficult to determine. Based on statistics provided by Strabo for other Augustan colonies, B. Levick estimates the number at around 3,000.[3] It is possible, however, that the number could have reached as many as 5,000 to 6,000. From the names attested on tombstones and other public monuments, it is clear that the majority of these colonists hailed from towns in Etruria, Campania and northern Italy, where Julius Caesar had recruited them to fight in the Roman civil wars.[4] Most of the colonists came from poor, non-aristocratic families, but when they arrived in Antioch, they established themselves as the new political elite, dissolving the pre-existing social institutions of the former Greek *polis*. As was common in many Roman colonial situations, the incoming veterans allowed the indigenous population of Greeks, Phrygians and Pisidians to live on in the colony, but only as "*incolae*" or "resident foreigners," stripped of all citizenship rights they once possessed.[5] Only the very richest and most powerful members of Antioch's indigenous Graeco-Phrygian elite were granted *civitas* status in the initial re-foundation of the colony

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[3] Levick 1967, 95-96.

[4] For the ethnicity and origins of the colonists, see Levick 1967, 56-67; Mitchell 1976, 302-308; Syme 1995, 234; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 9.

[5] The ethnic composition of Antioch's *incolae* is difficult to determine given a paucity of evidence, as is the size of the pre-existing population. Several Neo-Phrygian inscriptions found in the territory of Antioch attest that Phrygian continued to be spoken alongside Greek and Latin (Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1978). Whether Phrygian was the primary language spoken at Antioch, however, remains unclear. Interestingly, there are also a large number of grave inscriptions written in Pisidian, which come from the region just south of Antioch around Hoyran Gölü, a large lake situated between Phrygia and Pisidia (Brixhe and Gibson 1981). In order to supply and house the labor force necessary to build the monuments of the Augustan colony (i.e., the theater, bath house, water system and imperial cult sanctuary), Antioch must have already had a significant pre-existing local population prior to the arrival of the Roman colonists. Such an ambitious building program would have involved hundreds of both skilled and unskilled workers (i.e. architects, masons, quarrymen, brick-makers, carpenters, cart drivers, etc.), many of whom were undoubtedly former residents of the Hellenistic city. Based on modern population statistics, Mitchell estimates that at least 50,000 people lived in the city of Antioch and its surrounding *chora* during the Roman period. This would place the ratio of locals to colonists at around 15:1— assuming that some of the Roman colonists brought their families with them. See the discussion in Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 3-10; Levick 1967, 68-76.

in 25 BC.[6] This small, but highly influential group of indigenous Graeco-Phrygian elites

played an important role in the colonial administration by acting as cultural liaisons

between the Italian colonists and the local population at large.

Over the course of the first century AD, the reconfiguration of Antioch's civil society

became increasingly reflected in the city's built landscape. The old institutions of the

former Greek *polis* disappeared as the Roman colonists transformed Antioch into what

Levick has described as "a little Rome on the borders of Phrygia and Pisidia."[7] At the heart

of this new Rome, the Italian colonists worked together with their partners in the Graeco-

Phrygian elite to construct a lavish sanctuary complex dedicated to the emperor Augustus

and his family. It is my contention that the collaboration between the Roman colonists

and the Graeco-Phrygian elites took place during the initial design and planning phase of

the imperial sanctuary. The physical construction of the sanctuary was undertaken by a

team of local workmen, either from Antioch itself or some other nearby city, such as

Sagalassus or Magnesia-on-the-Meander. Greek masons' marks discovered the cornice

blocks from the imperial temple clearly demonstrate that the masons were trained in Asia

Minor.[8]

Completed during Augustus' lifetime, the imperial sanctuary featured a Corinthian

prostyle temple ornately decorated with sculptures and reliefs celebrating the bounties of

the *Pax Augusta*. This temple stood at the rear of a wide colonnaded plaza entered

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[6] Based on her study of Roman surnames from Pisidian Antioch, Levick estimates that only a small number of the Graeco-Phrygian elite from the former Hellenistic colony were granted citizenship in 25 BC. Over the next several centuries, the number of indigenous Antiochenes on the citizenship rolls gradually rose due to manumission, intermarriage and citizenship grants to military veterans. See Levick 1967, 75-76.
[7] Levick 1967, 78.
[8] See Robinson 1924a, 442. Mitchell and Waelkens' contention (1998, 115) that the masons' marks are written in Latin seems to be in error. I inspected the original squeezes in the archives of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology the University of Michigan and several sets of the masons' marks include characters that do not appear in the Latin alphabet, such as "Δ" and "Θ ".

through a monumental propylon at the west end. Built in the form of a Roman triumphal arch, the propylon was adorned with sculptures commemorating the victories of Augustus on land and sea, as well a Latin copy of the *Res Gestae*. This elaborate program of text and images made a compelling visual statement designed to articulate the legitimacy of Roman colonial rule at Antioch by emphasizing both the futility of resistance and the benefits of cooperation to the local population.

The communal rituals performed within in the imperial sanctuary further reinforced the legitimacy of Roman colonial rule. On special holidays, such as the emperor's birthday, the people of Antioch gathered together to offer prayers and sacrifices on behalf of Augustus. The rituals associated with the imperial cult were relatively standardized throughout Asia Minor.[9] They included gladiatorial games, animal sacrifices, and public unveilings of the emperor's portrait known as the "imperial mysteries."[10] Since Antioch was located in the newly annexed province of Galatia, it seems likely that the entire population also had to swear a loyalty oath to Augustus and the imperial family.[11] By taking part in these rituals, the people of Antioch recreated the ideal social hierarchy envisioned within the sculptural program of the imperial sanctuary. Every segment of Antioch's population—Phrygians, Pisidians and colonists alike—came together to give thanks for the blessings of Augustan rule. The communal nature of the imperial cult at Antioch engendered a shared sense of participation in the Roman project

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[9] Price 1984, esp. 188-191 and 207-220.

[10] A priest known as a "*heirophantes*" or "*sebastophantes*" performed the unveiling of the emperor's portrait. See Pleket 1965; Bowersock 1982, 172-74; Price 1984, 190-191; Burrell 2004, 152. At Antioch, the priests of the imperial cult may have also performed some sort of ritual recitation of the *Res Gestae* since only a small proportion of the population could read Latin.

[11] In 3 BC, "all the people" of Paphlagonia swore an oath to "Caesar Augustus and to his children and descendants." This oath was found recorded on a plaque in the city of Neapolis, formerly Phazimon. For discussion of the Gangra oath, see Lewis and Reinhold 1951, 634-5; Price 1984, 79; Mitchell 1993, 102. See also the oath "*pro salute Augusti*" found in Baetica, Spain. González 1988, 113-127.

of empire building that served as the fundamental ideological basis for the structure of Antiochene society from the first century BC until the rise of Christianity in the fourth century AD.

We owe most of our knowledge about the Augustan imperial sanctuary to the excavations begun by W.M. Ramsay and D.M. Robinson, funded by the University of Michigan in 1924.[12] Over a period of just four months (May 1–August 11), the excavators succeeded in clearing almost the entire sanctuary. Stone robbers had carried off much the original architecture, but enough survived for the excavators to prepare a conjectural reconstruction of the sanctuary with the help of architect, F.J. Woodbridge. Over the years, scholars have come to accept most of Woodbridge's proposed restorations, but several key elements of the sanctuary's design and function still remain highly controversial. Perhaps the most controversial topic is the dedication of imperial temple itself. Without the benefit of a dedicatory inscription, Robinson argued on iconographic grounds that the temple was dedicated to Augustus and the Phrygian god, Mên Askaênos.[13] Few scholars, however, now accept the validity of this identification.[14]

In this chapter, I attempt to resolve some of the controversial issues surrounding reconstruction of the imperial sanctuary. I approach this task through a close re-examination of the extant archaeological evidence. This includes not only the material from the 1924 excavations housed in the Kelsey Museum archives, but also the work of later scholars such S. Mitchell, M. Waelkens and M. Taşlıalan. I argue that Woodbridge's

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[12] W.M. Ramsay carried out a preliminary excavation of the imperial temple in 1913 and clandestinely in 1914. His excavations were interrupted by the outbreak of WWI and never fully published. In fact, the fullest account the excavation appears in a three-page report prepared by T. Callander for the Kelsey Museum archive. For access to Callander's report over the web, visit http://ella.slis.indiana.edu/~zestrada/Antioch/.
[13] Robinson 1926a, 12 and 18.
[14] The dedication of the temple is discussed at length below.

final set of drawings—produced in 1971 but unpublished until recently—represent the most

accurate reconstruction of the imperial sanctuary to date.[15] Only a few elements of

Woodbridge reconstruction need revision—most notably, Robinson's proposed dedication

of the imperial temple to Augustus and Mên. Based on a new inscription found in the

Tiberia Platea, I argue that the imperial temple was not dedicated to Augustus or Mên,

but rather to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Augustus and the Genius of the Colony. If

correct, this new dedicatory formula has profound implications for our understanding of

how and why the imperial sanctuary was built, and by whom. The three gods named in

the inscription are clearly Roman in origin, but the tripartite structure of the dedication

itself conforms to a local epigraphic formula popular in the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

This usage strongly suggests that members of the local Greek-speaking elite from the

former Hellenistic colony directly participated in the design, construction and final

dedication of the imperial temple. Such an idea runs counter to the prevailing

interpretative model, which treats the imperial sanctuary as a monument built exclusively

by and for the Italian colonists.[16] I argue instead that the construction of the imperial

sanctuary was, in fact, a collaborative effort between the Italian colonists and local

Graeco-Phrygian elites designed to unite Antioch's disparate colonial population into a

single, unified and easily governable whole.

Reconstructing the Imperial Sanctuary

The Michigan team's resident architect, F.J. Woodbridge, produced the first

reconstructions of the Augustan imperial sanctuary in 1924. Using all the available

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[15] Ossi 2005; Ossi and Rubin 2007.

[16] This interpretative model is most fervently championed by S. Mitchell. See Mitchell 1993, 104; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 167. See also Magie 1950, I 460, II 1320; Levick 1968, 52; Burrell 2004, 170.

information from the excavations, he drafted a series of ground plans and elevation

drawings depicting the sanctuary's central temple and propylon (Figs. 3-4). [17] These

beautiful ink drawings and pencil sketches remain to this day the basis for all subsequent

reconstruction drawings. Nevertheless, over the past eighty years, others scholars have

suggested some substantial modifications. Even Woodbridge himself had second

thoughts. In 1971, he prepared a second series of renderings consistent with his revised

vision of the imperial sanctuary. Among these drawings was a new frontal elevation of

the temple with a roof added to the rear portico, as well as a profile view and revised

frontal elevation of the propylon (Figs. 5-7). Unpublished until recently, these drawings

add much to our understanding of the Augustan imperial sanctuary's overall architectural

design and figure prominently in my discussion below.

During the 1980's and 1990's, a new generation of archaeologists and art historians

began to take interest in the Augustan imperial sanctuary. In 1983, K. Tuchelt became

the first scholar to publish a plan of temple since the appearance of Woodbridge's initial

drawings in 1926.[18] Hard on the heels of Tuchelt, Mitchell and Waelkens carried out

their own architectural survey of the sanctuary area between 1982 and 1983. The results

of their survey appeared fifteen years later in a volume entitled *Pisidian Antioch: The Site

and its Monuments*.[19] By far the most comprehensive study of Pisidian Antioch to date,

Mitchell and Waelkens' careful analysis of the extant physical remains filled many of the

gaps in our knowledge about the sanctuary left by the spotty record keeping of Ramsay

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[17] The first frontal elevations of the temple and propylon appeared in Robinson, 1926a, along with a
detailed ground plan of the site.
[18] Tuchelt 1983, esp. 503-506.
[19] Mitchell and Waelkens 1998.

and Robinson.[20] Overall, Mitchell and Waelkens' new observations tend to support the original reconstructions of the sanctuary proposed by Woodbridge and Robinson. They disagree on only minor points, such as the number of columns in the *pronaos* of the temple and the location of the *Res Gestae* on the propylon.[21]

The most recent attempt to reconstruct the architecture of the imperial sanctuary was undertaken by M. Taşlıalan, a former director of the Yalvaç Museum. From 1983 to 1992, Taşlıalan conducted a campaign to clean and conserve the long-neglected remains of the Augustan imperial sanctuary. Over the course of his work, Taşlıalan uncovered new details originally missed in Ramsay and Robinson's large-scale clearing operations. For example, while cleaning the remains of the western portico, Taşlıalan discovered three rooms adjoining the propylon, which he suggests were offices for the use of cult personnel.[22] This is an important discovery, not only from the standpoint of accurate architectural reconstruction, but also because it opens up a new debate concerning the role of the porticoes in the functionality of the sanctuary at large.

Based on the work of scholars like Woodbridge, Mitchell, Waelkens and Taşlıalan, it is now possible to reconstruct the overall design and function of the Augustan imperial sanctuary. From its inception, the sanctuary consisted of three interrelated architectural elements: the temple, the colonnaded plaza and the monumental propylon. Built high on the city's eastern acropolis, the sanctuary commanded a panoramic view over the surrounding landscape (Fig. 8).[23] The temple complex was

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[20] Although advanced for its time, the field methodology used by Ramsay and Robinson leaves a great deal to be desired. Ramsay, in particular, kept few notes and rarely published his results. See n. 9.

[21] Both of these debates will be discussed at length below. See Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 136 and 146.

[22] Taşlıalan 1993, 267.

[23] The so-called "acropolis" or "southern acropolis" is a large hill located c. 300 m south of the Augustan imperial sanctuary. Today, the only visible remains on the southern acropolis belong to a late Roman fortification. It is unclear how the space functioned earlier in the city's history. The southern acropolis is

approached from the *cardo maximus* through a wide colonnaded street known as the

Tiberia Platea (Fig. 9). [24] Although not technically part of the sacred precinct, this street

effectively served as a forecourt to the imperial sanctuary.

The *Tiberia Platea*

In 1924, Ramsay and Robinson cleared the entire *Tiberia Platea*. From their

photographs and descriptions, it is clear that they found the *platea* in nearly pristine

condition, just as it was prior to the destruction of Antioch in the early eighth century AD

(Fig. 10).[25] According to Woodbridge's field notes, the *Tiberia Platea* measured

approximately 85 m long and 22.9 m wide.[26] The entire surface of the street was paved

with white limestone pavers, similar to the ashlars used in the walls of the temple and the

propylon. A massive inscription found *in situ* near the steps of the propylon records that

a certain T. Baebius Asiaticus paved the *Tiberia Platea* in fulfillment of his duties as

municipal *aedile* (Fig. 11).[27] It is not known when exactly Baebius held the *aedileship*,

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called the "acropolis" simply because it is the highest point in the city. See Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 95.

[24] The name "*Tiberia Platea*" comes from Latin grain edict discovered Robinson near the base of the propylon staircase in 1924 (Robinson 1924b). The inscription was found in secondary use, which has caused many scholars to question whether it actually refers to the street where it was found. Nevertheless, most scholars continue to use the term out of convenience. For a discussion of the problems associated with the name, see Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 219-220; Spanu 2002.

[25] According to the 9th century historian, Theophanes the Confessor, the Arab armies of Abbas sacked Antioch in AD 713 and enslaved all the citizens. This event clearly marked the end of Antioch's status as a major urban settlement. See Ramsay 1924, 175; Demirer 2002, 37.

[26] Woodbridge's top plan of *Tiberia Platea* should be trusted over H. Stierlin's plan, which erroneously depicts the *Tiberia Platea* as a walled, colonnaded square (c. 65 m x 65 m) with three small entrances on the north, south and west sides. See Stierlin 1986, 175. Stierlin's erroneous plan is also reproduced in Ortaç 1998, 178.

[27] In fact, Baebius actually takes credit for paving "III (*millia*) *pedum*" of road. Undoubtedly, this "three thousand meters" of road includes the *Tiberia Platea*, but what other areas of the city Baebius paved remains a subject of debate. Mitchell argues that Baebius must have paved the *cardo*, the *decumanus*, and the *Tiberia Platea* since altogether their lengths add up to about 2,973 feet. While this is one possible scenario, it seems rather too convenient that the only three excavated streets just happen to be those paved by Baebius. Robinson 1926b, 235; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 221.

but most scholars date both his career and the pavement of the *Tiberia Platea* to the early

first century AD.[28]

The *Tiberia Platea* must have fulfilled many of the same functions traditionally

associated with a Greek agora or a Roman forum. The main street of the *Tiberia Platea*

apparently acted as a public square, where the citizens of Antioch could socialize in the

shadow of the imperial sanctuary. The numerous dice games and "two or three Latin

crosses" found by Ramsay and Robinson scratched into the pavement testify to the long-

term popularity of the square as a place for gaming and relaxation.[29] During their

excavations in 1924, Ramsay and Robinson also found over a dozen shops, bars and

restaurants lining the north and south sides of the *platea*. The small finds recovered from

these business establishments suggest that the area experienced an extended period of use

stretching from the first century AD well into late Byzantine times.[30] Four small

fountains along the base of the propylon provided the area with fresh drinking water.

Due to the difficulty of pumping water up to acropolis from the city's primary aqueduct,

these fountains were the only source of running water anywhere in the immediate

vicinity.[31] The presence of these fountains must have greatly added to the appeal of the

Tiberia Platea, especially for those who lacked running water in their homes.

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[28] Either in the later reign of the emperor Augustus or Tiberius. Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 221.

[29] Robinson 1924, 441.

[30] In his unpublished expedition journal, Robinson records a number of Byzantine and early Romans coins, as well as copious amounts of "iridescent" glassware, pottery, oil lamps and small bronze artifacts ranging in date from about the first century AD to Late Byzantine period. Although Robinson kept rather poor notes concerning small artifacts, it is still possible to check his initial observations by consulting photographs in the Kelsey Museum archive. See for instance, Kelsey photo #'s 7.1198 (glass fragments) and 7.1194 (bronze items). The discovery of a silver drachma of Alexander the Great and a "Ptolemaic coin with an eagle" suggest that the *Tiberia Platea* may have served as an agora or shopping area even before the foundation of the Augustan colony. See the entry for May 18 in Robinson's journal of excavations.

[31] The base of only one fountain remains in the NE corner of the street. It measures approximately 1.15 m x 1.15 m. The other fountains are presumed to have existed based on the presence of similar bronze and terracotta pipe outlets near the bottom of the propylon steps. The fountains probably date to the installation

The Augustan Propylon

At the western end of the *Tiberia Platea* stood a magnificent triple-arched propylon, which served as the main entrance to the Augustan imperial sanctuary (Fig. 6-7).[32] The second triple-bayed arch built in Asia Minor, the Augustan propylon was modeled directly on the design of triumphal arches in Rome and the western empire.[33] An inscription emblazoned in bronze letters across the architrave announced that the propylon was dedicated to the emperor Augustus in 2 BC, the year in which he received the title *pater patriae* or 'Father of the Country.'[34]

In 1924, Woodbridge proposed the first conjectural reconstruction of the propylon's structural layout and sculptural display, which is still accepted by most scholars today (Figs. 4).[35] According to Woodbridge's reconstruction, the propylon consisted of three archways and stood atop a twelve-step staircase linking the *Tiberia Platea* with the sacred precinct above. Both the interior and exterior faces of the propylon were adorned with relief sculptures that celebrated the victories of Augustus on land and sea. Along the pediment ran a frieze of weapons and trophies, as well as a depiction of Augustus' conception sign, the Capricorn (Fig. 12). While not a symbol of victory in itself, this Capricorn is probably intended to signify that Augustus' rise to power was preordained in

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of the street pavement in the first century AD. See, Robinson 1924, 439-40; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 151; Demirer 2002, 73.

[32] Woodbridge reconstructs the propylon as c. 10 m tall or 12 m with the attic sculptures. Taşlıalan's reconstruction is slightly shorter, c. 9 m tall or 11 m with attic sculptures (Taşlıalan 1994, 264-265). Woodbridge's reconstruction is better proportioned and should be preferred over Taşlıalan's.

[33] The first triple-bayed arch built in Asia Minor was the Agora Gate at Ephesus dedicated by Mazaeus and Mithridates in 4/3 BC. Alzinger 1974, 9-16.

[34] Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 147.

[35] See Robinson 1926a, 21.

the stars.[36] The arch spandrels on both the interior and exterior of the propylon were decorated with reliefs depicting victories, winged genii, and captive barbarians (Figs. 13-15) further reinforcing the triumphal theme. Few aspects of the propylon's construction have caused more confusion than the arrangement of these spandrel relief figures. The confusion arises largely from a discrepancy between Robinson's published description of the propylon and Woodbridge's conjectural reconstruction drawing, both of which appeared in the same article in 1926. The drawing represents the exterior façade of the propylon with two barbarians over the central arch and a victory opposite a winged genius over the two lateral arches (Fig. 4).[37] Without closely consulting the accompanying text, several scholars have accepted this arrangement as the correct restoration of the spandrel figures.[38]   However, Woodbridge never intended this drawing to serve as an accurate reflection of the monument's original appearance. As Robinson clearly states, Woodbridge combined elements from both the interior and exterior facades in order to create one unified image of the propylon that simultaneously illustrated all three known types of spandrel figures.[39] This led Woodbridge to place the two victories, which belong on the eastern façade, on the western façade.

In his written description of the propylon, Robinson presents a more accurate arrangement of the spandrel figures based on archaeological find spots. Of the twelve

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[36] The Capricorn is one of the many symbols commonly associated with Augustus, particularly on gems and intaglios. Perhaps the most famous example occurs in the *Gemma Augustea*, where the mythical beast is depicted superimposed over the sun or star, which hovers above Augustus' head. For the importance of astrology in Augustan ideology, see Barton 1995; Zanker 1988, 84 and 231.

[37] The figures over the two lateral arches in the drawing are commonly misidentified. For instance, Mitchell and Waelkens suggest that the drawing shows "a Victory standing opposite a Genius on the west-facing spandrels of the north arch, and two Genii in the equivalent position above the south arch" (Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 171 n. 86). This is, however, not the case. The sequence of spandrel figures in the drawing from north to south is: genius, victory, barbarian, barbarian, victory, genius. Robinson explicitly states that the south arch spandrels do not depict two genii. See Robinson 1926a, 21.

[38] See, for instance, Taşlıalan 1994, 251-53, 264. Influenced by Woodbridge, Taşlıalan reconstructs the propylon with a victory over each of the lateral arches. See also Stierlin 1986, 175.

[39] Robinson 1926a, 21.

original spandrel figures, the Michigan team recovered six: one victory, three genii and two barbarians. They found five of these figures (three genii and two barbarians) scattered at the base of the propylon staircase. By contrast, they found the only remaining victory at the top of the staircase. To explain this distribution pattern, Robinson reasoned that propylon must have collapsed westward during an earthquake. When the propylon collapsed, the figures on the western façade fell into the *Tiberia Platea*, whereas the figures on the eastern façade fell onto the steps of the propylon. Thus, Robinson reconstructed the propylon's western façade with two genii over the southern arch, two barbarians over the central arch and one genius over the northern arch. This arrangement is reflected in Woodbridge's revised restoration drawing of the propylon from 1971 (Fig. 7).

While this methodology allowed Robinson to provide an almost complete picture of the western façade, it did little to clarify the original appearance of the eastern façade. Robinson speculates that the only remaining victory "decorated the inner or east side of the Propylaea," but makes no further suggestions about the composition of the eastern spandrel figures. This leaves us with the question: what figures appeared on the eastern spandrels? Did the eastern spandrels depict only victories or were there also captives and genii as on the western façade?

C. Rose has recently suggested a partial solution to the problem. Scholars have long recognized the close similarity between Antioch's Hadrianic city gate and the propylon of the *Augusteum*.[40] Rose argues that this similarity is strong enough to warrant using extant elements from the city gate to reconstruct elements missing from the

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[40] Robinson 1926a, 51.

propylon.[41] The spandrel figures from the city gate have survived in higher numbers: in

contrast to the six spandrels from the propylon, ten spandrels figures have survived from

the city gate.[42] Among the spandrel figures preserved from the city gate are three

victories, in addition to two standard-bearing barbarians, which have no extant

counterparts from the propylon (Figs. 16-17). A number of scholars, including Robinson

and R. Schneider, have observed that the standard-bearers on the city gate seem to be

modeled on images of Parthians in Rome. [43] However, Rose is the first to argue that

similar images appeared on the eastern façade of the propylon.[44] Such images would

have fit well into the overall iconographic scheme of the propylon, which focused on the

victories and accomplishments of the emperor Augustus.

If we accept Rose's proposition that there were standard-bearing barbarians on the

propylon, then it is possible to conjecture a full reconstruction of the spandrel figures on

the eastern façade. On analogy with the city gate, the eastern façade of the propylon

should have featured two standard-bearing barbarians over the central bay and four

victories distributed over the remaining spandrels of the lateral bays (Fig. 18). Although

still somewhat tentative, this is the most plausible reconstruction of the propylon's eastern

façade given the evidence currently available.[45]

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[41] Rose 2005, 56. This theory has been confirmed by A. Ossi's reexamination of the physical evidence.
See Ossi in press.

[42] Ossi in press.

[43] See, for instance, the Parthian returning the standards of Anthony and Crassus on the cuirass of the Prima
Porta Augustus, as well as the famous Augustan coin issue depicting a kneeling Parthian holding a
standard. Robinson 1926a, 46; Schneider 1998, 114. Roehmer also recognizes the Parthian Arch in Rome
as an architectural precedent for the propylon at Antioch. Roehmer 1997, 70.

[44] Rose 2005, 256-7.

[45] Taşlıalan argues that the interior façade was plain with no columns, frieze or spandrel figures except for
two genii on the spandrels above the main arch. (Taşlıalan 1994, 251-53). This reconstruction should be
rejected on three grounds: 1) the find-spot of the Victory, 2) the absence of certain architectural fragments
necessary for Taşlıalan's reconstruction (i.e., unsculpted spandrels) and finally, 3) the similarity between
propylon and the city gate, which is decorated on both sides.

On the top of the propylon stood a number of large statues, each about 2 m high, which represented the goddess Victoria, Augustus and other prominent members of the imperial family.[46] These statues have survived only in fragmentary form. Therefore, it is difficult to propose a reliable reconstruction of the overall program. Nevertheless, two particular pieces deserve mention. In 1924, Robinson recovered a badly battered male torso (.825 m tall) missing its head, neck, and right arm (Fig. 19) at the base of the north propylon steps in 1924.[47] The figure wears a cloak and his right breast is bare in a manner typical of images of Zeus and Jupiter. Given the date and dedication of the propylon, this statue probably represents the emperor Augustus, but it may also represent Jupiter himself.[48] Augustus often appeared in the guise of Jupiter, especially on private commemorative objects, such as gems and cameos, as well as in contexts associated with the Roman imperial cult.[49] It is quite possible that the statue on the propylon was modeled on the famous cult statue of Augustus at the neochorate temple in Nikomedia, which depicted Augustus in the guise of the local Zeus.[50] No matter what the precedent, the syncretization of Zeus/Jupiter with the Roman emperor would have had a powerful symbolic meaning for the resident population of *incolae*, who had worshipped Zeus as

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[46] In addition to the sculptures published by Robinson, there is also a badly broken female head from the *Tiberia Platea*, which may belong to the propylon group. The right rear portion of the head survives showing a smooth neck and bound up hair (H. .25, W. .19, D. .18). See the May 13th entry in the journal of excavations and Kelsey photo # KR009.06. For other sculptures, see Robinson 1926a, 41-45; Robinson 1926c, 125-136; Robinson 1928, 200-205.

[47] Robinson 1926a, 42. Taşlıalan erroneously identifies this statue as Asclepius. Taşlıalan 1994, 252.

[48] Another possible candidate for such a portrait is Julius Caesar. In his lifetime and after death, Julius Caesar was frequently identified with Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Perhaps the most famous syncretization of the two figures comes in Dio Cassius 44.6.4, where he records that Caesar was openly hailed as "Jupiter Julius." This particular comment might derive from a piece of anti-Caesarian propaganda, but it is hard to dismiss all the evidence on such grounds. See Fears 1981, 54; Taylor 1931, 68-69.

[49] This is true both in the East and the West. Therefore, it seems likely that both the Italian colonists and Graeco-Phrygian *incolae* living in Antioch in the first century AD were able to appreciate the symbolism of such an image. For the evidence on gems, see Fears 1981, 57-58; Zanker 1988, 230-233.

[50] Burrell 2004, 147-151. Augustus also appears as Jupiter in imperial cult settings in the western empire. See, for example, the small altar from Abellinum illustrated in Gradel 2002, 94-95.

one of their primary city gods since the foundation of the Hellenistic colony.[51] The statue

of Augustus as Zeus not only would have signified that the Olympian gods sanctioned

Roman rule, but also that the power of the Roman emperor was tantamount to that of

Zeus himself.

Near the statue of Augustus, Robinson found the lower half of another draped

male figure with remnants of a barbarian captive kneeling at his feet (Fig. 20).[52] The

mutilated condition of the statue prevents certain identification, but the statue may well

depict Augustus or some other male member of the imperial family.[53] By the reign of

Augustus, images of this type were relatively common in the western Empire, but rare in

the East.[54] In fact, if the statue at Antioch indeed depicts an emperor, it would be one of

the earliest known manifestations of the emperor-with-captive motif in the monumental

art of Asia Minor.[55] Such a dramatic presentation of the emperor on the attic of the

propylon sent a clear message to Antioch's resident *incolae*: Roman rule is inevitable and

resistance futile.

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[51] Zeus Sosipolis was one of the principle gods of Magnesia on the Meander, Antioch's mother city. The Greek colonists undoubtedly brought this deity with them to Antioch. As Ramsay has pointed out, Zeus was also traditionally worshipped at Seleucid colonies. Ramsay 1918, 183, no. 138; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1924, 30-31. Seleucid coins depicting Zeus seated with a scepter have been discovered on site. See Demirer 2002, 20. For the prevalence of Zeus worship in Pisidia during the Hellenistic period, see Waelkens 1999, 199-201.

[52] Robinson 1926a, 42.

[53] Graeco-Roman gods are rarely represented with bound captives at their feet. The main exceptions to this rule are Victory and Roma, who are often portrayed in a similar manner to the emperor. See, for instance, the reliefs from the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias (Smith 1987, pl. iv; Rose 2005, 27). The sculptural program of the *Sebasteion* is discussed at length in Chapter Four. There are also a few instances of other gods depicted with captives at their feet, such as the reliefs of Athena and Ares on the *loggia* of the bouleuterion at Sagalassus (Waelkens 1993, 37).

[54] As early as the 70s BC, coins in Italy began to depict Roman governors standing over personifications of conquered provinces. See Kuttner 1995, 76-79.

[55] Given the proximity of Pisidian Antioch to a city like Aphrodisias, it worth considering whether this statue may have served as a model for images like the famous relief of Nero grasping a captive Armenia at the *Sebasteion* (Fig. 37). Smith 1987, 117.

This message was reiterated by the Latin copy of the *Res Gestae*, which was inscribed at eye level on the propylon.[56] In 1913 and 1924, Ramsay and Robinson unearthed hundreds of small fragments of the *Res Gestae*, which had been smashed and scattered throughout the *Tiberia Platea*.[57] Hammer and chisel marks on the existing fragments suggest that the *Res Gestae* was intentionally destroyed as early as the fourth century AD.[58] The inscription's fragmentary condition makes it difficult to reconstruct its original placement on the propylon. Woodbridge and Robinson propose the most plausible reconstruction of the *Res Gestae* inscribed on four monumental pedestals built into the propylon's staircase (Fig. 7).[59] I would suggest only one small amendment to Robinson and Woodbridge's reconstruction. In Woodbridge's drawing, the text of the *Res Gestae* is arranged in nine columns. As a result, the front face of the southern most pedestal receives only one column of writing. A ten-column configuration similar to the one suggested by Ramsay and von Premerstein would eliminate this awkwardness.[60] Mounted on the staircase of the propylon, the *Res Gestae* would have been clearly visible to all those who entered the imperial sanctuary.

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[56] See Chapter Five.

[57] Robinson 1926e, 2; Ramsay 1926, 108-113. Taşlıalan found a new fragment while cleaning the *Tiberia Platea*. Taşlıalan 1993, 268.

[58] Robinson argues that Christian iconoclasts smashed the *Res Gestae* in the fourth or fifth century AD (Robinson 1926b, 2). However, it is also possible that the Arabs destroyed the inscription during the invasion of AD 713.

[59] See Robinson 1926b, 23. It is unclear why Tuchelt and Taşlıalan choose to reconstruct the propylon without pedestals (Tuchelt 1983, 503; Taşlıalan 1995, 256, 264-265). The pedestals—or "profile bases" as Robinson calls them— appear in multiple photographs from the 1924 excavations now housed in the Kelsey Museum archive (e.g. KR041.11, KR042.01). Ramsay and von Premerstein argue that the *Res Gestae* was carved on the interior of the propylon's central arch bays. This theory has since been accepted by a number of other scholars. See Ramsay and von Premerstein 1927, 13-16; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 146; Roehmer 1997, 69; Taşlıalan 1994, 251-53; Tuchelt 1983, 514. However, this reconstruction is only possible if the propylon had monolithic piers wide enough to display the entire *Res Gestae*, which is far from certain. Woodbridge and Robinson reconstruct the propylon with a small transverse passageway running north-south bisecting the piers (See Fig. 6). The existence of this passageway is attested by several architectural fragments, including an arched block, which could have only come from the roof of the passageway. The Agora Gate at Ephesus also features a similar transverse passageway. See Alzinger 1974, 9-16; Ortaç 1998, 175-77.

[60]Ramsay and von Premerstein 1927, 13-16. See also Drew-Bear 2005, 218.

The Colonnaded Plaza

The propylon opened eastward onto a wide colonnaded plaza, commonly known today as the "*Augusta Plated*" (Fig. 9).[61] The Antiochenes carved this entire plaza—an area of over 6000 sq. meters—from the living rock of the eastern acropolis. At the front of the plaza was a rectangular courtyard, c. 83 m x 66 m, designed to house the rituals and sacrifices of the Roman imperial cult. The courtyard was paved with white limestone pavers and enclosed on three sides (north, south and west) by a single-storied Doric portico, c. 4 m tall and 6 m deep.[62] Along the rear wall of the western portico was a series of small rooms that faced eastward onto the *Augusta Platea*.[63] The precise function of these rooms is unknown; however, it seems likely that they were used as some combination of workshops, storerooms and offices for high-ranking cult personnel.[64]

The imperial temple stood at the rear of the plaza, at the center of a two-story semicircular portico. Carved from the rock of the eastern acropolis, the rear wall of the

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[61] While scholars often refer to the plaza as the "*Augusta Platea*," it is unlikely that the plaza was ever known by that name in antiquity. The title "*Augusta Platea*" derives from a decontextualized honorific inscription from Hisarardı, which Ramsay erroneously linked to the imperial plaza (Ramsay 1916, 106). See also n. 16.

[62] Taşlıalan 1995, 254.

[63] In 1924, the Michigan team discovered the remains of a single room attached to the western portico. According to Woodbridge's plan, this room was located approximately 3 meters from the northernmost propylon pier (Fig. 9). The Michigan team also excavated the foundation of a partial room (i.e. a single interior wall) 3 meters south of the propylon. Taşlıalan later excavated an additional three rooms north of the propylon. These rooms are clearly illustrated in Taşlıalan's preliminary plan of the sanctuary, but strangely do not appear in his final plan, which was published only a year later. See Taşlıalan 1993, 272; Taşlıalan 1994, 254.

[64] Taşlıalan plausibly identifies all of the rooms along the western portico as offices for cult personnel (Taşlıalan 1993, 267). Although possible, it seems unlikely that such a large block of rooms in a multi-functional space such as the *Augusta Platea* would only have a single use. On the multi-functionality of Greek *stoas*, see Coulton 1976, 8-12. It is also possible that some of these rooms served as archives for storing public documents or perhaps even as ritual dining rooms. On the use of imperial cult temples as document archives, see Burrell 2004, 19; Fayer 1976, 110-111.

hemicycle still stands to height of c. 6.4 m.[65] The first story of the hemicycle, like the

courtyard, was lined with a Doric colonnade, c. 4 m tall and 6 m deep.[66] In 1924, the

Michigan team uncovered fourteen of the original column bases from the first-story

portico still *in situ*, as well as numerous fragments of Doric capitals, architraves and

triglyphs.[67] In contrast, they recovered very little from the second-story portico with the

exception of a few broken Ionic capitals and column shafts.[68] Based on this meager

evidence, Woodbridge reconstructed the second story of the hemicycle with an Ionic

colonnade, c. 3.5–4 m tall (Fig. 4).[69] According to Woodbridge's revised drawing from

1971, the second-story colonnade also featured a terracotta-tiled roof and a stone

balustrade, c. 1 m high (Fig. 5).[70] This revised reconstruction is accurate in almost every

detail except for one: based on the findings of Taşlıalan, the entablature of the portico

should also have a tendril frieze similar to the one found on the *cella* of the imperial

temple.[71]

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[65] The rear wall of the hemicycle has traditionally been represented as a true semicircle. This is not the case, however. The wall is, in fact, a polygon with ten irregularly shaped facets, which is clearly illustrated in the plan commissioned by J. Humphrey. Undoubtedly, these facets are the result of the rock-cutting technique employed by the craftsmen who carved the hemicycle.

[66] The maximum height of the first-story portico is demonstrated by a series of rectangular holes (c. 30 cm long x 30-55 cm deep) carved into the back wall of the hemicycle, which were designed to hold the wooden floor beams of the second story. See Callander's unpublished report of the 1913 excavations in the Kelsey Museum archives.

[67] See the entries for August 13th and August 28th in Robinson's excavation journal.

[68] See Robinson's journal of excavations, particularly the entry for August 13th.

[69] The second-story portico was accessed by means of a narrow staircase, c. 1.4 m, located in the northwestern corner of the *Augusta Platea*. Just to the north of this staircase was a small room, c. 6.5 m x 4.4 m (Taşlıalan 1993, 251). This room was constructed out of roughly worked limestone blocks similar to those used in the construction of the shops in the *Tiberia Platea*. The door to the room was flanked by two engaged Doric columns, which faced outward onto the *Augusta Platea*. It is tempting to identify this room as the office of the head imperial cult priest, but there is no way to know for certain.

[70] Rectangular holes on the sides of several extant column drums testify to the existence of balustrades. Mitchell and Waelkens favor the existence a wooden balustrade, while Taşlıalan dismisses the existence of a balustrade altogether. See Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 144; Taşlıalan 1994, 263.

