

FURTHER INFORMATION ON IMPERIAL CULT AT APHRODISIAS*

In the Carian city of Aphrodisias the link of *syngeneia* with Rome, made by identification of the city goddess with Roman Venus, probably provided a stimulus to the cult of *Thea Rhome* in the late Republic and certainly did to that of the *gens Iulia* subsequently¹. To the pertinent inscriptions already published, excavation is still adding. It is a pleasure to offer Professor Pippidi an interim account of some of these; the limits of space prevent the inclusion of more.

To recapitulate the background: for the cult of *Thea Rhome* we have a record of an oath sworn in her name (along with those of Zeus Philius and Homonoia) probably in the second century B.C., while her priest's title appears in an inscription of the triumphal period²; for Julius Caesar there is very little, but one significant description of him as θεογένης, "of the family of the goddess"³; for imperial cult in the reign of Augustus evidence is also scarce — indeed, by what must be an accident of discovery, surprisingly few honours of any kind paid to Augustus in his lifetime have been found as yet. One of the few is SEG XXX.1246, a dedication to Caesar Augustus of a statue of Hygea by her priest⁴; there was a cult of Asclepius (and presumably with him also of Hygea his daughter) in the city, but it seems probable that it was the Roman *Salus Publica* who was intended here, just as Ἀμεινία, in a lost Aphrodisian inscription, was *Securitas*⁵. If so, we can see the city adopting Roman religious concepts, although translating them. It may be that she also adopted

* I am most grateful to Professor K. T. Erim of New York University, excavator of Aphrodisias, for the opportunity to publish the texts; to the National Geographic Society, as the major donor in the seasons in which they were found; to the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study for very happy conditions in which to work on them; to many friends for discussion and comment, especially Elisabeth Alföldi, Glen Bowersock, Christian Habicht, Simon Price, Charlotte Roueché, Sir Ronald Syme. They are of course in no way responsible for what I have written.

¹ See Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1981) 3, with earlier bibliography, for the establishment of the link: *The origins and beginnings of imperial cult at Aphrodisias*, PCPhS 206 (1980) 70 — 84 and *New evidence for imperial cult in Julio-Claudian Aphrodisias*, ZPE 43 (1981) 317 — 27, for published evidence discovered more recently. The discussion here modifies some of the suggestions made earlier.

² For the oath see *Aphrodisias and Rome* (cit. n. 1). 6 — 8; for the priest's title, *ibid.* 153.

³ SEG XXX.1245, L'Ann. Ép. 1980, 866; for some discussion see PCPhS (cit. n. 1) 77.

⁴ See also L'Ann.Ép. 1980, 869.

⁵ For *Salus* see G. Wissowa in Roscher's *Lexikon s.u.* and cf. the cult of *Roma et Salus* at Pergamum (CIL III.399 with A. O'Brien Moore, YCS 8 (1942) 29), later superseded by that of *Roma et Augustus* (Ch. Habicht, *Altertümer von Pergamon* VIII. 3 (1969) 164 — 5. For *Securitas* see the priestly title in CIG 2778 and J. and L. Robert *Bull. Ép.* 1967, no. 552; since the priesthood was θεῶς Ἀθροδείτης καὶ θεῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἀμεινίας, the imperial element was linked with Aphrodite, much as in the complex under discussion. At PCPhS (cit. n. 1) 78 I suggested that the priest concerned might be the Diogenes who contributed to the portico in the agora (see n. 6) — he seems also to have been the major donor of the temple and south portico in the complex.

something of the Roman rituals and the prayer formulae associated with these concepts, best known from the *Arvad Acta* ⁶.

But of the two major inscriptions for the cult of Augustus known so far, both of which identify him with Zeus Patroos, *L'Ann. Ép.* 1980, no. 870 is certainly of the reign of Tiberius⁷, and *MAMA VIII.431* may well be. It was argued by W. H. Buckler that the cult of Augustus as Zeus Patroos was decreed by the *koinon* of Asia in A.D. 15, with reference to the news of the deification of Augustus at Rome; but several recent writers have expressed some doubts about this, although none have countered his case in detail ⁸. The identification of course carried meaning derived from the cult of Zeus Patroos as a god of house and family, widespread in the Greek world⁹; but documents of the *koinon* of Asia might seem to suggest a particular association with Augustus as *pater patriae* and an origin which could therefore be nearer 2 B.C. than A.D. 15 ¹⁰. It is, perhaps, just worth noting that at Aphrodisias Augustus Zeus Patroos is not described as *theos* in *MAMA VIII.431*, although he is in the Tiberian *L'Ann. Ép.* 1980.870; not that that is a strong argument. In any case *L'Ann. Ép.* 1980.870 is clearly evidence for ways in which the Aphrodisian cult developed in the early stages of the reign of Tiberius.

