

# ARAE AUGUSTI

(PLATES 8-9)

AMONG the *Tituli Imperatorum Romanorum* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3222-3423) Johannes Kirchner edited not only inscriptions of statue bases but also of altars found in Athens. Those of Hadrian (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3323-3380) are well known, but they have never been studied as a group.<sup>1</sup> An altar of Nero as "New Apollo" (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3278) is called a statue base by P. Graindor.<sup>2</sup> The Claudius inscription from Rhamnous (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3275) may be an altar.<sup>3</sup> Finally, there is the beautiful altar of Augustus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3235) at Athens.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to these recognized imperial altars, there is a series of inscriptions (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3224-3230; 3229 A and B = 3281-3282) four of which (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3224, 3225, 3228-3230) P. Graindor, following Hula, identified as statue bases of Augustus;<sup>5</sup> this interpretation has been maintained by Kirchner. Hula recognized that some of these monuments contain in addition to the name of Augustus the names of other emperors added by different and later hands. He deduced from this fact that statues of Augustus were removed after his death to make space in one case for statues of Tiberius and later Hadrian (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3228), in another of Nero, Vespasian and Titus, in this order (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3229 = 3281-3282), and again of Hadrian (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3230).<sup>6</sup> Both Hula and Graindor connect these alleged cases of *metagraphe* with a famous passage in Tacitus, *Annales*, I, 74, telling of the replacement of an Augustus portrait by one of Tiberius.<sup>7</sup> It has not been noted, however, that these inscribed stones are not statue bases but altars. This is indicated not only by the stones them-

<sup>1</sup> See P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, p. 50 note 2 (on p. 51), a casual reference to *dédicaces anonymes*.

<sup>2</sup> *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 115 and note 1.

<sup>3</sup> J. Pouilloux, *La Fortresse de Rhamnonte*, pp. 157-158, no. 47, added a new fragment (with different lettering), but no interpretation.

<sup>4</sup> For an illustration, see J. Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 120 (no. 121 in the second edition); for an altar set up to Mark Antony and Octavia, see *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 45-46; E. Hula, *Jahreshefte*, I, 1898, pp. 27-30.

<sup>6</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3232, which Hula restored, *op. cit.*, p. 30, with a similar text belongs to a different kind of monument. The stone, now in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (E.M. 3949), has the top preserved; both lines are inscribed by the same hand (Pl. 8): height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.; height of letters, 0.026 m. While no restoration can be offered (compare the similar inscription, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4477), it may be suggested that this inscription is identical with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3231, seen and copied only by Pittakys, *L'Anc. Athènes*, p. 36; this would mean that Pittakys restored the letters of the second line. Notice that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3234 and 3237 are also known only from Pittakys. For *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3233, see *S.E.G.*, XII, no. 157.

<sup>7</sup> Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 88; see also W. Larfeld, *Gr. Epigraphik*, p. 125; E. Nachmanson, *Hist. Att. Inschr.*, nos. 73, 74.

selves but also by the inscriptions which have the name of Augustus in the genitive case.<sup>8</sup> It is clear that a number of altars were erected to Augustus, some of which were later re-inscribed to his successors, Tiberius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and even Hadrian (whose many altars have already been mentioned).

L. R. Taylor discussed at length the *Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (1931), namely Augustus, and emphasized that even before the establishment of the state cult at Rome the worship of the emperor seems to have become practically universal in the East.<sup>9</sup> The evidence assembled by her, however, is presented in an abbreviated form so that the reader can not be sure whether she is referring to an altar or to an honorary statue.<sup>10</sup> Nor does she list any examples of altars of Augustus which were later used in the cult of other emperors. It seemed therefore advisable to re-examine the evidence pertaining to altars set up in the Greek East (with the exception of Egypt and Cyrene) before presenting the altars erected to Augustus in Athens.

An examination of the Greek dedications to Augustus reveals that many of them are statues of the emperor giving his name in the accusative case. Some of these were evidently set up before he received the name Augustus (Sebastos), but surely after the Battle of Actium. One of the inscriptions is dated in 31 or 30 B.C. (*I.G.*, XII, 3, 470) and is notable because the name *Imperator* is omitted, but the number of the emperor's imperial acclamations and of his consulships is given. These features recall the texts of the various Caesar statues which were erected after the Battle of Pharsalos (*J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, pp. 65-75).<sup>11</sup> In fact, these early honorary inscriptions to the emperor contain the same elements as the Caesar inscriptions and as the later honorary inscriptions of Augustus: the full name of the emperor (Ἀυτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Θεοῦ υἱόν), once with the addition of Θεόν (*B.C.H.*, LXXVIII, 1954, p. 322); the designation σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην (*I.G.*, VII, 1836); and the cause, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐεργεσίας (*I.G.*, VII, 63) or εὐνοίας (*I. v. Olympia*, no. 367).<sup>12</sup> The statues themselves were erected in public places or dedicated to certain gods and set up in their sanctuaries.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See the descriptions of Nos. 11-13; cf., however, Nos. 1 and 5 and the later additions in the dative case, Nos. 11-12.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 181-205.

<sup>10</sup> See Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-277; cf. pp. 271 (*s.vv.* Nicopolis and Thera), 276 (*s.vv.* Halasarna and Hierocaesarea).

<sup>11</sup> In publishing another of the honorary inscriptions in which the name "Augustus" is missing, C. Dunant and J. Thomopoulos (*B.C.H.*, LXXVIII, 1954, pp. 331-333, no. 7 = *S.E.G.*, XIV, 537) assume that it was set up, together with a statue of Livia, immediately after Actium. They refer to *I.G.R.*, 870; see also *I.G.*, VII, 63 and 1836; *I. v. Olympia*, no. 367; *I. d. Délos*, nos. 1588, 1589 (the latter set up by Artorius whose Athenian honorary inscription, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4116, has been found in the Agora Excavations, I 5620).

<sup>12</sup> For Caesar, see *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, pp. 73-75.

<sup>13</sup> *I.G.*, VII, 1836; *I. v. Olympia*, no. 367; *I. d. Délos*, nos. 1588, 1589; for Caesar, see *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, pp. 67 (M), 71-72 (S).