[71] During his excavations in the 1980's and early 1990's, Taşlıalan recovered several sections of a tendril frieze, which he rightly associates with the second-story portico. See Taşlıalan 1994, 250-251, 263. A piece of the same frieze is now visible lying in the ruins of the bath complex, where it was presumably reused during late antiquity.

The porticoes that enclosed the *Augusta Platea* served a variety of architectural functions. On festival days, crowds of worshippers would have gathered in the porticoes while they waited to take part in processions and animal sacrifices on behalf of the Roman emperor. The porticoes provided these worshippers with shade from the sun and shelter from inclement weather conditions.[72] During annual festivals of the Roman imperial cult, throngs of pilgrims poured into Antioch from the surrounding countryside, many of whom had no place to stay but the imperial sanctuary itself.[73] By providing these needy pilgrims with free temporary lodging, the porticoes along the *Augusta Platea* ensured that even the poorest members of Antiochene society had access to the rituals and sacrifices of the Roman imperial cult. The political significance of this access should not be underestimated. Without the tacit acceptance of local villagers, the Italian colonists who settled at Antioch faced the constant threat of a popular uprising. Making it possible for local villagers to participate in the Roman imperial cult inspired a genuine sense of camaraderie that helped alleviate tension that may have developed between the town and countryside.

In addition, the wealthiest members of Antiochene society used the porticoes around the *Augusta Platea* as a conspicuous location in which to erect honorific statues of the Roman emperor and his family. In 1924, the excavators found dozens of fragments of imperial portrait statues scattered throughout the *Augusta Platea*.[74] These statues

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[72] Providing shelter to pilgrims was the most basic functions of all *stoas* in Greek sanctuaries. See Coulton 1976, 9-12.

[73] As an assize center, Antioch served as the administrative capital of a large territory, first in the province of Galatia and later in the province of Pisidia. During annual festivals of the imperial cult, people from the surrounding territory flooded into the capital lured by the promise of free food and entertainment. The majority of these pilgrims were poor rural farmers, who lacked the resources to pay for proper lodging. See Price 1984, 83-86 and 101-114; Mitchell 1993, 102.

[74] For a discussion of the sculpture from the imperial sanctuary, see Robinson 1926a, 41-45 and 69. The excavators also found numerous fragments, which they did not publish— most notably the leg of a colossal

probably stood in several locations inside the imperial sanctuary including the courtyard

and porticoes of the *Augusta Platea*,[75] as well as the *cella* of the imperial temple itself.[76]

We can add to this group the head of the emperor Marcus Aurelius discovered by

Taşlıalan among the ruins of the western portico in 1991.[77] The discovery of this head is

significant because it suggests that the Antiochenes continued update the sculptural

program of the imperial sanctuary well into the late second century AD. By erecting

imperial portrait statues in the *Augusta Platea*, powerful members of Antioch's urban elite

publicly affirmed their loyalty to the Roman emperor, while simultaneously advertising

their own personal wealth and resources to their fellow Antiochenes. It was particularly

important to add new statues to the imperial sanctuary upon the ascension of each new

emperor. Otherwise, the Antiochenes risked offending the incoming emperor and losing

the lucrative monetary and social benefits of imperial patronage.

     From a visual perspective, the porticoes along the *Augusta Platea* served as a

dramatic architectural frame for viewing the imperial temple. As Mitchell and Waelkens

have observed, the semicircular arrangement of columns along the rear wall of the plaza

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male figure, probably an emperor. See the "Sculpture Inventory" in Robinson's excavation journal. Much to the chagrin of modern scholars, Ramsay kept no records whatsoever of the sculptures that he recovered from the *Augusteum* in 1913. Robinson did, however, publish a single photograph showing the sculptural fragment that he deemed most interesting from the 1913 campaign (Robinson 1926a, 68, Fig. 127). The photo depicts a hodgepodge of portrait heads mixed up with architectural fragments recovered from three separate locations: the *Augusteum*, the sanctuary of Mên and an "exploratory" trench dug near the proscenium of the theater. Many of the heads seem to depict members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, which suggests that they may have come from the *Augusteum*, but there is no way to know for certain.

[75] It was common practice throughout the Roman world to erect large statuary groups in the forecourts of imperial cult temples. See, for example, the temples at Apollonia (*MAMA* IV 48-50), Sagalassus (Talloen and Waelkens 2005, 236) and Lepcis Magna (Rose 1997, 184-185). The hemicycles of the Forum of Augustus in Rome are also known to have housed sculpture galleries, which contained statues depicting the illustrious ancestors of the emperor Augustus (Zanker 1968, 14 ff.). It is tempting to reconstruct a similar gallery in the hemicycle of the imperial sanctuary at Antioch.

[76] After Augustus' death in AD 14, it seems likely that the Antiochenes began to add new statues to the *cella* of the imperial temple in order to reflect contemporary political developments in Rome. This phenomenon is well attested at a number of *Augustea* across the Roman Empire, including those at Bubon (İnan 1993; Rose 1997, 171), Cestrus (Højte 2005, 342), Eretria (Schmid 2001, 123-134), Lucus Feroniae (Moretti 1985; Rose 1997, 93) and Narona (Marin 2001, 97-112; Marin and Vickers 2004, 70-166).

[77] Taşlıalan 1993, 268, Fig. 21.

generated an impressive "optical effect" that made the whole sanctuary appear larger than it really was.[78] Moreover, the linear progression of columns along the outer edge of the sanctuary directed the viewer's eyes towards a central focal point just behind the *cella* of the imperial temple—an effect that was clearly designed to draw attention to the colossal cult statue or statues housed within.

By the late first century BC, colonnaded *temenos* enclosures of this kind had become a regular part of sanctuaries across the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, scholars have persistently tried to trace the design of the imperial sanctuary back to a specific Greek or Roman precedent. For example, Mitchell and Waelkens have argued that the axial plan of the imperial sanctuary directly recalls the design of the Forum of Augustus in Rome.[79] While there are indeed close parallels between these two monuments, it is wrong to imply that axial planning was somehow a distinctive feature of Roman architecture. A number of Hellenistic sanctuaries in Asia Minor also incorporated axially aligned *temenos* enclosures similar to the one at Antioch—most notably the Sanctuary of Artemis at Magnesia-on-the-Meander, Antioch's mother city.[80] The only architectural element of the imperial sanctuary that could be described as "Roman" is the semicircular portico behind the temple. As Tuchelt has pointed out, semicircular porticoes first began to appear in Roman Italy during the late second century BC, after which they soon

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[78] Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 164.

[79] They also cite the forum in Nîmes, which housed the Maison Carée, as another close parallel. See Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 160. I would add the *Forum Julium* to the list of potential Roman architectural precedents for the layout of the Augustan imperial sanctuary. Not only did the *Forum Julium* have an axial plan, but it also had side rooms built into the surrounding porticoes, much like the imperial sanctuary at Antioch. For a reconstructed plan of the *Forum Julium*, see Ulrich 1993, 52.

[80] Hoepfner 1990, 18-20; Bingöl 1998, 23. Close comparanda can also be found at Kos, Teos, Pergamum, Priene, Assos and, of course, at Antioch itself at the extramural sanctuary of Mên. See Pollitt 1986, 232-233; Uz 1990, 52; Bohtz 1981, 3; Bayhan 2005, 27-28; Bacon, Clark and Koldewey 1902, 75-108. In Anatolia, temples with accompanying colonnades even predate the Classical and Hellenistic periods. See, for instance, the Phrygian temple of Cybele at Midas City, which dates somewhere between the eighth and sixth century BC (Berndt 2002, 8-14). For the development of the Greek *stoa* in the Hellenistic period more generally, see Lehmann 1954; Coulton 1976, 168-83.

became a standard element in the Roman architectural repertoire.[81] Notably, the

semicircular portico in the imperial sanctuary at Antioch is the first of its kind ever built

in Asia Minor.[82] This fact strongly suggests that Roman architects participated in the

design and construction of the imperial sanctuary. However, it is difficult to know

whether the local Graeco-Phrygian population would have recognized the origin or

novelty of the semicircular portico, especially since it was so close in form and concept to

the Π-shaped porticoes, which commonly appeared in Hellenistic sanctuaries throughout

Asia Minor.

The Imperial Cult Temple

The temple is by far the best studied of all the monuments in the imperial

sanctuary. Ramsay and Robinson excavated the temple over the course of three field

seasons between 1913 and 1924. During their excavations, they recovered enough of the

temple's original architecture to propose a reliable reconstruction (Fig. 5). Like most

Augustea, the temple at Antioch was constructed in typical Roman fashion: Corinthian,

prostyle with a high podium and monumental staircase.[83] The rock-cut foundation of the

temple, which still remains largely intact, measures c. 24.10 m long x 15.24 m wide x 3.5

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[81] Tuchelt 1985, 509-511.

[82] Another semicircular portico does not appear in Asia Minor until the construction of the Baths of Capito in Miletus under the reign of the emperor Claudius (AD 41-54). See Tuchelt 1985, 509-510.

[83] On the general design of Augustan-era imperial cult temples, see Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 39-78; Zanker 1988, 311-312. Scholars often compare the architecture of the imperial temple at Antioch to western *Augustea*, such as those at Pola and Magalensberg. While these comparisons are apt, we should also take into account more local architectural antecedents. As Price has pointed out, there is nothing intrinsically "Roman" about the design of the imperial temple at Antioch (Price 1984, 168). Prostyle temples first appeared the in Greek world during the late Classical period (Plommer 1956, 158-9). Although most featured a low, three-step stylobate, there are some examples with impressive monumental staircases and elevated podia— e.g. the temple of Dionysius at Pergamum (Radt 1999, 189-192). It is interesting to note that the podium of the imperial cult temple at Antioch also bears a certain general resemblance to the rock-cut podia of the Lycian temple tombs, such as the Heroon of Perikle at Limyra (Borchhardt 1976, 112-114).

m high (Fig. 21).[84] Based on the surviving architectural fragments, Mitchell and

Waelkens estimate that the temple stood to a total elevation of approximately 17-18 m,

while Woodbridge favors a slightly lower elevation of approximately of 14-15 m (Fig.

3).[85]

    While scholars agree that the temple was built in a tetrastyle configuration, there

is little consensus about the total number of columns that appeared in the porch. In his

final plan of the imperial sanctuary from 1924 (Fig. 9), Woodbridge reconstructs eight

columns in the porch of the temple arranged in two rows of four.[86] Most contemporary

scholars, however, favor a more conventional, six-column arrangement four columns in

the front row, two in the rear.[87] I am inclined to agree with their assessment, if based

only on analogy with other similarly sized tetrastyle temples, such as the *Augusteum* at

Pola and the temple of Dionysus at Pergamum.[88]

    The temple of Augustus was lavishly decorated with sculptures and reliefs

celebrating the *Pax Augusta* or "Augustan Peace." Along the exterior *cella* wall was an

unusual double frieze of acanthus scrolls and poppy flowers reminiscent of the vegetal

imagery on the *Ara Pacis* (Altar of Peace) in Rome (Fig. 22).[89] A pedimental frieze of

bucrania and garlands bearing local fruits, such as cherries and pomegranates, further

emphasized the theme of peace and prosperity (Fig. 23). On each side of the temple, a

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[84] Taşlıalan 1994, 246.
[85] Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 138.
[86] This plan is reproduced in Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 137.
[87] Tuchelt 1983, 505 and 507; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 146.
[88] Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 149-152; Radt 1999, 189-192. See also the porch of the *Augusteum* at Narona (Marin and Vickers 2004, 46). Taşlıalan's reconstruction of the porch with an eight-column triple colonnade (12 columns in total) arises from a false measurement of the temple's *pronaos*. Taşlıalan asserts that the *pronaos* measures 8.80 M, which is 1.10 meters too long according to Mitchell and Waelkens. See Taşlıalan 1994, 247; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 146.
[89] Robinson 1926a, 12; Mitchell and Waelkens, 1998, 165; *contra* Taşlıalan (1994, 260-262), who favors a single block frieze.

small window was cut into the pediment in order to provide the interior of the *cella* with

light. It has been suggested that these windows also had some sort of cultic function, but

this seems unlikely given the ubiquity of windows in both Greek and Roman temples

around the empire.[90]   Mounted to the roof of the temple was a set of six white marble

acroteria. The two central acroteria (c. 1.8 m high) depicted a goddess with an elaborate

solar crown rising up from a bundle of lush acanthus leaves and scrolls (Fig. 24). The

identity of this goddess is highly controversial, but she is probably best identified as the

Greek goddess Artemis, rather than Roma or Cybele.[91]   Artemis would have made a

fitting addition to the decorative program of the imperial temple given that she was both

the protector of Antioch's mother city, Magnesia-on-the-Meander, as well as the sister of

Apollo, Augustus' patron deity.

The Dedicatory Inscription

In 1924, Ramsey and Robinson failed to find any evidence of a dedicatory

inscription associated with the imperial temple. Although they excavated numerous

fragments from the temple's architrave, doorframe and pedimental frieze, none of these

fragments showed any signs of either a carved dedicatory inscription or holes for

insertion of bronze letters like those used on the propylon.[92]   This absence has prompted

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[90] Windows appear in a number of temples both in the east and the west. See, for example, the temple of
Quirinus in Rome (Beard, North and Price 2002, 183). The best local precedents in Asia Minor appear at
the temple of Artemis at Magnesia and the *Augusteum* at Mylasa (Bingöl 1998, 23-25; Hänlein-Schäfer
1985, 177-79). Mitchell suggests that a beam of light was cast through windows of the Antioch temple to
symbolize an epiphany of the emperor (Mitchell and Waelkens, 1998, 159).
[91] Acanthus figures appear in a number of Hellenistic architectural contexts, most notably temples (e.g. the
temple of Artemis at Magnesia) and funerary monuments, such as the tomb at Sveshtari in Bulgaria. These
figures are generally thought to represent the goddess Artemis (Pfrommer 1990, 73-76; Webb 1996, 32-33).
For further discussion of the figure's identity, see below.
[92] An early drawing by Woodbridge shows "Divo Augusto" written on the door lintel. But no evidence was
found to support such a dedication and the inscription was later removed in Woodbridge's final elevation

Mitchell and Waelkens to conclude that the imperial temple never bore its own

dedicatory inscription, but was instead identified by the dedication on the propylon and

the iconography of the cult statue housed within the *cella*.[93] It seems unlikely to me,

however, that a temple of this scale and grandeur would not have its own dedicatory

inscription. I would argue that the inscription was simply located somewhere else other

than on the temple's architrave, doorframe or pedimental frieze. It is important to note that

Roman temples in Asia Minor often featured dedications in unusual locations. For

instance, at the city of Termessus, the dedicatory inscription of Temple N4, otherwise

known as the Small Temple of Artemis, was inscribed across two statue bases flanking

the temple's *cella* door. [94] The spacious porch of the imperial cult temple at Antioch (7.7

m long x 15.24 m wide) could have easily accommodated such a pair of dedicatory bases.

Alternatively, the dedicatory inscription could have appeared on the base of a cult statue

housed within the *cella* of the temple itself.[95] The central cult statue was highly visible

and would have provided an excellent location for the display of the dedication of the

temple.

The dedication could have also appeared on the monumental staircase piers built

into the temple's podium. Although dedicatory inscriptions were rarely placed on

staircase piers, they do occur on several monuments in Asia Minor including the Library

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drawing (**Fig. 2**). Hänlein-Schäfer (1985, 192) suggests that the dedication may have appeared on a blank
section of the pedimental frieze as on the *Augusteum* at Pola, but there is simply no evidence to support
such a hypothesis.
[93] See, for instance, Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 140.
[94] Uysal and Buyruk 1986, 62 and 64; Pohl 2002; 218-219 and 270.
[95] Inscribed cult statue bases have been recovered from the *cellae* of *Sebasteia* at Narona (Marin 2001;
Marin and Vickers 2004), Bubon (İnan 1993; Rose 1997, 171), Cestros (Højte 2005, 342), Eretria (Schmid
2001, 123-134) and Lucus Feroniae (Moretti 1985; Rose 1997, 93).

of Celsus at Ephesos and the temple of Aelius Caesar at Selge.[96] Measuring over 2 m

wide, the piers of the temple at Antioch offered more than enough space to accommodate

a monumental dedication.[97] Such a placement would also accord well with Woodbridge's

reconstruction of the *Res Gestae* displayed on bases built into the staircase piers of the

propylon (Fig. 7).

Finally, we must also consider the possibility that the dedicatory inscription

appeared on a monumental altar, either built into the staircase of the imperial temple or

erected elsewhere in the *Augusta Platea*.[98] Woodbridge found the latter solution the most

appealing, as is clear from his initial frontal elevation drawing of imperial temple (Fig.

3). In this drawing, Woodbridge reconstructs a small, Roman-style altar built directly

into the staircase of the imperial temple. Unfortunately, the excavators failed to find any

hard archaeological evidence to support such a reconstruction. Thus, Woodbridge

dropped the altar from all of his later drawings. If such an altar had existed, however, it

is unlikely that it would have escaped the notice of late antique or early modern stone

robbers. The altar's flat marble slabs would have served as excellent building material,

while the altar itself would have provided a convenient target for Christian iconoclasts

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[96] Halfmann 1997, 81; Machatshek and Schwartz 1981, 94; Nollé, J. and Schindler, F. 1991, 77-78. Special
thanks to Markku Corremans and Peter Talloen for the references.

[97] The staircase piers in Woodbridge's reconstructions vary in shape, but they are consistently represented
as 2 m wide (cf. Figs. 3 + 5). Woodbridge originally reconstructed the temple with a traditional Roman-
style staircase similar to the *Augusteum* at Pola (Fig. 3). However, his revised reconstruction (Fig. 5)
features a staircase that appears to be modeled on Hellenistic prostyle temples, such as the Temple of Zeus
Sosoplis at Magnesia and the Temple of Demeter at Pergamum. The reasons for this change are difficult to
determine, but both reconstructions seem plausible given the colonial context of the imperial sanctuary.
For a reconstruction of the temple of Zeus Sosopolis, see Bingöl 1998, 53. For the temple of Demeter, see
Bohtz 1981, Pl. 53.

[98] Monumental altars often bore dedicatory inscriptions. See, for instance, Altar A in front of the Temple
of Demeter at Pergamum or the numismatically attested Altar of Fortuna Redux in Rome. Bohtz 1981, 51-
53, plates 26 and 30; Zanker 1988, 162.

eager to purge the imperial sanctuary of its numinous power. This could potentially

explain why no pieces clearly connected to the altar of the imperial temple were found.[99]

The Question of the Temple's Dedication

Scholars have long debated about the dedication of the imperial temple at

Antioch. During the nineteenth century, the first visitors to the site identified the temple

as the intramural shrine to Mên Askaenus, which Strabo mentions in his brief description

of Antioch (*Geo*. 12.3.31).[100] But as Ramsey's excavations commenced in 1913, serious

doubts began to emerge. The discovery of the *Res Gestae* and the characteristically

Roman design of the imperial temple both seemed incongruous with a dedication to the

local Anatolian god, Mên Askaênos. Based on this new evidence, Callander argued for

the first time that the temple was an *Augusteum*, whereas Ramsay vacillated among four

or five different positions, sometimes identifying the temple as an *Augusteum*, other times

as a shrine to Mên.[101]

As late as 1924, Ramsay and Robinson were still hopeful of finding a dedicatory

inscription, which would name the temple's dedicatee and bring an end to the ongoing

debate but none ever surfaced. Without the benefit of dedicatory inscription, scholars

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[99] F. Rumscheid has suggested that the Boukrania frieze normally associated with the imperial temple was,
in fact, part of a late-Flavian or early Trajanic altar erected somewhere in the *Augusta Platea*. Few scholars
would agree, however, either with Rumscheid's proposed dating or identification of the frieze. See
Rumscheid 1994, Vol II, 5. For a more conventional interpretation of the frieze, see Robinson 1926a, 11-
12; Mitchell and Walkens 1998, 167.

[100] Arundell 1834, I 275; Hamilton 1842, I 474.

[101] When he first arrived at Antioch, Ramsay did not even believe the imperial sanctuary was a temple, but
instead suggested it was an odeon or theater. He later published in 1916 that he agreed with Callander that
the temple was an *Augusteum*. By 1926, his opinion had changed yet again, and he argued that the
priesthood of Augustus was nothing more than "the survival of the old priesthood of Mên-Mannes,
Romanized and imperialized." Later that same year he suggested that the temple dated to 189 BC and was
dedicated to Mên. Finally, in 1930, he declared the temple was not Hellenistic, but rather high Roman,
built in the second century AD. See Ramsay 1916, 107-8; Ramsay 1924, 201; Ramsay 1926, 111; Ramsay
1930, 277. See also Callander's unpublished report of the 1913 excavations in the Kelsey Museum
archives.

have had to rely on other methods of identification, such as architecture and iconography. As a result, a number of conflicting identification schemes have emerged, some more plausible than others. In the following discussion, I evaluate the arguments in favor of the two most commonly proposed dedicatees of the imperial temple: namely, Mên Askaenus and the emperor Augustus.[102] I conclude based on the extant archaeological evidence that the imperial temple was not dedicated to Mên but, rather, bore a tripartite dedication to Augustus, Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Genius of *Colonia Pisidia Antiocheia*, and that this tripartite dedication not only reflected, but also reinforced the newly established colonial hierarchy at Pisidian Antioch. By worshipping a triad of gods closely associated with the ethos of Roman imperialism, the people of Antioch actively constructed a new civic identity predicated upon loyalty to the imperial family and a fundamental belief in the legitimacy of Roman colonial rule.

Over the past eighty years, scholars have consistently named Augustus and Mên as the most likely dedicatees of the imperial sanctuary.[103] In 1926, Robinson laid out the basic iconographic arguments in favor of associating the imperial temple with both Mên and Augustus. It is notable that while Robinson found numerous visual allusions to Augustus and his many achievements throughout the sanctuary, he found only two architectural elements evocative of the god Mên: 1) the bucranium frieze and 2) the *Rankengott* on the west central *acroterion*. In the case of bucranium frieze, Robinson maintains that the nuts and berries sprouting from the garlands (Fig. 23) are symbolic of

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[102] Tuchelt favors a dedication to Mên and Cybele. Tuchelt 1985, 515-22. Mitchell and Waelkens, Mellor, Güven and Demirer favor a dedication to Augustus. Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 160; Mellor 1975, 144-5; Güven 1998, 35; Demirer 2002, 82. Robinson, Hänlein-Schäfer and Taşlıalan identify the temple as an *Augusteum*, but leave the possibility of a joint dedication with Mên or Cybele open. Robinson 1926a, 12 and 18; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 196; Taşlıalan 1995, 248.

[103] There are only a few exceptions in addition Cybele. The temple has been identified as a *Capitolium* by Levick and D. Magie. Levick 1968, 52; Magie 1950, I 460, II 1320. B. Burrell has also recently argued the temple was dedicated to Julius Caesar (Burrell 2004, 170). For further discussion, see below.

Mên's power over "the production of all kinds of fruit."[104] This is one possible

interpretation of the fruit garlands, but there are others that better coordinate with the

overall message of the imperial sanctuary's sculptural program. As Robinson himself

admits, the fruits and nuts on the bucranium frieze are also symbolic of the *Pax Augusta*,

and find close precedents in the art and architecture of Augustan Rome, most notably the

Ara Pacis Augustae.[105]

Robinson's arguments concerning the iconography of *Rankengott* on the central

acroterion are even more problematic. As in the case of the bucranium frieze, Robinson

focuses on a single detail of acroterion: the large convex disc surmounting the crown of

the acanthus goddess (Fig. 24). Robinson interprets this circular object both as a Roman

clipeus or shield, and as a solar disc intended to symbolize the god Mên.[106] The problem

with this interpretation is that Mên was never closely associated with the sun or "Solar

pantheism." In fact, Mên was a lunar deity, who was often represented in dedications at

Kara Kuyu simply as a crescent moon.[107] Even in his anthropomorphic form, Mên is

normally depicted with a pair of long crescent-shaped horns protruding from his

shoulders, which symbolize his powers over the moon. Therefore, it is extremely

unlikely that this solar disc was meant to evoke the god Mên. Instead, the design of the

solar crown seems most clearly reminiscent of the headgear worn by popular Egyptian

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[104] Robinson 1926a, 12.

[105] Robinson 1926a, 12.

[106] Robinson 1926a, 18. As he writes, "to the Oriental the disc would symbolize the sun as the crescent would denote the moon. At Pisidian Antioch the Asia Minor belief in the Solar pantheism would center around the God Mên, the god of light and prosperity." Tuchelt makes a similar argument concerning the *acroterium*'s headgear, but he relates the sculpture to Cybele or "der anatolischen Muttergottheit" rather than Mên. Tuchelt 1983, 516.

[107] The northern *temenos* wall of the temple at Kara Kuyu is covered with similar dedications to Mên. See Demirer 2002, 115-177 and 121.

deities, such as Isis and Horus.[108] In the context of the imperial sanctuary, even a subtle

reference to Egypt such as this can safely be interpreted as an allusion to Octavian's

victory over Antony and Cleopatra at the battle of Actium, a battle that was still fresh in

the minds of many Romans when the imperial temple was begun in 25 BC.[109]

More recently, Tuchelt has cited several additional arguments in favor associating

the imperial temple with Mên and his consort, Cybele. First of all, Tuchelt argues that

the vaulted basement under the *cella* of the imperial temple served as a subterranean

cultic chamber for the worship of the Anatolian mother goddess, Cybele.[110] In support of

this theory, he points to the existence of a large natural cave under the Hadrianic temple

of Zeus at Aezani.[111] As Mitchell and Waelkens have pointed out, however, the cave at

Aezani and the vaulted basement at Antioch are "utterly different."[112] Unlike the cave at

Aezani, which was vast and roomy, the basement of the Antioch temple was small, nearly

inaccessible and had of no source of natural light.[113] While such a dark, cramped space

would have made for a poor cult chamber, it would have functioned quite nicely as a

storeroom and support structure to hold up the immense weight of the *cella* above.[114]

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[108] For the solar crown of Isis, see Tiradritti 2000, 356 and 363.

[109] Octavian's victory at Actium was often alluded to in Rome both by Egyptianizing motifs, such as the chained crocodile on Augustan silver denari and outright spoliated Egyptian art, such as the gnomon of the *Solarium Augusti*. See Zanker 1988, 144-45.

[110] The basements measures approximately 7.95 m long x 5.54 m wide. The low ledge running along the north and south sides of the room, which Tuchelt calls a bench, is actually an impost course for a vaulted ceiling. See Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 119-120; Tuchelt 1983, 517-18. Taşlıalan also discusses the vaulted chamber as protecting the sacred place of the earth mother, Cybele. Taşlıalan 1995, 248.

[111] Tuchelt also mistakenly asserts that the Tiberian imperial cult temple at Pessinus was built on top of a cave. He appears to have again mistaken the ordinary substructure of the temple for some sort of man-made cave. Tuchelt 1983, 517. For foundation of temple at Pessinus, see Waelkens 1986, 42.

[112] Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 158.

[113] Even at its highest point, the substructure was a mere 2.5 m tall (barely high enough for a man to stand in comfortably). If the basement was accessible at all, it was accessible only through a trapdoor in the *cella* floor. Common worshippers were not traditionally allowed into the *cella* of Graeco-Roman temples.

[114] Mitchell and Waelkens have rightly observed that vaulted basements are a regular feature of early imperial cult temples. They cite examples at Nimes, Pessinus and Caesarea Maritima. See also the basements of the *Augustea* at Ostia and Magdelsberg. Mitchell and Wealkens 1998, 120; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 132 and 138; Fishwick 2002, 71.

Tuchelt's second argument involves the physical orientation of the imperial temple. The temple at Antioch faces west, which Tuchelt recognizes as a consistent feature of temples dedicated to Anatolian deities, especially the goddesses Artemis and Cybele.[115] It has been long known, however, that orientation of pagan temples had little to do with cultic considerations. As Mitchell and Waelkens have pointed out, the temple of Mên at Kara Kuyu defies Tuchelt's own dictum by facing east, while the Roman imperial cult temples at Ankara and Aphrodisias both face west.[116] But if not to satisfy cultic requirements, why did the imperial sanctuary face west? The answer may be relatively simple: topography and sightlines. Because the imperial sanctuary was built high on Antioch's eastern acropolis, the temple needed to face west for the frontal façade to be visible from the city below. The westward orientation of the temple also allowed people within the sanctuary to enjoy a commanding view of the downward slopping plain, which is now occupied by the village of Yalvaç.

Ultimately, this leaves us with little hard evidence linking the worship of Mên or Cybele to the Augustan imperial sanctuary. The evidence points appears to point in another direction, to a god more closely associated with Roman project of empire building in Asia Minor: the divinized emperor Augustus.[117] In contrast to the convoluted arguments in favor of Mên, the arguments in favor of Augustus as the dedicatee of the imperial temple are relatively simple and straightforward. We know that the propylon of

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[115]He cites numerous precedents: the *Artemisia* at Sardis, Ephesus and Magnesia, as well as the Aeolian temples at Neandria and Larisa. Tuchelt 1983, 515. It should be noted that Taşlıalan and Varinlioğlu concur with Tuchelt. Taşlıalan 1994, 248; Varinlioğlu 2002, 398.

[116] Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 159.

[117] Burrell (2004, 170) alone argues that the temple was dedicated to Julius Caesar based on a passage from Dio Cassius (51.20.6-9), which records that Augustus forbade Roman citizens to worship him during his own lifetime. Few scholars, however, besides Burrell believe that this prohibition had any demonstrable impact on the religious *praxis* of Roman citizens. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence clearly demonstrate that Romans worshiped the living emperor Augustus not only in the provinces, but also in the city of Rome itself. See Gradel 2002, especially 73-84.

the imperial sanctuary was dedicated to Augustus in the year 2 BC.[118] This strongly

suggests that the accompanying temple was also dedicated to Augustus or to a group of

gods, which included Augustus, such as the *Dei Augusti*.[119] As we have seen, the

architecture of imperial sanctuary supports the same conclusion. The propylon was

adorned with sculptures celebrating Augustus' victories on land and sea, as well as a Latin

copy of the *Res Gestae*. It is significant for the purposes of identification that the only

two other extant copies of the *Res Gestae* both come from *Augustea* in the province of

Galatia: a Greek copy from the imperial "*temenos*" at Apollonia and a bilingual copy from

the temple of Roma and Augustus at Ankara.[120] The imperial temple itself, as Mitchell

and Waelkens have noted, also conformed to the standard Roman model used for

Augustea.[121] The Corinthian, prostyle design testified to the grandeur and resources of

the Roman Empire, while the lush acanthus frieze symbolized the copious bounties of the

Augustan Peace.[122] *In toto*, this architectural evidence points directly at Augustus as the

primary dedicatee of the imperial temple.

The cult of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch is further attested by an honorific

inscription found re-used in the wall of a house in modern Yalvaç. Although the

inscription is highly fragmentary, the sixth line clearly mentions the title, "Sacer(dos)

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[118] Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 147.

[119] The propylon of a Graeco-Roman sanctuary was normally dedicated to the same god (or gods) as the accompanying temple, but there were exceptions. For instance, at Aphrodisias, the propylon of the *Sebasteion* was dedicated to "Aphrodite, the *Theoi Sebastoi* and the *Demos*," while the temple itself was dedicated more specifically to "Tiberius and Livia (and probably also Aphrodite, Augustus and the *Demos*)" See Reynolds 1986, 114; Reynolds 1995, 45; Smith 1987, 90; Smith 1988, 51.

[120] For a thorough discussion of the inscribed copies of the *Res Gestae* at Apollonia and Ankara, see Chapter Five.

[121] Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 165.

[122] Robinson 1926a, 12; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 165.

Aug(usti)" or "Priest of Augustus."[123] The precise wording of the inscription is significant

because it suggests that the priesthood was dedicated to the living emperor Augustus,

rather than the deceased emperor, in which case we would expect the title "Sacerdos Divi

Augusti."[124] This synchronizes well with the date of the propylon dedication (2 BC), as

well as the architectural dating of the temple, which is routinely assigned on stylistic

grounds to the late Augustan period.[125]

Based on the architectural and epigraphic evidence, there is little reason to doubt

that the imperial temple at Antioch was dedicated to the emperor Augustus prior to his

death in AD 14. It is unlikely, however, that the temple was dedicated exclusively to

Augustus given that the vast majority of *Augustea* in Asia Minor featured bi- or multi-

partite dedications.[126] As Dio Cassius records (51.20.6-9), the tradition of honoring

multiple dedicatees at imperial cult temples can be traced back to Augustus' proclamation

of 29 BC, in which he expressly forbid the cities of Asia and Bithynia from worshiping

him or his adoptive father, the *Divus Julius*, without the accompaniment of the goddess

Roma. Out of respect for Augustus' wishes, the majority of *Augustea* were consequently

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[123] *CIL* III. 6848; Ramsay 1924, 179; Levick 1967, 88. Unfortunately, the name of the priest was not preserved. There are also two extant inscriptions that attest to the existence of a priesthood of *Dea Julia Augusta*, the wife of the emperor Augustus. Ramsay and Levick assign the foundation of Livia's cult to the reign of the emperor Claudius (c. AD 42), but the lack of "*Diva*" in her title suggests otherwise. The description of Livia as "*Dea Iulia Augusta*" rather than "*Diva Augusta*" is, in fact, consistent with a cult established during Livia's lifetime. See Grether 1946, esp. 228-232 and Fishwick 1970, 81 *contra* Ramsay 1939, 206; Levick and Jameson 1964, 98-99; Levick 1967, 88 and 112.

[124] For the Latin nomenclature of imperial cult priests, see Gradel 2002, 85-91.

[125] Robinson 1926a, 11; Wiegand 1937, 420-1; Alzinger 1974, 125-6; Tuchelt 1983, 508-9; Waelkens 1986, 48-51; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 166-167; Waelkens, Vandeput, Berns, Arikan, Pablome and Torun 2000, 580-582.

[126] The goddess Roma often drops out of epigraphic and numismatic references to *naoi* and priesthoods of Roma and Augustus. We should read this as nothing more than a space saving abbreviation. See, for instance, the epigraphically attested "*naos* of Augustus" at Mytilene (Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 179-180). For a discussion of numismatic abbreviation and the temple of Augustus at Nikomedia, see Burrell 2004, 148-149.

dedicated to Roma and Augustus; however, variations did occur.[127] The most common

modification to the standard Roma-Augustus formula was the addition of a third or even

fourth dedicatee. Typically, these dedicatees were personifications of cities (*'Demos'*),

regions (*'Patris'*) or civic bodies, such as the Roman Senate. The first *Augusteum* to bear

such a multi-part dedication was the neochorate temple at Nikomedia dedicated to Roma,

Augustus, the Senate and the People of Rome.[128] During the later Julio-Claudian period,

this type of multi-part dedication became increasingly common, especially in Pisidia and

Caria.[129]

It is also important to note that Roma's importance as a cult partner diminished

over the course of the Augustan period.[130] As Augustus' proclamation of 29 BC slowly

faded from memory, Roma's name began to be omitted from inscriptions referring to

long-standing cults and priesthoods of Roma and Augustus.[131] Other gods and goddesses

also began to usurp her role as a cult partner to the emperor. For example, at Priene, the

demos (i.e. the people) voted to re-dedicate a temple to Augustus and Athena Polias, the

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[127] For a full listing of temples dedicated to Roma and Augustus in Asia Minor, see Taylor 1931, 273-277; Price 1984, 249-274; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 164-197.

[128] The fullest version of the temple's dedication on city coins reads, *Rom. S. P. Aug.* – Rom(ae) S(enatui) P(opulo) Aug(usto). This is sometimes shortened on coins to Rom(ae) Aug(usto), but "S(enatui) P(opuli) Q(ue)" is still included in the fields. Some coins also depict a male figure worshipping at an altar, which is probably meant to represent the *genius* of the Roman People (Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 164-165; Burrell 2004, 147-151). The dedication of the temple in Nikomedia is comparable to the altar of "Roma, Augustus and the *Demos*" at Hierocaesarea in Lydia (Taylor 1931, 276).

[129] See, for instance, the *Sebasteion* at Carian Aphrodisias dedicated to "Aphrodite, the *Theoi Sebastoi* and the *Demos*." Reynolds 1986, 114; Smith 1987, 90; Smith 1988, 51. The neochorate temple at Smyrna in Ionia was dedicated to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate. Price 1984, 258; Burrell 2004, 38-42. *Sebasteia* with multi-part dedications are also firmly attested at, Erythrae, Asar Tepe, Alabanda, Hyllarima, Rhodiapolis, Adada, Pednelissus, Sagalassus, Lamus and Near Cestrus in Cilicia. See Price 1984, 249 ff., nos. 37, 49, 63, 67, 119, 128-130, 151 and 148. There are also probable examples at Selge (Nollé and Schindler 1991, 78 and 80) and Cremna (Mitchell 1995, 108-109; Horsley and Mitchell 2000, 43-44). Undoubtedly, many of the epigraphically attested temples that are described simply as *Caesarea*, *Sebasteia* or *Augustea* also bore multi-part dedications.

[130] For the cult of Roma in the imperial period, see Mellor 1981, 976 ff.

[131] This was done simply as a space saving measure, but the omission of her name does show her diminished importance in relation to Augustus himself. This process of inscriptional omission is best documented at Ankara. See Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 185-190; Burrell 2004, 166-174.

city's patron deity.[132] By the reign of the emperor Tiberius, Roma's name effectively ceased to appear in *Sebasteia* dedications, even those dedicated posthumously to the emperor Augustus. As a result, dedications like the one at Priene became the norm, where a local patron deity occupied the place formerly reserved for Roma.[133]

Thus it seems quite likely that the *Augusteum* at Antioch was also dedicated to multiple gods. Since the early 1900's, a number of scholars have proposed that the temple of Augustus may have been dedicated to Roma and Augustus.[134] This is a logical assumption given that many, if not most, of the imperial cult temples in Asia Minor were dedicated to Roma and Augustus. However, an inscription currently located in the *Tiberia Platea* suggests otherwise.[135] The inscription (Fig. 25), which is carved on a monumental block of white limestone (c. 1.5 m x .6 m x .3 m), preserves two full lines and one partial line of a Latin dedication:

<div align="center">

IOVI · OPT · MAX
AUG · ET · GEN · COL

[*vacat*]   EVEI

To Jupiter Optimus Maximus
Augustus and the Genius of the Colony
[   ] the son of Eueius

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[132] von Gaertringen 1906, 129; Carter 1983, 24-38; Price 1984, 258. See also the dedication to Augustus and Apollo Thermios at Thermae. Taylor 1931, 274.