The new evidence comes mainly from a complex in course of excavation, which consisted of a propylon at the west end, giving entry from the street, two long buildings usually called (for convenience) porticoes (but not in fact stoas), flanking a broad paved street, and a temple on a high podium at the east end ¹¹. Two families cooperated in its construction, one being responsible for the propylon and most of the north portico, the other for the temple, the south portico and a short stretch of the north portico at the temple end. Each of the component units carried its own building inscription ¹², related to the others but distinctive in detail. The temple inscription (still very incomplete, see n. 12) includes the name of Tiberius, and presumably dates from his reign; the south portico inscription, which records a restoration (certainly after an earthquake, which is in fact mentioned in the inscription of the restored north portico; see also below), includes the name of Claudius, while some of the decorative sculp-

⁶ See for instance W. Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arualium* (1874) XLII (prayers to *Salus* after the Capitoline Triad and *Dea Dia*, for Gaius Caligula in 38), XCI (prayers to *Securitas*, after the Capitoline Triad and other personifications, for the adoption of Galba's heir in 69).

⁷ Originally published by G. Jacopi, *Mon. Ant.* 38 (1939), 87–93, also available in *PCPhS* (cit. n. 1) 78: it was probably cut very early in the reign of Tiberius since it gives him the *praenomen imperatoris* which he eschewed.

⁸ Auguste, Zeus Patroos, *Rev. Phil.* 61 (1935) 177–88: the date was recently reaffirmed by J. and L. Robert in *Bull. Ép.* 1982, 355: for doubts see S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and power; the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (1984) 76, with earlier references.

⁹ *RE*² XVIII², cols. 2259–60, XIX¹, cols. 351–2.

¹⁰ Cf. in *IBM* 394, the undated inscription on which Buckler relies, Augustus is praised as *πάτερα μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος θεᾶς Ῥώμης διὰ δὲ Πατρῶν καὶ Σωτῆρα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*.

¹¹ For accounts of work in progress see K. T. Erism, *AJA* 84 (1980) 511, 85 (1981) 472, 86 (1982) 568, 87 (1983) 438–9, 88 (1984) 454; *AS* 30 (1980) 205–6, 31 (1981) 177–80, 32 (1982) 10–13, 33 (1983), 231–4.

¹² What survives of these from the south portico and the temple end of the north portico was published in *ZPE* (cit. n. 1) 317–19: a fragment published in *PCPhS* (cit. n. 1) 79 (see also *SEG XXX.* 1248, *L'Ann. Ép.* 1980, 872) can now be seen to come from the temple (read ... ὑπὲρ Ἀττάλου κτλ. in 1.2), and must be supplemented by other fragments in course of discovery.

tures from the same portico are captioned with inscriptions naming Claudius or Nero (the latter erased but legible), which, obviously, gives a period between A. D. 41 and 68 for these ¹³.

On present evidence the earliest of the four units is the propylon ¹⁴, whose message should be programmatic in any case. Its dedication inscription, known in two copies, one from each face, begins 'Αφροδίτη, θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς, τῶν δῆμῳ, to whom τὸ πρόπυλον καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ τιμὰς are offered ¹⁵. Aphrodite is given the first place, and the *Sebastoi*, although *theoi*, are second; she has the same priority on all three portico inscriptions; it is unfortunate that we do not have the beginning of the dedication on the temple, but it seems highly probable that she stood in the first place there too. A recent analysis of the relation of emperors to traditional gods has shown that the priority of the traditional gods in such circumstances was commonly real ¹⁶. What was in the minds of the original donors, then, was, it would seem, a new precinct of Aphrodite, in which Augustus and his family were also to be honoured as *theoi*. From a statue base found in the waterlogged ground on the external side of the propylon it appears that they concentrated on one specific aspect of their city's goddess, that aspect which had proved particularly important to the city in the face of the power of Rome, and for which, no doubt, they felt that there was insufficient room in her ancient *temenos* ¹⁷.