From Athens we know of only one certain statue of Augustus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3253)<sup>14</sup> which was set up, perhaps in A.D. 4, on the Acropolis, together with statues of Tiberius (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3254), Germanicus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3255) and Drusus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3256).<sup>15</sup> To an earlier period may belong the fragment of a statue base which does not seem to have been published so far; we present it here with the kind permission of the Director of the Epigraphical Museum, M. Mitsos.<sup>16</sup>

Plate 8. Fragment of gray Eleusinian stone, broken on both sides and on the back. The top and bottom surfaces are smooth as far as preserved. Neither provenience nor previous publication is recorded.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.25 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

E. M. 4565

After 27 B.C.

Ὁ δῆ[μος]  
[Αὐτ]οκράτο[ρα Καίσαρα]  
[Θ]εοῦ υἱὸν [Σεβαστόν].

The third line was indented by one letter, to judge by the spacing; there can be no doubt about the restoration of the last word. We presume that the base once carried a bronze statue of Augustus.<sup>17</sup>

It is clear that the inscriptions from the statue bases, giving the emperor's name in the accusative case, are not different from the honorary inscriptions set up to Julius Caesar and to other outstanding Greeks and Romans of that time. There exists, however, a large group of dedications, mainly, though perhaps not exclusively, altars, which have the name of the emperor (or of another person) in the dative case, indicating, as in the case of dedications to gods, that the monument is set up to the emperor; this type of dedication implies the existence of a (perhaps local) cult of the

<sup>14</sup> P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 45, after rejecting three dedications (*I.G.*, III, 437 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3237; *I.G.*, III, 434 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3232, see above note 6; *I.G.*, III, 435 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3236), lists seven inscribed bases of statues: *I.G.*, III, 130 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2953; *I.G.*, III, 438 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3235; *I.G.*, III, 447 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3253; *I.G.*, III, 451 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3224/5; Hula, *Jahreshefte*, I, 1898, pp. 27-28, no. 1 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3230; *ibid.*, pp. 28-29, no. 2 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3228; *ibid.*, pp. 29-30, no. 3 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3229. The first one (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2953) may indeed have carried a statue of Augustus, but its unique character and fragmentary state of preservation do not allow us to say any more (compare L. Robert, *Études Épigraphiques et Philologiques*, p. 295; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 49); for χαριστήριον cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4701 (a relief); 4709 (an altar); *I.G.*, VII, 3100 (an altar); *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 20, nos. 51-53 (altars). All the others with the exception of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3253 are altars and not statue bases.

<sup>15</sup> P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>16</sup> M. Mitsos and E. Vanderpool have helped us considerably with descriptions of stones and with photographs for this article, and to them we express our deep gratitude.

<sup>17</sup> For Greek portraits of the emperor, see E. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, I, *Portrait Sculpture*, pp. 86-87.

person so honored. The largest number of inscriptions of this type has been found in Mytilene.<sup>18</sup> Those of the inscriptions which are illustrated or accurately described are all of altars, erected to distinguished Mytileneans, to Pompey, father and son, to Augustus and to members of his family, to Trajan, and to Hadrian. Since these monuments have not yet been studied as a group, it is impossible to say what purpose they fulfilled; so much is certain, that they are altars carrying the owner's name in the dative case. In this respect they agree with a great number of monuments dedicated to Augustus and found all over the Greek world. Most of these are inadequately described; a few are identified as altars, but only two are listed, we think mistakenly, as statue bases.<sup>19</sup> The inscriptions on these monuments carry the name of Augustus either in the dative or in the genitive case,<sup>20</sup> and they testify to a well organized cult of Augustus both in Greece and in Asia Minor. Before some of the peculiarities of these documents can be discussed, a brief check list of those which we were able to find may be given here, following the order of J. and L. Robert's *Bulletin Épigraphique* in the *R.E.G.*

## ATHENS

1. Agora I 4123. Published below, p. 75, No. 1.
2. Agora I 4332. Published below, p. 76, No. 2.
3. Agora I 4994. Published below, p. 76, No. 3.
4. Agora I 5686. Published below, p. 77, No. 4.
5. Agora I 6411. Published below, p. 77, No. 5.
6. E.M. 4935. Published below, p. 78, No. 6.
7. E.M. 6051; *C.I.A.*, III, 451. Published below, p. 78, No. 7.
8. E.M. 3910; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3224/5. See below, p. 80, No. 8.
9. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3226. See below, p. 80, No. 9.
10. E.M. 3948; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3227. See below, p. 81, No. 10.
11. E.M. 10357; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3228. See below, p. 81, No. 11.
12. E.M. 10360; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3229 (A = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3281; B = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3282). See below, p. 82, No. 12.
13. E.M. 10350; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3230. See below, p. 82, No. 13.
14. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3234.
15. E.M. 10419; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3235. See below, p. 71.

All but three (Nos. 2, 14, 15) have practically identical texts: *Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ νιοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*; we have found this particular combination also in Nos. 19, 28, 29, 31, 37, 43, 44, 52, sometimes, however, in the dative case.

<sup>18</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 2, nos. 140-201; *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), pp. 19-20, nos. 39-57; compare G. Klaffenbach, *Mus. Helv.*, VI, 1949, pp. 222-223, no. 5; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, pp. 1230 (note 28), 1330 (note 2); A. E. Raubitschek, *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, pp. 71-72 (T) and note 2.

<sup>19</sup> *S.E.G.*, I, 282; A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigraphica di Rodi e Cos*, no. 466. The subscriptions (in the dative case) underneath the statues of Augustus and his family on the monumental base from Apollonia (*M.A.M.A.*, IV, 1933, pp. 49-56, no. 143) may refer not to the statues themselves (if there were any statues) but to altars set up in front of them.

<sup>20</sup> On the use of these cases for altar dedications, see A. D. Nock, *H.S.C.P.*, XLI, 1930, pp. 47-52; A. E. Raubitschek, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, p. 150; T. B. Mitford, *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 244, note 94.