[133] The convention of replacing Roma with the patron deity of the city often led to the seemingly unlikely combinations of Anatolian gods with Roman emperors: for example, at Adada, the *Theoi Sebastoi* were worshipped alongside " Zeus Megistos Sarapis and the *Patris*" (Price 1984, 269) and at Near Cestrus in Cilicia, where Trajan shared a cult with "*Theos Megalos* and the *Demos*" (Price 1984, 273). By contrast, the combined worship of "Apollo Klarius, the *Theoi Sebastoi* and the *Patris*" at Sagalassus (Price 1984, 270; Talloen and Waelkens 2004, 183) seems more in keeping with traditional Roman ideology. See also the temple of "the *Theoi Sebastoi*, Apollo Isotimos and the *Demos*" at Alabanda (Bean 1980, 160; Price 1984, 261). For the frequent association of Apollo with Augustus and later Roman emperors, see Zanker 1988, esp. 79-102; Talloen and Waelkens 2005, 221-225; L'Orange 1953.

[134] Ramsay 1916, 108; Mellor 1975, 144-5; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 160.

[135] Special thanks to Ünal Demirer for permission to examine the inscription, which awaits fuller publication elsewhere.

The first two lines of the inscription have survived almost completely intact—only the very

tops of the words "OPT" and "MAX" are lost.[136] By contrast, the lower half of the block has

sustained substantial damage, which has obliterated almost the entire third line with the

sole exception of the word "EVEI," a Latinized form of the Greek name, "Euios".[137] The

description of Augustus in line 2 as "AUG" rather than "DIV AUG" suggests that this

inscription dates to Augustus' reign (c. 27 BC–AD 14).[138] This dating is confirmed by

the letterform, which is consistent with the Augustan period.[139] Without a secure

excavation context, it is difficult to know for certain where this inscription was originally

displayed; however, its size, date and composition strongly suggest the nearby temple of

Augustus.[140]

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[136] The letters of the first line average c. 15 cm tall, while those in the second and third line are c. 10 cm tall. There is a c. 10 cm space between the second and third lines. The upper edge of the inscription was reworked— presumably for reuse in the construction of one of the Byzantine shops in the *Tiberia Platea*. It is this reworking that removed the very tops of the letters in the first line.

[137] The Latinized version of the Greek name Euios is attested once in a manumission inscription from Rome dated to the first or second century AD. The owner of the slaves is named as C(aius) Eueius C(ai) l(iberatus) Felix. See Chastagnol, Leglay and Le Roux 1984, 40, no. 140. The "son of Eueius" mentioned in the *Tiberia Platea* inscription is probably one of the donors who contributed to the construction of the imperial cult temple or its altar. See below.

[138] The Roman Senate awarded Augustus the title of "*Divus*" or "Divine" following his death in AD 14. This title consequently appeared in most posthumous Latin dedications to Augustus. For the dating of imperial cult priesthoods, see Gradel 2002, 85-91. Augustus is also addressed on the propylon dedication simply as "AUG" (Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 147).

[139] The letters are carefully carved and have sharp, pointed ends similar to those seen in other inscriptions from the Augustan period at Antioch, such as the altar of the Augustan Peace discovered in imperial sanctuary by Ramsay in 1914 (Ramsay 1916, 177, no. 2.) The use of elongated I's to mark long vowels, such as the final "I" in "EVEI," is also a common characteristic of Augustan and early Julio-Claudian inscriptions. Much like the preamble of the *Res Gestae*, the opening line of the *Augusteum* dedication is also enlarged. This a small stylistic point, but it adds to the body of circumstantial evidence, which dates the dedication to the time of Augustus. See Robinson 1926e; Drew-Bear 2005.

[140] Based on the size and shape of the block, we can be fairly certain that the inscription was mounted in either one of two places: 1) the temple itself (i.e., to a *cella* wall or staircase pier) or 2) a monumental altar in the *Augusta Platea*. Of these options, the latter seems the most appealing— if only because the dimensions of the block in the *Tiberia Platea* correspond with those of other monumental altar blocks in Asia Minor. See, for instance, the altar of Demeter at Pergamum, which is composed of blocks approximately 1-1.5 m long and .3 m deep (Bohtz 1981, Plate 55). See also the altar to the emperor Claudius between Myra and Limyra in Lycia (Marksteiner and Wörrle 2002, esp. 547-548). The inscription is simply too large to have come from a non-architectural context, such as a statue base or votive dedication. As J. Højte has pointed out, Latin inscriptions on statue bases rarely exceed 8 cm in height (Højte 2005, 33). The letters of the inscription in the *Tiberia Platea* measure between 10-15 cm.

As we have seen, tripartite dedications were a regular feature of imperial cult temples in Asia Minor. This was particularly true in the region around Pisidian Antioch. Out of twelve imperial cult temples known to have had tripartite dedications, seven (c. 58%) are located in Pisidia and western Caria.[141] The rest are spread out along the southwestern coast of Asia Minor in the provinces of Lycia, Cilicia, and Asia. This distribution pattern implies that the inscription in the *Tiberia Platea* not only could, but probably did, serve as the dedication of the *Augusteum*. It also raises fascinating questions about the ethnicity of the men who prepared the *Augusteum*'s dedication. To my knowledge, there is not a single *Augusteum* anywhere in the western provinces with a tripartite dedication like the one at Antioch.[142] The absence of tripartite dedications in the western provinces suggests that the Italian colonists living at Antioch did not formulate the dedication of the *Augusteum* on their own, but instead collaborated with members of the local Greek-speaking elite.[143] Otherwise, we would not expect the dedication to conform so faithfully to an epigraphic formula indigenous to the "Greek" cities of Asia Minor.

Moreover, the two small holes at the top of the inscribed block in the *Tiberia Platea* are neither large enough (c. 3 cm radius) nor spaced appropriately to hold the support struts of a statue (or statues). The holes were used instead for the insertion of building clamps, which were chipped out, presumably at the same time the block was re-carved for secondary use.

[141] The temples are located in Smyrna, Erythrae, Rhodiapolis, Lamus, Near Cestrus, Alabanda, Aphrodisias, Hyllarima, Adada, Cremna, and two at Sagalassus. Six of these temples (c. 50%) have dedicatory inscriptions that conform to the same epigraphic formula used at Antioch, i.e., "to x god, the emperor and the city." The dedications at Sagalassus, Aphrodisias and Near Cestrus conform exactly, while the dedications at Alabanda, Adada and Hyllarima place the name of the emperor before the god, i.e., "to the emperor(s), x god and the city." There are also numerous smaller dedications in Pisidia and Caria that conform to this formula. See, for instance, the dedication to the "*Theoi Sebastoi*, Artemis and the *Polis*" from Selge (Nollé and Schindler 1991, 69-70). For the late Republican dedications at Aphrodisias, see Reynolds 1980, 72-74.

[142] During the reign of Augustus, *Augustea* in the West are normally dedicated to Roma and Augustus or to Augustus and the City (e.g., Beneventum), but never to Roma, Augustus and the City. For a list of dedications in the West, see Taylor 1931, 267-283; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 115-152; Gradel 2002, 376-379. The formula is somewhat reminiscent, however, of the tripartite dedication of the *Capitolium* in Rome to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Minerva— perhaps intentionally so.

[143] Contra Mitchell who maintains that the colonists built the *Augusteum* without any help from Antioch's indigenous inhabitants. See Mitchell 1993, 102-103; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 163.

Not coincidentally, the dedication of the *Augusteum* preserves what appears to be the name of one of these elites—a certain "Eueius" or "Euios." His name is written in the genitive case ("Euei"), which is significant because it suggests that the *Augusteum* was dedicated not by Eueius himself, but rather by one his children, who included his father's name in the dedicatory inscription as a patronymic, "i.e. so and so, the son of Eueius." Unfortunately, the section of the inscription that presumably listed the full name and titles of Eueius' son is now missing, so we are forced to speculate about his identity based on purely his patronymic alone.[144]

Although names do not necessarily reflect ethnic identity, there can be little doubt, in this case, that Eueius and his son were members of the local Graeco-Phrygian elite from the former Hellenistic colony. The Latin "Eueius" appears only once in the Italian epigraphic record: a single manumission inscription from Rome mentions a Greek freedman by the name of Caius Eueius, son of Caius.[145] By contrast, the Greek name "Euios" is commonly attested throughout the eastern Mediterranean.[146] The name occurs most frequently in Scythia and Thrace, which may indicate that Eueius descended from Thracian immigrants who settled at Antioch during the Hellenistic period.[147] Regardless

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[144] The full name of Eueius' son presumably ran across the entire third line of the dedicatory inscription, the majority of which is now lost. If Eueius' son were a Roman citizen with a *tria nomina* and a host of civic titles, his name may have even spanned onto a fourth line.

[145] With a name like Caius Eueius, son of Caius, this freedman must have been of Greek origin. Surprisingly, there are no attestations of the Greek name "Euios" in Sicily or southern Italy. Fraser and Matthews 1997, 166.

[146] The name "Euios" was originally a cult epithet for the god Dionysus. It was also used as a personal name throughout Greece and the Greek islands. There are twenty-three attestations in all listed in the *Lexicon of Greek Names*. Most are relatively early in date, i.e., the Hellenistic period or earlier. See, for instance, Fraser and Matthews 1987, 176; Fraser and Matthews 1997, 166. The name "Euios" is conspicuously absent, however, from the epigraphic record in Antioch's mother city, Magnesia-on-the-Maeander. See Kern 1900, 183.

[147] There are fourteen attestations of the names "Euios" and "Euion" along the northern coast of the Black Sea. See Fraser and Matthews 2005, 131-132. Large numbers of Thracians are known to have resided at Apollonia, Arykanda and in the nearby region of Milyas, where they helped the local inhabitants erect an altar to Roma and Augustus (Von Aulock 1972, 20-1; Hall 1986, 139). There is a general consensus that

of his precise genealogy, it is probably safe to assume that Eueius' son was not an Italian colonist, but rather a local *euergetist*, who participated in the construction of the *Augusteum* in order to win political prestige both for himself and his home city of Antioch.

The Gods of the Imperial Cult Triad

I propose, then, that the dedication of the *Augusteum* honors three gods: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Augustus and the *Genius* of the Colony. In accordance with local epigraphic practice, the gods are listed in descending order of importance with the city's patron god, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, receiving top billing. The Italian colonists recognized Jupiter Optimus Maximus as the city's patron deity. Jupiter was the supreme god of the Roman pantheon, who ensured the safety and security of the Roman state. As a matter of course, Roman colonies were traditionally outfitted with their own *Capitolium* modeled on the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome.[148] It appears that Antioch was no different, but Antioch's "*Capitolium*" deviated from the standard model in one very important respect.[149] In the dedication of the temple, the Italian colonists replaced Jupiter's usual cult partners, Juno and Minerva, with the gods of the Roman imperial cult,

the Thracian "*kolonoi*" living in southern Asia Minor were once military veterans, but it is unclear whether they served under Amyntas or one of the earlier Seleucid or Attalid kings. See Ramsay 1922, 184; Jones 1932, 412; Magie 1950, 1315.

[148] This Republican tradition of building *Capitolia* in Roman colonies began to give way during the Augustan period. Most Augustan colonies chose to build an imperial cult temple dedicated to their colony's founder, Augustus, rather than a more traditional *Capitolium*. On the diminished role of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Roman religion during the Augustan period, see Fears 1981, 56 ff.

[149] Magie and Levick were the first to identify the imperial sanctuary as a *Capitolium* (Levick 1968, 52; Magie 1950, I 460, II 1320). However, neither Magie nor Levick articulate clear arguments in favor of the identification. They appear to base their identification primarily on the existence of an attested priesthood of "J.O.M." at Antioch (*ILS* 7200; Ramsay 1924, 178). This is probably a reference to the same priesthood that oversaw the cult of Augustus. There are also numerous attestations of unspecified *pontifices* (e.g. Cheeseman 1913, 253-4), *flamines* (e.g. *CIL* III 6837) and *sacerdotes* (e.g. *CIL* III. 6831, 6841) who could have potentially overseen the imperial cult. See Levick 1967, 87 ff.

Augustus and the *Genius* of the Colony. The decision to pair these gods with Jupiter

Optimus Maximus effectively allowed the imperial sanctuary to function simultaneously

as both a *Capitolium* and an *Augusteum*.[150] Through this hybridization of two distinct

religious institutions, the Roman colonists found a way to balance tradition (the worship

of Jupiter Optimus Maximus) with contemporary political necessity (the Roman Imperial

Cult).

We can be fairly certain that the joint worship of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and

Augustus also appealed to Antioch's preexisting local population. Although the evidence

is somewhat sparse, it seems likely that Zeus was worshipped alongside Mên at the

original Seleucid colony of Antioch.[151] If this was indeed the case, the local Greek-

speaking population already had a long-standing tradition of worshipping Jupiter

Optimus Maximus, only in a different guise. Furthermore, it is important to note that in

the Hellenistic world, the goddess Roma was most commonly worshipped in tandem with

a local variant of the god Zeus (e.g., *Eleutherios*, *Polieus* etc.).[152] The close association

between these two deities would have made Jupiter Optimus Maximus an ideal candidate

to replace the goddess Roma (Augustus' usual cult partner) in the dedication of Antioch's

new *Augusteum*.

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[150] It is interesting to note that Horsley and Mitchell have recently restored a parallel imperial cult dedication at the Augustan colony of Cremna in Pisidia, which reads: "(For Juppiter [sic] Optimus Maximus and the emperor) Caesar Marcus Aurelius (Antoninus Augustus, brother) of the divine Verus (and to Lucius Aurelius Commodus) Caesar . . . (Horsley and Mitchell 2000, 43-44)." The presence of J.O.M. in this second century inscription (c. AD 169-177) suggests that there was a tradition of worshiping J.O.M. alongside the emperor in the Pisidian colonies founded by Augustus in the 20's BC.
[151] Ramsay 1918, 183, no. 138; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1924, 30-31.
[152] Mellor 1981, 973-4. Zeus and Roma were also occasionally worshipped together in imperial cult contexts during the early imperial period. See, for example, the epigraphically attested cult of Zeus, Roma and Augustus in the Macedonian town of Kalindoia (c. AD 1). *SEG* XXXV.744. For commentary, see Beard, North and Price 1998, 360.

The dedication of the *Augusteum* lists the third member of the imperial cult triad as the *Genius Coloniae*. According to Roman religious thinking, every person, place and thing had its own metaphysical essence or spirit, which they described as a *Genius*.[153] Romans often worshipped *Genii* as a form of lesser god, particularly in household shrines, where the *Genius* of the *Pater Familias* was traditionally honored alongside the *Lares* and *Penates* (the gods of the Roman house). In the dedication of the *Augusteum*, the term *Genius Coloniae* probably refers to the collective spirit of the colony's inhabitants (*genius populi*), as well as the spirit of the city itself (*genius loci*). As we have seen, the dedications of imperial cult temples in Asia Minor often featured joint dedications to personifications such as the *Demos* (People) or *Patris* (Fatherland).[154] The dedicators of the *Augusteum* at Antioch simply replaced the usual Greek personification with a suitable Latin equivalent, i.e., the *Genius* of the Colony. As Gradel has observed, the *Genii* of cities and colonies were worshipped throughout Italy, but particularly in the region of Campania just south of Rome.[155] This is significant given that a sizeable portion of the Roman colonists who settled at Antioch hailed from towns in Campania, Etruria and Cisalpine Gaul.[156] It seems that once again the dedicators of the *Augusteum* found a way to merge Roman religious beliefs with indigenous ritual practice to create a supernatural figure that appealed to all members of Antioch's disparate, multi-cultural population.

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[153] The female equivalent of the *genius* was a *Juno*. The *Juno* of the empress often received divine worship, much like the *genius* of the emperor.

[154] See no. 134. Cities and colonies rarely appear in the dedications of *Augustea* in the western provinces. See, for instance, the *Augusteum* at Beneventum, Italy. Taylor 1931, 169 and 279; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 141-142; Gradel 2002, 182.

[155] Gradel 2002, 81. Gradel specifically cites an example of a temple dedicated to the *Genius* of Pompeii. The temple was formerly associated with the *Genius Augusti*. See also Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 133 ff.

[156] Levick 1967, 56-67.

When worshipped together as a group, the gods of the imperial cult triad projected a hierarchical vision of the cosmos designed to legitimize the Roman rule at Pisidian Antioch. At the top of the cosmic hierarchy was Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the king of the gods. According to the poet Vergil, Jupiter Optimus Maximus had ordained that the Romans should one day rule the entire world:*"tu regere imperio populo, Romano, memento"* (*Aen.* VI, 788 ff.). This mandate extended even to the far-flung region of Pisidia, where Augustus settled the veterans of Legions V and VII. The colonization of Pisidian Antioch, therefore, came about as the direct result of Jupiter's divine plan for the Roman people. In the cosmic hierarchy of the imperial cult, the emperor Augustus occupied a liminal position between mankind (*Genius Coloniae*) and the gods (Jupiter Optimus Maximus). By spreading Roman law and institutions to Pisidian Antioch, Augustus acted, in effect, as Jupiter's chosen agent on earth. In recognition of his privileged status, the people of Antioch worshipped Augustus as a sort of living god worthy of all the same honors as his Olympian counterparts. Despite his immense power, Augustus could not carry out Jupiter's divine plan on his own. He needed the help of his colonial subjects at Pisidian Antioch. The Antiochenes appear in the dedication of the *Augusteum* personified as a single unified entity, the *Genius* of the Colony.[157] This personification served as a potent symbol of civic unity in a community divided along

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[157] If we accept that the *Genius* of the Colony appeared in the dedication of the *Augusteum*, it seems irresistible not to identify the winged *genii* on the propylon spandrels as personifications of Pisidian Antioch (Fig. 14). What better way to represent the benefits of Roman rule than to show a personification of the colony literally holding the fruits of the Augustan Peace. In Roman art, *genii* were normally depicted as a nude or partially draped male figures holding a cornucopia and *patera* (a small bowl used for pouring libations). However, there is also a tradition of representing *genii* with wings. These winged *genii* often hold small leafy branches and trays of fruit, rather than a *patera* or *cornucopia*. See, for instance, the second style wall painting of a winged *genius* from the Villa of Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (c. 60-40 BC) now at the Louvre. Tuchelt's suggestion that the *Genius Coloniae* is depicted on the propylon frieze as a helmeted warrior should be firmly rejected. The image he is referring to is clearly a representation of Mên. See Tuchelt 1983, 519.

social, political and ethnic lines. By worshipping the *Genius* of the Colony as a god, Antioch's various political factions actively participated in the construction of a new group identity predicated upon loyalty to the emperor and submission to the will of the gods. The Italian colonists retained a leadership role in the colonial administration due to their "close" personal relationship with the divine Augustus, but ultimately every man, woman and child at Pisidian Antioch had his or her own part to play in the preservation of the new imperial order. This included members of the Graeco-Phrygian elite, like Eueius and his son, who were eager to re-enter civic politics after being stripped of their citizenship rights in 25 BC. For these disenfranchised elites, the Roman imperial cult offered a way to integrate themselves into the new imperial bureaucracy, while regaining a measure of their former political prestige. Through their intellectual and monetary contributions to the construction of the imperial cult sanctuary, Eueius' son and his colleagues asserted an active role as partners, rather than victims, in the Roman project of empire building.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Captives and Partners:
Persian Precedents for the Ethnic Personifications on the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias

This chapter examines the sculptural program of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias

against the backdrop of Achaemenid imperial precedent. The site of Aphrodisias was

located in eastern Caria on a tributary of the river Dandalus (Fig. 1-2). Although not

fully urbanized until the Roman period, there is good evidence that Aphrodisias served as

an important locus of cult activity in Hellenistic and Persian periods. Indeed, as early as

the seventh century BC, Aphrodisias housed a rural sanctuary dedicated to a local version

of the goddess Aphrodite.[1] The larger region in which Aphrodisias was situated had a

rich cultural history, which was shaped by local interactions with the great empires of

east and west.

Through a close analysis of the sculptural program of the *Sebasteion* at

Aphrodisias, I argue 1) that both Augustus and the Aphrodisian architects in charge of the

Sebasteion's design were intimately familiar with monuments of Darius the Great; 2) that

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[1]The discovery of archaic-period pottery and terracotta figurines supports this dating of the sanctuary. Gaudin also found a single lion-head spout, which may derive from the archaic-period temple. The marble Temple of Aphrodite, which currently occupies the site today, is a much later construction, probably not begun until the first century BC. See Erim 1986, 54-59; Theodorescu 1987 and 1990; Ratté 2000, 199.

the ethnic personifications on the *Sebasteion* represent a conscious echo of pervasively

disseminated constructs of Achaemenid imperial art and ideology; and 3) that this echo of

Persian art and ideology is directly related to a Julio-Claudian preoccupation with

triumphing over the Parthian empire in the East.

The *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias

Since its excavation in the early 1980's, scholars have recognized the *Sebasteion* at

Aphrodisias in Caria as one of the best-preserved and most elaborate statements of the

early Julio-Claudian ideology in the Roman empire. The sculptural program of the

Sebasteion, as R.R.R. Smith and others have aptly demonstrated, epitomized the visual

language which had developed under the emperor Augustus to articulate the universality

of Roman dominion.[1] Prominently featured in the sculptural reliefs of the *Sebasteion* are

two sets of ethnic personifications: conquered nations and idealized subjects. The

personifications of conquered nations illustrate the futility of resisting the might of the

Roman emperor, while the images of idealized subjects highlight the benefits of

cooperation. Together these images expressed a powerful symbolic argument for the

necessity of harmonious integration into the Roman imperial system.

Over the course of the first century BC, the city of Carian Aphrodisias established

close cultural and diplomatic ties with the imperial administration in Rome. The emperor

Augustus had a particular affinity for the people of Aphrodisias due to their loyal service

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[1] See Smith 1987, 1988 and 1990. For a general discussion of Augustan art and ideology, see Zanker 1988; Kuttner 1995; Galinsky 1996. On allegories of universal conquest in Roman art, see Nicolet, 1991, 29-56; Hingley 2005, 1-3.

in the Roman civil wars.[2] In addition, the city of Aphrodisias housed a major sanctuary

to the goddess Aphrodite, who occupied an important place in the mythology of the

Julian *gens* (Fig. 26).[3] As the adoptive son of Julius Caesar, Augustus traced his family

lineage back to the goddess Aphrodite through her son, Aeneas. This supposed

genealogical connection helped cement a lasting bond between the emperor Augustus and

the city of Aphrodisias, which he granted free and allied status upon becoming emperor

in 27 BC.[4] The city's free and allied status shielded its citizens from the heavy tax burden

imposed on the rest of Asia Minor, which was a major boon for the local economy.

In recognition of this and other benefactions, the people of Aphrodisias erected a

lavish sanctuary complex dedicated to the worship of "Aphrodite, the *Theoi Sebastoi* and

the *Demos*."[5] This sanctuary, commonly known today as the *Sebasteion*, stood in a

prominent location in the civic landscape, just east of the city's central agora (Fig. 26-27).

The construction of the sanctuary was co-sponsored by two elite Aphrodisian families,

whose members served as high priests of both the imperial cult and the Temple of

Aphrodite.[6] Based on epigraphic evidence, it appears that the sanctuary was originally

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[2] Although located in Antony's sphere of influence, Aphrodisias nevertheless remained loyal to the Julian *gens*. K. Erim postulates that this was due to the influence of Zoilos, an Aphrodisian who once belonged to Caesar. After being freed by Augustus, Zoilos exercised considerable power over Aphrodisian politics and contributed to the construction of many of the city's public monuments including its theater and the *bouleuterion*. See Erim 1986, 28-30; Smith 1993.

[3] The discovery of archaic-period pottery and terracotta figurines suggests that the Sanctuary of Aphrodite dates back at least to the sixth century BC. Gaudin also found a single lion-head spout, which may derive from the archaic-period temple. The marble Temple of Aphrodite, which currently occupies the site today, is a much later construction, probably not begun until the first century BC. See Erim 1986, 54-59; Theodorescu 1987 and 1990; Ratté 2000, 199.

[4] See the *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus* (Document 8) inscribed on the wall of the city theater, which discusses the granting of privileges to the Aphrodisians (Reynolds 1982: 57-91).

[5] The excavations of the *Sebasteion* have been published in preliminary form by K. Erim, J. Reynolds and R.R.R. Smith. We eagerly await a publication of the full sculptural and architectural program. See Erim 1986, 106-123; Reynolds 1980, 1981, 1986 and 1995; Smith 1987, 1988 and 1990.

[6] Two brothers, Meander and Eusebes, with Eusebes' wife Apphias commissioned the monument's propylon and north portico, while a certain Diogenes and Attalus dedicated the temple proper and the south portico. See Reynolds 1981, 317; Smith, 1987, 90; 1988, 51.

built under the reign of Tiberius (AD 14-37), and later refurbished after significant

earthquake damage during the reigns of Claudius (AD 41-54) and Nero (AD 54-68).[7]

The *Sebasteion* consisted of four major architectural elements: a propylon, a set of two 12

m high porticoes, and a Corinthian prostyle temple with raised podium, typical of the

imperial period. The temple was approached through a two-story monumental gateway

decorated with portrait statues of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and their mythical ancestors,

Aeneas and Aphrodite (Fig. 28).[8] After passing through the gate, visitors were funneled

down a long passage 14 meters wide enclosed on either side by a three-story portico, each

of which stretched 90 meters from the propylon up to the front of the temple. On the

second and third story of each façade were a series panels depicting diverse range of

subject matter (Fig. 29). The content of the reliefs can be separated roughly into four

primary symbolic units: allegories, idealized ethnic personifications, portraits of

emperors and captives, and images of Greek gods and heroes. The allegorical figures

(top) and idealized ethnic personifications (bottom) were located on the north portico of

the *Sebasteion*, while the emperors (top) and mythical scenes (bottom) were on the south

portico. When viewed together, these images projected a compelling vision of Rome's

universal dominion over of the cities and peoples of the *orbis terrarum*.

Perhaps most striking of all the images on the *Sebasteion* are those of the Roman

emperors engaged with conquered nations, such as the oft-illustrated panel of Claudius

subduing a prostrate personification of Britannia (Fig. 30).[9] Claudius grips Britannia's

hair in his left hand, while he extends his right arm to strike. Below, Britannia haplessly

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[7] Reynolds 1981, 319-22; Smith 1987, 90.
[8] The statue base of Aphrodite from the *propylon* is dedicated specifically to "*prometor ton theon Sebaston*" or "the mother of the divine *Augusti*." See Erim 1986, 111; Smith 1987, 95; Rose 1997, 163.
[9] The stele was attached to an inscribed base, which identified the two figures as "*Tiberios Klaudios Kaisar*" and "*Bretannia*" respectively. See Smith 1987, 115-117.

shields herself with her right arm, as her tunic rips open to reveal her bare breast. The positioning and iconography of these two figures is reminiscent of a single scene from an Amazonomachy.[10] Claudius adopts the role of a Greek hero, a paragon of virtue and reason, while Britannia comes to take on the monstrous and irrational qualities of an Amazon warrior. Far from being a sympathetic figure, Britannia is seen getting her just desserts for her unnatural resistance to the rule of Claudius. In contrast, Claudius' calm demeanor lends him an air of confidence and power as he prepares to smite his grimacing victim. This illusion of effortless conquest signals to the viewer the apparent invincibility of the emperor, sending a clear message to any would-be resisters of imperial order: namely, that opposition to Roman power is tantamount to self-destruction.

These brutal images of conquest were juxtaposed on the *Sebasteion* with a second type of ethnic personification: the idealized *ethne* of the north portico. The fifty ethnic personifications running along the lower register of the north portico augmented the message of the conquered nation group by providing a more positive paradigm for inclusion in the Roman Empire. Unfortunately, only five of panels depicting these idealized ethnic personifications have survived intact.[11] Nevertheless, this is enough of a sample to make a few generalizations about the entire group. For example, it is clear that each *ethne* was depicted as a single standing female figure in high relief. To make the panels look like statues (Fig. 31-32), each panel was placed on a wreathed base and each base was inscribed with the name of a particular ethnic group (i.e. "The Bessi," "The Cretans," etc.).[12] Thirteen of these bases have been found. Between the bases and the

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[10] Smith 1987, 117; Alcock 2002, 91.
[11] The north portico was badly damaged in an earthquake sometime during late antiquity. As a result, most of the panels from the north portico were either reused or burned for lime. See Smith 1988, 51.
[12] Smith 1988, 53-57.

panels we are able to reconstruct a list of sixteen peoples included in the original

sculptural group (Fig. 33). The list includes not only large ethnic groups, such the Jews

and Egyptians, who inhabited whole provinces of the Roman empire, but also relatively

obscure barbarian tribes, such as the Pirousthae, Bessi, and Trumpilini. What do these

ethnic groups all have in common? Joyce Reynolds has suggested that they were all, at

one time or another, conquered by the emperor Augustus.[13] It seems more likely,

however, that they were simply chosen to provide an adequate cross-section of the

empire's diverse ethnic population. When plotted on a map, these *ethne* trace more or less

accurately the outer boundaries of the Roman empire. As R.R.R. Smith writes, "the

selection of outlandish peoples was meant to stand as a visual account of the extent of the

Augustan empire, and by the sheer numbers and impressive unfamiliarity of the names, to

suggest that it is co-terminous [sic] with the ends of the earth."[14]

  The allegorical figures located above these idealized *ethne* reinforced the concept

of geographical universality with a sense of ritual timelessness, giving the impression that

the Roman empire was not only coterminous with the ends of the earth, but also with the

end of time. The full impact of these reliefs is difficult to gauge, however, as they are the

worst preserved of all the groups. Out the fifty panels that once lined the upper register

of the north portico, only two have survived: Ocean (Okeananos) and Day (Hemera) (Fig.

34). Given the common binary couplings of allegorical figures in Greek art, we can be

fairly certain that an image of Earth (Ge) and either an image of Night (Vukta) or

Evening (Hespera) also existed on the *Sebasteion*, but little more can be done to

reconstruct the composition of the other friezes. R.R.R. Smith goes as far as to suggest

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[13] Reynolds 1981, 326-327 and 1986, 115.
[14] Smith 1987, 77.

that Day and Night once flanked either end of the portico, recalling the allegories of

Morning and Evening, which framed Ptolemy II's procession in Alexandria (Athenaeus 5.

197d).[15] If this was indeed the case (which it almost certainly was) these allegorical

depictions of Day and Night imbued the *Sebasteion* and, by extension, the Roman empire

itself with an aura of temporal and geographical universality.

 Willing participation in Rome's universal empire clearly had its advantages. The

idealized *ethne* of the north portico stand in stark contrast to the captives and conquered

nations on the south portico. Take, for instance, the personification of Pirousthae (Fig.

32).[16] She stands fully erect draped respectably in a belted, *peplos*-like garment. Her

head is covered with a distinctive, Corinthian-style helmet and on her left arm she bears a

small, round shield. Rather than being likened to a monstrous Amazon warrior, the

iconography of Pirousthae more resembles that of the Greek goddess Athena, a highly

positive simile in this context. She exhibits a strong and dignified attitude, signaling her

comfortable assimilation into the imperial hierarchy. The relief personifying the Daci

(Fig. 35), on the other hand, closely parallels the iconography of the conquered-nation

group in several key respects.[17] Mirroring the image of Britannia, her tunic has slipped

down to reveal her right breast and she holds out her crossed hands as a sign of

submission. These carefully chosen similarities serve to highlight the difference between

involuntary and voluntary submission. While resisters like Britannia are crushed and

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[15] Smith 1988, 53 and 1990, 91-92. For full commentary on the *Ptolemaion*, see Rice 1983.

[16] This is the only one of the *ethne* reliefs from the north portico, which is positively identified by a builder's inscription lightly engraved in small letters onto the background. The builder's inscription reads "Piroustōn." On the base, which has also survived, the relief is entitled more fully as the "Ethnous Piroustōn." See Smith 1988, 60-62.

[17] Smith 1988, 62-64. Smith argues that these iconographic elements were designed to help viewers identify the personification as a "barbarian" from the western provinces. If this were true, one might also expect the Pirousthae, an Illyrian tribe from what is now modern Yugoslavia, to exhibit similar "barbarian" iconography. However, she does not. Instead she is depicted in the guise of the Greek goddess, Athena. The iconography of these figures is clearly highly nuanced and defies simple explanation.

humiliated, cooperative *ethne* like the Daci are placed among the dignified ranks of imperial subjects, who have attained the status of partners in empire.

The *ethne* on *Sebasteion* are invariably depicted as female, rather than male.[18] It is tempting to dismiss their female gender simply as the product of Greek artistic convention, but as R. Padel warns, "if we take personifications seriously, we must take their predominantly femaleness seriously too" i.e. we must ask why in any given context the Greeks and Romans chose to use female personifications over male.[19] In the case of the *Sebasteion*, the female gender of the personifications helps to reinforce the main ideological message of the monument by appealing to fundamental notions of gender in Roman society. The inherent gender dynamics between the hyper-masculine Roman emperors and the female *ethne* cued the viewer to interpret the relationship of the emperor and the provinces in terms of traditional male/female power dynamics.[20] Just as men were supposed to dominate women, the symbolic language of the *Sebasteion* suggests that the Roman emperor was meant to rule over the provinces.[21] The two types

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[18] Of the fifty reliefs that once adorned the lower row of the north portico, five have been recovered intact. Each depicts an idealized female *ethnos*. The head from a sixth female *ethnos* has also come to light (Smith 1988, 55-60). On the south portico, Britannia and Armenia (Fig. 41) are both depicted as female; however, there are also a number of unlabeled captives, some of which are male. See, for example, Augustus with Nike and Trophy. Smith 1987, 134, Plate. IV.

[19] Padel 1992, 160. Greek and Roman personifications were typically rendered as female. The reason for this is not entirely clear. The commonly repeated argument that the gender of personifications in Graeco-Roman art is related to their linguistic gender holds little weight. Concepts represented with a linguistically male or neuter word are regularly personified as female entities. For example, on the *Sebasteion* itself, each of the *ethne* is labeled with a neuter title, e.g. "*Ethnous Piroustōn*," "*Ethnous Judaiōn*," etc. In rare cases, the opposite phenomenon is encountered: a feminine word is represented by a male personification. It seems likely that the predominance of female personifications in Graeco-Roman art is related not to linguistic considerations, but rather to deeply ingrained societal stereotypes about the nature of the male and female gender. As R. Rodgers has observed, the Greeks and Romans typically viewed women as softer, more malleable and less individuated than men— women were empty vessels, both literally and figuratively, waiting to be filled. This made imprinting meaning on their bodies relatively natural to a Graeco-Roman audience. Why then some personifications remained male (e.g. *Geron*, *Demos*, etc.) is more difficult to explain. On the history of personifications in Greek and Roman art, see Shapiro 1993; Kuttner 1995, 69-93; Stafford 1998 and 2000, esp. 1-44; Ferris 2000; Rodgers 2003.

[20] For a general discussion of gender politics and Roman art, see Kampen 1996; Rodgers 2003.

[21] See Hall 1993, 111-112.

of provincial representations, idealized *ethne* and conquered nations, appeal to the two conventional tropes of femininity in Roman culture. The idealized *ethne*, who recognize their intrinsically inferior status, are likened to proper Roman matrons, imbuing the partnership between the emperor and the provinces with the symbolic connotations of a fruitful marriage. The personifications of conquered nations, on the other hand, evoke the perverted sort of femininity exemplified by figures such as Cleopatra, Clytemnestra and the Amazons; women who renounced social protocols with disastrous results in order to achieve political power.[22] Given their female gender, the opposition of figures like Britannia and Armenia (Fig. 36) to the emperor seems unnatural and even threatening. They are embodiments of chaos and cosmic disorder that must be conquered by the Roman emperor for the good of all humanity.

Persian Precedents:
The Artistic Program of Darius the Great and its Legacy in the Western Empire

Upon his defeat of the "usurper" Gaumata in 522 BC, Darius the Great seized control over a vast, but politically fragmented empire. While Darius' predecessors Cyrus and Cambyses had greatly expanded the borders of conquest to include Egypt and most Central and Western Asia, they had done little to integrate this massive expanse of territory into a unified administrative system. The satrapies rose up against Darius, using his ascension to the throne as a pretext for revolt. Darius' response to this political fragmentation was twofold. First, he swiftly defeated and ruthlessly punished the provincial elites who had risen up against his authority; and he let the message of this accomplishment be known across the empire. In addition, Darius set in motion the development of a plan to inspire provincial loyalty through an ideologically charged

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[22] Ferris 2000, 57-62; Rodgers 2003, 81-88.

program of imperial representation. Drawing on precedents from throughout Egypt and the Near East, Darius and his imperial artisans developed a new visual language to articulate the righteousness of Persian imperial power.[23]

Central to this new visual language was the use of synecdochic depictions of provincial leaders and proper ethnic personifications to illustrate both the universality of Persian dominion and the natural hierarchical order of imperial society. These ethnic representations can be broken down into two complementary categories: rebellious captives and cooperative supporters. The visual trope of bound captives is most famously depicted on the Bisitun monument of Darius the Great, carved high in the mountains of Northwestern Iran (Fig. 1). The vision of cooperative supporters is best exemplified by the motif of the Persian king raised on high by personifications of subject peoples from around the empire. This motif was initially developed in early years of Darius' reign (c. 519–518) to adorn his tomb façade at the sanctuary site of Naqsh-i Rustam in Southwestern Iran. Later it was also used to decorate the doorjambs of Darius' Throne Hall in the city of Persepolis, the ceremonial and administrative capital of the Persian empire. In the visual program of Darius the Great, the imagery of bound captives viscerally demonstrated not only the awesome power of the Persian military, but also the terrifying consequences of sedition. By contrast, the motif of peoples of the empire raising their king on high represented the harmonious benefits of cooperation with the imperial regime. The combination of a violent threat and a promise of rewards made a powerful symbolic argument for integration into the Persian empire.

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[23] For a discussion of Achaemenid adaptations of Egyptian and Assyrian art, see Root 1979. On the topic of Achaemenid art and ideology generally, see also Root 1985, 1990 and 1991; Briant 2002, esp. 165-254; Dusinberre 2000 and 2003, esp. 1-27; Allen 2005.