Marble base, moulded above and below on all sides (0.55 × 0.49 × 0.53), inscribed on one face in letters of the early first century A.D. hts. 0.035 ave. (Plate I)

'Αφροδίτην
 Προμήτωρα
 υ.θεῶν υ.
 Σεβαστῶν

Aphrodite is already known as προμήτωρ at Aphrodisias. A partially published inscription, which is probably of the later first century, names her, very much as here, προμήτωρ τοῦ γένους τῶν Σεβαστῶν ¹⁸; Trajan restored statuary there and dedicated it to her, but as προμήτωρ simply ¹⁹. The title is clearly the city's own version of 'Αφροδίτη γενέ[τειρα], who appears in an inscription erected in the city by an imperial

¹³ For the captions see ZPE (cit. n. 1) 323—4.

¹⁴ I owe the information, which is based on architectural features, to Dr. F. Hueber of Vienna.

¹⁵ The *τιμαί* are certainly honorary statues placed on the gate: for this meaning, not in LSJ, see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1944, no. 162, citing Ad. Wilhelm, *MDAIA* 51 (1926) 2.

¹⁶ There are many other cities in which imperial names are associated with traditional gods in a similar way, e.g. in the Asclepion at Pergamon, see Habicht (cit. n. 5) no. 64, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ Ἀσκληπίῳ Σωτῆρι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραϊανῷ Ἀδριανῷ Σεβαστῷ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι; for discussion of the priorities see Price (cit. n. 8) 146—156.

¹⁷ Augustus, of course, had his honours also in the traditional *temenos* of Aphrodite; for instance, *MAMA* VIII. 433 is certainly part of an inscription which names him.

¹⁸ L. Robert, *Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias*, *AC* 36 (1966) 416—17 (the date suggested is mine).

¹⁹ *SEG* XXX.1254, *L'Ann.Ép.* 1980, 868.

freedman (probably Tiberian) ²⁰. Her significance is underlined by another statue base found nearby.

Left side of a composite marble base, with damaged moulding above and below on three sides, damaged also on the face (0.61 × 0.30 × 0.55), inscribed on one face in letters of the early first century A.D., hts. 0.04, ave. (Plate II).

uacat Αἰνῆ[αυ ? *uacat*]

uacat Ἀνχ[ισου ? *uacat*]

Here is the son of Aphrodite, legendarily the remotest human ancestor of the Julian house, recalling Tacitus' description of the funeral of Tiberius' son Drusus in A.D. 23 *funus imaginum pompa maxime illustre fuit, cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas, omnesque Albanorum reges et conditor urbis Romae . . . spectarentur* ²¹. There was hardly room on the propylon for all the relevant figures displayed at Drusus' funeral — but we might expect Iulus, son of Aeneas (he may even have been accommodated on the lost right side of the base that carried Aeneas), and, perhaps, Romulus too; but so far there is no trace of them. Neither, however, is there any trace of bases here for Augustus, Livia or Tiberius, who might be thought essential to any likely scheme. What we have is a rather odd selection of princes and princesses — Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Drusus Caesar son of Tiberius, his daughter Julia, Agrippina daughter of Germanicus Caesar, and a Ti. Claudius Drusus who must be the first-born son of Claudius ²². Some of the missing persons must, I suggest, have been there once — Augustus, Livia and Tiberius, Germanicus Caesar and surely Claudius too ²³. One might in fact expect also wives, where appropriate, and, since there are some of the children of Tiberius' sons, then all of them. That again would make rather many figures to go on the gate; so perhaps we should suppose a statue group in front of it, as well as statues on it. But it must be stressed that we do not know how incomplete is the group that we have, nor the reasons for the apparent omissions from it. Some may be due to the incompleteness of the excavations, some to the removal of stones in late antiquity for re-use elsewhere ²⁴; or there might be historical reasons for them. Thus the twin boys of Tiberius' son Drusus (*PIR*² I, 224, 226) may not have been born yet when the statues were erected; the two elder sons of Germanicus (*PIR*² I, 220, 223) may once have been included, but their statues could have been removed when they fell into disgrace.