## CORINTH

16. Corinth, VIII, i, no. 97 (fragment of an altar).

## SPARTA

17. *I.G.*, V, 1, 373 (altar). See the comments on No. 53.

## OLYMPIA

18. *Inscr. v. Olympia*, no. 366 ("architravblock vom Metroon?").

## MEGARA

19. *I.G.*, VII, 36. See below, p. 72, note 29.

## TANAGRA

20. *I.G.*, VII, 569.

## THESSALY

21. *I.G.*, IX, 2, 93 (round altar?).  
 22. *I.G.*, IX, 2, 424 (altar?).  
 23. *I.G.*, IX, 2, 425 (altar?).  
 24. *I.G.*, IX, 2, 604.  
 25. *I.G.*, IX, 2, 1288; A. S. Arbanitopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1913, p. 167.

The five Thessalian inscriptions have practically identical texts: *Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος Σωτήρος*; we have not found this particular combination of titles anywhere else.

## MACEDONIA

26. *S.E.G.*, I, 282; V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, no. 108. See above, p. 68, note 19.  
 27. P. Lemerle, *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 461-463, no. 4, fig. 3 (altar). See below, p. 72, note 29. For other Latin inscriptions, see Nos. 44, 48.

## NIKOPOLIS

28. *C.I.G.*, II, 1810 (altar?). Block of fine grained gray marble with white streaks. Width, at bottom, 0.48 m., at top, 0.47 m.; height, 0.56 m.; preserved thickness, 0.41 m.; height of letters, ca. 0.04 m. The edges on the front and on the left side are drafted; the front is dressed with a claw chisel, the sides show point dressing. There are no cuttings on the top. See Plate 9 and below, p. 73.  
 29. Chr. A. Kontos, *Πρακτικά*, 1927, pp. 50-51. See below, p. 73.

## LESBOS

30. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 104; *I.G.R.*, IV, 20 (architectural?). See below, p. 72, note 29.  
 31. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 152; *I.G.R.*, IV, 58 (altar). See below, p. 73.  
 32. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 153; *I.G.R.*, IV, 59.  
 33. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 154; *I.G.R.*, IV, 60. See comments on No. 62.  
 34. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 155; *I.G.R.*, IV, 61 (altar).  
 35. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 156; *I.G.R.*, IV, 62. See below, p. 71.  
 36. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 157; *I.G.R.*, IV, 63.  
 37. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 158.  
 38. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 164 d; *I.G.R.*, IV, 79 d (multiple altar).  
 39. *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 19, no. 41.  
 40. *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 19, no. 42. See below, p. 84 and note 82.  
 41. *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 20, no. 49; G. Klaffenbach, *Mus. Helv.*, VI, 1949, pp. 222-223, no. 5 (double altar).

The texts of six of these documents (Nos. 31, 32, 37-40) agree with those of the Athenian altars (see the comments on Nos. 1-15), but in four of the inscriptions (Nos. 32, 38-40) Θέω (= Θεῶ) is added in front of Σεβάστω (= Σεβαστῶ); the same combination occurs also in Nos. 26, 45, 49, 50, 51, 51 a, 54, 61. Three texts (Nos. 33, 34, 41) refer to Augustus simply as Θεῶ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ (or Καίσαρι Θεῶ Σεβαστῶ); Klaffenbach rightly points out that "die Reihenfolge der Bestandteile der Bezeichnung keine Rolle spielt."<sup>21</sup>

## THERA

42. *I.G.*, XII, 3, 469; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera*, III, p. 27, fig. 15, and p. 122 (altar). See below, pp. 71-72.

## Kos

43. W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, p. 127, no. 83 (round altar?).  
44. A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigraphica di Rodi e Cos*, p. 168, no. 466. See above, p. 68, note 19 and below, p. 72, note 29. For γυνοπαῖλαι see J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXV, 1952, p. 172, no. 139, 34; for other Latin inscriptions, see No. 27, 48.

## SAMOS

45. *I.G.R.*, IV, 958; E. Preuner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1924, p. 43, no. 958. See below, p. 84.

## CRETE

46. *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 166, no. 28 (altar?).  
47. *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 203, no. 12 (altar?). The names should be restored in the genitive or dative case, perhaps with the addition of Θεῶ (or Θεοῦ) in the second line.  
48. *Inscr. Cret.*, IV, p. 316, no. 269. For other Latin inscriptions, see Nos. 27, 44.

## MILETOS

49. A. Rehm in T. Wiegand, *Milet*, I, 9, p. 162, no. 335; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *R.E.*, s.v. Miletos, col. 1615, lines 29-33 (altar).

## LYDIA

50. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1173. See below, p. 73.  
51. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, VI, p. 71, no. 23 (altar?). See comments on No. 62.  
51a. *I.G.R.*, IV, 1304; L. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 71, note 2 (altar to Roma and Augustus).

## CARIA

52. *O.G.I.*, 457. See below, p. 72, note 29.  
53. B. Haussoullier, *Rev. Phil.*, XXIII, 1899, p. 287, no. 10 (altar). This altar was found *in situ* in the agora of Herakleia; see A. M. Woodward's comments (*B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907/8, p. 138) on the Augustus altar from Sparta (No. 17).  
54. A. E. Kontoleon, *B.C.H.*, X, 1886, p. 516, no. 5; J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, 1941, p. 35, note 14. See below, p. 72. For Fortuna Augusti, see W. Otto, *R.E.*, s.v. Fortuna, cols. 36-37.

## LYCIA

55. *I.G.R.*, III, 722.

## PHRYGIA

56. *I.G.R.*, IV, 691. See comments on No. 62.  
57. *I.G.R.*, IV, 885; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, p. 1333, note 12 (altar).  
58. *M.A.M.A.*, IV, pp. 49-56, no. 143 (multiple altar?). See above, p. 68, note 19.

<sup>21</sup> *Mus. Helv.*, VI, 1949, p. 223, note 18.