The events surrounding Darius' rise to the throne are a topic of great controversy among ancient historians.[24] The official narrative preserved in Herodotus (III.67-88) and Darius' own testimony at Bisitun paint Darius as a hero, who led an intrepid plot to assassinate the pretender to the throne alternately known as the Magian or Gaumata. Then in a single year, as the story goes, he and his generals managed to put down no less than eight popular uprisings, including revolts in Media and Babylon, to restore order in the empire.[25] The close agreement between Herodotus and Darius seems at first glance to corroborate their joint story, but as P. Briant has pointed out, rather than corroborate their story, this close agreement instead suggests that Herodotus simply used some version of the Bisitun document as a source for his history, a likely scenario given the wide dissemination of the Bisitun text around the empire (a point to which I will return shortly).[26] In the final analysis, all we really know is that Darius came to power after murdering Cambyses' immediate successor—whether this was Bardiya, the rightful heir, or Gaumata the Magian is difficult to say—and then fought a series of battles around the empire to consolidate his power. It is unclear whether these revolts were fermented by provincial elites hoping to break free from Persian rule or by loyalist forces fighting on

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[24] See Kuhrt (2007, 135-177) for an extremely useful account of the issues here.

[25] Darius' claim that he and his generals restored order to the empire in a single year replicates an age-old rhetorical trope in the Near East. Whether Darius and Generals accomplished this feat in reality remains uncertain. For historical commentary on the Bisitun inscription, see Balcer 1987, esp. 19-48 and 153-166; Windfuhr 1994; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1999; Briant 2002, 107-138; Allen 2007.

[26] Scholas are divided as to whether the Bisitun text was ever translated into Greek. Given the propensity of Achaemenid kings to accommodate local customs and traditions, it seems quite likely that the royal chancellery prepared a Greek version of the Bisitun text for dissemination in Asia Minor. A. Missiou has suggested that the royal proclamations, such as the Bisitun text, were read out loud in cities and towns throughout the empire. The parchment or papyrus copies of the proclamations were then stored in public archives. Herodotus could have had access either to an archival version of the text or a monumental copy in a city like Sardis or Celaenae. An alternate scenario is proposed by J. Balcer, who argues that Herodotus heard oral versions of the investment story from Persian expatriates living in Asia Minor. See Lewis 1985, 102; Balcer 1987, esp. 26-30; Missiou 1993, 387; Briant 2002, 100-101.

behal of Bardiya.[27] According to Herodotus, the nobles present at Cambyses' death

'believed that it that it was Cyrus' son Smerdis who had been made king (III.66).' This

suggests that most of the so-called 'rebels' were, in fact, loyalist forces, who refused to

acknowledge the legitimacy of the usurper, Darius I.

Whatever the historical specifics, it is clear that the early years of Darius' reign

were a time of great social and political instability throughout the Near Eastern world.

The Bisitun monument represents our best evidence as to how Darius, once in power,

attempted to legitimate his position as the new king of the Persian empire.[28] Carved into

the living rock of a mountainside overlooking the strategic, east-west highway leading

from Sardis to Susa, the Bisitun monument was clearly intended for mass public

consumption.[29] The monument had two main elements: a sculptural frieze approximately

3 x 5.5 meters in size and an impressive trilingual inscription written in Old Persian,

Babylonian and Elamite (Figs. 37-38).[30] Travelers passing along the highway below

could view the monument from a small oasis at the base of Mount Bisitun.[31] The relief

was carved c. 98 m above the road. It is possible with the right equipment and assistance

to gain access to a ledge directly below the inscription, such access was not possible for

the multitudes who passed along this great royal road. While the height of the rock

carving on the precipitous rocky mountainside prevented most viewers from discerning

the specific details of monument, it enhanced the abstract visual impact and magnificence

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[27] Trans. by Godley 1921, 87.
[28] Root, 1979: esp. 192-193.
[29] Darius makes the public nature of the monument clear in the accompanying inscription: "Now that which has been done by me convince thee; thus do to the people impart, do not conceal it: if this record thou shalt not conceal, (but) tell it to the people, may Ahuramazda be a friend unto thee, and family be unto thee in abundance and may thou live long (DB IV.52-6)." Trans. by Kent 1953, 132.
[30] On the trilingual Bisitun inscription, see Kent 1953, 116-135; Von Voigtlander 1978; Lecoq 1997; Allen 2007.
[31] This oasis likely also featured a paradise garden similar to those found in satrapal capitals throughout the empire. See Cameron 1960, 162; Root 1979, 59 and 190.

of the presentation. Even from a distance, viewers could appreciate the grandeur and technical prowess of the monument, which loomed triumphantly over the oasis below.

The Bisitun monument *per se*, as an Ur-monument, was sited close to the sky implicitly to reach the realm of the Great God, Ahuramazda. But in a very real sense and it addressed the people of the Persian empire. In order to make the text accessible for actual content-scrutiny, Darius explicitly states (DB 70) that he had the inscription translated into various regional languages and disseminated throughout the empire.[32] The discovery of an Aramaic copy of the Bisitun text at Elephantine in Upper Egypt demonstrates that Darius made good his promise.[33] Sculptural versions of the Bisitun relief were also disseminated throughout the empire.[34] The implications of this will immerge in the context of this chapter.

The Relief of Darius at Bisitun

In the past, scholars have emphasized the importance of the Bisitun inscription as a source of historical information, while neglecting the accompanying relief. We must be very careful, however, not to privilege the text over the sculpture. Visual representation is a viable historical source in its own right and must be treated as such. The sculptural relief at Bisitun depicts Darius meting out punishment to Gaumata the Magus and the

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[32] For further discussion of the Bisitun text and its dissemination throughout the Persian empire, see Chapter Five.

[33] The Aramaic version of the Bisitun text found at Elephantine was most likely a royal letter or edict issued by the chancellery of Darius II to celebrate the 100th anniversary of his namesake's accession to the throne. It closely parallels the Babylonian version of the text inscribed at Bisitun, yet also features an interpolation from Darius' tomb inscription (DN). See Greenfield and Porten 1982, 1-3; Tavernier 2001, 161-163.

[34] On the sculptural versions of the Bisitun monument at Babylon, see below in this chapter. A glazed brick from Susa preserves a portion of a male figure with one leg raised. Canby (1979) proposed that this was a fragment of a motif of heroic encounter. Muscarella (1992, 218, n. 2) suggests that it may be a fragment of a rendering of the Bisitun relief. The jury is still out. For further discussion, see Kuhrt 1995, 666-667.

other nine so-called 'liar-kings' who revolted against him in 522 BC. Darius the Great

stands facing right with his noble Persian bow-bearer and spear-carrier behind him (39-

41). In a graceful gesture he extends his right hand out respectfully to salute

Ahuramazda. Floating over-head, the divine presence of Ahuramazda returns Darius'

salute, symbolically sanctioning his approval of the scene below.[35] The pretender

Gaumata lies beneath Darius' feet, raising his hand to Darius in a plea for mercy. Behind

Gaumata stands a long line of rebels, depicted with their hands tied behind their backs

and connected by ropes yoking their necks together. Each captive is carefully

differentiated by his distinctive ethnic clothing: notice, for example, the flamboyant

pointed hat of the Saka leader (Fig. 41). Each captive is also provided with a proper

name and an ethnic epithet (e.g. "This is Aecina, an Elamite who lied [DBb-k].")[36] The

inferiority of these figures is punctuated by their small size, 1.17 m in comparison to

Darius' 1.72 m, and the slight tip of their heads downwards to stare at the feet of Darius

and consider the fate of Gaumata.

Darius' decision to individuate the liar-kings by giving them distinctive ethnic

clothing and hairstyles had a significant impact on the ideological message of the Bisitun

monument. As I have already mentioned, most viewers would have seen the frieze in

isolation from the textual inscription, making the specific names of the captives (Aecina,

Martiya, etc.) rather superfluous in comparison to their ethnic attributes, which are

clearly visible on the reliefs. Though not true personifications, these ethnic leaders came

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[35] Scholars have long debated the identity of the figure in the winged disk, which has been alternatively
identified as the *fravashi* of the king (Unvala 1930; Dhalla 1994, 50-53), the royal *Khvarnah* (Shabazi 1974
and 1980; Calmeyer 1979; Boyce 1982, 103-105; Soudavar 2003), the Persian sun god, Mithras (Jacobs
1991), and finally, Ahuramazda (Root 1979, 169-171; Lecoq 1984; Briant 2002, 126-127). While there is
some merit to the opposing theories, I find Lecoq's arguments in favor of identifying the winged figure as
Ahura Mazda by far the most convincing.
[36] Kent 1953, 134-135.

to stand for their whole people through a process of visual synecdoche. This type of synecdochic abstraction imbued the Bisitun monument with a timeless, universal quality, which transcended its stated purpose to memorialize Darius' historical victories against Gaumata and the nine liar-kings.

The ethnic portraits accomplished two important ideological functions. First of all, they effectively produced a timeless geographical map of the empire.[37] Under Cyrus and Cambyses the empire expanded so rapidly that it was difficult to picture its scope. Through the use of ethnic portraits, however, Darius supplied a clear picture of just who was in the empire and who was not, and in so doing, encouraged the illusion that a natural unity existed between the many formerly independent nations incorporated into the Persian empire. This message of unity directly combated the rampant dissension among the ranks of provincial elites. Further, the far-flung nature of some of the ethnic groups depicted at Bisitun (the Sakas, for example) testified to the immensity of the Persian empire, making the Persian mandate to rule seem almost universal.[38]

The second ideological function of ethnic portraiture at Bisitun was to provide Darius with an effective means of dramatizing the folly of resisting Ahuramazda's grand plan for the cosmos. By representing the liar-kings as abstract ethnic stereotypes, Darius sent a clear message to his subjects that any and all resistance to Persian power would be ruthlessly crushed. As Margaret Root writes, "the (Bisitun) relief could easily stand alone, as a mute but sure reminder of the Persian king's determination and ability to assert his authority over any treacherous Mede, or Persian, or Scythian."[39] This omnipresent threat of overwhelming martial force formed the basis of Darius' ideological program to inspire

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[37] On geographical symbolism in Achaemenid royal art, see Briant 2002, 172-183
[38] Briant 2002, 178.
[39] Root 1979, 192.

integration into the empire. Put simply, if Persia's subjects wished to avoid death and dismemberment, they would cooperate with the new Achaemenid "King of Kings."

The formula for the Achaemenid portrayal of victory and the perpetual threat of brute force against the uncooperative is a radical departure from the norms of Near Eastern and Egyptian precedent for conveying such messages. In particular, the traditions of Neo-Assyrian art immediately prior to the formation of Persian power stressed a different ideological approach and a different representational modality for the message. In terms of ideological approach, Neo-Assyrian imagery of victory and threat emphasized full articulation of the inevitable brutal outcome of defeat at the hands of Assyria: chaotic battlefield engagements and heaps of beheaded enemy soldiers coupled with visual litanies of plunder in the form of captives (especially women) and material goods. The Bisitun visual paradigm established by Darius stressed instead a liminal moment in which the victory was clear but the theoretical possibility of recuperation (of salvation, if you will) still hung in the balance. Bloody executions and their aftermath were eschewed. In terms of representational modality, the Neo-Assyrian tradition emphasized full-blown narrative rather than emblematic visions of an allegorical nature.[40] The Achaemenid penchant for rendering messages in allegorical and metaphorical terms is well established.[41]

The Artistic Program of Darius at Persepolis and Naqsh-i Rustam

The sculptural reliefs of Darius' later monuments, in particular his tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam, must be viewed as an extension of Darius' earlier ideological program. In order to supplement the fundamentally threatening message of Bisitun, Darius and his artisans

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[40] See Root 2000 for a discussion of these issues.
[41] Root 1979; 2003; in press a; in press b.

invented a new iconographic language designed to celebrate the collaborative partnership

between the king and his *willing* subjects. The end result was the creation of a program

of imagery, which through various representational types forged a coherent vision of a

harmonious empire. One of the key elements of this program was the king held aloft by

throne-bearers. The first manifestation of this representational motif appeared on the

rock-cut façade of Darius' tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam (Figs. 42-43).[42] This motif was also

deployed in other representational contexts known to us from palace reliefs at Persepolis

beginning in the reign of Darius the Great (Fig. 44).[43] As with the Bisitun relief, we now

know that the motif of the king held on high was disseminated and translated into other

visual idioms to appeal to regional audiences throughout the empire. The principal

example of this phenomenon is the statue of Darius I made for the Temple of Atum-Ra at

Heliopolis in Egypt and transported later to Susa.[44] Once again, the implications of this

will become clear later in this chapter.

In contrast to the ethnic portraits on the Bisitun monument, which were

technically representations of historical personages, the reliefs depicting throne bearers

on the monuments of Darius at Naqsh-i Rustam feature a series of true ethnic

personifications. The sheer number of representations is also greatly multiplied. The

geographical scope and diversity of the Persian empire is represented by thirty separate

personifications.[45] Twenty-eight of the personifications are arranged in two tiers lifting

up royal dais. Two other personifications hold the outer ends of the dais. Each

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[42] This monument was used as a model for the tomb monuments of all subsequent Achaemenid kings at
Naqsh-i Rustam and (for last of the Achaemenid rulers) on the mountainside above the Persepolis Takaht.
Schmidt 1970.

[43] For a thorough discussion of the motif of the Persian king raised on high, see Root 1979, 129-161.

[44] Roaf 1974; Razmjou 2002, both with much additional bibliography.

[45] For a detailed description of Darius' tomb façade, see Schmidt 1970, 80-87.

personification is rendered wearing a distinctive ethnic costume and bears a short inscription identifying his ethnic origin ("This is the Mede," "This is the Elamite," etc. [DN I-XXIX]).[46] The wide geographical spread of the *ethne,* ranging from Egypt and Ionia in the west to Parthia and Gandhara in the east, effectively reiterates the universality of Achaemenid imperial power.[47]

The mood of the throne-bearers is distinctly less somber than that of the captives on the Bisitun relief, which is clear from their body language. Rather holding their hands bound behind their backs, the throne-bearers raise their arms high above their heads supporting the dais of Darius in a stance known as the Atlas pose.[48] This posture had a long legacy in the art of the Near East and Egypt, where it was used to signify ritual/cosmic support. By recalling this trope of cosmic support, the imperial artists endowed the throne-bearer reliefs with a distinctly sacral aura; as M. C. Root has noted, "the unique way of rendering the hands of the supporting figures, combined with the interlocking of their arms in a meticulously controlled rhythm, strengthens the suggestion that the posture had meaning to the Achaemenids. Both of these formal aspects seem calculated to enhance the aura of dignity and effortless, one might almost say joyous, cooperation with which these subject peoples are imbued."[49] The throne-bearer motif, therefore, was intended to symbolize the fruitful partnership between the king and his people as they worked together to advance the interests of the empire. Each people had its place and played a necessary role in bearing the empire forward into the future.

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[46] Kent 1953, 140-141.
[47] Briant 2002, 178.
[48] For a full discussion of the Atlas pose, see Root 1979, 131-153.
[49] Root 1979, 153.

The positive cosmic connotations of the Atlas pose were further reinforced by the metaphor of progressive motion. On the throne-bearer reliefs, the orientation of the figures all in the same direction, a rarity in Achaemenid art, suggests that the throne-bearers are literally depicted carrying Darius' dais forward. The motion forward serves to emphasize the levity of the burden placed on the provinces; the throne-bearers do not languish under the repressive weight of Darius' throne, but rather move forward easily bearing their burden. We can perhaps read this as a veiled apology for the tribute system codified by Darius' that required annual levies on the part of the provinces (Herodotus III.88) or simply as a metaphor for the ease of cooperation: either way, according the symbolic logic of the throne-bearer reliefs, the benefits of empire (strength, unity and fraternity) far outweigh the costs (tribute and a loss of independence).

The monuments of Darius at Bisitun, Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis formed a unified artistic program designed to articulate the precepts of imperial ideology. Central to this program was the use of ethnic portraits, which came in two main varieties: the metonymic leaders at Bisitun and true personifications of the throne-bearer reliefs. On the one hand, the Bisitun rebels served as exemplars of improper behavior, dramatizing the terrifying consequences of opposing Darius' grand imperial plan. On the other hand, the personifications on the throne-bearer reliefs demonstrated the advantages of entering into Darius' harmonious empire. Together these two types of ethnic depictions formed a complementary and convincing ideological system that seems to have largely succeeded at cementing together Darius' politically fragmented kingdom in the aftermath of his abrupt rise to power.

History Repeats Itself: Rome's Rivalry with Parthia

During the Julio-Claudian period, the Parthians posed a very real threat to Roman power in the East, both militarily and ideologically. While few nations had ever repelled a single Roman invasion, the Parthians crushed two in rapid succession with apparent ease: first routing Crassus in 55 BC and then Antony in 37 BC. These embarrassing defeats clearly demonstrated the ineffectiveness of Roman infantry tactics against the predominately cavalry based army of Parthia. Compounding Rome's manifest military inadequacy, the Parthians further undermined Roman authority in the East through a clever use of ideological narrative. There is good evidence to suggest that from an early stage the Parthian kings claimed to be the rightful heirs of the Achaemenid empire.[50] While there was little reality to this claim, evoking the legacy of Achaemenids provided the Parthian kings a powerful air of legitimacy in the East that the Romans largely lacked.

It is my contention that the ethnic personifications in the sculptural program of the *Sebasteion* represent Rome's ideological response to Parthia's Achaemenid connection. The use of ethnic personifications in this regard served a dual function. First, the similar treatment of the personifications to those on the monuments of Darius at Bisitun, Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis acted as a relatively direct symbolic means of likening the grandeur of the Roman empire to that of the Achaemenids. This critical similarity, however, also provided a forum for highlighting difference. While in most ways very similar, the *ethne* on the *Sebasteion* had one striking difference from those of Darius: namely, their female gender. I argue that this gender switch from male to female was an intentional decision designed to evoke a specific constellation of associations made in Greek culture between Persian-ness and effeminacy. The depiction of Roman emperors

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[50] Wiesehöfer 1994, 182 ff. and 1996, 59-60.

smiting female *ethne* directly recalled the battles between Greeks and Amazons so commonly used in Greek art as a metaphor for the Graeco-Persian wars.[51] In this capacity the personifications helped to give the *Sebasteion* a distinctly anti-Persian/ Parthian character, while simultaneously encouraging the idea that Greeks and Romans were partners in a protracted mythical battle, which had raged from the dawn of time against the eastern barbarian—an important point given the location of the monument in the Carian city of Aphrodisias. Thus, through the use of female personifications, the designers of the *Sebasteion* created an image of the Roman empire as a worthy rival to Persia/Parthia, being as vast and powerful as Persia ever was, but opposed to the decadence and despotism traditionally associated with the East.

It is thus clear that, although different in gender, the personifications on the *Sebasteion* directly paralleled those used in the artistic program of Darius the Great. From a thematic perspective, the conquered nations and idealized *ethne* of the *Sebasteion* corresponded to the captives and throne-bearers depicted on the monuments at Bisitun, Persepolis and Naqsh-i Rustam. This brings us to the seminal question: did the designers of the *Sebasteion* consciously adapt elements of Achaemenid imperial art for their own purposes? And if so, why and how? Before any definitive judgments can be made, it is necessary to examine other potential sources of influence on the sculptural program of the *Sebasteion*. Only after we have measured the extent to which earlier Greek and Roman models influenced the *Sebasteion*, will we be able to gauge the full impact of Achaemenid imperial art on the *ethne* series of the *Sebasteion*.

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[51] There is a vast literature on the subject of Amazons and the allegorical valences of their gender. See, e.g., Von Bothmer 1957; duBois 1982, Tyrrell 1984; Hall 1993; Lissarrague 2002.

Personification had a venerable history in Greek art, extending back at least to the seventh century BC.[52] Nearly every abstract concept was personified at some point or another, including geographical locations such as cities and rivers. One of the earliest secure examples of geographical personification comes from a mid-fifth century red figure *oinochoe* depicting a Persian archer with the caption, "I am Eurymedon."[53] This archer appears to have personified both the river Eurymedon and the famous battle, which had taken place only years earlier. During the Classical period, Greek cities also began to personify themselves, often on public monuments designed to commemorate treaty relations with other states. For example, in the city of Athens, treaty inscriptions were typically crowned with a panel depicting two civic personifications (i.e. Athens and her ally) engaged in a sacred handshake or "*dexiōsis*."[54] At this early date, however, there is little evidence of any attempt on the part of the Greek cities to produce large groups of ethnic or geographical personifications akin to the *ethne* series on the *Sebasteion*.[55] Greek artists in the Archaic and Classical periods tended to condense a lot into a little, using single personifications to signify complex concepts.

It is not until the Hellenistic period that groups of ethnic and geographical personifications began to appear in Greek and Roman art. The grand procession of Ptolemy II in Alexandria (c. 279 BC) offers the first viable parallel to the *ethne* series on

[52] For a discussion of personifications in Greek art of the Archaic period, see Borg 2002, esp. 105-141.

[53] The Oriental archer who personifies Eurymedon bends over waiting for a Greek soldier to penetrate him in the anus. This image provides an excellent illustration of Greek attitudes towards the Persians, whom they regarded as weak and effeminate. Hall 1993, 111; Stafford 2000, 8.

[54] M. Meyer (1989, 191-194) notes that personifications are rarely identifiable based on iconographic markers. The viewer instead was forced to rely on the accompanying inscription. In the late fourth century BC, the *dexiōsis* motif was replaced by simple juxtaposition of figures.

[55] What little evidence we do have comes primarily from Roman sources. For example, Plutarch (*Sull.* 6) describes a satirical painting of the fourth century BC by Timotheos, son of Konon, which depicts Fortune casting a net around a number of personified cities to symbolize their conquest. Given the writing habits of later Roman authors, it is difficult to know whether Plutarch is accurately reporting the content of a fourth century painting or perhaps just projecting anachronistic imagery back into the past for dramatic effect.

the *Sebasteion*. Athenaeus reports that, among other things, the parade included a long

train of men wearing gold crowns, carrying personifications of Ionian cities freed by

Alexander the Great from Persian domination (5.201d-e).[56] By visually charting out the

extent of Alexander's empire (i.e., the empire Ptolemy II aspired to reclaim), the parading

of these personifications fulfilled a more or less analogous function to the *ethne* on the

Sebasteion. Given the similar use of geographical and temporal allegory, it is certainly

possible, even probable, that this procession influenced the planners of the *Sebasteion*.

We should not, however, overestimate the value of Ptolemy II's procession to the

designers of the *Sebasteion*. The procession was not a permanent architectural

monument, nor did it employ *ethnic* personifications per se. Further, there seems to be

little evidence that the procession included different sorts of personifications to stimulate

the creation of the conquered and idealized types of *ethne*.

Earlier scholarship on the *Sebasteion* has focused almost exclusively on finding

precedents for the *ethne* series among the imperial monuments of Augustan Rome.[57] As

R.R.R. Smith has observed, Roman victory monuments in the late Republican and early

imperial period often featured sculptural representations of *gentes devictae* or "conquered

nations," which were conceptually quite similar to the *ethne* series from the *Sebasteion* at

Aphrodisias.[58] The earliest of these monuments was the Theater of Pompey, officially

dedicated in 55 BC. According to Pliny (*NH* 36.41), the façade of the theater displayed a

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[56] It seems likely given Egyptian context of the procession that Ptolemy II included the personifications of
Ionian cities in order to liken the grandeur of the Ptolemaic Empire to that of the Egyptian pharaohs, who
commonly illustrated the extent of their empire on public monuments using large groups of ethnic
personifications (Root 1979, 240-250; Cashman 2006). Alternatively, it is also possible that Ptolemy drew
inspiration from Achaemenid royal monuments, such as the canal stelae of Darius the Great (Root 1979,
61-68). For a general discussion of Achaemenid influences on the procession of Ptolemy II, see Briant
2002, 199-200.
[57] R.R.R. Smith 1988 and 1990; Nicolet 1991, 45-47; Kuttner 1995, 81.
[58] Smith 1988, 71-73.

set of fourteen statues depicting the "*nationes*" conquered by Pompey during his numerous campaigns across the empire. This is a far cry from the fifty (or more) *ethne* depicted on the *Sebasteion*, but the basic principle remains the same. It is also worth noting that the theater-like façades of the porticoes on the *Sebasteion*, which are otherwise unprecedented in Graeco-Roman art, may well have been designed to echo the presentation of the *nationes* in the Theater of Pompey.

R.R.R. Smith argues that the idealized *ethne* on the northern portico of the *Sebasteion* were copied directly from a sculptural group located in the *Porticus ad Nationes* in Rome.[59] Unfortunately, this monument no longer survives, so we are forced to rely on textual descriptions to reconstruct its sculptural programs. In a notoriously enigmatic passage, the Augustan author, Servius, records that the emperor Augustus erected a portico dedicated "*ad nationes*" which contained "*simulacra omnium gentium*," or "images of all the races" (*Ad Aen*. 8.721). Sadly, neither Servius nor Pliny, who only briefly mention the monument (*NH* 36.39), describes where this portico was located or when it was built.[60] They also fail to provide any description of the iconography of the

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[59] Smith (1988, 72-73) argues that the *ethne* series on the *Sebasteion* was simply too large and complex to be of Aphrodisian invention. Therefore, it must have been copied from a monument such as the *Portico ad Nationes* in Rome. According to Smith, "we may imagine that Meander or his brother Eusebius or his sister-in-law Attalis Apphion, who together paid for the north portico, on a visit to Rome saw the Augustan series in the *Porticus ad Nationes* . . . and that they took back to Aphrodisias drawings made for them by the draughtsman from a copyist's workshop in Rome." While this scenario is certainly possible, it seems somewhat odd that the designers of the *Sebasteion* would go to such trouble to copy the *ethne* series from a monument in Augustan Rome, when they could simply fabricate their own at Aphrodisias. There is nothing so complex about the *ethne* series on the *Sebasteion* to prevent the Aphrodisians from formulating it on their own— particularly if they had the benefit of a text like the *Res Gestae* to provide them with the names of conquered peoples and provinces. One must only look as far as the south portico of the *Sebasteion* itself, to see the full creative potential of local artisans at Aphrodisias. By Smith's own admission, the majority of the imperial portraiture reliefs on the south portico depict novel scenes of local invention, e.g., Claudius Smiting Britannia, etc. If the designers of the *Sebasteion* could imagine and execute relatively complex compositions such as these, they could certainly create a series of idealized female portraits with simplistic iconographic attributes similar to those on monuments in Rome.
[60] A. Kuttner (1995, 83) and R. Schneider (1986, 27) have both hypothesized that the *Portico ad Nationes* may have taken the form of caryatid porch like the one installed by Augustus in the Basilica Aemilia in 14

sculptures inside the portico, which severely limits our ability to assess the programmatic relationship between the *Porticus ad Nationes* and the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias. The two monuments appear to have shared certain broad similarities in form and scope—and were clearly conceptually related, but any further conclusions beyond that must be left to the realm of speculation.

The fact that the closest Graeco-Roman parallels to the *Sebasteion* derive only from the late first century BC demonstrates the absence of any long-standing Graeco-Roman tradition prefiguring the *Sebasteion*'s use of ethnic personifications. Rather, the *Sebasteion* reliefs belonged to a new artistic development rooted in the extraordinary political circumstances of the first century BC. It is significant that the first appearance of Roman monuments featuring ethnic personifications occurred only shortly after the eruption of hostilities between Rome and Parthia. In these early decades of conflict, Parthia had the upper hand over Rome, both militarily and ideologically. Parthia's predominantly cavalry-based military proved devastatingly effective against the ill-fated and ill-prepared invasion forces of Crassus (55 BC) and Antony (37 BC).[61] Defeats such as these represented a public relations disaster on an unprecedented scale and did little to inspire confidence among Rome's allies, particularly in crucial eastern buffer kingdoms such as Armenia and Commagene (Fig. 1).

To make matters worse, the Parthian kings had a powerful ideological edge in much of Central Asia due to their carefully cultivated connection to the Achaemenid royal line. Beginning as early as the reign of Mithradates I (171-138 BC), Parthian rulers attempted to gain legitimacy by portraying themselves as the blood relatives of Persian

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BC. If this was indeed the case, it is difficult to imagine how the *Porticus ad Nationes* could have served as a direct model for the *ethne* series on the *Sebasteion*.

[61] On the campaigns of Crassus and Antony, see Debevoise 1938, 70-142.

kings of old.[62] Such a claim not only contributed to the legitimacy of the Arsacid

dynasty, but also signaled their intent to retake regions such as Egypt and Asia Minor,

which had once been part of the Persian empire—an ambition bound to make the Romans

more than a little nervous.[63] Mithradates I intitated this ideological program by minting a

series of coins bearing the official Achaemenid title, "King of Kings," while simultaneously

circulating the story that the Arsacid line derived from the Achaemenid King, Artaxerxes

II Mnemon.[64]

     In order to further reinforce this genealogical link, Mithradates II (124-87 BC)

commissioned a monumental rock relief at Bisitun, 3.3 m x 6.65 m, located directly

below the triumphal monument of Darius the Great (Figs. 45-46). The relief was first

sketched and recorded by French traveler, P. Grelot, prior to its defacement in the

seventeenth century.[65] It was rendered subsequently most notably by Pascal Coste (1787–

1879). According Grelot, the original monument depicted five robed and bearded men

standing in row. "The Great King," Mithradates II, stood on the right, holding his arm aloft

in a gesture, which was likely meant to denote speaking. He faced a group of four

Parthian noblemen, each of whom raised his glass in a ceremonial toast to the Great

King. [66] The accompanying Greek inscription identified the noblemen as "Gotarzes,

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[62] Wiesehöfer 1994, 182 ff. and 1996, 59-60.

[63] Wiesehöfer 1996, 59.

[64] It seems that the Arsacids initially traced their lineage back to the Seleucid satrap of Parthia. See
Harmata 1981; Sullivan 1990, 112-114; Wiesehöfer 1996, 59; Fowler 2005, 141-143.

[65] Shaikh Ali Khan Zagana had an inscription engraved over the Mithradates relief in 1684. The inscription
obliterated much of the central panel and damaged the figure identified by Grelot as Mithradates.
Fortunately, Grelot visited the site in 1673-74 and recorded his observations. M. Colledge and H.
Mathiesen accept the general reliability of Grelot's sketch. T. Kawami, however, has dismissed it as utterly
"erroneous." Grelot's sketch undoubtedly has its limitations, but barring the discovery of new evidence, it
seems ill advised to dismiss its applicability altogether. On the reliability of Grelot's sketch, see Herzfeld
1920, 35-40; Colledge 1967, 33 and 1977, 90; Kwami 1987, 35-37; Mathiesen 1992, 173; Fowler 2005,
138-139.

[66] It is worth noting that the relief of Mithradates II bears a striking resemblance to the relief panels from
the Achaemenid fortress at Meydançikkale in Cilicia (Davesne 1998). Both sets of reliefs depict a line of

Satrap of Satraps," "Mithrates," "Kophasates" and another, whose name was illegible.[67] Based on the existing evidence, M. A. R. Colledge has hypothesized that the relief originally depicted Mithradates II handing out fiefdoms to his satraps.[68] From an ideological perspective, however, the actual content of the scene is of secondary importance in comparison to its physical proximity to the victory monument of Darius. By having images of himself and his nobles carved into the rock at Bisitun, Mithradates II inherently likened his kingship to that of his ancestor Darius the Great.

The long-term effectiveness of this strategy can be seen in the ideological program of King Antiochus I of Commagene (70–36 BC).[69] Like many dynasts of his generation, Antiochus was forced to form alliances with both Rome and Parthia in order to maintain his kingdom. Following the battle of Tigranocerta in 69 BC, Antiochus publicly swore allegiance to Rome and adopted the title of "*Philoromaios*."[70] His new alliance with Rome put him in a dangerous position vis-à-vis the Parthians, particularly after Crassus' failed invasion of Parthia in 53 BC.[71] To avoid any potential Parthian

robed figures raising their drinking cups up in a toast. This similarity in thematic content not only testifies to the general accuracy of Grelot's sketch, but also raises the possibility that both sets of reliefs were modeled on the same Achaemenid Ur-monument, which is now lost. On the importance of banqueting in Achaemenid royal ideology, see Briant 2002, 286-297.

[67] The man who is labeled "satrap of satraps" is likely the same Gotazares who briefly succeeded Mithradates II as king in the 80s BC. The title is otherwise unattested, which has led some scholars to question the reliability of Grelot's reading of the inscription. See Colledge 1977, 90; Fowler 2005, 138.

[68] Colledge 1967, 32.

[69] For a general discussion of the hybridized Graeco-Persian style favored by Antiochus I of Commagene, see Sanders 1996; Jacobs 2000b; Crowther and Facella 2003.

[70] Antiochus initially swore allegiance to Lucullus in order to remain in power after the battle of Tigranocerta. He later came to a separate arrangement with Lucullus' rival, Pompey, who "fought him into friendship (Sullivan 1990, 194)." Pompey officially recognized Antiochus as king of Commagene in 64 BC. Pompey viewed Antiochus as a valuable ally and offered him extended territories across the Euphrates in return for his cooperation in any future conflicts with Parthia (Plut. *Pomp*. 38.2). To show his gratitude, Antiochus adopted the title of "*Philoromaios*" and later assumed the *toga praetexta* in 59 BC. Antiochus borrowed the title "*Philoromaios*" from King Ariobanzes I of Cappadocia, who was the first to coin the expression. Even after he had fallen out with Rome, Antiochus continued to use the title. No attempt was ever made to erase it from his titular. See R. Sullivan 1990, 193-197.

[71] The friendship between Antiochus and the Romans was significantly strained by Crassus' unprovoked attack on Parthia. Antiochus could only watch in horror as Crassus crossed the Euphrates with over forty

retaliation, Antiochus agreed to give his daughter, Laodice, in marriage to the Arsacid

King, Orodes II (57- 38 BC).[72] This marriage cemented a permanent bond of friendship

between Parthia and Commagene. It also provided Antiochus with a convenient

genealogical connection to the high-status pedigree of the Parthian royal family, who

claimed direct descent from the Achaemenid Kings of Persia.[73]

When constructing his funerary monument at Nemrud Dağı (Fig. 2), commonly

known today as the *Hierothesion*, Antiochus did not hesitate to advertise his genealogical

connection to the Achaemenid royal line.[74] As visitors approached his tumulus from the

east or the west, they passed through a long walkway flanked on either side by stelae

depicting Antiochus' illustrious royal ancestors (Figs. 47-49). Each *Ahnengalerie* featured

a set of thirty-two royal portraits designed to illustrate Antiochus' joint Graeco-Persian

heritage. The section dedicated to his maternal ancestors displayed seventeen portraits of

famous Hellenistic kings, such as Seleucus I Nicator and Alexander the Great.[75] By

contrast, Antiochus traced his paternal lineage back fifteen generations to the

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thousand men, most of who would never return. As R. Sullivan writes, "the disaster made him [Antiochus] thoughtful, demonstrating as it did the effectiveness of the Parthians on their own ground, using tactics that presented unprecedented difficulties for Romans. Antiochus bore primary responsibility for his own kingdom and now had good reason for caution regarding his alliance to Rome and possible provocation of Parthia." Sullivan 1990, 194.

[72] Dio Cassius 49.23.4.

[73] Antiochus also claimed to be related to the Achaemenids through his father, Mithradates I of Commagene. Mithradates appears in the fifteenth socle in the *Ahnengalerie* of Antiochus I's *Hieothesion* at Nemrud Dağı. See below.

[74] On the *Hierothesion* of Antiochus I, see Colledge 1977, 99-100; Sanders 1996; Messerschmidt 2000; Jacobs 2000a and 2002.

[75] Antiochus traces his lineage through Seleucus I to Alexander. In reality, however, there was no familial relationship between the two men. Seleucus was simply an officer in Alexander's army. Goell (1996, 325) theorizes that the Seleucus fabricated a link soon after Alexander's death in order to bolster his legitimacy. It behooved Antiochus to perpetuate this myth so that he too may benefit from the positive cultural memory of Alexander. For a full accounting of Antiochus I's maternal ancestors, see Dörner and Young 1996, 254-306; Jacobs 2000a and 2002. The reliefs of Antiochus' maternal ancestors have survived only in fragmentary form. Thus the identities of the ancestors in the fifteenth and sixteenth socle are uncertain. It is assumed that Antiochus' mother occupied the seventeenth and last socle.

Achaemenid King, Darius the Great (Fig. 50-52).[76] The portrait of Darius stood in the

first socle of the *Ahnengalerie*, in a place of honor equivalent to that of Alexander the

Great. Antiochus juxtaposed the portraits of his ancestors to a second set of reliefs

depicting himself shaking hands with syncretized Graeco-Persian deities, such Apollo-

Mithras and Zeus-Oromasdes (Fig. 48). These images not only implicitly likened

Antiochus' status to that of gods, but also further reinforced his cultural and genealogical

connection to the Achaemenid kings of old.

For the purposes of our discussion, the *Hierothesion* is particularly important

because it is probably one of the first places where the Romans encountered a fully

materialized program of royal ideology influenced by the Parthians. According R.

Sullivan, the Roman general, Pompey Magnus, officially cemented his alliance with

Antiochus at the site of Nemrud Dağı in 62 BC.[77] If such a meeting did take place, it

would have brought not only Pompey himself, but also hundreds of other Roman soldiers

and dignitaries into direct contact with the visual imagery of Antiochus I and his Parthian

allies.[78] The Romans' familiarity with Nemrud Dağı may, in fact, explain some of the

more peculiar design characteristics of *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias. It is striking, for

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[76] It is interesting that Antiochus chose not to include Cyrus or Cambyses among his Persian ancestors. He could have easily fabricated a genealogical connection between Darius and Cambyses if needed, much as he did in the case of Alexander and Seleucus. This suggests that Antiochus held Darius in particularly high esteem. Otherwise he never would have singled him out as one of the two mythic progenitors of the Commagenian royal line. For a full accounting of Antiochus' paternal ancestors, see Dörner and Young 1996, 306-355; Jacobs 2000a and 2002.

[77] Sullivan's argument is based on the pair of lion horoscopes found at Nemrud Dağı, which depict a constellation of stars and planets calculated to be in alignment on the July 7, 62 BC. This coincides approximately with Pompey's installation of Antiochus I as king of Commagene. See Sullivan 1990, 194; Fishwick 1987, 19. In his *Nomos* inscription at Nemrud Dağı, Antiochus explicitly instructs his priest to provide food and wine to both "the natives and the foreigners," who visited the *Hierothesion* (49-51). This seems to confirm that Antiochus envisioned the *Hierothesion* as a place that would attract visiting pilgrims and dignitaries.