It is also not quite clear, since the bases are not a precisely uniform set, that all the statues were precisely contemporary. Some could have

²⁰ SEG XXX.1253, L'Ann. Ép. 1980, 867; see also *Aphrodisias and Rome* (cit. n. 1) 182–4.

²¹ Ann. IV.9.2.

²² *PIR*² I, nos. 216, 222, 219, 636, 641, *PIR*² C, no. 456; the identification of Ti. Claudius Drusus gives us his previously unattested *praenomen*.

²³ Cf. ILS 107.

²⁴ There is also too little statuary so far to provide for all the bases that we have. Some stones found re-used in the theatre *cauea* or in a Byzantine defence wall nearby, see *Aphrodisias and Rome* (cit. n. 1), xvii, can be proved to come from the complex; they were probably removed there after an earthquake in the seventh century.



Plate I. Photograph of inscription on p. 111. Photograph by Mohammed Ali Duşenci

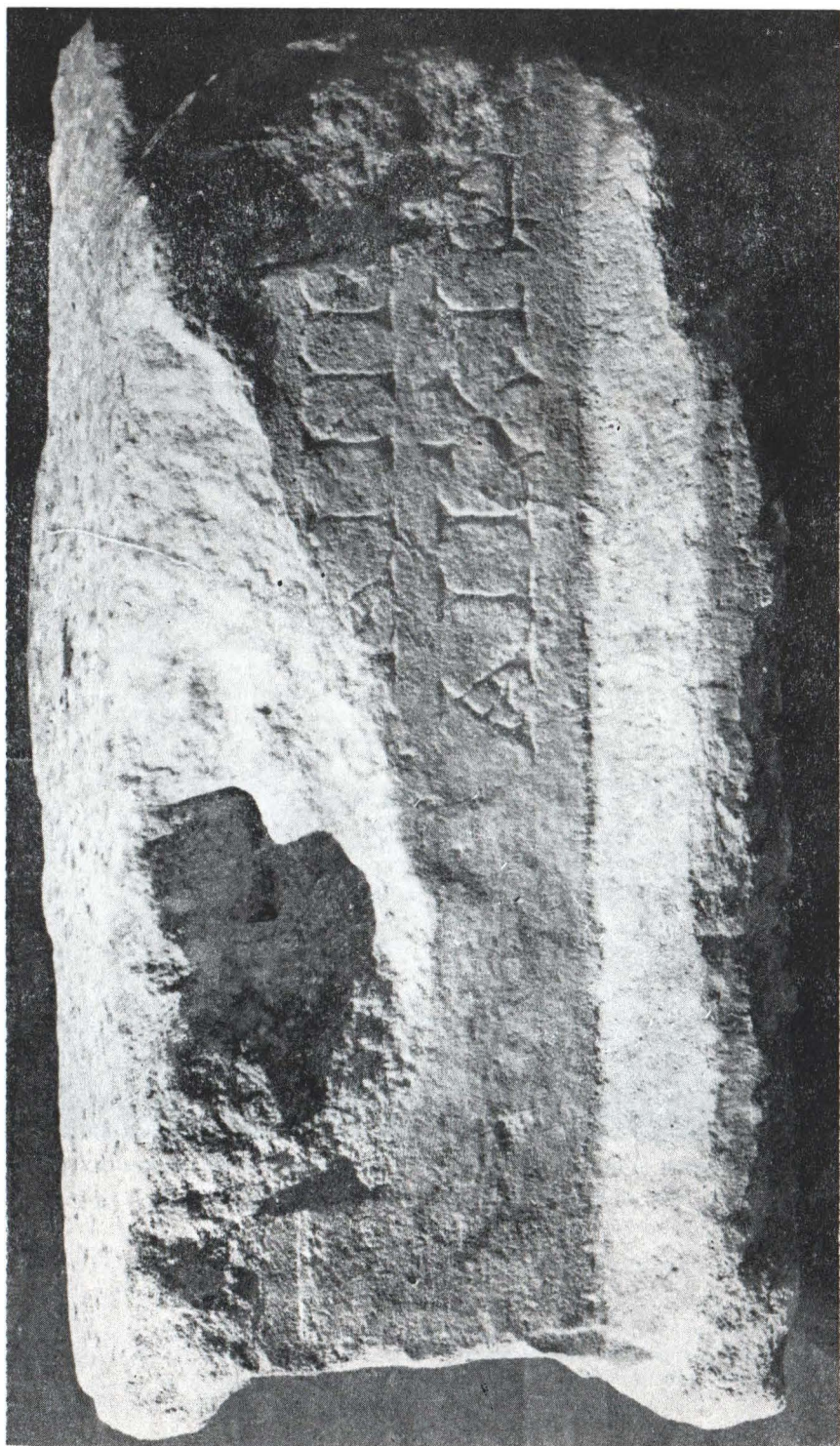


Plate II. Photograph of inscription on p. 112. Photograph by Mohammed Ali Duğenci

been added as occasion suggested. But while that might be so in principle, a single family group seems the more likely thing; and nothing forbids it. It is true that statues of Gaius and Lucius Caesar could have been erected even before their deaths in A.D. 4 and 2 respectively, although they are more likely to have been a pair; the Ticinum texts dated in A.D. 7 — 8 show that they could be so honoured along with Tiberius and his son Drusus, well after Tiberius' adoption in A.D. 4; and there is no valid reason why they should not appear in a family group after A.D. 14, since they figure as *fratres Ti. Caesaris Augusti*, with public honours maintained, in Rome and elsewhere, in A.D. 19 — 20²⁵. The inscribed base for Drusus Caesar son of Tiberius could not have been erected with that name before A.D. 4, and, since Tiberius lacks the title *Sebastos* in the filiation, a date before A. D. 14 would be possible; but it is not necessary, since literary evidence that Tiberius was reluctant to take that title seems to be reflected in some inscriptions, and in any case Claudius lacks it both in the south portico dedication and below the relief which shows him victorious over Britannia²⁶. The dates of birth of Julia daughter of Drusus and of