## CILICIA

59. L. Jalabert, *Inscr. Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, III, no. 715 (altar). See below, pp. 72 and note 29, 84. For Poseidon's epithet Ἀσφάλειος, see J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXVII, 1954, p. 173, no. 238, 36.

## CYPRUS

60. *I.G.R.*, III, 932.  
 61. *I.G.R.*, III, 937 (round altar?).  
 62. *I.G.R.*, III, 997; T. B. Mitford, *B.S.A.* XLII, 1947, pp. 222-225, no. 9; V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents*, no. 115 (altar). For altars dedicated by priests of Augustus, see Nos. 33, 51, 51a, 56. See below, pp. 73, 84.

A few words may be added on the form in which the emperor's name occurs on the various altar inscriptions. Attention has already been called, in the comments on Nos. 1-15 and 30-41, to the great number of texts which, in the genitive or dative case, have the "full" name *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Θεοῦ υἱὸς* (Θεὸς) *Σεβαστός*; only in one inscription belonging to this group (No. 35) is *Θεοῦ υἱοῦ* omitted.<sup>22</sup> We do not think that to the Greeks of this period *Σεβαστός* meant anything different or less divine than *Θεὸς Σεβαστός*; at any rate, the addition of *Θεός* did not indicate that the person so honored was no longer alive but was deified after death. This is indicated not only by the fact that Octavianus was *Θεός* before he received the name Augustus<sup>23</sup> and that Caesar was called *Θεός* soon after Pharsalos,<sup>24</sup> but also by the obvious similarity in form and content between the texts with *Θεός* and those without it. Moreover, there is another group of altar texts which contain the name of Augustus as (Θεὸς) *Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ (σωτήρ)*: Nos. 2, 17, 20, 21-25 (with *σωτήρ*), 33, 34, 46, 47, 55, 56, 59, 60, some with and some without the addition of *Θεός*. We do not think therefore that No. 15 (*Θεῷ Σεβαστῷ*) was necessarily set up after the emperor's death. Unfortunately, we can not explain the choice of the Greek word for "Augustus," but its meaning must have been "the worshipped one."<sup>25</sup> Similarly, the Greek *Θεοῦ υἱός* has a different meaning from the Latin *divi filius* of which it is the equivalent. In Latin, *divus* is used like a praenomen, but in Greek *Θεοῦ υἱός* means the son of God or the son of a god, and the person so designated is elevated above the human and mortal order.<sup>26</sup> This is shown by the altar from Thera (No. 42) *τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Καίσαρος*, for the only indication of divinity is provided by the affiliation *Θεοῦ υἱοῦ*. The omission of the name Augustus shows that this altar belongs to the period before 27 B.C., and its association with the statue base *I.G.*, XII, 3, 470 points

<sup>22</sup> See also *I.G.*, XII, 5, 940.

<sup>23</sup> *B.C.H.*, LXXVIII, 1954, pp. 331-333, no. 7; see above, p. 66, note 11.

<sup>24</sup> *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, p. 75.

<sup>25</sup> See L. R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 160. E. T. Salmon, *Historia*, V, 1956, p. 461; R. Syme, *Historia*, VII, 1958, pp. 182-183.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. L. R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-180.

to a date late in 31 B.C.<sup>27</sup> It may therefore be asserted confidently that the Greek name of Augustus (especially its parts *Θεοῦ υἱός* and *Θεὸς Σεβαστός*), as it appears on altars and statue bases, indicates the same divine character as do the altars erected to him.<sup>28</sup>

The divine character of Augustus is further illustrated by his equation and association with a variety of Olympic deities.<sup>29</sup> It is possible, however, that this worship of Augustus follows the Hellenistic tradition according to which Romans even before him were associated with Olympic gods.<sup>30</sup> The cult of Augustus himself (and by himself) has nothing to do with this tradition which itself continues beyond Augustus throughout the empire.<sup>31</sup>

Only one of the altars (No. 42) seems to have been set up before 27 B.C., while another (No. 54) may have been erected soon after 26/5 B.C.<sup>32</sup> D. Magie<sup>33</sup> suggested that the altar in Aegaeae (No. 59) was erected in 19 B.C., and the erection of altars in other cities may be connected with benefactions received at various times by these

<sup>27</sup> See H. Heinen, *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 147, note 3.

<sup>28</sup> See, however, W. H. Buckler, *Rev. de Phil.*, IX, 1935, pp. 179-180.

<sup>29</sup> A. D. Nock, *H.S.C.P.*, XLI, 1930, p. 37, however, speaks slightly of the monuments assembled here as depending "on private whim and in which there is a great tendency to pair the dative of worship and a dative of homage"; Nock himself, *op. cit.*, p. 40, says that the altar inscription of Alabanda (No. 52) was inscribed on "the basis for a statue of Augustus" without accounting for the genitive case of the text. Nock also claims (*op. cit.*, pp. 37, note 5, and 59) that "the epithet *Augustus* or *Σεβαστός* applied to a god probably describes him as 'the Emperor's god,'" and he would have us interpret the altar from Philippi (No. 27) in this way, were it not for the dedication (we think of an altar) from Kos (No. 44) which is erected to *Imp. Caesari Divi f. Aug. Mercurio*; on Augustus Mercurius, see the comments made by W. Kroll, *R.E.*, s.v. *Mercurius*, cols. 979-980, and J. Gagé, *Apollon Romain*, pp. 576-577. We accept, therefore, D. Magie's suggestion (*Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, p. 1333, note 12) that the altar from Kayadibi (No. 57) "may perhaps have been dedicated" to Augustus as *Διὲ Καίσαρι*. Another altar from Phrygia (No. 56) is dedicated to *Διὶ καὶ Σεβαστῇ τῇ Καίσαρι* by their priest; compare our comments on No. 62. In Samos (No. 45), Augustus was worshipped on an altar erected to him as Zeus Polieus, and in Mytilene (No. 40), he was worshipped officially as Zeus Olympios; see below, p. 84 and notes 82 and 83. Another altar from Mytilene (No. 35) is dedicated to Augustus as Eleutherios, but the inscription is too fragmentary to say whether the emperor is here equated with Zeus Eleutherios (as in Egypt) or with Apollo Eleutherios as in Caria (No. 52). In Cilicia (No. 59), Augustus is associated in an altar inscription with Poseidon and Aphrodite, and in Lesbos (No. 30) with Apollo Thermios. Finally, there is an altar from Megara (No. 19) dedicated to the Muses, to Caesar (as god), and to Augustus as Apollo Mouseios; for the connection between Augustus and the Muses, see A. Plassart, *B.C.H.*, L, 1926, pp. 383-462; W. Peek, *Ἑραυπεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν* (for A. Keramopoulos), IX, 1953, pp. 631-634; J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXVIII, 1955, pp. 224-226, no. 119.