[78] It is important to note that the *Hierothesion* at Nemrud Dağı was only one in a network of ruler cult temples by Antiochus throughout the kingdom of Commagene. If not at Nemrud Dağı, this meeting could have just as easily taken place in another *Hierothesion*, such as those at Arsameia on the Nymphaeus or Arsameia on the Euphrates. See Hoepfner 2000; Crowther and Facella 2003.

instance, that both the *Sebasetion* and the *Hierothesion* featured a similarly extensive array of relief sculptures mounted along an enclosed processional walkway.[79] This broad similarity in design suggests that *Hierothesion* served as one of the many visual precedents that influenced the planners of the *Sebasteion*.

The ideological program of the Arsacid dynasty, as exemplified by the monuments of Antiochus I and Mithradates II, was so persuasive that even the Romans themselves began to conflate the Parthians with the "*Persaë*" (Cicero *de Domo Sua* 60).[80] Lacking any sort of comparable, historically based claim to legitimacy, the Romans faced a dangerous ideological deficit, which threatened to give their Parthian enemies the upper hand in western Asia. During the reign of the emperor Augustus, the Romans set about developing their own counter-ideology, which capitalized on Parthia's association with Persia to draw an analogy between the current conflict between Rome and Parthia and the Graeco-Persian wars. In 2 BC, for instance, Augustus made a clear declaration of Rome's kinship with the Classical Athenians in their struggle against the Persian barbarian by holding a lavish reenactment of the battle of Salamis at the Naumachia in Rome.[81] The fact that this reenactment coincided exactly with Gaius Caesar's send-off on a campaign of retribution against Phraates V (Ovid *Ars Amat.* I.171-2) only served to strengthen the association. As A. Spawforth writes, "among Roman admirers of Greek culture this equation was highly flattering to Rome, since it absorbed her stand against Parthia into a

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[79] The architectural structure of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias is typically compared to the Forum of Augustus in Rome (Smith 1988, 93). There are, however, also numerous precedents of axially aligned *temenos* enclosures in Asia Minor (See Chapter Three). The *Hierothesion*'s heavy masonry socles bear little resemblance to the theater-like porticoes of the *Sebasteion*. Nevertheless, both monuments employ a similarly extensive array of relief sculptures to impress and dazzle the viewer. Beard and Henderson (2001, 191) have described the sculptural program of the *Sebasteion* as a "saturation bombing of the visual field." The same could easily be said about the *Hierothesion* at Nemrud Daği.
[80] See also Pliny *NH* 4.41.
[81] *Res Gestae* 23; Cassius Dio 55.10.7.

universal myth-historical tradition of struggle against barbarism stretching back to the war between the gods and the Giants.'[82] This evocation of Greek myth-history sent a powerful message by precedent: just as the Greeks had repelled the aggressive invasions of eastern barbarians, such as the Amazons and the Persians, so too would Rome overthrow the decadent and despotic Parthian Empire.

We can see a strong current of this sort of thinking in the sculptural program of the *Sebasteion*. The structural organization of the south portico, with its imperial portraits (upper) and Greek mythological scenes (lower), in fact, creates the illusion of a seamless progression from the kings of the Heroic Age to the emperors of Rome.[83] Excavators have uncovered over thirty reliefs from the lower register of the south portico, making them by far the most complete set of relief panels.[84] A few of these reliefs depict gods significant to the genealogy of the Julio-Claudian line, such as Aphrodite and Eros, but the majority represent heroes from Greek mythology known for their role in defending Greece from Eastern barbarians. Take, for instance, the stele of Achilles and Penthesilea (Fig. 53), depicting the Amazon Queen's dramatic death scene on the fields of Troy. Achilles stands in heroic nudity, wearing only his helmet, propping up Penthesilea who has nearly succumbed to her injuries. Penthesilea wears only a Parthian-style cap and a cape, vividly revealing her mutilated breast. This coupling of Penthesilea (the archetypical eastern barbarian) and Achilles (the archetypical Greek hero) viscerally illustrates the cultural and military superiority of the Greeks over the eastern barbarians.

The Roman emperors in the upper register of the south portico are depicted using a remarkably similar iconography, representing their intent to carry on the Heroic

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[82] Spawforth 1994, 240. See also Rose 2005.
[83] Alcock 2000, 118.
[84] The mythological panels have yet to be fully published. See Smith 1990, 95-100.

tradition. The similarity between the relief of Nero and Armenia (Fig. 36) and the death

of Penthesilea is particularly striking. Armenia is depicted in the guise of an Amazon,

wearing only cloak and a leather cap reminiscent of Penthesilea's. Nero, his chest rippling

with manly muscles, grasps her from behind, showing his total dominance. Nero is

shown as the Achilles of the modern era, bringing the eastern forces of chaos under

western mastery. Greek myth-history seamlessly merges with Roman imperial history as

the Roman emperors take up the cause of freedom against the evil and despotic forces of

the eastern barbarians.

Remarkably, no images of Persians or Parthians are found on the *Sebasteion*. It

is, of course, possible that images once existed but have now been lost; however, on a

monument covered with images of Amazons and female barbarians dressed in leather

caps, there was likely little need to portray Persians expressly. To a Greek or Roman

viewer who had been carefully trained to equate Persian-ness with barbaric femininity,

the entire subtext of the *Sebasteion*'s sculptural program contained an anti-Persian

message. The female gender of the ethnic personifications intrinsically evoked images of

Persians in the minds of Greeks and Romans. So while kings like Mithradates II and

Antiochus I tapped the positive cultural memory of the Achaemenids prevalent in Central

Asia, the Romans appealed to the parallel western tradition of the Persians as cowardly

and effeminate barbarians. This was an effective strategy for undermining Parthian

claims of legitimacy, particularly among Greek communities along the west coast of Asia

Minor, which clung adamantly to their ingrained cultural hatred of the Achaemenids for

their real or imagined crimes against the Greeks.

This anti-Persian message complicates our earlier discussion of influence exerted on the *Sebasteion* from the monuments of Darius the Great. The question arises: why would the designers of the *Sebasteion* ever choose to draw inspiration from an "inferior" people? The answer goes back to the historical circumstances under which the *Sebasteion* was designed. When first encountering the Parthians, the Romans were at a distinct ideological disadvantage. It seems that their initial impulse was to try to analyze and replicate the basic structure of the impressive ideological system of their Parthian enemies. By translating the conceptual framework of Darius I's monuments at Bisitun, Persepolis and Naqsh-i Rustam into a palatable visual idiom—modified enough to avoid seeming like a direct copy, but similar enough to retain the same ideological force—the Romans created a stable basis for a complex new system of imperial representation. The adaptation of Darius' two basic models of ethnic portraiture (i.e. the captive and throne-bearer) the conquered nation and idealized *ethne* types, allowed the Romans to formulate a rival claim to universal empire, while instructing their subjects on proper behavior. However, this similar use of ethnic personification also served as a convenient means for highlighting the primary differences between the Roman empire and the Persian/Parthian empire. A simple change in gender from male (as in the art of Darius) to female, coupled with the association of the personifications with Amazons, transforms an innately Persian visual language into a weapon against Arsacid legitimacy.

Reassessing Persian Influence on Roman Art

Up to this point, I have simply assumed that people who participated in the design of the *Sebasteion* had familiarity with the monuments at Bisitun, Naqsh-i Rustam and

Persepolis—but was this really the case? There are few scholars who have even seriously considered the question.[85] P. Briant has noted the conceptual similarity between the personifications in the artistic program of Darius the Great and those on the *Sebasteion*.[86] However, he stops short of suggesting any direct relationship between the two programs. The general attitude, beginning with the imperial propaganda of the Romans themselves, has been that an impassable cultural gulf separated East and West. Two isolated, opposed traditions developed, coming together only in anomalous locales like Dura Europas, but certainly not in the official art of Augustan Rome or a "Greek" city like Aphrodisias. In reality, however, the endless wars between Rome and Parthia brought the east and west into ever-increasing contact with one another, presenting a great opportunity for influence in both directions. The Arsacid and Julio-Claudian dynasties were locked in a military and ideological conflict, which shaped their imperial policies, much like the United States and Russia in the Cold War. Persepolis and the monuments of the Persian heartland continued to exist not only in the physical landscape, but also continued to engage the imagination and historical writing of the late Republican and Augustan ages. One need only recall Diodorus' vivid description of Persepolis in his iteration of Alexander's sacking of the city (17.70-71).

There were two primary ways for Romans and their subjects to come into contact with Achaemenid monuments in Persian heartland. The first was military expeditions. The Romans launched several major military campaigns into Mesopotamia during first century BC. Military expeditions allowed the soldiers (of which there were tens of

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[85] B. Andersen (2002, esp. 188-195) has discussed the visibility and accessibility of heartland Achaemenid monuments specifically in relation to elite tombs in Nabataea. Andersen concludes that the crenellations of Nabataean royal tombs were consciously modeled on Achaemenid prototypes.
[86] Briant 2002, 909.

thousands) and generals to get a direct look at the monumental architecture of the former

Persian empire. Roman troops often employed friendly local guides, hired primarily to

provide short cuts, but who were undoubtedly more than willing to explain passing

monuments while on the march. It seems quite likely, for instance, that the armies of

Roman generals, such as Pompey and Gaius Caesar, encountered sculptural 'copies' of

Darius' Bisitun monument while conducting military campaigns in the East.

Diplomatic embassies represented another easy way for Romans to come in

contact with Persian art. Although we have no first-hand accounts, we can safely

imagine the Parthian king taking ambassadors on tours of monumental sites in order to

impress them with glory of the Parthian empire. As we have seen, the Parthians

continued to revere Achaemenid monuments and Darius I's rock reliefs were likely high

on the viewing agenda. This process of influence also happened in reverse. In the *Res

Gestae*, Augustus proudly brags that the Parthians sent many noble ambassadors to Rome

(33) and that Phraates, as a token of his goodwill, even sent his sons to live with

Augustus as hostages (32). These noble guests, undoubtedly steeped in the ideology of

the Parthian empire, provided a direct means of influence on Augustus and the imperial

family. [87] They could have described, sketched, or even had official renderings of the

monuments at Bisitun, Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis sent to the imperial court,

ultimately inspiring the creation of monuments like the *Portico ad Nationes* in Rome and

the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias.

In the final analysis, the idea that the Romans and their subjects had no access to

Achaemenid art in the Persian heartland must be discarded. There were many and

diverse mechanisms that brought the Romans into contact with monuments like Bisitun

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[87] For an in-depth discussion of Parthian hostages in the court of Roman emperor, see Allen 2006 passim.

and the tomb façade at Naqsh-i Rustam, only the most important of which have been discussed here. Other possible mechanisms of contact included prisoners of war, merchants, traveling artists and even tourists. This realization not only justifies the current study by demonstrating that the designers of the *Sebasteion* probably did have familiarity with the art of Darius the Great, but also indicates a dire need for further research on the topic of Achaemenid influence on Roman art in the future.

Achaemenid Art in the Western Satrapies

When assessing the legacy of Achaemenid art in the Roman world, we must also take into consider the long-term accessibility of Achaemenid monuments in the western satrapies of the Persian empire. The Achaemenid kings ruled over regions such as Egypt, Asia Minor and the Levant for hundreds of years (c. 546–333 BC). During this time, the art and ideology of the Achaemenids was thoroughly integrated into the social fabric of the eastern Mediterranean world. The Achaemenid kings disseminated imperially mandated works of art throughout the empire in form of seals, paintings and sculptural reliefs.[88] Artistic motifs emanating from the imperial center were regularly modified to suit the unique viewing sensibilities of local audiences. Perhaps the best example of this phenomenon is the monumental "copy" of Bisitun relief, which was originally displayed along the Processional Way in Babylon (Fig. 54).[89] The black basalt stele, which has

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[88] On use of coins and seals as a means of disseminating Achaemenid royal ideology, see Root 1991; Kaptan 1996 and 2002; Garrison and Root 2001 passim; Boardman 2000, 152-178. In addition to glyptic art, there is also a growing corpus of wall paintings in the eastern Mediterranean that bear clear Achaemenid influence. See, e.g., the wall paintings in the elite tombs at Elmalı and Karaburun in Lycia (Mellink 1998; Briant 2002, 503-505). See also the painted wooden beams recovered from a tomb at Tatarli near Celaenae in western Turkey (Summerer 2007). Royal gifts of furniture, metalwork and tapestries offered yet another means for disseminating Achaemenid art and ideology to the western satrapies. See Miller 1997, 127-130; Gunter and Root 1998; Paspalas 2000, 543-548.
[89] Seidl 1976 and 1999.

only survived in fragments, featured a Babylonian copy of the Bisitun text, as well as an abridged version of the figural relief from Bisitun. According to U. Seidl's now definitive reconstruction, the stele was only large enough to accommodate depictions of the two Babylonian rebels standing before the triumphant figure of Darius, with Gaumata under the king's foot.[90] The Achaemenid patron deity, Ahuramazda, shown at Bisitun emanating from the winged disc and hovering over the captive rebels, was replaced with a star, the traditional symbol of Ishtar in Babylon.[91] Modifications such as these demonstrate a willingness on the part of Darius to communicate his power in a visual idiom that was easily intelligible to local viewers. It further illuminates the sense in which regional locales (doubtless in collaboration with imperial center) were able to create modifications that spoke eloquently to local cults and stylistic traditions, while still remaining true to the essential message of the Ur-monument and the ideological program that guided it.

Based on the discovery of the Bisitun relief at Babylon, we can be fairly certain that Darius also dispatched "copies" of the Bisitun monument to other satrapal capitals in the western empire, such as Sardis and Dascylium. If this was indeed the case, it is quite possible that one or more of these replicas was still standing in first century AD to influence the designers of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias.

In addition to monumental versions of Bisitun relief, we also have evidence that the motif used as a seal image. For example, a cylinder seal, now in Moscow, depicts a

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[90] Seidl 1999, 111. Her earlier reconstruction (1976) assembled the fragments to yield a version much closer to the Bisitun image.

[91] Seidl hypothesizes that the stele probably also featured a sun and a moon in traditional Babylonian fashion. In the accompanying text inscribed on the Babylonian stele, the god Ahuramazda is replaced with Bēl, a local Babylonian deity. See Seidl 1999, 110-113.

Persian royal figure leading a row of bound prisoners behind him (Fig. 55).[92] The seal

bears an Old Persian inscription, which reads "I am Artaxerxes the Great King." This

inscription is typically interpreted as a reference to Artaxerxes III (c. 425–338 BC), who

launched a major military campaign to retake Egypt in 346 BC; however, there is no way

to know for certain. The Artaxerxes cylinder and other seals like it testify to the

continued relevance and accessibility of the Bisitun image long after the death of its

creator, Darius the Great.

There are numerous other seals that also represent variations on the theme of

Persian military victory.[93] Most depict an abbreviated battle scene with a central vignette

of the Persian king (or soldier) grasping a fallen enemy and stabbing him with a spear

(Fig. 55-56). The composition of these images closely parallels that of contemporary

representations of Greek heroes triumphing over Amazons. It is also strikingly similar to

the sculptural representation of Claudius and Britannia on the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias

(Fig. 30). This similarity adds yet another layer of meaning and symbolism to what is

already a quite potent metaphor of Roman military conquest. To Anatolian viewers

familiar with Achaemenid art, the emperor's pose likened him not only to heroes of Greek

mythology, but also to the historical figure of the Achaemenid King.[94]

It is important to note, however, that explicit images of military conquest were

relatively rare in the Achaemenid art in comparison to that of other Near Eastern empires,

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[92] Root 1979, 122 with bibliography. See also Boardman 2000, 158-159; Briant 2002, 214-216.

[93] See, e.g., Boardman 2000, Figs. 5.5-5.7 and 5.21; Kaptan in press. A battle scene is also painted on a wooden beam from Tartalı, near the royal residence of Celaenae in Phrygia. See Summerer 2007.

[94] It is worth noting that the Egyptian pharaoh was also frequently represented in a similar posture. The image of the king smiting a fallen prisoner with his mace first appears on the Narmer Palette, which dates to c. 3100 BC (Frankfort 1948, 7-9). From the Middle Kingdom (c. 2125 – 1650 BC) onward, the image of the pharaoh smiting his enemies was typically used to decorate the pylons of Egyptian temples. See, e.g., the pylon of the Temple of Isis at Philae, which bears an image of Ptolemy XII Dionysus striking a group of foreign captive with a mace (Macquitty 1976, 102-104).

such as the Egyptians and Neo-Assyrians.[95] As M.C. Root has observed, the

Achaemenid kings typically preferred to render the theme of military victory in the

allegorical form of a heroic encounter between the Persian King and mythological beasts

(Fig. 57).[96] This penchant for allegory over historical specificity is an exceptional feature

of the Achaemenid visual program. By using the heroic encounter to symbolize military

victory, Darius and his successors comfortably displaced the brutal realities of empire

into a cosmic realm of good and evil.

  Much like the Bisitun relief, the image of the Persian king on high was also

adapted for display in a number of specific regional contexts throughout the empire. For

example, French excavators working in the royal city of Susa have recovered a statue of

Darius the Great, which features an extensive group idealized personifications carved into

its base (Fig. 58).[97] This statue is carved out of Egyptian granite and is thought to have

originally stood in the Temple of Atum-Ra at Heliopolis. In many respects, this statue

resembles the portraits of traditional Egyptian pharaohs. Darius is depicted standing

upright with his left leg striding forward in typical Egyptian fashion. In his right hand he

holds a small "stick," while in his left he grasps what appears to be the base of a lotus

flower.[98] Nevertheless, Darius' clothing clearly identifies him as an Achaemenid king; he

wears Persian robes, strapless boots and an Iranian dagger tucked conspicuously into his

belt. The statue's hybridized mixture of iconographic traits effectively articulates Darius'

preeminent political status in a visual language easily intelligible to both Persian and

Egyptian viewers alike.

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[95] Root 1979 and 2000.
[96] Root 1979, 303-311; Boardman 2000, 159-163; Garrison and Root 2001.
[97] Kevran et al. 1972; Roaf 1974; Root 1979, 68-72 and 144-147; Razmjou 2002.
[98] Unfortunately, the statue is broken off at this point so it is impossible to know for certain. See Kevran et al. 1972, 241-244; Root 1979, 69.

The base of the statue is composed of a single monolithic block of granite

measuring 1.043 m in length and 0.645 m in width. On the surface of the socle is a brief

hieroglyphic inscription invoking Atum as the patron deity of the king.[99] Engraved along

either side of the base are a series of twelve fortress rings, on which kneel

personifications of geographical regions in the Persian empire (Fig. 59). Rendered in

painstaking detail, the personifications are each differentiated from one another by unique

ethnic customs, hairstyles and physiognomic features. The personifications hold their

hands palm upward in gesture typically associated in Egyptian art with both adoration

and cosmic support.[100] As M.C. Root has argued, these personifications must be viewed

as an Egyptian reworking of the Achaemenid imperial motif of the king on high.[101]

Much like the throne-bearers depicted on façade Darius' tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam, the

personifications on the Susa base joyously support the Persian king as a symbol of

willing their integration into the Achaemenid empire.

Imperially mandated versions of other key images form the Achaemenid program

also echo throughout the empire. Here, I note, in particular, the scene of the Persian king

seated in audience before a bowing official, which appears both on the staircase façade of

the Apadana (audience hall) and doorjamb reliefs of the Throne Hall at Persepolis (Fig.

60).[102] This scene was replicated and disseminated in a wide variety of forms throughout

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[99] There are also two inscriptions carved on the vertical pleats of Darius' robe. The first is written in cuneiform and names Ahuramazda as the king's protector. The second is written in hieroglyphics and again invokes Atum as Darius' patron deity. The decision to replace Ahuramazda with Atum in the hieroglyphic inscription directly parallels the replacement of Ahuramazda with the god Bēl in the text of the Bisitun inscription at Babylon. See n. 91 above. For translations and discussion of the inscriptions on the Statue of Darius from Susa, see Kevran et al. 1972, 247-266.
[100] Root 1979, 144-146.
[101] Root1979, 146.
[102] Root 1979, 86-95 with further references; Throne Hall, Schimdt 1953, Pls. 96-99. The Throne Hall at Persepolis remained standing with its reliefs visible for centuries after Alexander's sack in 330 BC. For

the western satrapies of the Persian empire. For example, the image of the King in

audience is reproduced on a seal inscribed in Old Persian, "I am Artaxerxes," which is

known to us through multiple impressions on bullae from the royal archive at Dascylium

(the satrapal capital of Hellespontine Phrygia).[103] There is also an audience scene painted

on a shield of a Persian soldier on the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus of the late fourth

century BC.[104] The style and composition of the painting closely approximate

representations of the King in audience depicted on the Apadana and Throne Hall reliefs

at Persepolis. W. Heckel has convincingly argued that the Alexander Sarcophagus

belonged to Mazaeus, a Persian satrap, who shifted his allegiance from Darius III to

Alexander following the battle of Gaugamela in 331 BC.[105] After Mazaeus' death (c. 328

BC), his sarcophagus was placed on display in the royal necropolis of Sidon in southern

Phoenicia.

 In regions such as Lycia and Caria in southwest Anatolia (Figs. 1-2), local dynasts

adapted the imagery of the Apadana for use on their own funerary monuments.[106] The

earliest of these monuments is the so-called Harpy Tomb of King Kybernis (c. 520–480

BC) at Xanthus.[107] Kybneris erected his tomb between the theater and the south gate of

the Xanthian agora, where it stood until modern times. The upper chamber of the tomb

featured no less than four separate representations of Kybernis (and his deceased family)

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further discussion of the sculptural program of the Apadana and its impact on art in the western empire, see
Root 1985.

[103] For this seal (DS 4), see Kaptan 1996 and 2002, 50-55.

[104] Von Graeve 1970, 102-109.

[105] Heckel 2002, 74-76 and 2006. The Alexander Sarcophagus has traditionally been attributed to the
Phoenician king, Abdalonymus of Sidon. See, e.g., Schefold 1968; Von Graeve 1970.

[106] For a general discussion of audience scenes on Lycian tombs, see Jacobs 1987, 45-48.

[107] Rudolf 2003; Froning 2004; Jenkins 2006, 163-168.

enthroned like the Persian king.[108] A similar audience scene also appears on the tomb of

King Erbinna, who ruled over Xanthus between 390-370 BC.[109] The podium of King

Erbinna's tomb, commonly known today as the Nereid Monument, was decorated with an

elaborate sculptural frieze depicting Erbinna and his army triumphing over their enemies.

Among these reliefs was a scene of King Erbinna seated in audience before a row of

bearded dignitaries (Fig. 61).[110] Although rendered in the Classical Greek style, the

overall composition of the scene was clearly adapted from images of Persian king seated

in audience at Persepolis. It is important to note that the podium frieze on Erbinna's tomb

also featured depictions of bound captives highly reminiscent of those on Darius' victory

monument at Bisitun (Figs. 62).[111] Erbinna's tomb remained standing just outside the

Hellenistic city gate at Xanthus well into the Byzantine Period and is commonly credited

with inspiring the design of a number of Augustan-era monuments, such as the NW

Heroon at Sagalassos and the Cenotaph of Gaius Caesar at Limyra.[112]

Perhaps the most famous and influential of all the dynastic tombs erected in

southwestern Anatolia was the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (Fig. 63). Constructed by

the Carian satrap Mausolus (377–353 BC) and his wife, Artemisia (d. 350 BC), the

Mausoleum was designed to serve not only as a memorial to Mausolus' heroic deeds, but

also as a permanent locus for his dynastic cult.[113] The architectural and sculptural

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[108] Froning 2004, 315-317. The enthroned figures depicted on the Harpy Tomb have alternatively been
identified as Lycian gods of the underworld. See, e.g., Jenkins 2006, 168.
[109] Childs and Demargne 1989, 440; Jenkins 2006, 186.
[110] Childs and Demargne, 265 ff. The seated figure has alternatively been identified as the Lydian satrap,
as well as the King of Persia of himself.
[111] Childs 1979, Pl. 11.1.
[112] On influence of the Nereid monument on the NW Heroon at Sagalassos, see Fleischer 1981; Waelkens
et al. 2000. On the Cenotaph of Gaius Caesar at Limyra, see Ganzert 1984; Borchhardt 2002.
[113] During excavations of the Mausoleum's subterranean tomb, a team of Danish archaeologists led by K.
Jeppesen recovered a massive sacrificial deposit, which Højlund (1983) has interpreted as the remains of
single banquet held on the occasion of Mausolus' death. The deposit contained the skeletal remains of five

remains of the Mausoleum have recently been studied by K. Jeppesen, who has created the most accurate reconstruction of the monument to date.[114] According to Jeppesen, the Mausoleum consisted of three primary architectural elements: a stepped podium, an Ionic colonnade and a pyramidal roof crowned with a colossal statue of Mausolus riding in a royal chariot.[115] The architectural design of the Mausoleum, as S. Ruzicka has observed, closely parallels the Tomb of Cyrus I at Pasargadae.[116] This subtle architectural allusion directly likened the power of Mausolus to that of the great founder of the Achaemenid dynasty.

It is not within the scope of this dissertation to discuss the sculptural program of the Mausoleum in detail; however, I do wish to highlight several key representations that were clearly adapted from the iconographic repertoire of Achaemenid kings.[117] For example, displayed in a false door in the podium of the Mausoleum was an enthroned colossal statue of Mausolus, with his arm resting on a spear or scepter (Fig. 64).[118] This portrait is evocative not only of images of the Greek god, Zeus, but also the Persian king as he is depicted in the audience scenes from the Apadana and Throne Hall at Persepolis.

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cattle, twenty-five sheep and goats, eight lambs and kids, three cocks, ten hens, one chick and eight squabs and pigeons. Twenty-six hens eggs were also found. Højlund (1983) concludes that the ritual offerings discovered at Mausoleum represent a specifically "Greek" form of hero cult. It is important to note, however, that the Achaemenid kings also received post mortem veneration at their tombs. According to Arrian (*Anab*. 4.29), Strabo (15.730) and Pliny (*N.H*. 4.116), the Magi in charge of at Cyrus's tomb at Pasargadae made regular offerings of meal, wine, sheep and horses to the deceased king. This testimony is corroborated by a small group of Elamite documents from the Persepolis fortification archive, which also mention the regular dispensation of ritual provisions to officials in charge of the tomb (or "shumar") of Cambyses I (d. 522 BC), as well as those of other lesser members of the Achaemenid royal family. See Henkelman 2003.

[114] Jeppesen 1998, 2002a and 2002b.

[115] Jeppesen 1998 and 2002a, esp. 43-108.

[116] Ruzicka 1992, 52. On Cyrus' tomb at Pasargadae, see Stronach 1978, esp. 24-26; Fedak 1990, 32-37.

[117] For a fuller discussion of the sculptural program of the Mausoleum, see Waywell 1978; Ruzicka 1992, 46-55; Jeppesen 1998 and 2002a; Jenkins 2006, 215-227.

[118] On the identification of the figure as Mausolus, see Jeppesen 2002a, 195-196.

According to Jeppesen, there were also a series of statues displayed in the west side of the Mausoleum's colonnade, which depicted personifications of the six Lelegian communities incorporated into the city of Halicarnassus (Fig. 65).[119] The prominent display of ethnic personifications in the colonnade of the Mausoleum directly recalled the personification groups represented on the tomb façades of the Achaemenid kings at Naqsh-i Rustam.[120]

By the reign of the emperor Augustus, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus was renowned throughout the Mediterranean world for the beauty sculpture and the grandeur of architectural design. The Roman architect, Vitruvius (*de Arch*. 2.8; 7.12-13), praises splendid construction the Mausoleum and ingenuity of its architects, Satyros and Pytheos. Pliny (*N.H.* 36.30-31) has similarly high praise for the sculptors that carved the colossal statues displayed in the colonnade or *Pteron*: namely, Scopas, Bryxis, Leochares, and Timotheus.[121] Both Vitruvius and Pliny mention that the Mausoleum was considered to be one of the Seven Wonders of the World (*septem spectaculis*). It is generally accepted

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[119] Jeppesen 2002b, 43-44. The Greeks used the term "Lelegian" to refer to the non-Greek inhabitants of Caria— i.e. the Carians. See Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004.

[120] The female Caryatids on the porch of the Heroön at Limyra were probably also meant to represent personifications of peoples or cities in western Lycia. Traditionally, these Caryatids have been interpreted as Horae or Charites (Borchhardt 1976; Fedak 1990, 69). There are two separate lines of evidence, however, that support their identification as ethnic personifications. First, there is the fact that personification groups on related monuments, such as the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus and the tomb façades of the Achaemenid kings at Naqsh-i Rustam. Second, we also must take into consideration the testimony of the Roman architect, Vitruvius (*de Arch*. 1.4-1.5), who maintains that the first female Caryatids were designed to portray the enslaved women of Caryae, a city in the Peloponnesus, which chose to fight against the Greeks in the Persian War. As punishment for their sedition, the women of Caryae were sentenced to carry the weight of an architectural entablature for all eternity. Regardless of its historicity, Vitruvius' story clearly demonstrates that Greek and Roman viewers commonly understood female Caryatids to represent subjugated women. In other words, they served a similar ideological function to the synecdochic representations of captives on the Bisitun monument of Darius the Great. We should even consider the possibility that the Greek architectural form of the Caryatid was inspired, in fact, inspired by images of captives in Achaemenid art. On the topic of Caryatids in Greek and Roman art, see Plommer 1979; Vickers 1985; Schneider 1986 and 1998.

[121] Pliny's description of the Mausoleum also includes a set of measurements, which are notoriously difficult to reconcile with the physical remains on the ground. For an excellent analysis of Pliny *N.H.* 36.30-31, see Jeppesen 2002a, 29-42.

that the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus served as one of the primary sources of inspiration for the design of Augustus' funerary monument in Rome.[122] The perceived similarity between these two monuments was apparently so great that the Romans began to refer to Augustus' tomb as his "Mausoleum."[123] It is through their familiarity with monuments, such as the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, that the Romans most readily came into contact with the art and ideology of Achaemenid Persia.

The dynastic tombs of Lycia and Caria must have had an even greater influence on the local people of Asia Minor. Take, for example, those in living city of Aphrodisias in eastern Caria (Fig. 2). We can safely assume that many Aphrodisians made the short trip to see such monuments as the Tomb of King Erbinna at Xanthus (c. 200 km) and the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (c.150 km). These great dynastic tombs were an important part of the built landscape in which the people of Aphrodisias lived their everyday lives. The act of repeatedly viewing these monuments over the course of generations must have made a significant impact on shaping the cultural expectations and visual vocabulary of the inhabitants of southwest Asia Minor. This long-term form of cultural influence undoubtedly helps to account for many of the powerful Persianisms embedded in the sculptural program of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias.

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[122] For a discussion of the architectural influences on the Mausoleum of Augustus in Rome, see Davies 2000, 49-67.

[123] The term "Mausoleum" was first applied to Augustus' tomb in 4 AD. See Davies 2000, 53.

CHAPTER FIVE:

Thus Saith Augustus:
The *Res Gestae* in an Anatolian Cultural Context

This brings us to my third and final case study, the Temple of Roma and Augustus at Ankara. The ancient city of Ancyra (modern Ankara) was situated in the highlands of central Anatolia on the ancient east-west highway leading from Sardis to Susa (Figs. 1-2).[1] The city was located near to Gordion (approx. 100 km SW), the legendary Phrygian capital, and more generally within the embrace of a landscape replete with vestiges of ancient empires, such as the Achaemenids and the Hittites.[2] Following the advent of Roman rule in 25 BC, the city of Ankara was designated as the new provincial capital of Galatia and outfitted with a neochorate imperial cult temple dedicated to Roma and Augustus.[3] Inscribed on the cella walls of this temple was a bi-lingual Greek and Latin copy of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus. The public display of this inscription in the Galatian capital raises a number of fascinating about questions the nature and function of the *Res*

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[1] Cross and Leiser, 37-52.
[2] For a discussion of Gordion and its monuments, see Dusinberre 2005, 1-18.
[3] The Temple of Roma and Augustus is discussed at length below.

Gestae. Who was the intended audience of this inscription? And what did it mean to the local people?

In this chapter, I attempt to interpret the meaning of the *Res Gestae* inscription from the perspective of local viewers in Galatia. It is my contention that after hundreds of years of Hellenistic and Achaemenid rule, the people of Galatia had become accustomed to their kings erecting lengthy autobiographical inscriptions. The publication of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus in Galatia must ultimately be viewed in light of this age-old tradition. Moreover, it is my contention that the inscription of the *Res Gestae* appealed to local viewers in Galatia not so much because of the content of its text, but rather because of the evocation visual qualities of its inscription. The majority of people in Galatia were functionally illiterate and thus unable to read an inscription the length of the *Res Gestae*. Nevertheless, even illiterate could still appreciate imposing size of inscription, which extended over hundreds of lines. Thus for the vast majority of viewers, who could not to read the text, the inscription of *Res Gestae* instead functioned as an elaborate decorative motif, which symbolized the power and resources of the emperor Augustus just as surely as any of the statues or reliefs adorning his sanctuary.

Text in Context: The *Res Gestae* in Galatia

Modern scholars have traditionally viewed Greek and Latin inscriptions as textual sources rather than material objects. For generations, specialists in epigraphy have gone out into the field to collect new inscriptions, which they translate and add to the greater corpus of extant historical documents from the Mediterranean world. In their zeal to recover new textual sources, however, epigraphers have historically paid little attention to

the materiality of the inscriptions that they record.[1] Attributes such size, shape and display context are considered of secondary importance compared to the historical data contained within the text.[2] This fetishism of the written word has led philologists, ancient historians and epigraphers to fixate on textual criticism, while neglecting the broader theoretical issues surrounding the reading and viewing of inscriptions. For example, it is all too often overlooked that in pre-industrial societies, such as Greece and Rome, only a small percentage of the population was fully literate.[3] Most people in the ancient world consequently viewed inscriptions not so much as texts to be read, but rather as a visual representation of authority.

The traditional privileging of text over context has significantly influenced how scholars have studied the *Res Gestae* of Augustus.[4] Since the late nineteenth century, scholarship on the *Res Gestae* has focused primarily on reconstructing the initial manuscript composed by the emperor Augustus prior to his death in AD 14.[5] By contrast, relatively little thought has gone into identifying the meaning(s) or intended

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[1] The privileging of text over material culture has deep roots in western scholarship, stretching back to the seventeenth century. As E. Vermeule (1996, 2) writes, "The low esteem felt by classical philologists toward field archaeologists was a remnant of medieval tradition by which those who dealt in Dirt were felt to practice the mechanical arts, while those who dealt in the Word belonged with the liberal arts. The liberal arts are still more highly prized in academic places than mechanical arts; the Word is still generally felt to be more powerful than, as well as cleaner than, the Dirt." See also Moreland 2001, esp. 9-32.

[2] Early collections, such as the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1828-1877), included no contextual data about the size, form of appearance of inscriptions. In recent decades, however, there has been increasing pressure on epigraphers to "study the stones themselves rather than disembodied texts (Reynolds 1975, 210)." See also McLean 2002, 65-73.

[3] W.V. Harris estimates that approximately 15% of the population of the Roman Empire was literate. Most of them were confined to cities. See Harris 1983 and 1989, 267.

[4] The precise title of the *Res Gestae* is unknown. Suetonius (*Aug.* 101.4) refers to the document rather obscurely as a "list of achievements." Gagé argues that the true title of the *Res Gestae* was, in fact, the first line of the inscription: "*Res Gestae divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarium imperio populi Romani subjecit, et impensae quas in rem publicam populumque Romanum fecit.* ("The Achievements of the Divine Augustus by which he brought the world under the empire of the Roman people, and of the expenses which he bore for the state and people of Rome [Trans. Brunt and Moore 1967])." Thankfully, most scholars have agreed to shorten this title simply to the *Res Gestae* of Augustus. See Gagé 1935, 9; Brunt and Moore 1967, 1.

[5] Mommsen 1887; Gagé 1935; Brunt and Moore 1967; Wallace 2000.

audience(s) of the *Res Gestae* in its final published form. According to Suetonius (*Aug.* 101.4), the *Res Gestae* was originally inscribed on a pair of bronze columns that in front of Augustus' Mausoleum in Rome.[6] The existence of this lost Ur-monument has led many scholars to conclude that the primary audience of the *Res Gestae* was Rome's educated urban elite.[7] It is important to note, however, that the only three surviving versions of the *Res Gestae* come not from Rome, but rather from imperial cult temples in the Roman province of Galatia.[8] This raises the question: if the *Res Gestae* was intended strictly for a Roman audience, why are the only three surviving copies of the inscription located in Asia Minor?

S. Güven hypothesizes that the *Res Gestae* was disseminated by Roman mandate to Galatia as part of a centrally orchestrated plan to 'Romanize' the highlands of Asia Minor.[9] The part of her thesis concerning the involvement of the imperial administration appears sound—it is on the face of it, a logical way to explain why archaeologists have discovered three copies of the *Res Gestae* in Galatia, but nowhere else in the empire. Galatia was clearly targeted for the message of the *Res Gestae*, but why? I would argue that Güven's reliance on the term 'Romanization' oversimplifies the true motivations of the actors involved. This was not a simple case of the Romans attempting to 'civilize' a province by forcing its population to adopt Roman material culture. In fact, quite the opposite was true. Unlike in Rome, where the concept of the *Res Gestae* was an innovation, the people of Asia Minor had been accustomed since the Achaemenid era to

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[6] Suetonius' account is also corroborated by Dio Cassius, 56.33.1.
[7] See e.g. Gagé 1935; Brunt and Moore 1967; Yavetz 1984; Ramage 1987; Nicolet 1991. The relatively recent articles by J. Elsner and S. Güven are rare exceptions to the rule. See Elsner 1996; Güven 1998.
[8] The three surviving copies of *Res Gestae* come from imperial cult monuments in Ankara, Pisidian Antioch and Pisidian Apollonia. See Brunt and Moore 1967, 2; Güven 1998, 32-37
[9] Güven 1998, 32.

the idea of royal autobiographical inscriptions, which contained long lists of military victories and social benefactions.[10] As in the case of the ethnic personifications discussed in the Chapter Four, the tradition of publicly displayed royal autobiography in Asia Minor dated back to the reign of the Achaemenid King, Darius the Great (522-486 BC), who disseminated both visual and textual versions of his Bisitun monument throughout the Persian empire (Fig. 39-40, 54).[11] The impressive trilingual inscription, which Darius commissioned to celebrate his victory over Gaumata, served as an inspiration to generations of future kings, who produced their own inscribed monuments memorializing their military and cultural achievements, e.g. Kheriga of Xanthus (c. 440-410 BC) and Antiochus I of Commagene (70-36 BC).[12] In turn, Darius' inscription at Bisitun represented a reinvention of the genre of "royal autobiography," which had a long and venerable tradition in Egypt and Mesopotamia.[13]

In the cultural context of Asia Minor, where lengthy autobiographical inscriptions were closely associated with royal power, the *Res Gestae* made a natural addition to the ideological program of the Roman imperial cult. No knowledge of Greek or Latin was

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[10] Brunt and Moore (1967, 4) argue that the *Res Gestae* was essentially an extended *elogia*, while denying any influence from eastern kingship inscriptions: "In some passages in the *Res Gestae*, the royal flavour almost appears, as for example where Augustus lists the kings who fled to him for refuge (32), or the honors he received, in particular the vows made and fulfilled for his safety (9;11-12); on the other hand, much is routine, and in places very monotonous, detail of expenditure." It is unclear, however, why monotonous lists of expenditures lack a "royal flavour." In fact, monotonous lists of provinces, battles and financial expenditures seem to be *the* primary feature of most royal inscriptions in the East.