Claudius Drusus son of Claudius are uncertain. Julia's life-history does not seem to be helpful to the argument; but Drusus died young (in the twenties, but probably after 23)²⁷, and it may seem unlikely that he would be represented very long after his death. Agrippina daughter of Germanicus was old enough to appear during the last decade of Augustus and should certainly appear in any Tiberian family group involving Germanicus; one might wonder whether she would do so after the disgrace and death of her eldest brother, which Tacitus relates under the year 29²⁸. I think that the probability is that this is a contemporary family group of the early years of Tiberius' reign; but must repeat that the evidence is at present unsatisfactory.

Whatever problems arise over imperial family bases, however, there is no doubt that the external decoration of the propylon presented the divine ancestress of the *gens Iulia* (including of course its adopted members and associated Claudians), along with the legendary link(s) through which the line ran from her to the contemporarily-ruling family — a kind of genealogical tree in statues²⁹. Nor is there any reason to doubt that she was presented centrally; just as a bust of Aphrodite was presented centrally in the crown of an Aphrodisian priest of the imperial cult during

²⁵ ILS 107 for the Ticinum texts; L'Ann.Ép. 1942, 215 (*Tabula Hebana*), ZPE 55 (1984) 70, 1.5, and (restored) 81, ll. 19f. (*Tabula Siarensis*) — the *Tabula Siarensis* shows (fr. 11, col. b) that the Senate voted to send a copy to Roman colonies in the provinces (governors to ensure that it was displayed in frequented places): it will, then, have reached Asia Minor officially, if not *provincia Asia*, so that any doubts about the official acceptability of the young men should have been dispelled.

²⁶ For Tiberius' attitude to the title of Augustus, see Suetonius, *Tib.* 26.2, Dio Cassius 57.2.1, discussed by K. Scott, *Tiberius' refusal of the title of Augustus*, C. Phil. 27 (1932) 43 — 50, and perhaps reflected in IG 11² 3228, see also A. Benjamin and A. F. Raubitschek, in *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 81, no. 11 for instance; for the Claudian texts see nn. 12, 13.