<sup>30</sup> See A. E. Raubitschek, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, pp. 146-150; J. L. Tondriau, *Symb. Osl.*, XXVII, 1949, pp. 128-140; P. Lambrechts, *Nouvelle Clio*, V, 1953, pp. 65-81 (especially pp. 80-81).

<sup>31</sup> See P. Lambrechts, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81, who insists on the Latin and Roman origin of the Augustus cult.

<sup>32</sup> See D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, pp. 1331-1332, note 7.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 473-474.



cities.<sup>34</sup> We do not know whether the mention of *Pax Augusta* in No. 50 is to be connected with the *Ara Pacis* of 13 B.C.<sup>35</sup> Finally, one altar (No. 31) is to be dated after 2 B.C., because Augustus is called *pater patriae*,<sup>36</sup> and another (No. 62) before A.D. 2 and after 9 B.C. because of the mention of Lucius Caesar and on account of the date of the document itself which, according to T. B. Mitford, "affords us 9 B.C. as our *terminus post quem*."<sup>37</sup>

While the evidence presented so far does not encourage the assumption that all the Augustus altars in Greek lands were set up at one time and for one purpose, there is evidence to show that at least some of the altars were erected in response to a pan-Hellenic policy which can be directly associated with the plans of Augustus soon after his victory at Actium. Two of the altars (Nos. 28, 29) were discovered in Nikopolis, the city which Augustus founded after the battle. These were erected by the cities of Aegaeae (No. 29) and Mallos (No. 28), both Cilician cities of Greek origin.<sup>38</sup> It may be supposed that other cities made similar dedications just as the Panhellenion in Athens received dedications from all over the Greek world.<sup>39</sup> In fact the foundation of Nikopolis, after the "liberating" victory of Actium, corresponds even more closely to the Eleutheria of Plataiai than does the Panhellenion which has been associated with it.<sup>40</sup> Another link between the Augustus altars and the Hadrianic Panhellenion is provided by the Hadrian altars found not only all over Greece, but especially in Athens, the seat of the Panhellenion.<sup>41</sup> Both Augustus and Hadrian visited Greece frequently, and the relationship between the attitudes towards Greece of the two emperors has still to be examined. There seems to exist a close relationship between the "list of free cities" dated by A. H. M. Jones before 20 B.C. (and attributed to Agrippa) and the Greek cities in which statue bases, altars, and fragments of Temples of Augustus were found;<sup>42</sup> here again, a new collection of the entire evidence would be desirable. The pan-Hellenic character of Nikopolis is also indicated by the close association with the Delphic Amphiktyony which was revived and reorganized by Augustus.<sup>43</sup> It may well be that the Amphiktyonic Council was responsible for the erection of statues and altars of Augustus.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See the chronological list presented by H. Heinen, *Klio*, XI, 1911, pp. 147-175.

<sup>35</sup> See C. Koch, *R.E.*, s.v. *Pax*, cols. 2432-2433; H. Riemann, *R.E.*, s.v. *Pacis Ara Augustae*, col. 2082.

<sup>36</sup> See H. Collitz, *Sammlung der griech. Dialekt-Inschr.*, I, p. 90, no. 211; compare also *I.G.R.*, IV, 95.

<sup>37</sup> *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 224.

<sup>38</sup> See A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 209 and 435, note 7.

<sup>39</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3290-3310; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, p. 50, note 2.

<sup>40</sup> See P. Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 108, note 8.

<sup>41</sup> See above, p. 65.

<sup>42</sup> See also A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, pp. 129-131.

<sup>43</sup> See H. Pontow, *R.E.*, s.v. *Delphoi*, col. 2578; F. Schober, *R.E.*, s.v. *Nikopolis*, cols. 516-517.

<sup>44</sup> For its action on behalf of Caesar, see *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, pp. 74-75.

Unfortunately, there is no clear evidence to show a connection between Delphi (or the Delphic Amphiktyony) and the establishment of the Augustus cult throughout the Greek world.<sup>45</sup> The connection between Delphi and Athens, on the other hand, is shown by the lists of the Athenian sacred embassies to Delphi which began in the year when Architimos was archon in Athens;<sup>46</sup> his archonship has been assigned tentatively to 30/29 B.C. by J. H. Oliver and G. Daux.<sup>47</sup> P. Graindor associated the institution of the *dodekais* with Augustus, and if the date of its beginning is really the year 30/29 B.C., this association is very probable.<sup>48</sup>

Turning to Athens our evidence, though fragmentary, is more specific. The fragment of a decree ordering the celebration of Augustus' birthday was first published by J. Kirchner in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1071, and thoroughly discussed by P. Graindor.<sup>49</sup> R. P. Austin gave a good illustration of the inscription, which is now in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 5314), on plate 14 of his *Stoichedon Style*. He also discussed the inscription (*op. cit.*, p. 114) calling it "a fully authenticated late survival of the stoichedon style," but while he realized that the inscription "archaizes" in its use of the stoichedon style, he claims that "it does not do so in the forms of its letters, which are the same as those of its contemporaries." A glance at Austin's own illustration shows that only the *sigma* has a late form, that the *phi* and *psi* are more elongated than was customary in the early fourth century, and that the *xi* lacks the vertical stroke; on the whole,