[11] Greenfield and Porten 1982, 1-3; Tavernier 2001, 161-163. On regionally adapted versions of the Bisitun relief at Babylon (and perhaps also at Susa), see Chapter Four.

[12] A. Momigliano (1971, 37) goes as far as to credit Darius with stimulating the birth of autobiography in the Greek world. In Momigliano's view, Darius' Bisitun inscription excited the imaginations of Greek scholars, opening them up to the possibilities of the genre. On the Inscribed Pillar of Kheriga at Xanthos, see Demargne 1958; Bosquet 1975; Keen 1998, 130-131. On Antiochus I's *Nomos* inscription at Nemrud Dağı, see Dörner and Young 1996 206-224.

[13] Pritchard 1950 (ed.) remains a very useful compendium of translated texts. Since Pritchard's work was published there has been a flourishing production of focused volumes of collections of texts composed for specific rulers in ancient Near East. Exemplary, for instance, is the series called *State Archives of Assyria Studies*, published by Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project of the University of Helsinki (Helsinki), edited by Parpola ongoing.

necessary to recognize the greatness of the *Res Gestae* and its "divine" author, the *Divus Augustus*.[14] Just through the shear power of the written word, the *Res Gestae* inscription implicitly likened the power of Augustus to that of the Achaemenid King, Darius the Great. For those few who could read the text, the narrative of the *Res Gestae* only further reinforced the symbolic message of the imperial cult temple in which it was displayed. Through his acts of martial valor and public *euergetism*, Augustus truly proved himself a god among men. Moreover, the text also included an exhaustive list of conquered peoples and provinces (26-34) that expressed textually the geographic universality of Roman imperial rule in a way similar to the ethnic personifications on the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias.[15]

It is my contention that the Roman administration disseminated the *Res Gestae* to Galatia not as a heavy-handed attempt at "Romanization," but rather as a means of couching Roman power in terms easily intelligible specifically to the local viewers in this region. The initial impetus for publishing the *Res Gestae* in Galatia almost certainly came from local elites, such as the "son of Eueius" at Pisidian Antioch.[16] These self-styled cultural liaisons with Rome had an intimate knowledge of the cultural preferences and viewing habits of people in their home communities. They also had a vested interest in ensuring the smooth transfer of power from the emperor Augustus to their new patron, Tiberius. In the context of the Roman imperial cult, the *Res Gestae* served as a testament not only to the greatness of the emperor Augustus, but also to that of his progeny, the

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[14] In the preamble of the *Res Gestae*, Augustus is addressed as "*Divus Augustus*." This is translated to "*Theos Sebastos*" in the Greek version inscribed both at Apollonia and Ankara. It is generally assumed that the emperor Tiberius had the preamble added to *Res Gestae* prior to its inscription on the two bronze columns outside the Mausoleum of Augustus. See Wallace 2000, xii-xiii.
[15] Reynolds 1981, 326-327 and 1986, 115; Smith 1987, 77.
[16] See Chapter Three.

divine *Theoi Sebastoi*. By adding the *Res Gestae* to preexisting monuments, such as those at Ankara and Pisidian Antioch, local elites were able to transform what was once a Sanctuary of Augustus into a dynastic shrine honoring the deceased founder of the Julio-Claudian line.

The Origins of Royal Autobiography in Asia Minor

As we have already noted in earlier chapters, the reign of the Achaemenid king Darius the Great (522-486 BC) marked an important phase in the development of imperial art and ideology in Asia Minor. Upon ascending to the throne in 522 BC, Darius developed a program of visual and textual rhetoric designed to legitimate his rule throughout the Persian empire. The first monument commissioned by Darius was, as far as we know, the rock relief and lengthy inscription at Bisitun, which commemorated his victory over Gaumata the Magus and the nine so-called "liar kings." At the center of the monument was a figural panel depicting Darius passing judgment on a line of nine rebel leaders, who walk in single file with their hands bound behind their backs, with the prostrate figure of Gaumata squirming under his raised foot. Accompanying the sculptural panel was an impressive trilingual inscription written in Old Persian, Babylonian and Elamite (Figs. 38-39). In the inscription, Darius recorded the story of his victorious rise to power beginning with his defeat of the usurper, Gaumata the Magus. The story took the form of a first person narrative told from the perspective of the king himself. Darius' authorship was continually emphasized by the repetition of the line, "Thus Saith Darius the King."[17] The inscription provided a detailed account of each of the

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[17] The formula "Thus Saith Darius the King" appears ninety-five times. This has often led scholars to conclude that Darius orally dictated the Bisitun inscription to scribes, who then faithfully transcribed his

battles fought and won by Darius and his generals against the nine "liar-kings" (DB I.72-III.92).[18] Darius also included a series of short, but illustrative vignettes concerning his royal pedigree (DB I.1-11), piety towards Ahuramazda (I.24-26), and beneficent attitude towards his people (I.61-I.71). These short vignettes came together with the greater historical narrative to form a picture of Darius as a legitimate and pious ruler, who acted as Ahuramazda's chosen agent on earth.[19]

The monument's location (carved high on the mountain at Bisitun) made it impossible for viewers on ground to read the inscription in any conventional sense. It is important to note, however, that the inscription, although illegible, was still visible as an inscription from the road.[20] In fact, the trilingual inscription encompassed a wider surface area than the sculptural panel itself. This suggests that Darius' inscription at Bisitun was meant to function for its mortal audience not so much as a text to be read, but rather as an expressive visual representation to be viewed. Even from a distance, the scale of Darius' trilingual inscription was sufficient to inspire awe and wonder in viewer below.

Darius ensured that the text of the Bisitun inscription was made available to his subjects by distributing versions of it throughout the empire (DB V.70). Segments of one monumental display copy were discovered set up along the Processional Way in Babylon.[21] The text was carved on a black basalt stele that also featured a

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words. It seems more likely, however, that the "Thus Saith Darius" formula was simply a literary conceit. As Allen writes, "The text's complexity and novelty suggests that it can only be a collaboration between scribes and king in the same way that Persepolis is a composite of teams of workers putting together carefully planned and programmatic image, rather than following a sketch made only by the king." See Allen 2007, 7-8.

[18] Kent 1953; Lecoq 1997.
[19] See Root 1979, 187-188; Briant 2002, 86.
[20] Allen 2007, 3.
[21] Seidl 1976 and 1999.

Babylonianized version of the Bisitun relief. According to U. Seidl's now definitive

reconstruction, the stele was only large enough to accommodate depictions of the two

Babylonian rebels standing before the triumphant figure of Darius, with Gaumata under

the king's foot.[22]

The discovery of an Aramaic version of Darius' Bisitun text at the Jewish colony

of Elephantine in Egypt further testifies to Darius' investment in accommodating local

customs and traditions.[23] If Darius was willing to provide the Jews in Egypt provided the

Jews with an Aramaic translation, it seems more than likely that he also produced a

Greek version for dissemination in the western satrapies. To date, no evidence of Greek

version of Bisitun text has yet materialized; but of course we cannot expect parchment

renderings to be preserved in this milieu. There is a general consensus that one or more

display copies must have existed at very least in the satrapal capital of Sardis, but perhaps

also in other important population centers such as Celaenae, Dascylium or Gordion (Fig.

2).[24] Scholars have long suspected that Herodotus, a local native of Halicarnassus in

Caria, had access to just such a monument when preparing his account Darius' succession

to the throne in Book 3 of the *Histories*, which bears many striking similarities to Darius'

own version of events.[25] Alternatively, it is also possible that Herodotus had access to an

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[22] Seidl 1999, 111. Her earlier reconstruction (1976) assembled the fragments to yield a version much closer to the Bisitun image. See here Chapter Four.

[23] The extant Aramaic version of DB recovered at Elephantine dates to the reign of Darius II (422-405 BC). As J. Tavernier has argued this version of the text was most likely based on a translation originally prepared by the chancellery of Darius I. See Greenfield and Porten 1982; Tavernier 2001, 161-163.

[24] Momigliano 1971, 37; Lewis 1985, 102; Missiou 1993, 387; Briant 2002, 113-114.

[25] For a lengthy comparison between the narratives of Darius and Herodotus, see Briant 2002, 100-114. Herodotus never mentions seeing or consulting a copy of the Bisitun monument. However, he does describe a similar monument erected by Darius to commemorate his crossing of the Bosporus. According to Herodotus (4.87.1-2), Darius set up two marble columns inscribed with the names of the nations of people represented in his army. The inscription was in Greek and "Assyrian" (i.e. cuneiform script). Herodotus relates that the Greek inscription was subsequently torn down and reused in the construction of as an altar. The "Assyrian" inscription was placed on display in precinct of the Temple of Dionysius. See West 1985, 281-282. Most recently, see Kuhrt 2007 Vol. I, for a thorough review of the evidence.

archival text copy, much like the Aramaic version found on the Island of Elephantine. As. A. Missiou has observed, the proclamations of Achaemenid kings were regularly translated and read out loud in cities and towns throughout the empire.[26] The parchment or papyrus copies of these proclamations were then subsequently stored in public archives. Herodotus could have accessed one of these archival copies written either in Greek or Aramaic. Herodotus himself may have read Aramaic, although this must remain conjectural.[27] There is certainly ample evidence to suggest others could: most notably, the trilingual stele in the Letoön near Xanthus and the Letter from Darius I to Gadatas, which was most likely translated from Aramaic into Greek before being published in the sanctuary of Apollo at Magnesia on the Meander.[28]

The monument of Darius I at Bisitun provided an attractive model for future kings to emulate who wanted to consolidate their power and leave a positive legacy for their heirs. For example, in the Lycian city of Xanthos, a local dynast by the name of Kheriga (c. 440-410 BC) erected an impressive tower tomb, which he adorned with a bilingual Greek and Lycian inscription celebrating his military victories on the battlefield (Fig. 66).[29] Built in a typical Lycian style, the house tomb was composed of a single, four-meter tall limestone monolith crowned by a set of elaborate sculptural reliefs and an

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[26] Missiou 1993, 387.

[27] These issues are discussed by Lewis (1977, 14). Mandell 1990 postulates that indeed Herodotus would certainly have been able to read Aramaic given his background within the empire and the importance of this language as the imperial *lingua franca*.

[28] The trilingual stele found in the Letoön near Xanthus was inscribed with a official decree (337 BC) announcing the foundation of a cult to Basileus Kaunios in the city of Kaunos on the border of Lycia and Caria. On one side of the stele the decree was written in Greek, on another in Lycian. Finally, on a third side was a short Aramaic synopsis. See Metzger et al. 1979; Keen 1998, 10. On the Letter of Darius to Gadatas, see Wiesehöfer 1987; Fried 2004, 108-217. L. Fried has effectively refuted Briant's (2001) argument that the letter is a Roman period forgery.

[29] The owner of the so-called "Inscribed Pillar" at Xanthus is a point of contention among scholars. His name is badly damaged in both the Greek and Lycian versions of his inscription. All that remains of his name are the Greek letters --ρ-ις. I subscribe to the view of Bosquet (1975) and Keen (1998, 130-131), who identify the owner of the tomb as Kheriga (i.e. Gergis), rather than his brother of Kherẽi. For the arguments in favor of Kherẽi as the owner, see Childs 1979; Bryce 1986, 97.

enthroned statue of Kheriga.[30] The reliefs lining the tomb chamber depicted Kheriga and

his fellow soldiers triumphing over their wounded enemies, who lie prostrate at their feet.

Projecting outwards from each corner of the monument was a bull's head protome

reminiscent of those found in the architecture of Achaemenid capital in Persepolis.[31]

From a formal perspective, Kheriga's tomb looked significantly different than the rock

relief of Darius I at Bisitun. Nevertheless, this should not prevent us from recognizing

the clear conceptual similarities between the two monuments. Following the paradigm

established by Darius, Kheriga used a combination of text and relief sculpture to project

an image of royal power and authority. It is striking that Kheriga even adopted the same

convention of publishing his autobiography as a multi-lingual inscription, perhaps as a

subtle way of likening his power to that of the Achaemenid king.

Even after the Persian empire had collapsed, Hellenistic and North African kings

continued to compose autobiographical inscriptions similar to the one of Darius at

Bisitun.[32] At his *Hierothesion* at Nemrud Dağı, Antiochus I of Commagene (70-36 BC)

published his own unique take on the genre of royal autobiography.[33] This document,

commonly known as the *Nomos*, or "Holy Edict," was inscribed on the backside of the

colossal statue bases lining both the East and West Terrace of the *Hierothesion* (Fig. 67-

68). A walkway was cleared along the base of the statues in order to allow worshippers

to read—or at least to gaze at the 235-line Greek inscription. Unlike his heroic ancestors,

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[30] On the appearance and reconstruction of the Inscribed Pillar, see Demargne 1958; Dinstl 1990; Jenkins 2006, 176.
[31] Jenkins 2006, 176.
[32] See e.g. the inscription of Ptolemy I Euergetes, the text of which is preserved by Cosmas Indicopleustes (*OGIS* 54). See also the bilingual autobiographical inscription produced by Hannibal for dissemination in Italy (Livy 28.46.16; Polybius 3.33.18). On development of autobiography in the Hellenistic period, see Momigliano 1971, esp. 89-100.
[33] Humann and Puchstein 1890, 262-278; Dörner and Young 1996, 206-224.

Alexander II and Darius I, Antiochus was no great conqueror.[34] In fact, he spent most of his reign attempting to avoid conflict with Rome and Parthia, with limited success.[35] Antiochus' lack of military victories is reflected in his *Nomos*, which almost entirely avoids the topic of military conflict. Only once does Antiochus make an oblique reference to his repeated clashes with Rome and Parthia: "Contrary to all expectations, I have escaped great perils, have easily become master of hopeless situations, and in a blessed way attained the fullness of a long life (ll. 11-23)."[36]

Rather than military conquests, Antiochus instead chose to accentuate his illustrious Graeco-Persian heritage (ll. 1-9, 24-36) and religious piety towards the gods (ll. 53 ff.). The opening of Antiochus' *Nomos* follows the same narrative pattern established by Darius' inscription at Bisitun (DB) and on his rock-cut tomb façade at Naqsh-i Rustam (DNa + b).[37] As a supplement to the portraits of the *Ahnengalerie*, Antiochus provides a brief accounting of his royal genealogy, which he calls his "most fortunate roots (ll. 31-32)."[38] The remainder of the *Nomos* is dedicated to laying out prescriptions for the cult of Antiochus I and the other syncretized gods of the Commagenian pantheon (i.e. Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras, etc.). Much like Darius in his symbiotic relationship to Ahuramazda in DB and DN, Antiochus attributes his success as a ruler to the divine intervention of Zeus-Oromasdes, who is depicted in the accompanying colossal statues and *dexiosis* reliefs as an enthroned male figure dressed in

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[34] Antiochus claimed direct descent to Darius I through his father, Mithradates I. His grand children by his daughter, Laodice, were doubly related to the Achaemenids through both their mother and their Arsacid father, Orotes. See Dörner and Young 1996, 254-306; Jacobs 2000a and 2002.
[35] Sullivan 1990, 193-197.
[36] Dörner and Young 1996, 213.
[37] Kent 1953, 137-140.
[38] Dörner and Young 1996, 214.

Persian garb (Fig. 63).[39] Unable to compete with the martial legacy of his ancestors,

Antiochus stressed above all his religious piety—a virtue notably espoused by not only

Darius I, but also by all subsequent kings of the Achaemenid royal line.[40]

The *Res Gestae* of Augustus

When Augustus died on August 19, AD 14, he left behind three documents, which

he had entrusted to the Vestal Virgins for safekeeping: his last will and testament, a

detailed accounting of imperial finances and an autobiographical text known as the *Res*

Gestae. As we have already noted, Suetonius (*Aug*. 101.4) claims that Augustus directed

the Senate to inscribe a copy of his *Res Gestae* onto two bronze columns and display

them in front his Mausoleum in Rome. In its Roman context, the *Res Gestae* has

traditionally been interpreted as an elaborate form of *elogia*.[41] When a Roman aristocrat

died, it was customary for one of his relatives to give a speech praising his virtues and

achievements. Often these speeches were epitomized and inscribed on funerary

monuments as a permanent memorial to the deceased. The *Res Gestae* clearly grows out

of this tradition; however, in size and scope it was unlike anything that had come before

in Republican Rome.[42] The only comparable precedents, in fact, were the

autobiographical works of earlier Hellenistic and Achaemenid kings. Augustus had

traveled through Egypt and Syria, where he undoubtedly saw examples of this genre first

hand. Moreover, his court was filled with a variety of eastern dignitaries, including the

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[39] Compare with the Greek epigram on the tomb of Kheriga at Xanthus, where he attributes his victories to the divine assistance of "Athena, sacker of cities (26)." See Bryce 1986, 97.
[40] See e.g. DB IV.52-IV.59; DNb 47-50; XPh 46-50.
[41] Brunt and Moore 1967, 2-3.
[42] Nicolet (1991, 31-41) identifies the dedication inscription of the Temple of Venus in Pompey's theater and Julius' triumphal monument on the *Capitolium* as the two closest precedents for the *Res Gestae* in Rome. These inscriptions were also likely inspired, at least in part, by eastern precedents.

sons of the Parthian King, Phraates III (*RG* 32), who were intimately familiar with the traditions and practices of eastern monarchs. It is not difficult to imagine a scenario where one of these distinguished guests advocated to Augustus that he should produce an autobiographical inscription on par with those of the great kings of Egypt and Western Asia.

The *Res Gestae* of Augustus shares a number of broad thematic similarities with the Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great. None is more striking than their similar use of geographical lists to signify the universality of empire. At the opening of DB I.12-17, Darius provides a concise list of nations incorporated into the Persian empire:

> Saith Darius the King: These are the countries which came unto me; by the favor of Ahuramazda I was king of them: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, (those) who are beside the sea, Sardis, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Schythia, Sattagydia, Archosia, Maka: XXIII in all.[43]

As Briant has argued, this list provides an idealized vision of the world as imagined by the Achaemenid Persians.[44] Darius' list represents the Persian Empire as a circle consisting of five distinct geographical units.[45] At the center is the great king, whose power and authority hold the empire together. Also included in the center are the regions of Persia and Elam, which housed the capitals of the Persian empire: Pasargadae,

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[43] Translation by Kent 1953, 119. Geographical lists are one of the most common elements of all Achaemenid inscriptions. See e.g. DNa 3.15-30; XPh 3.13-28; A?P . A similar list can also be found in Herodotus Book 3, where he describes the administrative organization of the Persian Empire under Darius. Herodotus almost certainly had access to some form of Achaemenid primary source when composing the tribute list, either from the time of Darius or one of the later Achaemenid kings. See Briant 2002, 388-398 contra Arnayor 1978.

[44] Briant 2002, 172-180.

[45] Briant 2002, 180.

Persepolis and Susa.[46] The remaining peoples of the empire are divided into four groups

based on their relative location to the center, e.g. Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, and Egypt are

located south-southwest, etc.[47] This schema not only justifies asymmetrical power

relations between the center and the periphery, but also creates the impression that the

Achaemenid empire extended outward infinitely to the ends of the earth.

The emperor Augustus paints a very similar picture of the world in his own *Res*

Gestae, except instead of the Persian king and the Elamites, he places himself and

Romans squarely at center. From the very first line of the *Res Gestae*, the Roman empire

is defined as encompassing the entire known world: "A copy is set out below of 'The

achievements of the divine Augustus, by which he brought the world under the empire of

the Roman people (*RG* Preface 1)."[48] In the body of the text, Augustus goes on to chart out

the borders of the empire in finer detail by listing all the regions that he conquered or

pacified: this inventory includes fourteen major provinces and over twenty lesser subject

nations.[49] Through this catalogue Augustus fashions a mental map of the empire and its

boundaries, which stretch to the limits of the known world.[50]

Nations that lay outside the contiguous boundaries of the Roman empire posed a

serious challenge to Augustus' universal cosmology. Most Romans were aware that

distant regions like India and Parthia existed outside the world of Rome. Augustus

addresses this problem by portraying neighboring states as client kingdoms, subject to the

will of Augustus. Making a convincing case for Rome's hegemony over regions such as

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[46] In alternative formulations of Darius' province list, Persia and Elam are often interchanged with Media. Media housed the important capital of Ecbatana (e.g., DPe, DSe and DNa). See Kent 1953, 136-142.
[47] The number and order of provincial peoples varies greatly from inscription to inscription. Compare, for example, the province lists in DB I.12-17 and DNa 3.15-30 (Kent 1953, 138).
[48] Translation by Brunt and Moore 1967, 19.
[49] For a complete list, see Nicolet 1991, 20.
[50] Moynihan 1982, 152; Nicolet 1991, 23.

India, Armenia and Parthia is not an easy rhetorical task. The compressed style of the

Res Gestae, however, allows Augustus to use a series of short vignettes to symbolize

Roman supremacy over independent border regions. For example, Augustus underscores

the dependence of the Indians by mentioning that they often send embassies to him

personally (*RG* 31.1) and he passes off Armenia as a client kingdom by fixating on

Rome's interventions in Armenia's dynastic succession (*RG* 27.1-10). Augustus could

easily have learned this rhetorical tactic from the Achaemenid Persians, who also treated

quasi-independent states, such as Ethiopia, Arabia and Colchis, as de facto members of

their hegemony.[51]

In the *Res Gestae,* Augustus portrays Rome's greatest rival, Parthia, as a defeated

vassal nation, using the returned military standards of Antony and Crassus as proof of

Roman dominance: "I compelled the Parthians to restore to me the spoils and standards of

three Roman armies and to ask as suppliants for the friendship of the Roman people (*RG*

29.2)."[52] This statement is brief and factual, but loaded with meaning. Bringing up the

lost martial standards calls to mind a variety of associations. The very fact that the

standards were lost in the first place stands as a testament to Parthian military power;

however, this also makes their return all the more meaningful. By personally compelling

the Parthians to return the standards, Augustus implies that Parthian military force is a

thing of the past. The last phrase, "and to ask as suppliants for the friendship of the

Roman people," further reinforces the totality of the Parthian defeat. Not only did

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[51] Herodotus describes how these nations were permitted to pay tribute to the Persian king in the form of gifts. For example, the Ethiopians reportedly paid 2 quarts of unrefined gold, 200 ebony logs, 5 Ethiopian boys, 20 elephant tusks every four years (3.97). This contrasts with the core satrapies of the Persian Empire, which were assessed a yearly tax in silver talents. Herodotus explicitly states that the different treatment of nations such as the Ethiopians was due to the fact that they were "outside the range of Persian influence (3.97; 4.167)."

[52] Translation by Brunt and Moore 1967, 33.

Augustus force the Parthians to relinquish their ostensible signs of power, but he forced

them to do it with a smile. In a single sentence, Augustus rhetorically converts Parthia

from a dangerous rival empire into an amicable client kingdom, wholly subservient to

Rome.

The end result of the *Res Gestae*'s complex geographical excursus is to present the

Roman Empire as 1) incorporating the entire *oikoumene* and 2) being surrounded by

client kingdoms that make up the remainder of the known world. This universalized

vision of the Roman empire provides an ideal cosmological framework for naturalizing

relations of social inequality. From the very first line of the Preamble (quoted above),

Augustus identifies Rome as the ideological center of the empire: the single point from

whence all imperial power (i.e."*imperium*") emanates.[53] Within the city of Rome, Augustus'

power is preeminent; nevertheless, through phrases such as"*amicitiam meam et populi*

Romani (*RG* 26.11),"Augustus makes clear that he is also the representative of the greater

Roman population.[54] The ideal status hierarchy of the Roman people is neatly laid out in

the final paragraph of the *Res Gestae*:"In my thirteenth consulship the senate, the

equestrian order and the whole people of Rome gave me the title of *Pater Patriae* (*RG*

35.1-3).[55] Surrounding the *Pater Patriae* are three concentric status circles of Romans:

first the Senate, then the Knights and, at last, the citizens of Roman. These three groups

represent the social core of the Augustan empire.[56]

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[53] One encounters a similar motif of power emanating outward from the imperial center in Darius' funerary
inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam (DNa 4.30-47): "If now thou shalt think that 'How many countries which
King Darius held?' look at these sculptures that bear the throne . . . then shall it become known to thee: the
spear of a Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to thee: a Persian man has delivered
battle far indeed from Persia." See Kent 1953, 138; Briant 2002, 178.
[54] Ramage 1987, 25.
[55] Translation by Brunt and Moore 1967, 37.
[56] The elevated status of Roman citizens is analogous to the special position accorded to Persians and
Medes in Achaemenid royal ideology.

In opposition to this core, Augustus clearly defines a social periphery made up of foreign subject peoples. Much like Darius in his Bisitun inscription, Augustus presents himself as a great conqueror, who achieved political and military supremacy by quelling all forms of resistance, domestic and foreign. His victorious achievements pervade the text of the *Res Gestae*: two *ovationes*, three triumphs, twenty-one salutations as *imperator* and fifty-five *supplications*. Thus when foreign peoples appear in the narrative of the *Res Gestae*, they are typically depicted as violent savages who challenge the authority of Rome and are summarily "pacified" (*placare* or *pacificare*) by Augustus (*RG* 25.1; 26.2-3). Even foreign kings are degraded to the level of booty to be led before Augustus' chariot: "In my triumphs nine kings or children of kings were led before my chariot (*RG* 4. 9-10)."[57]

It is also significant in this context that Augustus places a heavy emphasis on the foundation of new colonies across the empire. He lists at length the regions in which he settled colonies: namely, Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, Spain, Achaia, Asia, Syria, Gaul, Narbonesus, Pisidia and Italy (*RG* 28.1-2). These colonies played an essential role in Augustus' idealized Roman cosmology. As E. Gruen has observed, in the *Res Gestae*, ". . . peace derives from force of arms. And its maintenance required continued use of force, or threat of force."[58] Roman colonies represented that constant "threat of force." Augustus twice stresses in the *Res Gestae* that the colonies are populated by his ex-legionaries whom he rewarded with land grants for their service (*RG* 3.4-8; *RG* 28.2). The presence of Roman soldiers throughout the empire asserted the ubiquity of Roman military power and sent a clear message to provincials about their status in the imperial order. Only

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[57] Compare with Darius' description in DB 4.2-32 of how he captured and "smote" the nine so-called liar-kings.
[58] Gruen 1982, 55.

through cooperation with the Roman authorities could provincial populations hope avoid the wrath the Roman army and achieve a lasting a peace.

The *Res Gestae* in Roman Galatia

Given the domineering tone of the *Res Gestae*, one might have expected it to be displayed exclusively in Rome; however, we know this was not the case. Soon after Augustus' death in AD 14, the emperor Tiberius dispatched a copy (or copies) of the *Res Gestae* to the province of Galatia, where it was inscribed on monuments dedicated to the Roman imperial cult. [59] Out of the three surviving copies, by the far the best preserved is the bilingual Greek and Latin version inscribed on the walls of the Temple of Roma and Augustus at Ankara (Figs. 69-71). [60] There is also a Latin version at Pisidian Antioch and a Greek one at Apollonia (modern Uluborlu) (Fig. 2). [61] As we have seen, royal autobiographical inscriptions had a long and venerable history in Asia Minor dating back to the reign of the Achaemenid King, Darius the Great. It is my contention that inscription of the *Res Gestae* in Galatia represents a conscious continuation of this tradition. I would argue that local elites chose inscribe the *Res Gestae* on *Sebasteia* not so much as a means of compulsory "Romanization," but rather as a way of articulating Roman power in a visual idiom that was both familiar and appealing to local viewers. The translation of the *Res Gestae* into Greek would undoubtedly have made the text more

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[59] It is generally agreed that the Latin version of the *Res Gestae* preserved at Ankara and Pisidian Antioch derives from the original version published in front of Augustus' Mausoleum in Rome. The origin of the Greek translation is more controversial. It was most likely prepared by a native Greek speaker in Galatia; however, there is no way to rule out its preparation by a Greek scribe in the employ of the imperial administration. See Brunt and Moore 1967, 2; Vanotti 1975; Wigtail 1982.

[60] For a general discussion of the *Res Gestae* inscription at Ankara, see Mommsen 1887; Gagé 1935; Brunt and Moore 1967; Wallace 2000. On the archaeology and reconstruction of the temple, see Krencker and Schede 1936; Schede and Schultz 1937; Mitchell 1993, 103; Güven 1998, 35-37.

[61] On the *Res Gestae* at Antioch, see Ramsay 1916; Robinson 1926e; Drew-Bear 2005. At Apollonia, see *MAMA* 4, 49-56; Mitchell 1993, 104; Güven 1998, 33.

accessible to local literati in the cities Ankara and Apollonia.[62] Nevertheless, to the vast

majority of Anatolian viewers the *Res Gestae* was nothing more than an elaborate

decorative motif evocative of the power and resources wielded by the Roman emperor.

Each of the three cities where the *Res Gestae* was displayed had its own

distinctive cultural history and ethnic composition. The Greek *polis* of Apollonia, for

instance, was originally founded by Seleucid colonists in the early third century BC.

During the imperial period, the people of Apollonia typically referred to themselves on

coins as the*"Apolloniatai Lukon Thrakon Kolonoi*"[63] There is a general consensus that the

Lycian and Thracian*"kolonoi"* living in Apollonia were once military veterans; however, it

is unclear whether or not they were present at the original foundation of the Seleucid

colony.[64] The Greek copy of the *Res Gestae* displayed at Apollonia was inscribed on a

monumental statue base located in the *temenos* of the city's *Sebasteion*.[65] On top of the

pedestal inscribed with the *Res Gestae* stood the statues of five members of the imperial

family: Augustus, Livia, Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus, all set up between AD 14 and

19.[66] Next to the inscribed base stood another set of three equestrian statues depicting

Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus.[67] These statues were dedicated by a certain

Apollonius, son of Olympichus, a member of a leading local family, who had undertaken

an embassy to meet with Germanicus during his trip to the East in AD 18-19. It seems

quite likely that this Apollonius and his brother Demetrius, both of whom served as a

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[62] Brunt and Moore 1967, 2.
[63] Von Aulock 1972, 20-1; Hall 1986, 139.
[64] Ramsay 1922, 184; Jones 1932, 412; Magie 1950, 1315.
[65] *MAMA* 4, 49-56.
[66] See *MAMA* 4, 50-52. Out of the three surviving copies of the *Res Gestae*, this is the only one to be inscribed on a purpose built monument. Mitchell (1993, 104) interprets this to mean that the *Sebasteion* at Apollonia was not completed until reign of the emperor Tiberius. This is not a safe assumption. It is equally possible that the *Sebasteion* was completed under Augustus and only later updated with the addition of a statuary group to reflect Tiberius' succession in AD 14.
[67] *MAMA* 4, 48-49.

priests of the goddess Roma, played an important role in obtaining a copy of the *Res Gestae* for the *Sebasteion* at Apollonia.

At the nearby city of Pisidian Antioch, the *Res Gestae* was inscribed on four monumental pedestals built into staircase leading up to the entrance of the *Augusteum* (Fig. 7).[68] These pedestals probably also supported statues, much like the monumental base in the *Sebasteion* at Apollonia.[69] By adding a copy of the *Res Gestae* to the pedestals of the propylon outside *Augusteum*, the Antiochenes effectively updated to their sanctuary to reflect contemporary political developments in Rome. The *Augusteum* was no longer strictly a Temple of Augustus, but rather a dynastic shrine dedicated to the worship of the Augustus and his divine progeny, the *Divi Augusti*.

In contrast to Apollonia, the *Res Gestae* at Pisidian Antioch was inscribed solely in Latin. Scholars have often assumed that this was done so that Italian colonists could more easily 'read' the inscription. It is important to remember, however, that a large percentage of the Italian colonists were illiterate, just like the indigenous population of Pisidian Antioch. Thus, I would argue that the language in which the inscription is written in is more symbolic than practical. The very act of inscribing the *Res Gestae* in Latin allowed the Antiochenes to highlight the fact that their city was a Roman colony— one of the many alluded to in text of the *Res Gestae* (28.1-2). In other words, the 'Latin-ness' of the inscription was primarily meant to be exclusionary rather than inclusive.

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[68] See Chapter Three.

[69] Ramsay and Robinson recovered a great deal of sculpture in area of the collapsed propylon. Robinson (1926a) assumed that all the freestanding statues originally stood on the attic of the propylon. Some of these sculptures, however, may have been displayed on the pedestals at the base.

The vast majority of viewers, who were illiterate in Latin, would have simply viewed the

Res Gestae as yet another visual symbol equating the power of the Roman emperor to

that of the gods.

The provincial capital of Ankara was the only city in Galatia to host a bilingual

copy of the *Res Gestae*. This testifies to the cosmopolitan nature of Ankaran society

during the early first century AD. Prior to the advent of Roman rule, the city of Ankara

was the traditional stronghold of the Galatian tribe known as Tectosages.[70] For a short

time, this resulted in Ankara becoming the royal capital of the Galatian King, Amyntas

(31-25 BC), who nearly succeeded in consolidating his rule over all of central Asia

Minor. The death of Amyntas in 25 BC opened up a power vacuum, which made the

eastern Roman empire potentially vulnerable to Parthian attack. Augustus moved swiftly

to annex Amyntas' former kingdom and, in the process, established Ankara as the

imperial province of Galatia. As the capital of Galatia, Ankara was not only home to the

Roman governor, but also to the provincial *koinon*, a loose federation of cities, which

came together periodically to worship the Roman emperor and his family.[71]

The provincial imperial cult at Ankara was housed in impressive octastyle

Corinthian temple, which was likely completed sometime during the later years of

Augustus reign (Fig. 69).[72] Almost none of sculptural program from this magnificent

temple has survived, except for a single sculpted anta capital, which depicts a winged

Victory emerging from clump of acanthus scrolls. The treatment and rendering of the

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[70] On the history of Hellenistic Galatia, see Mitchell 1993, esp. 13-58.
[71] It is generally assumed that *koinon* of Galatia was modeled on those in the neighboring provinces of Asia and Bithynia. See Mitchell 1993, 103; Burrell 2004, 166.
[72] Knecker and Schede (1936) initially reconstructed the temple as an Ionian octastyle dating to the mid-second century BC. Subsequent reexaminations of both the architectural and epigraphic evidence, however, all point to a date in the early first century BC. See Mitchell 1993, 103; Burrell 2004, 166-167.

figure are particularly reminiscent of the *Rankengötter* represented in the *acroteria* and the acanthus frieze of the *Augusteum* at Pisidian Antioch (Fig. 24). Soon after the temple was completed, it was adorned with a bilingual Greek and Latin copy of the *Res Gestae*. The Latin version, commonly known today as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, was inscribed in six columns along the two interior walls of the temple's *pronaos* (Fig. 70-71).[73] The Greek version on inscription, by contrast, was located in a much more visible location on the exterior wall of the temple's *cella*. As at Pisidian Antioch, the addition of the *Res Gestae* helped transform what was a temple of Augustus into a dynastic shrine, which honored all the divine *Theoi Sebastoi*. Moreover, the bilingual version of the *Res Gestae* of Temple of Roma and Augustus was particularly reminiscent of the great multi-lingual inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings of Persians. This is likely no coincidence given Ankara's location deep in the highlands of Asia Minor, in a cultural zone traditionally influenced by the empires of the East.

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[73] Wallace 2000, xi-xiii.

CHAPTER SIX:

Conclusion

I have argued throughout this study that the ideological program of the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor was created through a complex negotiation between local elites and the imperial center. By abandoning the traditional Eurocentric development model espoused by scholars such as D. Fishwick and S.R.F. Price, I have demonstrated that Roman imperial cult was, in fact, a hybrid cultural institution that integrated elements from a wide variety of peoples, cultures, and representational traditions. This includes not only the art of Greece and Rome, but also that of the Parthian and Achaemenid empires.

During the first century BC, the senatorial elite in Roman developed a new ideological system to legitimate Rome's territorial conquest of the Mediterranean world. This new ideological system was predicated upon the idea of *humanitas* or "civilization." The Romans began to understand their territorial expansion as part of larger a mission to civilize the inhabited world. As a result, the Romans adopted a somewhat different approach to administering their eastern and western province: the "civilized" provinces of the Greek East merely required guidance, while those in the west demanded complete material and cultural restructuring. In Chapter Two, I demonstrated how this problematic

conceptual division has influenced modern scholarship on "Romanization" and the Roman imperial cult. I argued that we must abandon using the term "Greek" to describe the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor because it obfuscates the rich diversity and texture of a cultural institution, which is inherently hybrid by nature.

Nowhere was the hybrid nature of the Roman imperial cult more evident than in the colony of Pisidian Antioch. In 25 BC, the emperor Augustus dispatched a colony of Italian veterans to settle at Pisidian Antioch. Upon their arrival, the colonists initiated the construction of a lavish temple dedicated to the emperor Augustus and his family. Scholars have long debated whether the Italian colonists erected the *Augusteum* on their own, or whether they had help from the preexisting local population. My analysis of the *Augusteum*'s architectural and sculptural program strongly suggested that it was constructed through a collaborative effort between Italian colonists and the local elites. This was confirmed by the discovery of the *Augusteum*'s dedicatory inscription, which was not only composed using a tripartite epigraphic formula indigenous to Asia Minor, but also lists the name of one of the dedicators as the "son of Eueius." Collaboration between the Italian colonists and local Graeco-Phrygian elites helped to ensure that that architectural and sculptural program of the *Augusteum* appealed to all segments of Antioch's diverse colonial population.