²⁷ Ann. III.29.3 of 23 seems to imply that he was still alive, although Suetonius, *Claud.* 27, suggests that his death followed very soon after his betrothal to the daughter of Sejanus, thought to be in 20.

²⁸ Ann. V. 3.

²⁹ For the importance of the concept of dynasty in the empire, and its expression in imperial cult, see Price (cit. n.8) 158 — 62.

the Severan period, with busts of members of the imperial family ranged on either side of her, a feature so far not attested elsewhere³⁰. But it is also clear that the members of the imperial family, her descendents, perhaps thought of as being, with Rome, her most significant gifts to the contemporary world, must figure very prominently too; and it may be, therefore, that because of the prominence of the *Sebastoi* in the inscriptions and the sculptural decoration (see also below), and presumably in the rituals performed here, and also because a reference to Aphrodite in the name of the precinct could lead to confusion with the traditional temple of the goddess, it came to be described locally by reference to the *Sebastoi*. A lost funerary inscription, probably of the second century, mentioned, for topographical reasons, ὁ σεβαστεῖος ναός, an unusual phrase, not exactly paralleled. The precinct of Aphrodite Prometor included a ναός (the word is used in the temple inscription), dedicated to specific *sebastoi* (after Aphrodite), and every unit in it had a strong connection with *sebastoi* (as well as with Aphrodite)³¹. It is tempting to suppose that the temple here is ὁ σεβαστεῖος ναός; and to extend the description, for convenience, so as to speak of the whole as the *sebasteion*; but it is not proven, unfortunately, that this is what the Aphrodisians did.

At any rate *sebastoi* are very important in the complex. Θεοὶ Σεβαστοὶ appear, as we have seen, in the dedication of the propylon and on the base of its statue of Aphrodite Prometor. They become the *theoi Sebastoi Olympioi* in that of the north portico — a later formulation, perhaps, since it post-dates the earthquake. Individual Roman emperors, especially Augustus and Hadrian, and some members of their families, are not infrequently called *Olympios*³², but outside Aphrodisias I have not found what looks like an *en bloc* identification of *Sebastoi* (that is of unpersonalised *Sebastoi*) as such. The texts that I have found lead me to conjecture that the intention was normally to honour specific *Sebastoi* identified with specific Olympian gods; and it seems that this is likely to have been so at Aphrodisias too, in view of what survives from the temple.

The few fragments of the temple dedication which have come to light so far give the names of Julia Sebaste (Livia) and of Tiberius; and Julia Sebaste is almost certainly described as “the new Demeter”, as she is in the title of one of her Aphrodisian priestesses, in a lost inscription³³. It is reasonably certain that at least one, and probably several, of the

³⁰ See K. T. Erim in J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und früh-Byzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei* (1979) no. 186 (the illustration is reproduced in Price (cit. n. 8) pl. 1a); it is suggested there that another Aphrodisian imperial priest may be seen in a late Flavian portrait head wearing a crown which also carries a central bust of Aphrodite, flanked by unrecognisable figures, one male and one female (J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and early Byzantine portrait sculpture in Asia Minor* (1966) no. 228); if this is not, as originally proposed, a priest of Aphrodite, it seems probable that the flanking figures are imperial, perhaps Domitian and his wife Domitia, rather than Helios and Selene.

³¹ See CIG 2839. For a loose expression comparable to what is suggested, see O'Brien Moore (cit. n. 5) 34; it is not uncommon.

³² For instance IGR IV.95 (Augustus), 122 (Hadrian).

³³ CIG 2815 (where Boeckh wrongly took the empress to be Julia Domna), Th. Reinach, REG 19 (206), 35, W. H. Buckler, Rev. Phil. 38 (1914) 212–3, L. Robert, Rev. Phil. 56 (1930) 26; it was also copied during the visit of W. Kubitschek and W. Reichel, whose notes show that the lettering was close on form to that used in the complex. I am grateful to the Vienna Academy for an opportunity to consult them.

members of the family which built the temple also built the Tiberian portico of the agora with the dedication noted above in which Augustus was theos Sebastos, Zeus Patroos³⁴. That is, probably, a little earlier than the temple dedication, since it does not describe Livia as "the new Demeter", as it would surely have done if her cult had taken this development at the time. It seems inconceivable that the man (or men) who drafted the agora inscription would have omitted Augustus from their subsequent temple dedication or abandoned his identification with Zeus Patroos. We may take it, I suggest, that the first two Sebastoi of the temple dedication were identified with Olympians.