<sup>45</sup> Mention may be made, however, of certain monuments which can best be explained by the assumption of such an association. R. Flacelière accepted (*F. d. Delphes*, III, 4, p. 179) the suggestion made by Courby that a monumental statue base with many inscriptions once served as the pedestal of a statue of Augustus; without further evidence, we can not be sure of the significance of this suggestion. Next may be mentioned the inscription of Lentulus (*F. d. Delphes*, III, 1, no. 528) who was honored by Delphi as *ταμίης Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ*; for another *ταμίης Αὐτοκράτορος* (*quaestor Augusti*) of this period see *I.G.*, XII, 5, 940. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4124 and by D. Magie, *op. cit.* II, p. 1590, Lentulus is wrongly called *quaestor Asiae*; see P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 59, note 3, and on the office itself Th. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.*, II, 1, 3rd ed., pp. 569-570. The early date of the document (before 27 B.C.) and the close personal connection between Augustus and Lentulus (see *P.I.R.*, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 330-333, no. 1379) may indicate that Lentulus served as Augustus' personal representative on the occasion of the reorganization of the Amphiktyonic Council. Another honorary monument (*F. d. Delphes*, III, 1, no. 487-496) from Delphi, dated soon after Actium, may also be connected with the reorganization of the council under Augustus. Diodorus of Delphi had been active in 48 B.C. on behalf of Caesar and his friends (*F. d. Delphes*, III, 1, nos. 318, 480), but it was twenty years later that he had honors received from all over Greece recorded on stone; it is quite possible that his pro-Roman activities were not confined to the time after Pharsalos, but also to the time after Actium. The inscriptions add no details to the eulogies, and we can not say more than they do.

<sup>46</sup> *F. d. Delphes*, III, 2, nos. 59-66.

<sup>47</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 82, note 21; *F. d. Delphes*, III, *Chronologie Delphique*, p. 74.

<sup>48</sup> *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 142.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 25-31; see also J. P. Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 286-287; S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 190-191; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, pp. 136-137; S. Accame, *Il Dominio Romano in Grecia*, pp. 178-179.

however, the lettering clearly imitates early fourth century inscriptions. This is even more strikingly shown by the prescript of the decree, as P. Graindor pointed out.<sup>50</sup> We do not know why this inscription honoring Augustus was inscribed in classical Attic form and script. The first known fragment (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1071) can be augmented by two fragments found in the Agora Excavations (I 2619 and I 5334) published by George A. Stamires in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 260-265, no. 98. One of these new fragments (I 2619) contains the form of *xi* mentioned above. Although the text of the inscription can not be restored with confidence, the following statements about its contents may be made: a) The decree provides for honors in addition to those voted the year before. P. Graindor suggested<sup>51</sup> that these earlier honors consisted in the erection of the Roma and Augustus Temple on the Acropolis, and the lettering of the dedicatory inscription on the architrave of this temple<sup>52</sup> bears a striking resemblance to that of the Augustus decree (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1071). b) The decree provides for the celebration of Augustus' birthday on the twelfth day (of every month or of Boedromion), comparable to the celebrations of Apollo's birthday on the seventh. Monthly celebrations of Augustus' birthday are also called for in the decree from Mytilene, *I.G.*, XII, 2, 58, line 20; there, however, these celebrations are to be modeled after those in honor of Zeus (line 21). It is clear from the Mytilene decree<sup>53</sup> that Augustus' birthday was celebrated with sacrifices (lines 19 and 21), and it may be presumed that special altars were erected for that occasion. c) One of the new fragments (I 2619) contains the words *βωμόν*, *Πυθιο*[- - -], and [*πεντε*] *τηρίς*, indicating the use of an altar, the references to Pythian Apollo and the existence of penteteric games (*I.G.*, XII, 2, 58, line 7) or festivals. Combining all this information, one may assume that at Athens (as well as at Mytilene and perhaps in other places) Augustus was honored on his birthday or on the monthly recurrence of his birthday by sacrifices which must have been performed on altars dedicated to him.<sup>54</sup> This explains satisfactorily (though perhaps not completely) the existence of the various Augustus altars, especially those found in Athens.<sup>55</sup>

#### THE ARAE AUGUSTI FROM ATHENS

1. (Pl. 8). Fragment of a rectangular block of Pentelic marble. Left face and top, with moulding, preserved; the top surface, as far as preserved, is smoothly dressed. Found in a modern context north of the Odeion (M 8), on May 6, 1936.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 26; for Augustan archaism in inscriptions, see A. E. Raubitschek and L. H. Jeffery, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, p. 149; in sculpture, see Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-210.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>52</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3173; J. Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 117 (no. 118 in the second edition).

<sup>53</sup> See also *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 10, no. 26, lines 8-9; p. 13, no. 58. For a discussion of the date of the birthday, see A. Kaplan, *Studies for A. D. Fraser*, pp. 93-102.

<sup>54</sup> See P. Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-30.

<sup>55</sup> See above, p. 68. Nos. 1-15.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.026-0.029 m.

Inv. no. I 4123

After 27 B.C.

Αὐτ[οκράτορι Καίσαρι]  
Θεο[ῷ νῑῷ Θεῷ Σεβαστῷ].

We assume that this is an altar and not a statue base because of the omission of the dedicator (ὁ δῆμος *vel sim.*).<sup>56</sup> We restore the name of Augustus in the dative and we add Θεῷ, although none of the completely preserved Attic altars have this text, because the second line seems to be two letters longer than the first; see also No. 5. For the form of Augustus' name as restored here, see above, pp. 71-72; for the use of the dative case, see above, pp. 67-68.

2. (Pl. 8). Fragment of a rectangular block of Hymettian marble, broken all around except for a small part of the left edge. Found in surface fill west of the Odeion (J-K 9-10), in July, 1936.

Height, 0.33 m.; width, 0.48 m.; thickness, 0.015 m.

Height of letters, 0.04 m.

Inv. no. I 4332.

After 27 B.C.

Σεβασ[τοῦ]  
Καίσα[ρος].

We have restored the name in the genitive case rather than in the dative case, because the former seems to be more common in Athens. For this short form of Augustus' name, see above, p. 71. The possibility can not be excluded that this is a statue base; in that case the inscription should be restored like *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3253.