In Chapter Four, I discussed the influence of Achaemenid art and ideology on the artistic program at *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias. The *Sebasteion* featured an elaborate program of relief sculpture, including a series of over fifty ethnic personification that depicted peoples from around the empire. The majority of these *ethne* took the form of idealized "Greek" women, whereas several of the more bellicose tribes were represented in

the guise of Amazon warriors. When viewed together, these two separate types of personifications illustrated not only the futility of military resistance, but also the material benefits of political cooperation. I argued that the *ethne* series on *Sebasteion* was inspired—either directly or indirectly—by the monuments of the Persian king, Darius the Great (522–486 BC). In order to prove the feasibility of this hypothesis, I examined a number different ways in which the people of Aphrodisias may have come into contact with monuments of Darius the Great at Bisitun and Naqsh-i Rustam. I concluded that the designers of the Sebasteion were most likely familiar with the artistic program of Darius the Great through local proxy monuments, such as the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus and Nereid Monument at Xanthus.

In Chapter Five, I examined the meaning of the *Res Gestae* in an Anatolian cultural context. By the first century BC, the people of Asia Minor had become accustomed to their kings erecting lengthy autobiographical inscriptions. As a result, I argued the *Res Gestae* of Augustus must be interpreted in relation to other royal autobiographical inscriptions, such as Darius the Great inscription at Bisitun. In addition, I also discussed what effects low literacy rates may have had on the interpretation of *Res Gestae*. The majority of people in Galatia were functionally illiterate and therefore unable to read an inscription the length of the *Res Gestae*. Nevertheless, even illiterate could still appreciate imposing size of inscription, which extended over hundreds of lines. Thus argued that for the vast majority of viewers, who could not to read the text, the inscription of *Res Gestae* instead functioned as an elaborate decorative motif, which symbolized the power and resources of the emperor Augustus just as surely as any of the statues or reliefs adorning his sanctuaries.
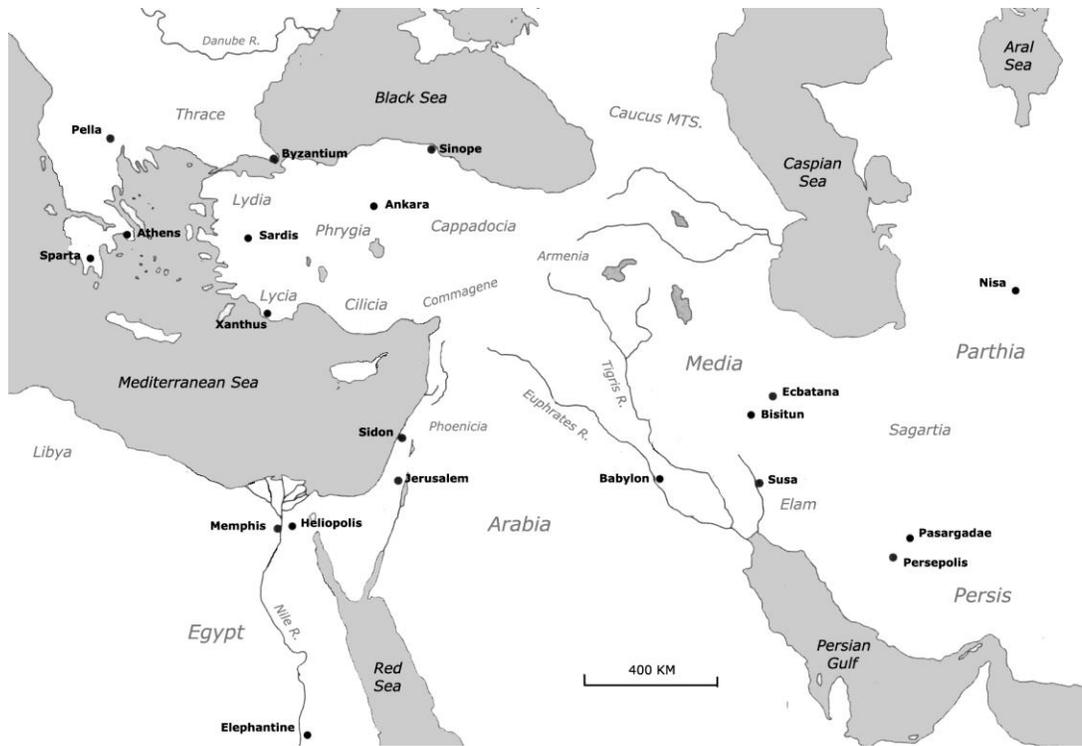
Figure 1. Map of Greece, Anatolia and the Ancient Near East.

Figure 2. Map of Asia Minor.
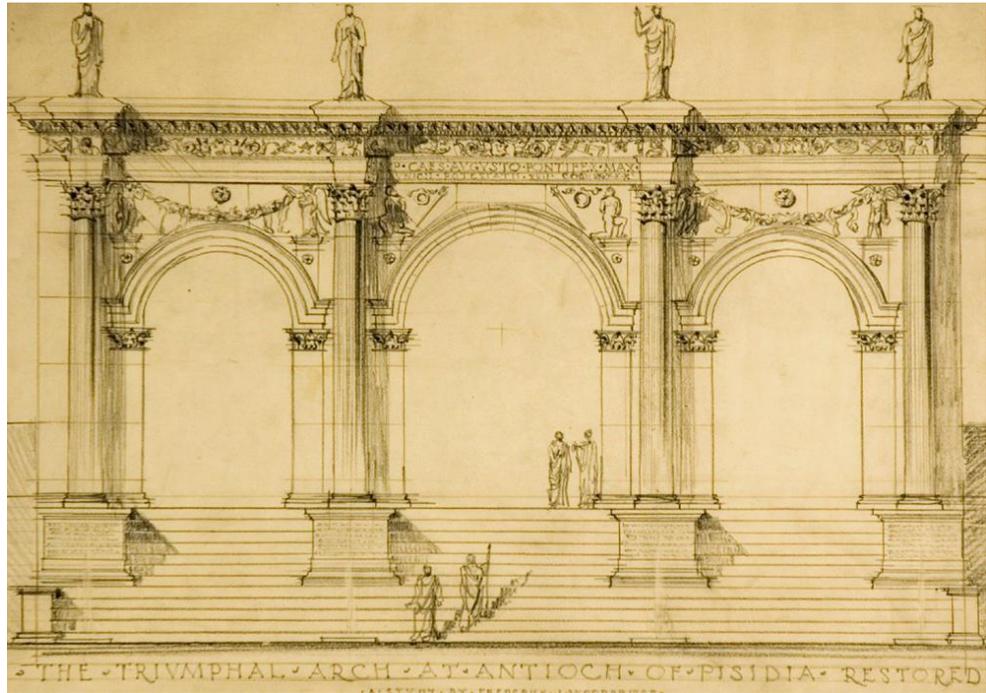
Figure 3. Woodbridge's Reconstruction Drawing of the *Augusteum* from 1924.
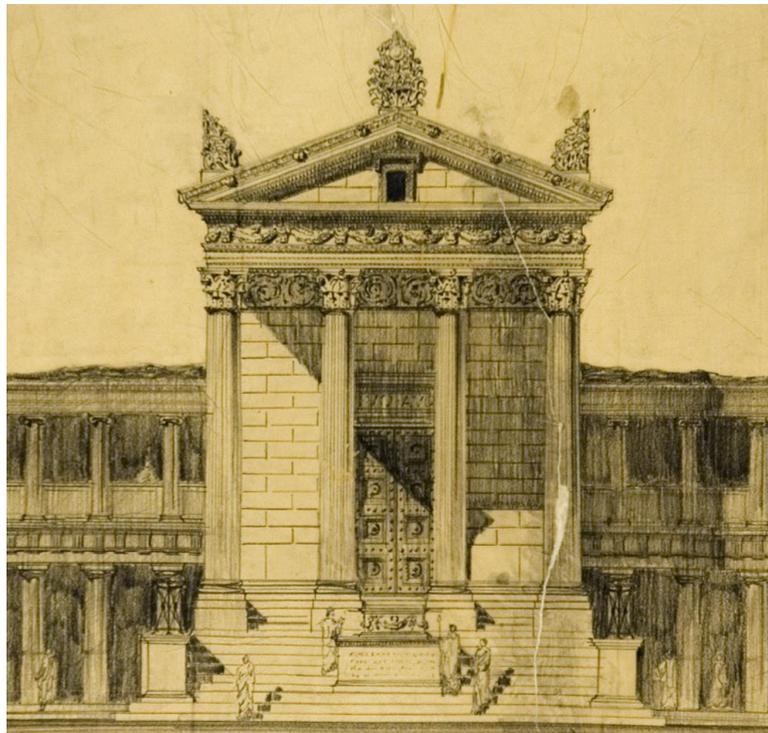
Figure 4. Woodbridge's reconstructed drawing of the propylon from 1924.
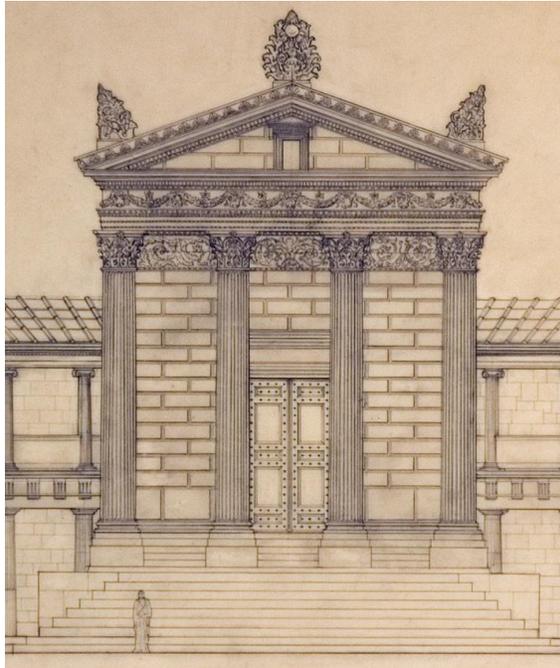
Figure 5. Woodbridge's reconstructed drawing of the *Augusteum* from 1971.
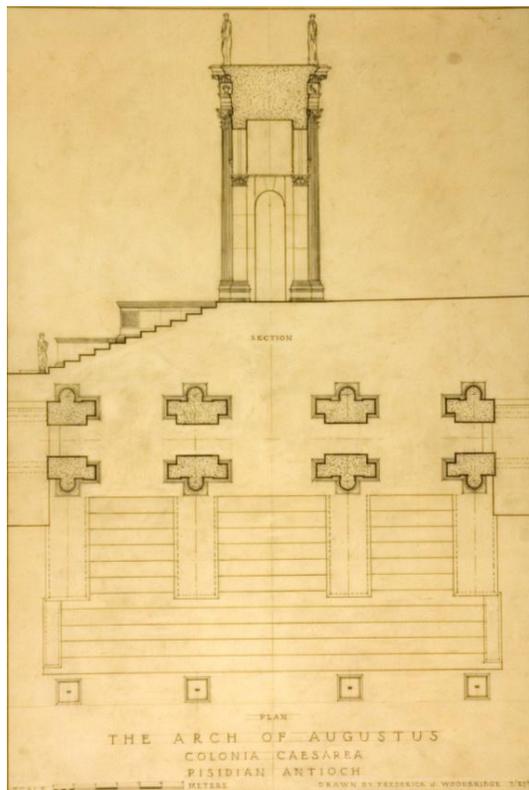
Figure 6. Woodbridge's profile drawing of the propylon from 1971.
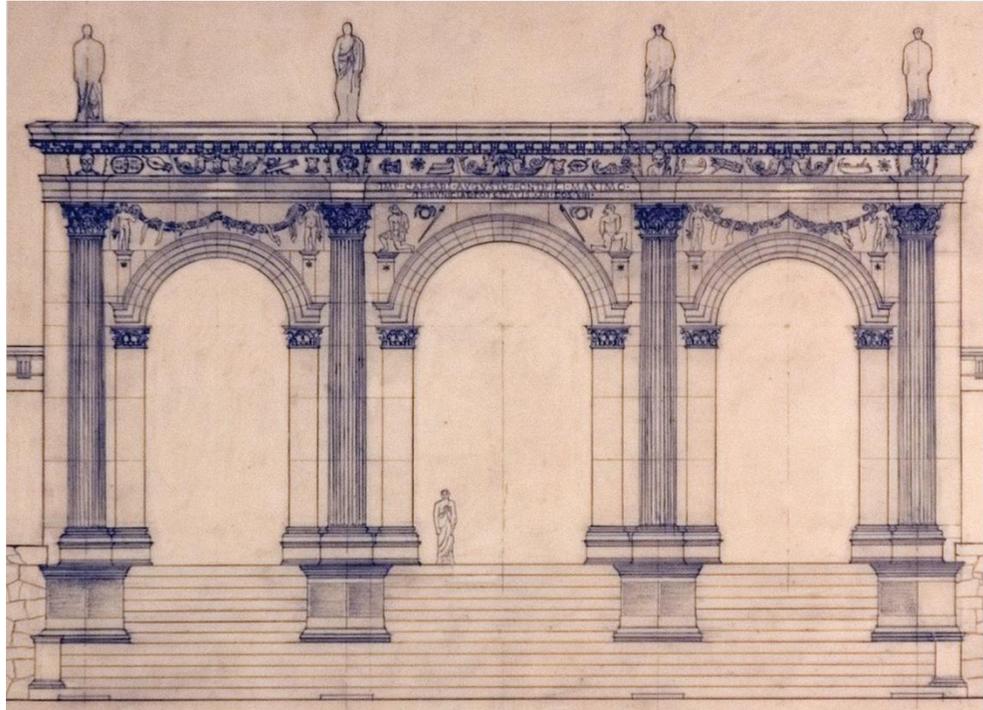
Figure 7. Woodbridge's reconstruction drawing of the propylon from 1971.
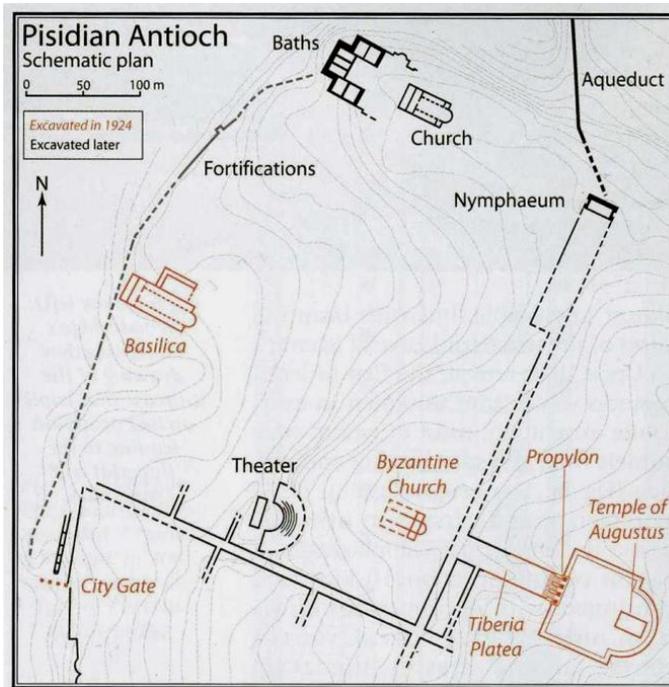
Figure 8. Schematic plan of Antioch's city center. Courtesy of Adrian Ossi.

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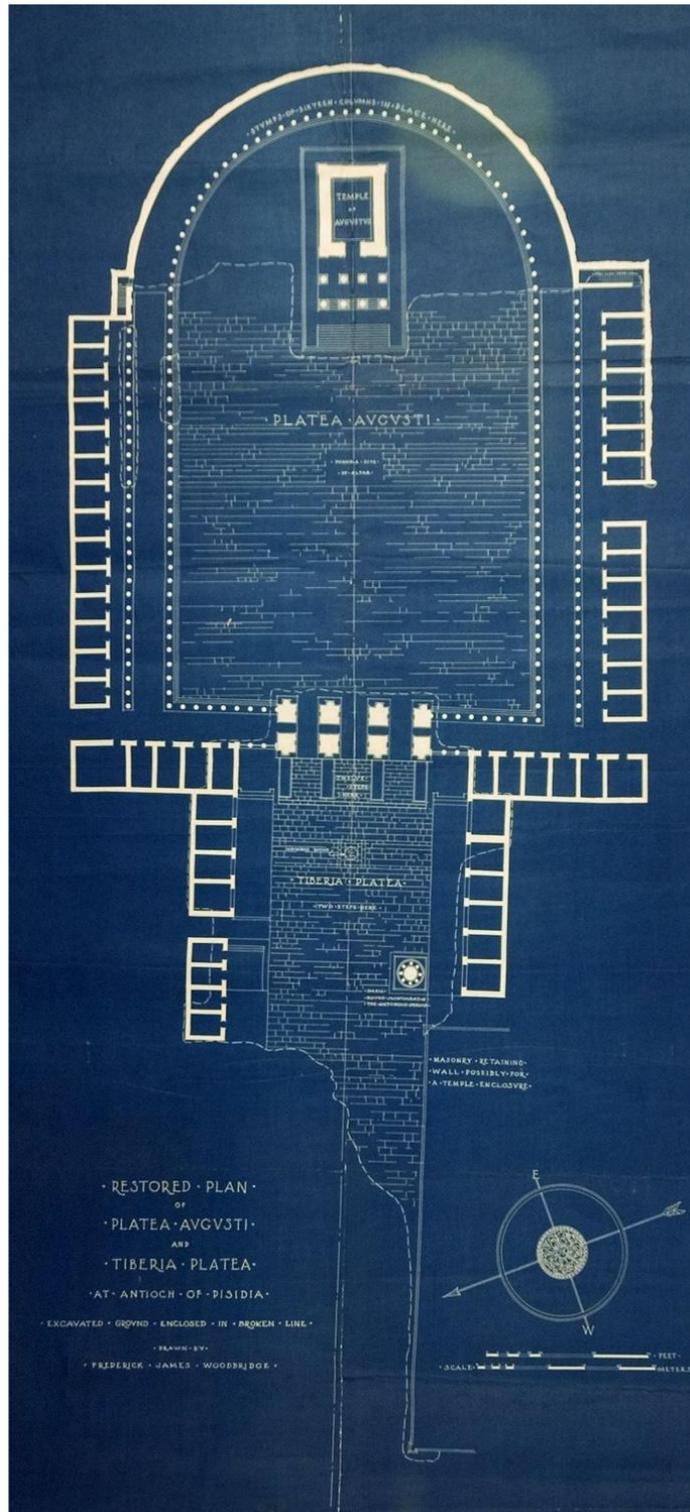
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Figure 10. Turkish workmen pose in the *Tiberia Platea* near the base of the propylon staircase.   Photo Taken in 1924. (KM photo no. 7.1116).

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Figure 12. Relief of a Capricorn from the propylon frieze. Photo by author.

Figure 13. Spandrel relief of Victory (KM Photo no. 7.1139).

Figure 14. Spandrel reliefs depicting winged genii. Photo by author.

**Figure 15. Spandrel relief depicting of a nude captive. Photo
by author.**

Figure 16. Standard bearer from the city gate (KM Photo no. 7.1437).

Figure 17. Standard bearer from the city gate (KM Photo no. 7.1613).
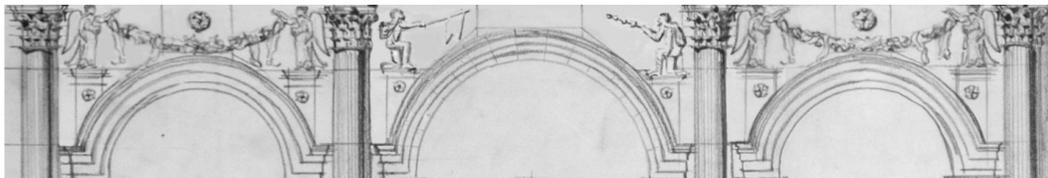
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Based on Woodbridge's original drawings.**

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**Figure 20. Emperor with captive from the attic of the propylon
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Figure 22. Acanthus frieze from the cella of the *Augusteum* (KM Photo no. 7.1601).

Figure 23. Bucranium frieze from the cella of the *Augusteum*
(KM Photo no. 5.0250).

Figure 24. West central *acroterium* with acanthus goddess
(KM Photo no. 7.1665).
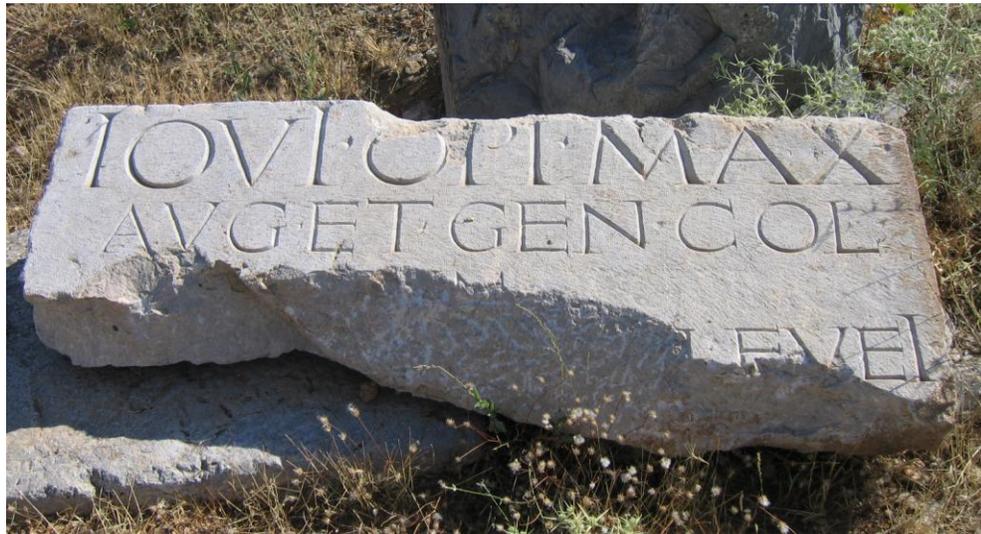
**Figure 25. Possible dedicatory inscription of the *Augusteum*.
Photo by author.**
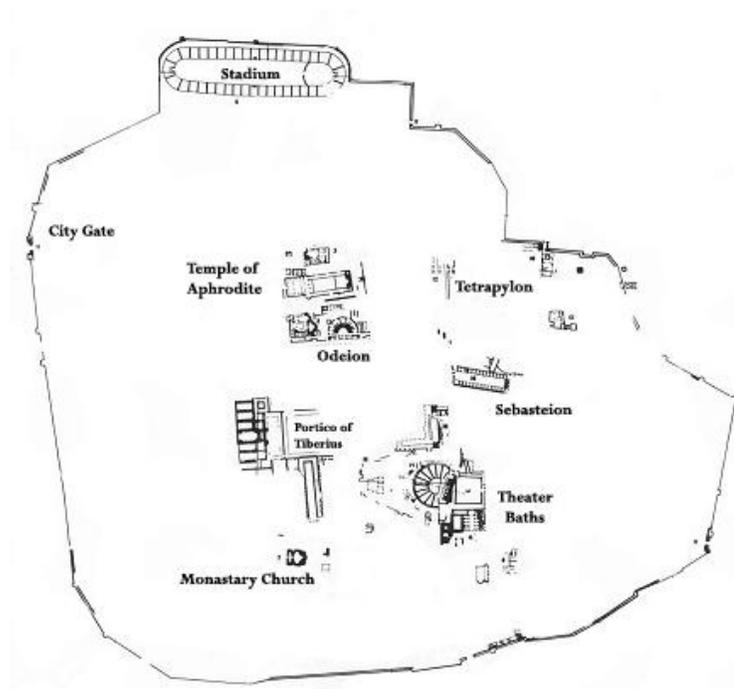
Figure 26. Aphrodisias city plan. After Erim 1989, 51.
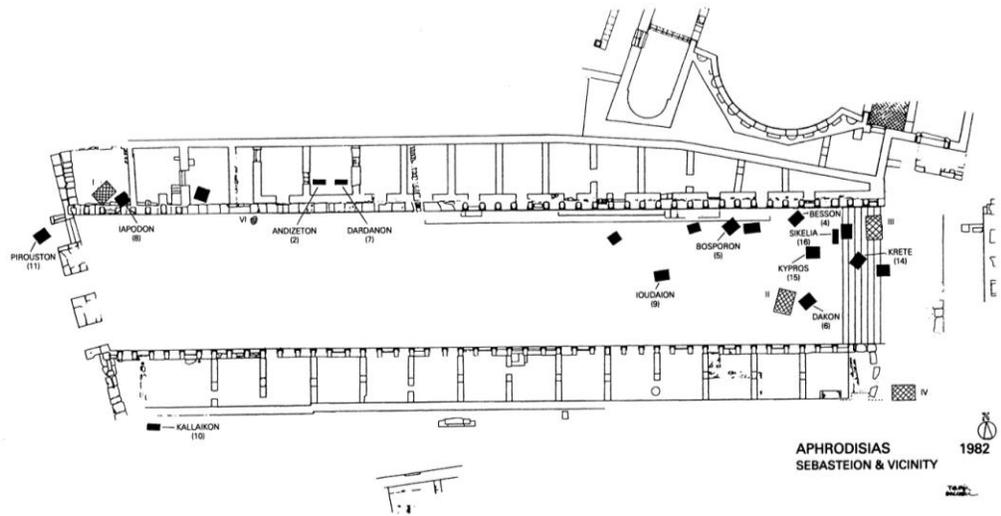
Figure 27. Plan of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias. From Smith 1988, Fig. 1. Courtesy of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
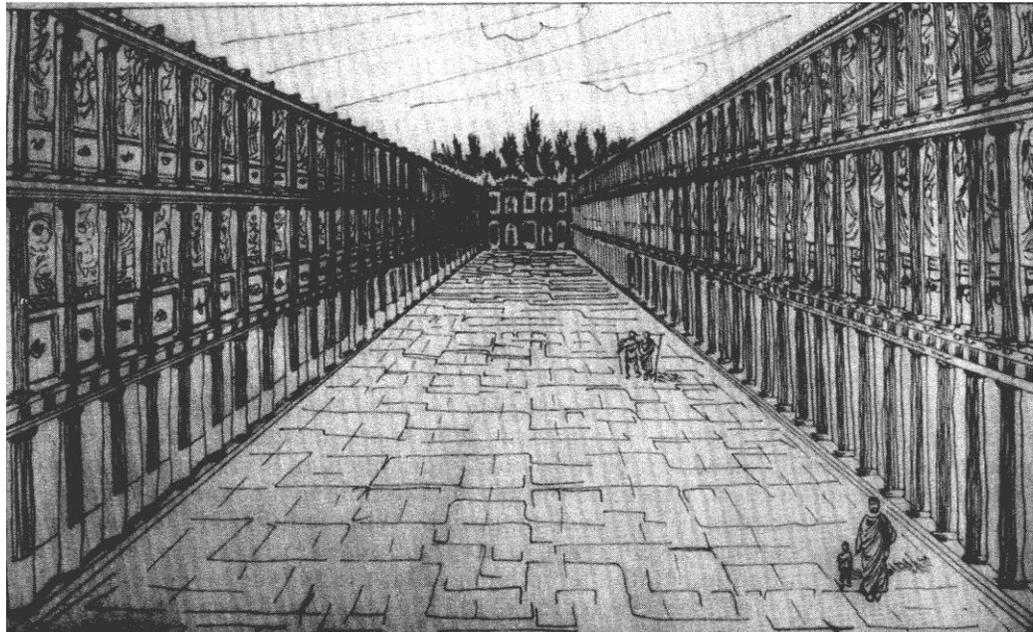
Figure 28. Sketch of *Sebasteion*'s porticoes, looking West towards the Propylon. From Smith 1987, Fig. 3. Courtesy of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

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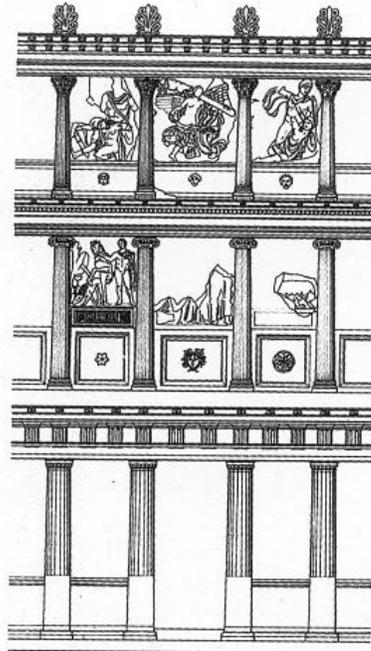
**Figure 29. Restored elevation of Room 3 of the South Portico of the *Sebasteion*.
After Smith 1987, Fig. 2. Courtesy of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.**

**Figure 30. Claudius and Britannia. From Smith 1987, Plate XIV.
Courtesy of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.**
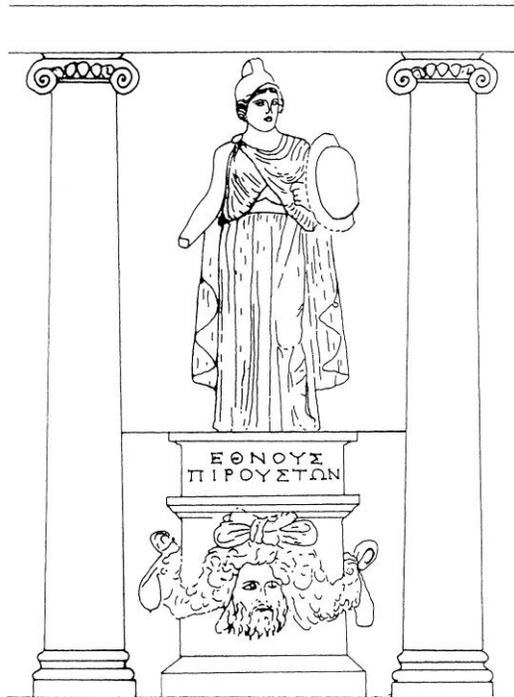
**Figure 31. Elevation of intercolumnation, with panel and base of the Pirousthae.
From Smith 1988, Fig. 3. Courtesy of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.**

**Figure 32. *Ethnous* of the Pirousthae. From Smith 1988, Plate I.
Courtesy of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.**