It may be added that if Livia was not yet "new Demeter" when the agora inscription was drafted, Aphrodisias was later than some Asian cities to make this identification, but did so at a time when it was spreading, so the evidence of coins and inscriptions seems to suggest. Eventually, of course, it became something of a commonplace for imperial ladies to be assimilated to Demeter or other crop-giving goddesses³⁵.

Further aspects of the donors' conception are illustrated in the decoration of the façades of the two porticoes facing the internal street. Quite exceptionally these were both used to present visual images in two tiers of sculptured, and often captioned, reliefs of great richness³⁶. They combine cosmic images and cosmic myths with legends of the Roman cycle, personifications of Rome as a world conqueror, and of imperial victory, with particular imperial figures and, above all, particular imperial victories. On the north portico one theme required most of the space available, giving the decorative scheme a unitary character (to judge from the surviving panel) not matched on the south portico; on both the importance — and one significant aspect — of the imperial house is stressed over and over again.

The captions recovered from the north portico so far stood below three personifications of islands (Crete, Cyprus, Sicily) and thirteen figures representing conquered peoples, ἑθνη (Aegyptii, Andizeti, probably Arabs, Bessi, Bospori, Callaeci, Daci, Dardani, Iapodes, Iudaei, Piroustae, Rhaeti, and Trumpili = Trumpilini). Already on the basis of the much shorter list that was available in 1981 it was a reasonable hypothesis that these came from an illustration of the victories of Augustus³⁷; the case is now clear — no other link can explain this particular collocation of peoples and places. Sicily was recovered from Sex. Pompey in 36 B.C.; the Iapodes were a major objective of Octavian in Illyricum in 36–5;

³⁴ See nr. 7.

³⁵ P. Riewald, *De imperatorum cum certis dis ... aequatione* (1912) 305–8, E. Ohlmutz, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon und Lampsakos* (1940) 222, G. Grether, *Livia and the Roman imperial cult*, *AJP* 67 (1946) 222–52, L. Robert, *REA* 62 (1960) 291, W. H. Gross, *Julia Augusta, Untersuchungen zur Grundlegen einer Livia-Ikonographie* (1962): there are inscriptions (cf. *IEph.* 4337, *IGRR* IV. 180, *CIL* X.7501) and representations on coins (cf. at Sardis, Tralles, Pergamon).

³⁶ For the exceptional character of the use of wall space here, see Price (cit. n.1) 157–8; reliefs like this, he argues, more commonly appear on altars.

³⁷ For publication and some discussion of the captions for the three islands and five of the conquered peoples see ZPE (cit. n. 1) 325–7, where I suggested that the fragmentary one might refer to the Suebi or Perhaebi (certainly wrong); with the help of Prof. M.P. Speidel I now feel reasonably sure that it was to the Arabs.

Crete and Cyprus were brought back into the empire after Actium, which, of course, also involved the defeat of the Egyptians and their allies the Judaeans; the Dardani were conquered in 29; the Callaeci in the Cantabrian War of the middle twenties, and possibly again, after revolt, in campaigns that ended in 19; the Arabs were taken into clientage, it was claimed, after defeat in 25; the Rhaetians were conquered in 15; the Bosphorans in 14; the Bessi suffered some defeat in 35, a more serious one in 29 and another, more serious still, in the Thracian War which Dio records under 11; the Andizeti and Piroustae were Pannonian tribes, and so conquered between 13 and 9, but involved again in the Revolt of A.D. 6–8 when the Piroustae, at any rate, were among the most determined of the rebels; the Trumpilini head the list of defeated Alpine tribes on the monument at La Turbie, dated in 7–6 B.C.; the date of the Dacian defeat is controversial, but perhaps between 1 B.C. and A.D. 4³⁸. The detail given even by these survivors of an originally much more extensive set of reliefs goes far beyond what appears in Augustus' own account in the *Res Gestae* (which cannot, therefore, be their source) and indeed beyond that in such scrappy narratives as we have of the campaigns. Given the range of dates, a plausible origin for the conception would be the funeral procession of Augustus. Tacitus records a proposal in the senate, *ut . . . uictarum ab eo gentium uocabula anteferrentur* ³⁹; Dio Cassius describes its execution, τὰ τε ἔθνη πάνθ' ὅσα προσεκλήσατο ἐπιχωρίως σφίσιν ὡς ἕκαστα ἀπηλασμένα ἐπέμφθη ⁴⁰. Aphrodisians present in Rome on that occasion might well have seen these, and devised a set of relief panels modelled on them.