3. (Pl. 8). Fragment from the top of a cylindrical base of Hymettian marble with a narrow astragal along the upper edge. The top has been hollowed out, according to E. Vanderpool, at a later date. Found in the excavation for a modern cellar at the corners of Hadrian and Mnesikles Streets, east of the Roman Agora (W. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, Plan I, E 4), on June 14, 1937.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.24 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.60 m.

Height of letters, 0.030-0.035 m.

Inv. no. I 4994.

After 27 B.C.

<sup>56</sup> See above, p. 67.

Ἀὐτοκρά[το]–  
 ρος Καίσ[αρος]  
 Θεοῦ ν[ι]οῦ Σε]–  
 βας[τοῦ].

The first line seems to have been shorter than the second and third lines, and the short fourth line was placed symmetrically underneath. Even if the hole on the top is of a second use, it may be supposed that this altar had originally a hollow depression in the top surface; see Nos. 5, 6, 8, 9.

4. (Pl. 8). Fragment of a rectangular block of Pentelic marble, broken at the right and left sides, with a moulding around the top, of which traces are preserved at the back. Found in a marble pile south of the Eleusinion (T-U 21-22), in March, 1939.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.23 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. no. I 5686

After 27 B.C.

[Ἀὐτοκρά]το[ρος]  
 [Καίσ]αρος Θε[οῦ]  
 [νι]οῦ Σεβας[τοῦ].

The restoration of the first line retains the symmetry of the inscription. The first line was spaced more widely, and also there is some uninscribed space between the words. These two features occur also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3224/5 (= No. 8) which is, in general, very similar.

5. (Pl. 8). Fragment of a cylindrical base of Hymettian marble, broken all around except for part of the top surface which is roughly picked. Found in a marble pile in the area of the Eleusinion (S-U 19-21), in April 1951.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.024 m.

Inv. no. I 6411.

After 27 B.C.

[Ἀὐτοκράτορι Καίσ]αρι  
 [Θεοῦ νιῶι Θεῶι Σεβα]στῶι.

For this restoration, which is uncertain, see above, No. 1. The partly preserved, roughly picked top may belong to the hollow of the altar; see No. 3.

6. (Pl. 8). Fragment of a cylindrical base of grayish white marble, with a simple ovolo moulding along the upper edge. The bottom has been reworked, but the top is flat except for a roughly cut sinking in the center, *ca.* 0.12 m. in diameter and 0.15 m. in depth.

Height, 0.21 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.50 m.

Height of letters, 0.02-0.03 m.

E.M. 4935.

After 27 B.C.

[Αὐτοκράτ]ορος

*vacat* 0.035 m.

[Καίσαρος] Θεοῦ υἱοῦ

[Σεβα]στοῦ.

The last line is more widely spaced. For the depression on the top surface, see above, No. 3. We publish this inscription with the kind permission of the Director of the Epigraphical Museum, Dr. M. Mitsos.

7. (Pl. 8). About half of the upper part of a cylindrical base of Hymettian marble, with a moulding along the upper edge. The top surface, as far as preserved, is flat. Found (according to the inventory of the Epigraphical Museum) on August 16, 1869, in a modern house on Pluto Street, east of Monasteraki Square.

Height, 0.16 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.40 m.

Height of letters, 0.02-0.03 m.

E.M. 6051; *C.I.A.*, III, 451.

After 27 B.C.

Αὐτοκράτορος

Καίσαρος Θε[οῦ υἱ]–

οῦ Σ[εβαστοῦ].

The second line seems to have been two letters longer than the first line; the third line, however, two letters shorter. We suspect that this inscription was first published by K. S. Pittakys who said that he saw it “dans l’église nommée Catholicon” which is, according to A. Mommsen, the little Metropolis.<sup>57</sup> His text is as follows:

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΕΙΩ...

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΘΕ

ΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ–

The inscription was republished by W. Dittenberger (*C.I.A.*, III, 451) who used,

<sup>57</sup> *L'Ancienne Athènes*, p. 492; A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, p. 115.

in addition to Pittakys' book, a copy made by Mustoxydis. This copy did not have the last four letters of the first line (ΑΕΙΩ), and Dittenberger restored the inscription accordingly as follows:

Αὐτοκράτορ[ος]  
Καίσαρος Θε[οῦ ὑ]—  
οῦ Σεβαστοῦ.

Neither Pittakys nor Mustoxydis reported that the stone carried an inscription on the other side or that there was a cutting on the top surface.

When U. Koehler published the tomb epigram of Telekles (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12764 = W. Peek, *Griech. Vers-Inschriften*, I, no. 1550), he remarked at the end of his comments:<sup>58</sup> "In latere opposito lapidis exaratus est titulus *C.I.A.*, III, 451." We believe that the inscription on the back of *C.I.A.*, II, 3, no. 4174 (= *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12764) is not the same as that copied by Pittakys and Mustoxydis and published as *C.I.A.*, III, 451, although it contains the same text. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12764 was copied originally by K. S. Pittakys who said that he found it southeast of the Stoa Poikile in the Agora.<sup>59</sup> The same inscription was copied and published by G. Kaibel<sup>60</sup> who said that he saw it "nel cosi detto gimnasio d'Adriano"; no doubt, Pittakys' Stoa Poikile and Kaibel's Gymnasium of Hadrian are the same building, namely the Library of Hadrian.<sup>61</sup> Kaibel later observed<sup>62</sup> that the inscription which he thought to be unpublished had already been published by Pittakys, and he himself republished it in the *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 40.<sup>63</sup> Neither Pittakys nor Kaibel noted that there was an inscription on the other side, but Koehler evidently saw this inscription and mistakenly assumed that it had been published already in *C.I.A.*, III, 451. The two inscriptions, *C.I.A.*, III, 451 and the text on the back of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12764, can not be the same because Pittakys saw the stone on which the one was engraved (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12764) southeast of the Library of Hadrian<sup>64</sup> and the other (*C.I.A.*, III, 451) in the little Metropolis.<sup>65</sup> Another reason for disassociating the inscription on the back of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12764 and *C.I.A.*, III, 451 is the text of the third line: Pittakys and Mustoxydis both read ΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ in *C.I.A.*, III, 451, while the third line of the inscription engraved on the back of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12764 reads ΥΙΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3224/5 = No. 8). On the other hand, the inscription published here (No. 7) agrees entirely in this respect with the text of *C.I.A.*, III, 451, but it has been damaged since Pittakys and

<sup>58</sup> *C.I.A.*, II, 3, no. 4174.