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Figure 33. Map showing *Ethne* attested on the North Portico of the *Sebasteion*. From Smith 1988, 56. Courtesy of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Figure 34. Hemera. From Smith 1988, Plate VII, 3. Courtesy of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Figure 35. The *Ethnous* of the Daci? From Smith, 1988, Plate II. Courtesy of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
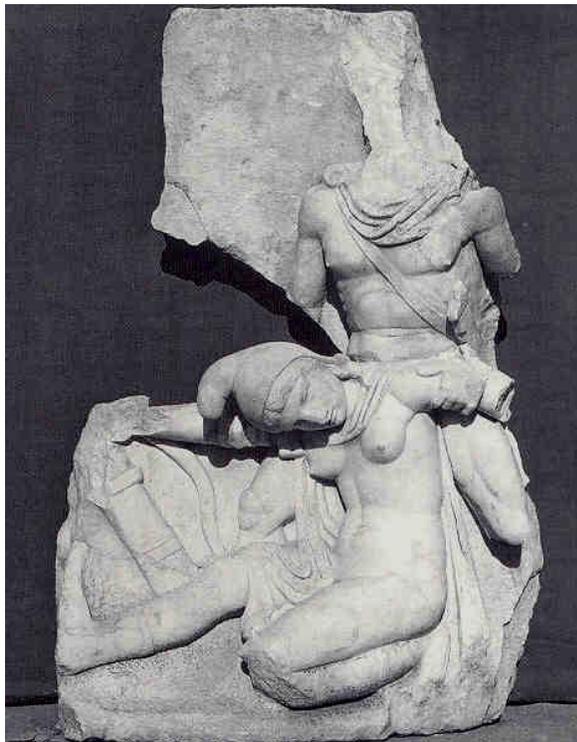
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Figure 67. Distant view of the Bisitun monument of Darius I from far down the mountain. Courtesy of Margaret Cool Root.
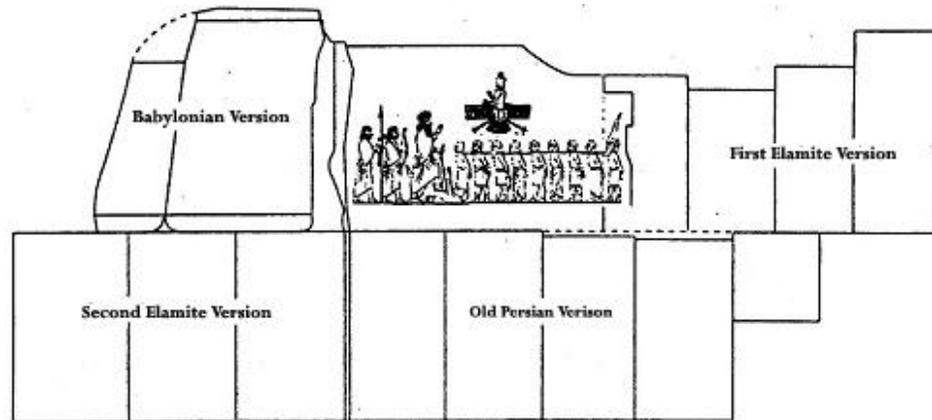
Figure 38. Schematic drawing of the Bisitun monument of Darius I. After Lecoq 1997, Fig. 8.
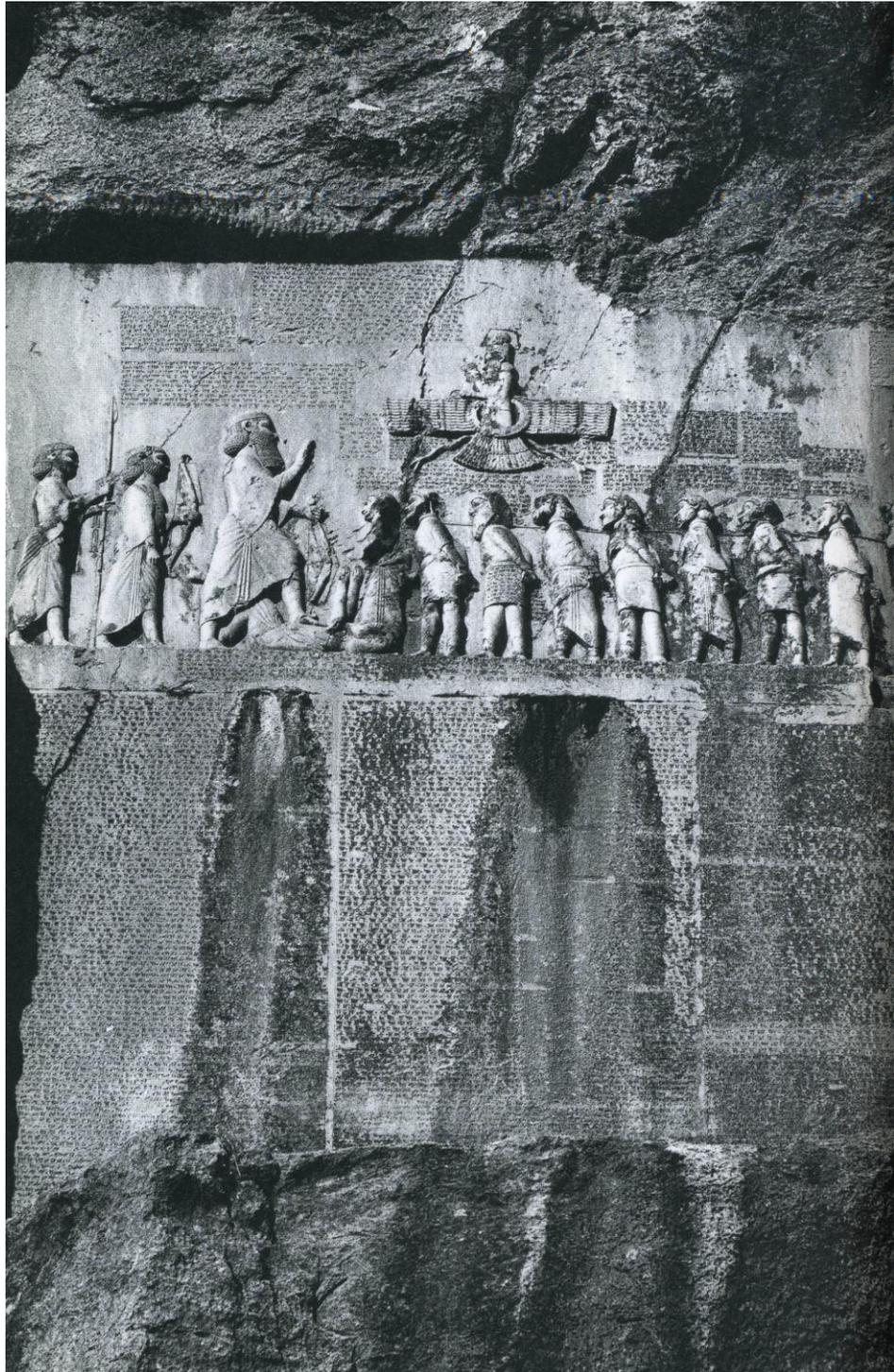
Figure 39. View of the inscription and relief of Darius I at Bisitun from the platform directly below. Courtesy of the George Cameron Archive, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.
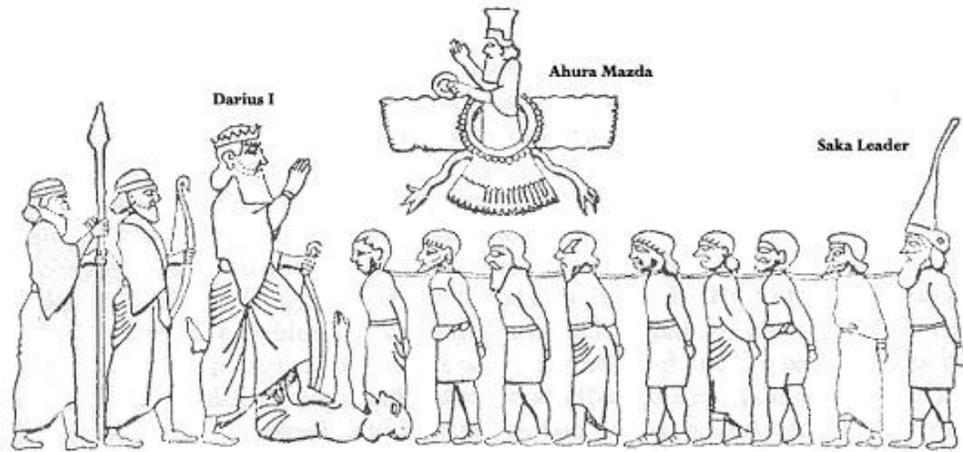
Figure 70. Drawing of the Bisitun relief of Darius I. After Briant 2002, Fig. 8.
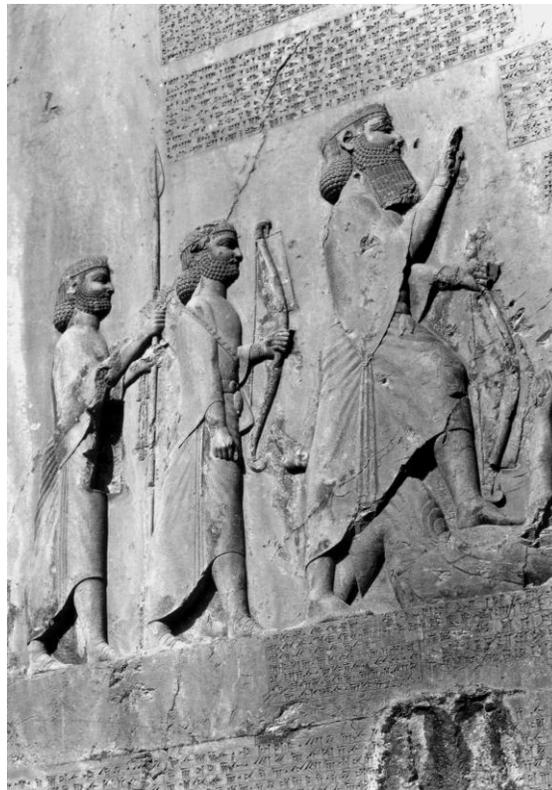
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Figure 42. Naqsh-i Rustam, panoramic view of cliff showing the tombs (beginning from the right) of Darius I, Artaxerxes I, and Darius II. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute Photo Archive, University of Chicago.
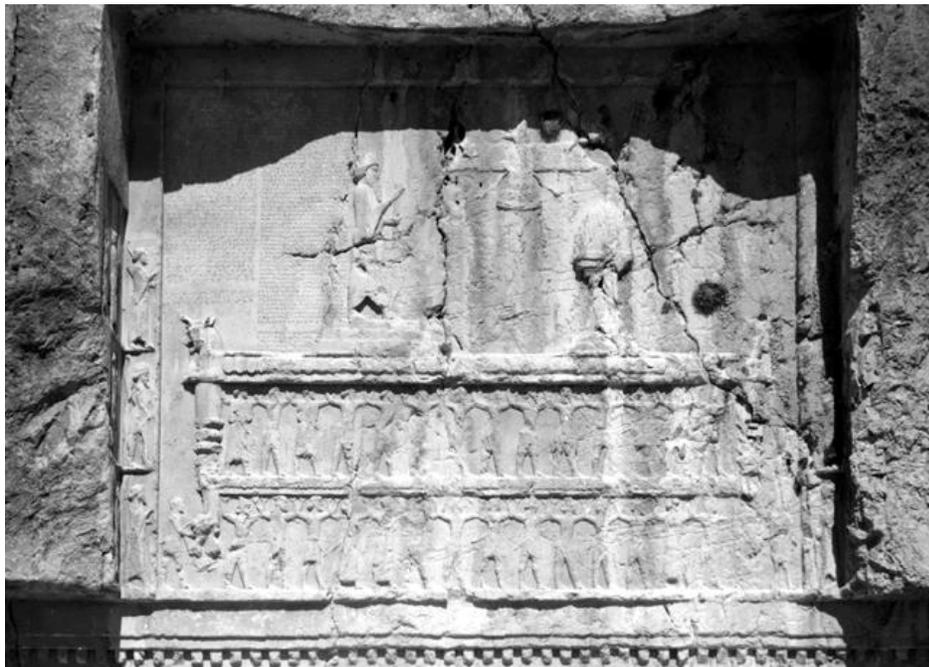
Figure 43. The Tomb Façade of Darius I at Naqsh-i Rustam, upper register. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute Photo Archive, University of Chicago.
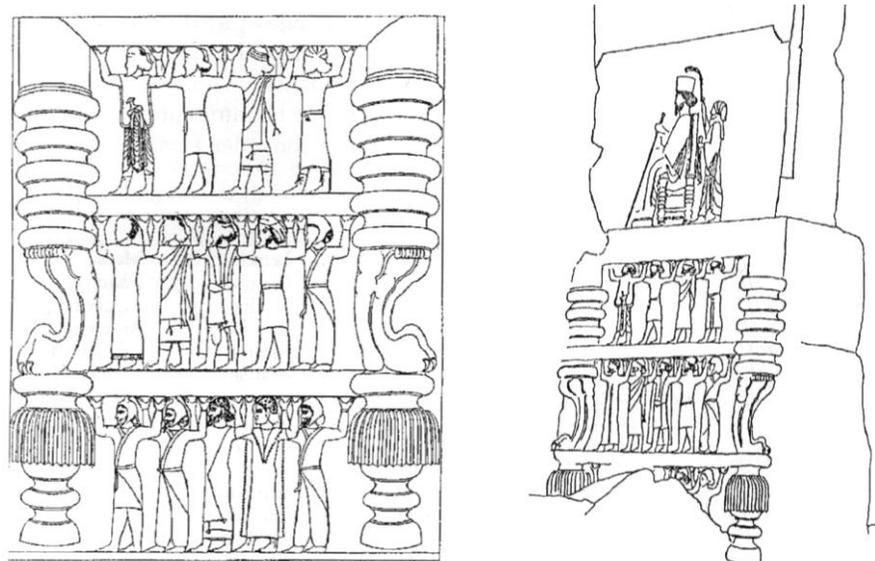
Figure 44. Right: A drawing of the east doorjamb of the Throne Hall at Persepolis. Left: Detail of the throne bearers. After Briant 2002, Figs. 22 and 10.
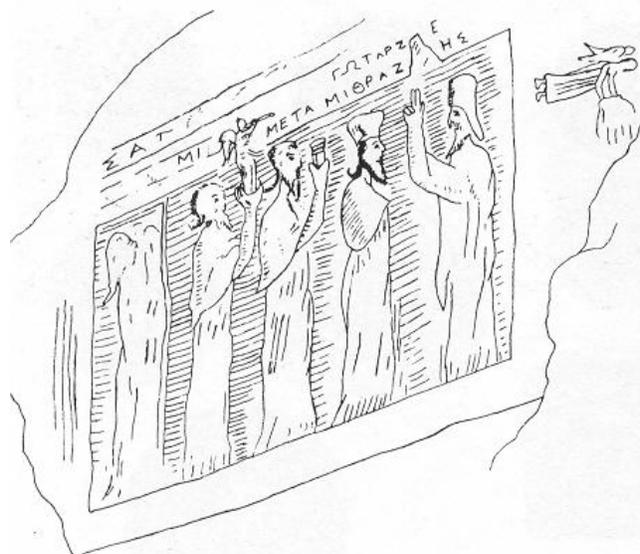
Figure 45. Sketch of Mithradates II relief at Bisitun by P. Grelot, 1673-4. After Herzfeld 1920, Fig. 11.
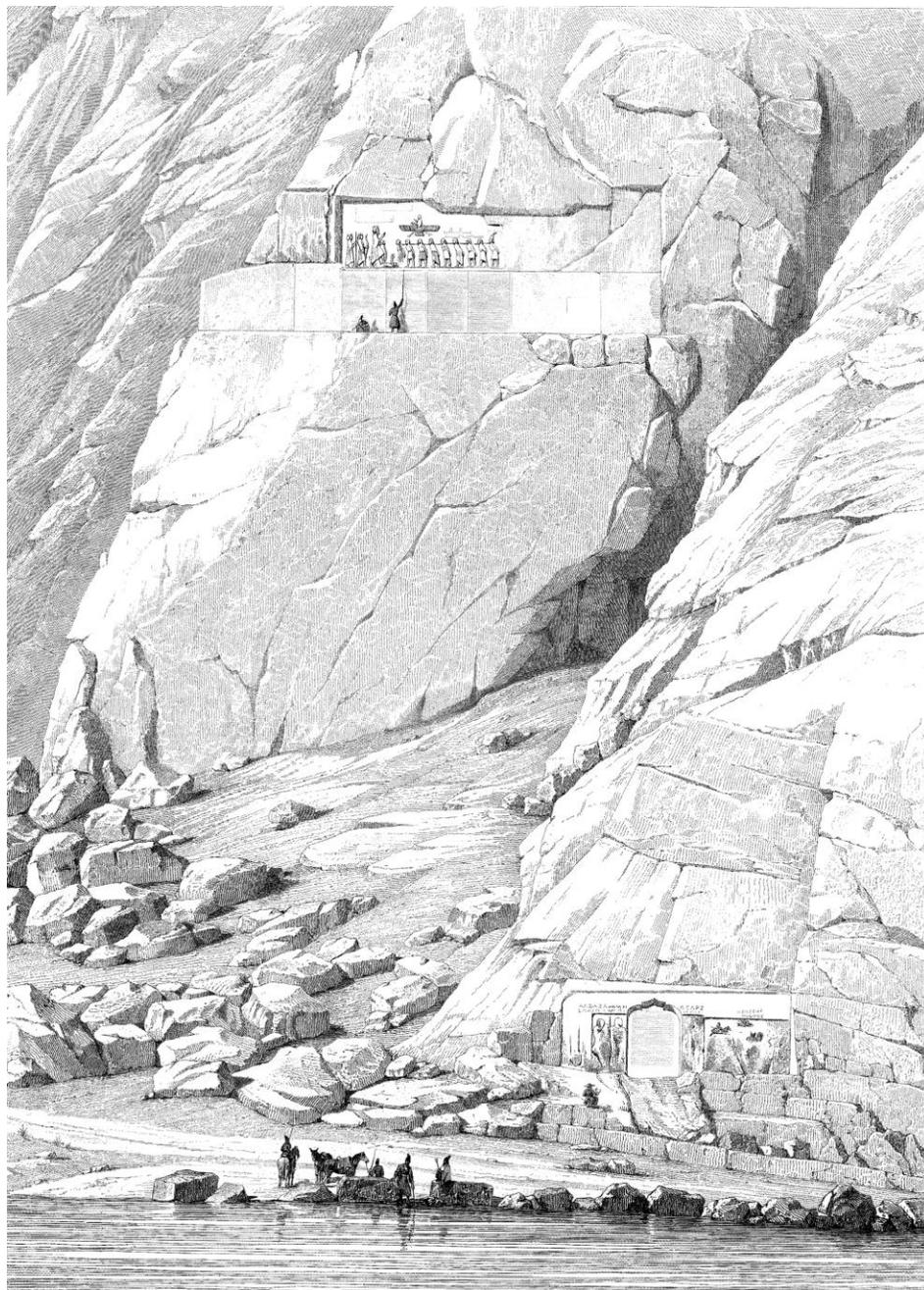
**Figure 46. Bisitun— engraving by Pascal Coste showing monument of Darius
I, with monuments of Mithradates II. After Chevalier 1998, Fig. 8.**
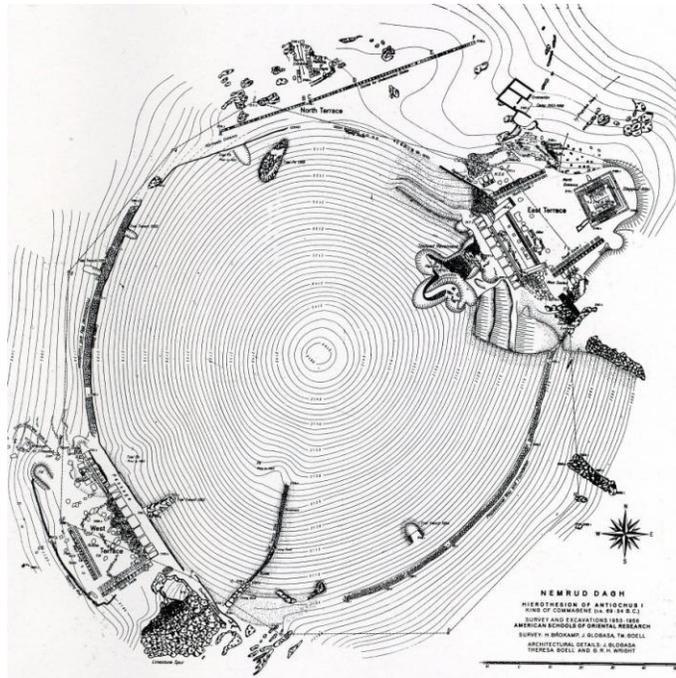
Figure 47. *Hierothesion*, **Site Plan by Heinrich Brokamp, 1956.**
**From Sanders 1996, Fig. 6. Courtesy of Eisenbrauns.**

Plan

Elevations
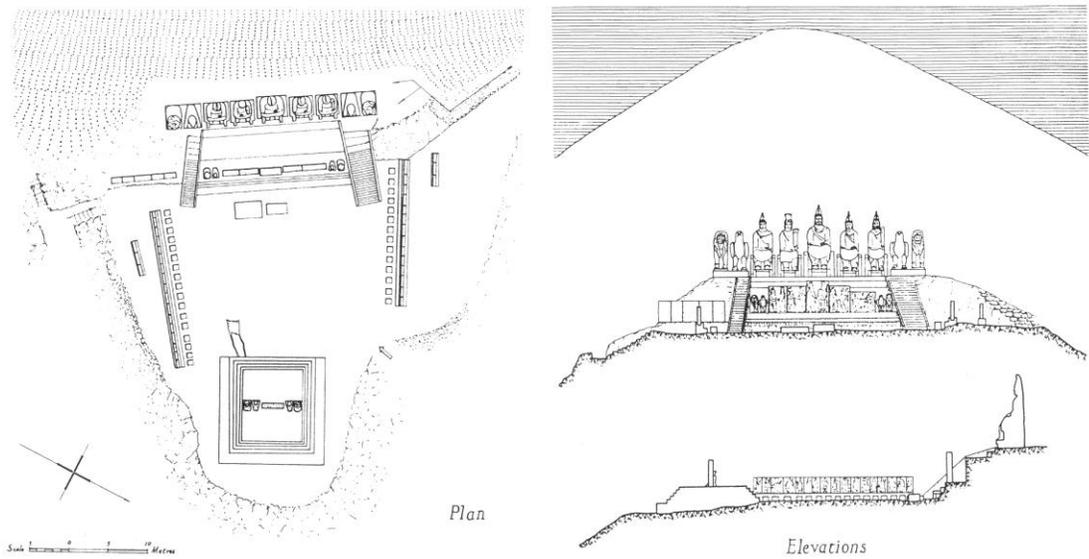
Figure 48. East Terrace, reconstruction by G.R.H. Wright, 1955. From Sanders
**1996, Fig. 50. Courtesy of Eisenbrauns.**
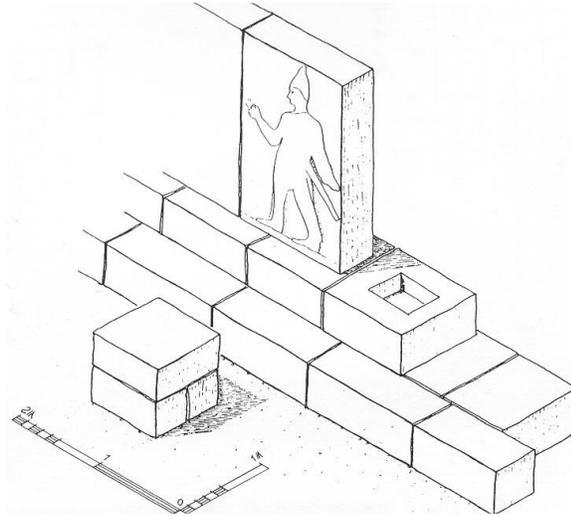
**Figure 49. Reconstruction of a typical portion of the *Ahnengalerie*,
East Terrace, North Socle. Draftsperson unknown. From Sanders 1996, Fig. 330.
Courtesy of Eisenbrauns.**

**Figure 50. East Terrace, North Socle I-1, Darius I. From Sanders 1996,
Fig. 334. Courtesy of Eisenbrauns.**

Figure 51. East Terrace, North Socle I-1, Darius I.
Reconstruction by R.E. and Johannes Glogasa. From Sanders 1996, Fig. 334.
Courtesy of Eisenbrauns.

Figure 52. West Terrace, *Dexiosis* stele of Antiochus and Apollo-Mithras.
From Sanders 1996, Fig. 279. Courtesy of Eisenbrauns.

**Figure 53. Relief of Achilles and Penthesilea from the *Sebasteion at Aphrodisias*. Photo by author.**
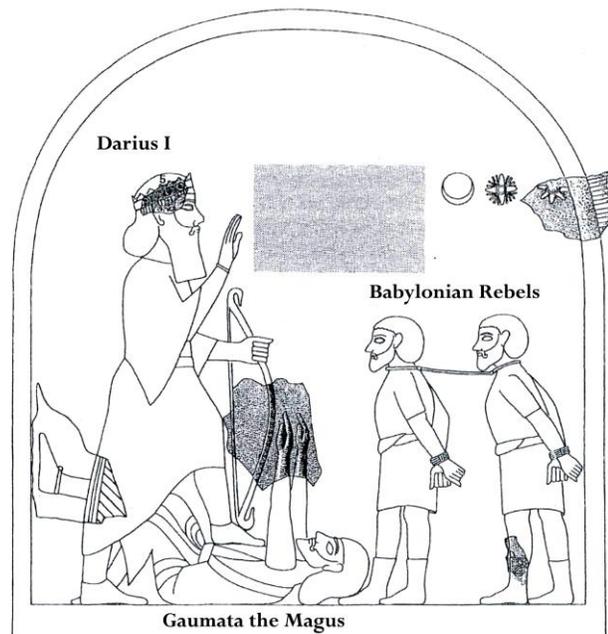
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**Figure 85. Drawing of an impression from the so-called
Artaxerxes Cylinder in Moscow. After Briant 2002, Fig. 18b.**
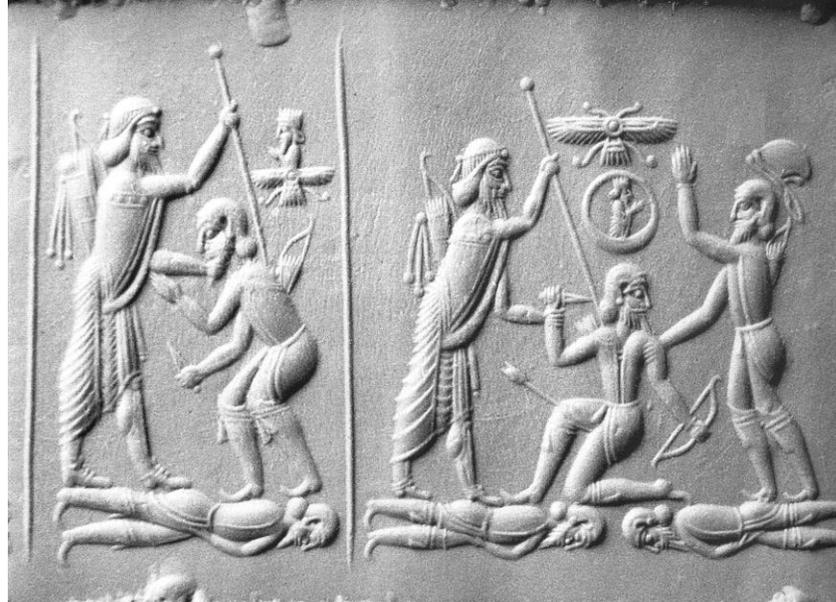
**Figure 56. Impression of a cylinder seal from the so-called "Oxus
Treasure" (British Museum ANE 124015), showing Persians battling
human foes. After Merrillees 2005, no. 66.**
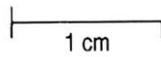
Figure 57. Composite drawing of PFS 1428s, depicting a heroic encounter between the King and a lion. Courtesy of M.B. Garrison and M.C. Root, After Garrison and Root 2001 (Cat. No. 230).
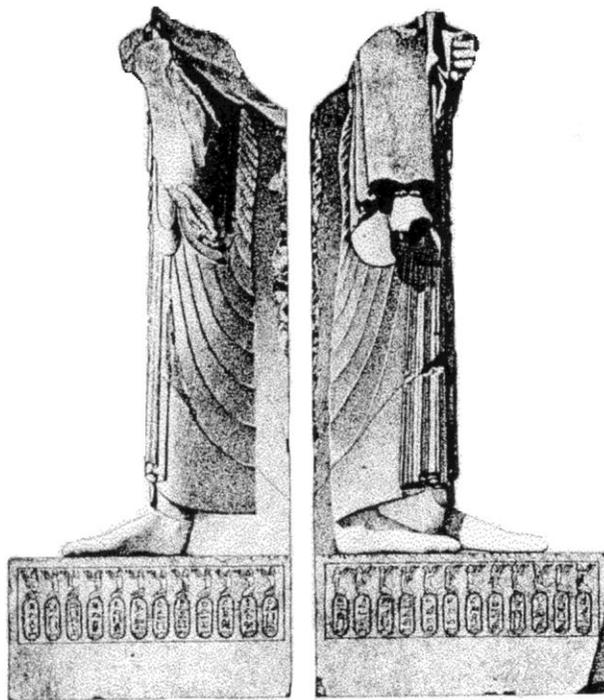

Figure 58. A drawing of the Statue of Darius from Susa, side view. After Briant 2002, Fig. 19.
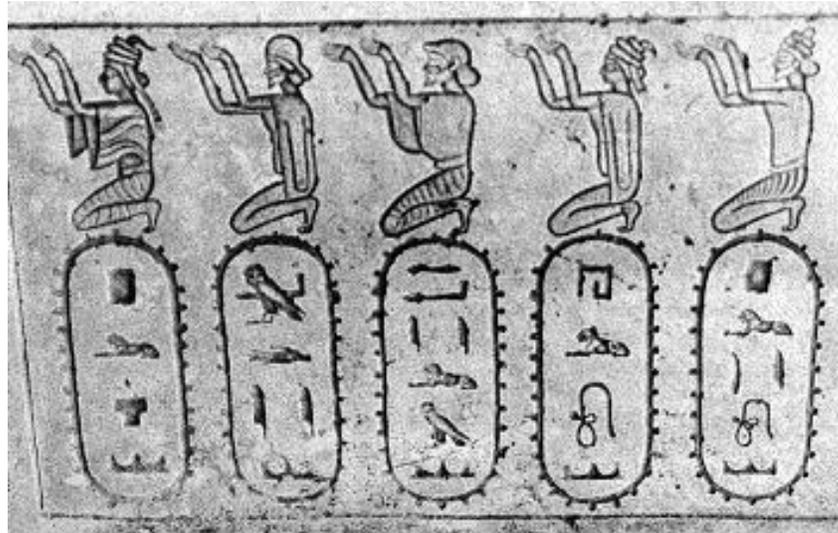
Figure 59. Detail of Darius I's statue base showing five ethnic personifications performing a gesture of cosmic support. After Boardman 2000, Fig. 3.36b.
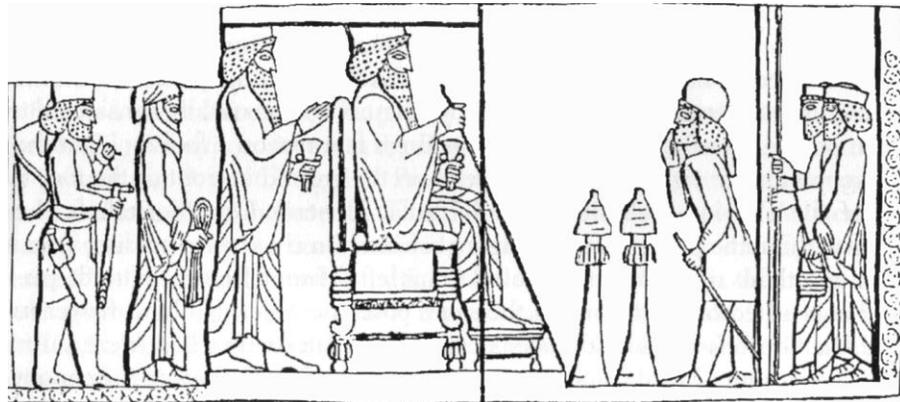
Figure 60. A relief depicting the Great King in audience, originally displayed on the Apadana at Perspeolis. After Briant 2002, Fig. 20.

Figure 61. Drawing of a frieze block (BM 879) from the podium of the Nereid Monument at Xanthus. King Erbinna sits in audience with his attendants. After Childs and Demargne 1989, Pl. 32.

Figure 62. Drawing of a frieze block (BM 884) from the podium of the Nereid Monument at Xanthus. Soldiers lead four bound captives in line. After Childs and Demargne 1989, Pl. 15.

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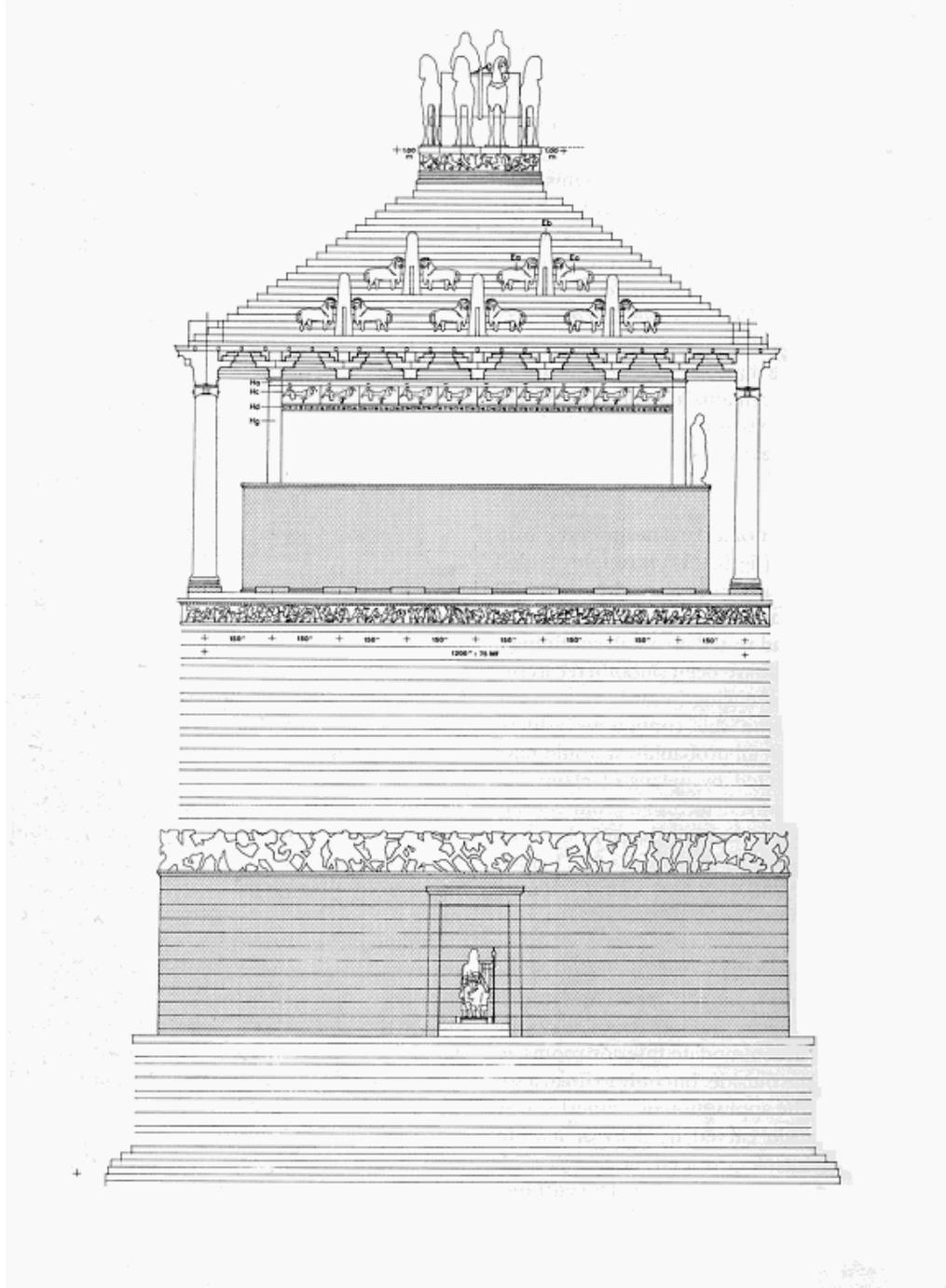
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Figure 64. Torso of colossal seated male figure commonly identified as Mausolus. From Jeppesen 2002a, Fig. 22.1a-b. Courtesy of K. Jeppesen.
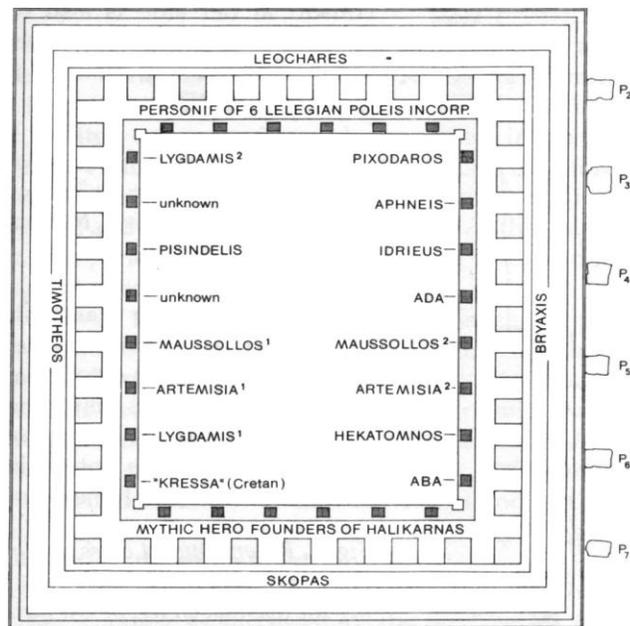
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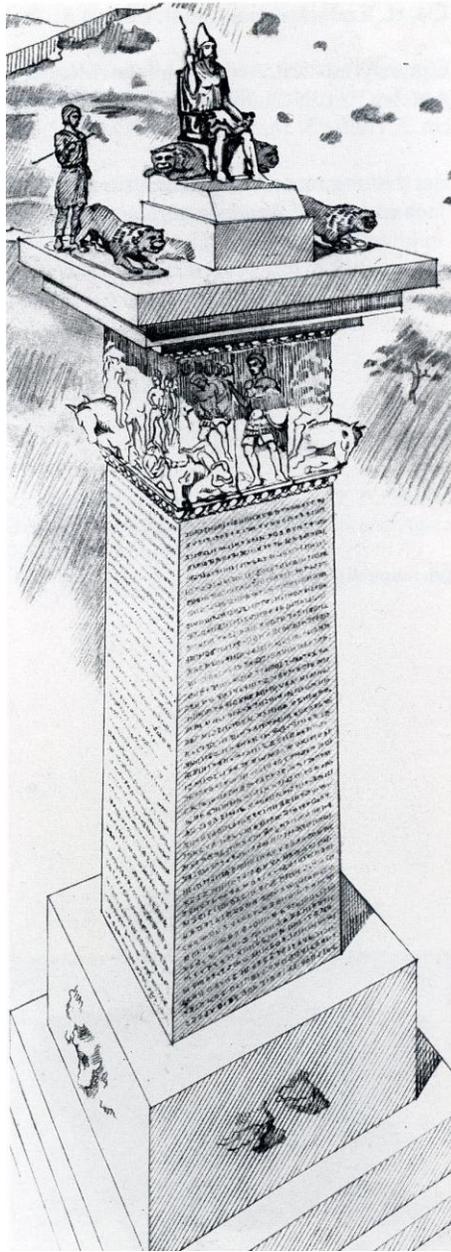
Figure 66. Inscribed Pillar Monument of Kherei at Xanthos. After Dinstl 1990, 205.
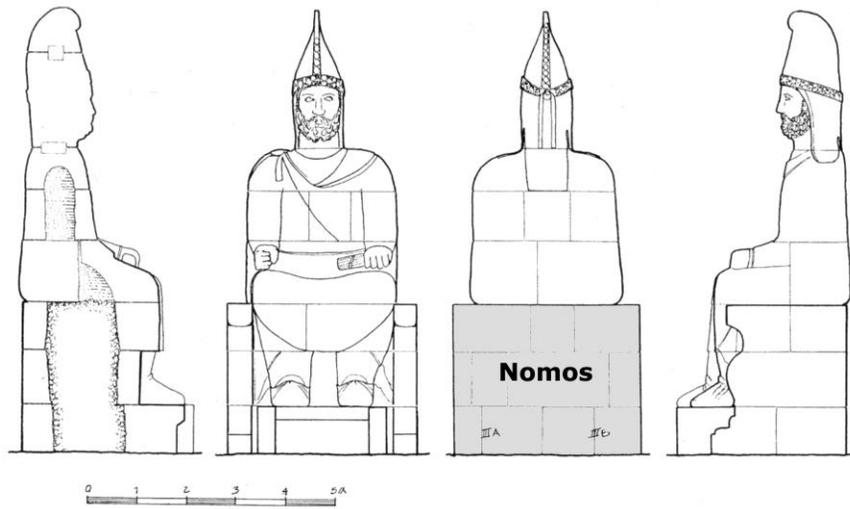
Figure 67. East Terrace, Reconstruction of the colossal seated statue of Zeus-Oromasdes. Drawn by G.R.H. Wright and J. Glogasa. After Sanders 1996, Fi.g. 106. Courtesy of Eisenbrauns.

Figure 68. East Terrace, *Nomos* Inscription, Column IVA. From Sanders 1996, Fig. 216. Courtesy of Eisenbrauns.

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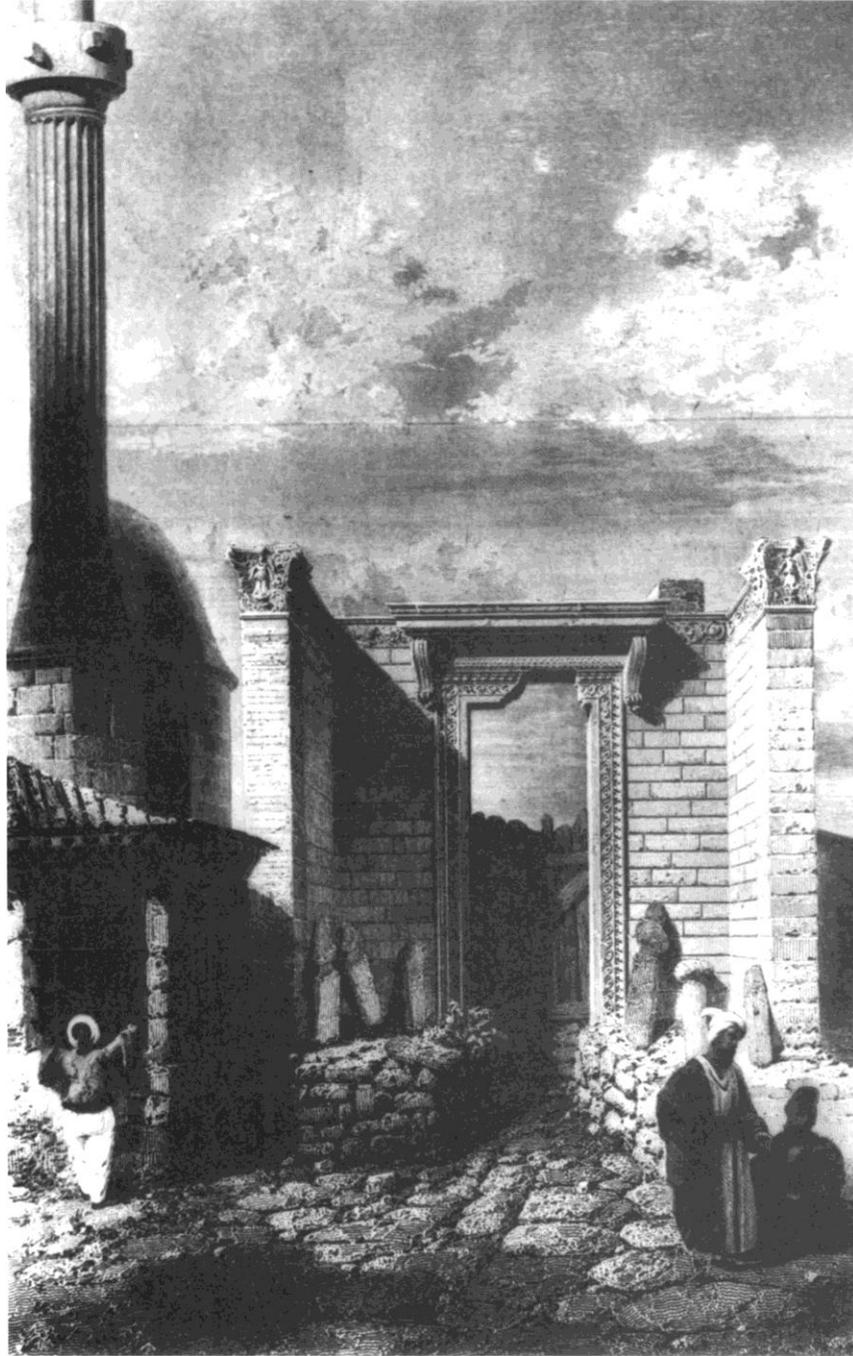
Figure 69. Temple of Roma and Augustus at Ankara, frontal view with minaret of Hacı Bayram mosque. After Güven 1998, Fig.7. From Texier 1839.
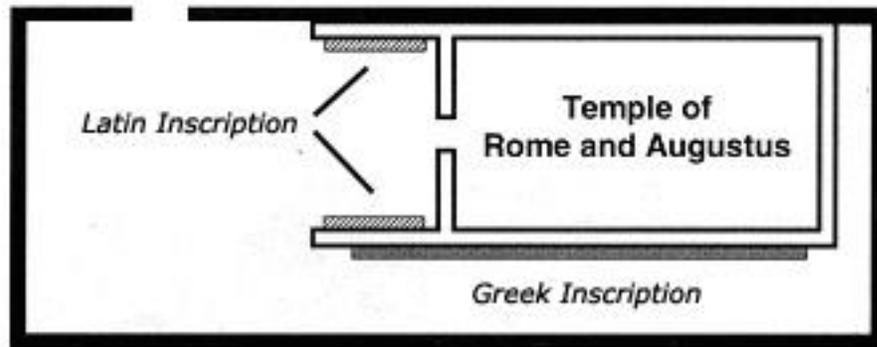
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Figure 71. Preamble to Latin Version of the *Res Gestae* inscribed on the interior cella wall of the Temple of Roma and Augustus at Ankara. Photo by author.

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