Captions found on the south portico reliefs are fewer, and particularly (and unfortunately) rare for the reliefs illustrating myths, legends and young members of the Julian family (who are therefore often barely identifiable); but they occur again when the theme of victory is taken up again, not only with generalisations, such as "Victory of the *Sebastoi*" and "Rome and Earth", but with the specific victories of Claudius in Britain and of Nero in Armenia ⁴¹. It is very clear that victory in war was presented here as an overwhelmingly important justification of imperial power ⁴².

What we have, then, seems to be a precinct of Aphrodite Prometor (Venus Genetrix), where honours were also paid profusely to her descendants in the Julian house (with the allied Claudians not forgotten); conceived, I suggest, in A.D. 14, or quite soon thereafter, and excluded over a longish period of time, which was considerably extended following earthquake damage. It is of course tempting to associate this damage with

³⁸ *RG* 27.3 (Sicily); *App. Ill.* —20, 21 (Iapodes and Bessi); *RG* 26.2 (Crete, Cyprus, though without names); *RG* 27.1 (Egypt); Josephus, *BJ* 1.386f. (Judaea); Dio Cassius 51.23.3 (Dardani); *RG* 26.2, Orosius VI.21.2 (Callaeci); *RG* 26.5, Strabo XVI.779 (Arabs); Dio Cassius 54.22.1–5 (Rhaeti); *RG* 30.1, cf. Strabo VII. 314, Vell. Pat. II.115–6 (Andizeti, Piroustae); Dio Cassius 54.24.6–8 (Bosphori); Dio Cassius 51.25.5, 54.34.5f. (Bessi); *RG* 26.3, Pliny *NH* III.20.136 (Trumpilini); *RG* 30.2, R. Syme, *Danubian Papers* (1971) 37–9 (Daci).

³⁹ *Ann.* I.8.4.

⁴⁰ Dio Cassius 56.34.2.

⁴¹ See *ZPE* (cit. n.1) 323, K. T. Erim, *Britannia* 13 (1982) 277–81.

⁴² For this theme see also Price (cit. n. 8) 158–9.

the great earthquake of A.D.17 — and that may indeed be right ; but at present other, later, earthquakes, whether known to the record like the one early in the reign of Claudius, or unknown because they were very localised, cannot be excluded⁴³. For organisation, or reorganisation, of imperial cult in the reign of Tiberius there is good evidence from other sites — a particularly relevant parallel (because of the prominence given to Livia) comes from Tlos in Lycia⁴⁴. The evidence so far suggests that as an imperial cult-place it took in no new dedications after the death of Nero ; cults for the Flavians and successor dynasties seem to have been located elsewhere.

The plot of land available dictated some aspects of the architect's plan, but behind it one may suggest recollections both of the Forum of Caesar at Rome, with its temple of Venus Genetrix, and the Forum of Augustus, with its temple of Mars Ultor in which Venus had a place, its representations of Aeneas etc. and its statues of the victorious generals of Rome with their elogia⁴⁵. A Roman element in the cult and its setting was perhaps stronger in Aphrodisias than in many cities of Asia Minor, at any rate if we leave Roman colonies out of account, although still modified by local traditions. If so, that was a natural outcome of the syngeneia from which I started. But complete excavation of this complex is needed to clarify many of the points raised here, and certainly this one.

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⁴³ Tac. *Ann.* II.47 for A.D. 17 ; Malalas p. 246, see also M. Schede, *MDAIA* 37 (1912) 217—18 (Samos), Ch. Habicht, *GGA* 213 (1960) 163 (Didyma), for the Claudian tremor.

⁴⁴ L. Robert, *Journal des Savants* 1978, 35—9.

⁴⁵ See P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum* (p.d.)