<sup>59</sup> *L'Ancienne Athènes*, pp. 70, 71.

<sup>60</sup> *Bulletino dell' Istituto*, 1873, pp. 248-249.

<sup>61</sup> See W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 375-377.

<sup>62</sup> *Neue Jahrb.*, XLIII, 1873, p. 815; *Bulletino dell' Istituto*, 1874, p. 168, note 1.

<sup>63</sup> See also *addenda*, p. 518, no. 40.

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>65</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 492.

Mustoxydis copied it; one must remember that the stone was moved from the little Metropolis to a house on Pluto Street just east of Monasteraki Square.

8. (Pl. 9). Rectangular base of Hymettian marble, broken only at the lower right side. The stone was first used as the pedestal of a herm (?) and carried the tomb epigram now published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12764 (= W. Peek, *Griech. Vers-Inschriften* I, no. 1550); to this first use belongs the rectangular cutting (0.18 m. by 0.13 m.) in the top surface. When the stone was re-used as an altar of Augustus, the new inscription was inscribed on the back, and the cutting on the top was re-worked.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.39 m.; thickness, 0.29 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

E.M. 3910; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3224/5.

After 27 B.C.

Αὐτοκράτορος  
Καίσαρος Θεοῦ  
υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.

The inscription is mentioned in the comments on *C.I.A.*, II, 3, 4174 and published for the first time by J. Kirchner in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3224/5. Kirchner mistakenly thought that this inscription was the same as *C.I.A.*, III, 451; see our comments on No. 7. This is the only altar we were able to find which served another purpose before it was dedicated to Augustus. There are, however, several statue bases of Caesar <sup>66</sup> and of Augustus <sup>67</sup> which had served at an earlier date as statue bases of other people. Only one of the two examples cited for Augustus (*Inscr. Cret.*, II, pp. 250-51, no. 12) may be properly called a *metagraphe*, since in the case of the Athenian base (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3829) the statues of Augustus and his family and of Trajan could not have been "re-named" old statues since three of the old ones were female while all of the new ones were male. In fact, the custom of renaming old statues with new names is better attested from literature than illustrated by monuments.<sup>68</sup> For examples of *metagraphe* discussed by Hula <sup>69</sup> see below Nos. 11-13.

9. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3226. We have been unable to find any record of the existence of this inscription since S. A. Koumanoudes found and published it in *Ἀθήναιον*, I, 1872, p. 401, saying that he had found it near the Dipylon. It should be noted, however,

<sup>66</sup> See *J.R.S.*, XLIV, 1954, p. 72, note 20.

<sup>67</sup> *Inscr. Cret.*, II, pp. 250-251, no. 12; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3253-3256, 3284 = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3829.

<sup>68</sup> See E. Hula, *Jahreshefte*, I, 1898, p. 27 and the bibliography quoted in note 1; A. E. Raubitschek and L. H. Jeffery, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, p. 128.

<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 27-30.



that this stone was hollowed out on top, just as several other of the altars; see the comments on No. 3.

**10.** (Pl. 9). Upper right corner of a rectangular base, found in the Olympieion and published by A. S. Rhousopoulos in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, I, 1862, cols. 43 and 47, no. 58, plate XII, no. 6.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

E.M. 3948; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3227.

After 27 B.C.

[Ἀντοκράτορος Κα]ίσαρος

[Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβ]αστοῦ.

**11.** (Pl. 9). For description and measurements, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3228.

E.M. 10357; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3228.

After 27 B.C.

Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσ[αρος]

Θεοῦ υἱοῦ

[Σεβασ]τοῦ.

After A.D. 14

Τ[ι]β[ε]ρ[ί]ον Καίσαρος.

ca. A.D. 132

on the back

[Σωτήρι καὶ Κ]τίστη[ι]

[Ἀντοκράτ]ορι Ἀδριανῶι

[Ὀλυμ]πίωι

Hula observed that the fourth line of the inscription on the front face was inscribed in larger letters than the other three, and that Dittenberger's restoration (*C.I.A.*, III, 431: [καὶ Τιβερίου Καίσ]αρος) is impossible.<sup>70</sup> Hula also noticed the inscription on the back, but he mistakenly assumed that Σωτήρι "kann nur auf der Statuenplinthe angebracht gewesen sein, da die erste Zeile an dem oberen Rande der Platte steht." The facsimile of the inscription which Hula reproduces<sup>71</sup> shows clearly that the restoration suggested here is in keeping with the spacing of the preserved text; the first two lines began at the same point, while the third line was placed symmetrically below the second.

The stone itself is an altar and not a statue base as Hula assumed, and the later inscriptions for Tiberius and for Hadrian indicate that the Augustus altar was later

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29, no. 2.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

used to make sacrifices for Tiberius and, still later, for Hadrian; see the comments on No. 13. Hula discounted the omission of Σεβαστοῦ in the Tiberius inscription,<sup>72</sup> assuming that it was inscribed after the death of Augustus, and this line is dated by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3228) "ante a. 37 p." Mention may be made here also of another Tiberius altar, found on Thera, which carries the simple inscription Τιβερίωι Καίσαρι.<sup>73</sup>

**12.** For description and measurements, see E. Hula, *Jahreshefte*, I, 1898, pp. 29-30, no. 3, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3229.

E.M. 10360; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3229 A (= *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3281), 3229 B (= *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3282).  
After 27 B.C.

[Αὐτο]κράτορος Καί-  
[σαρ]ος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ  
Σεβαστοῦ.

After A.D. 54      *in rasura*  
[N]έρω[νι Κλα]υδίωι Κ[α]ί[σ]α[ρ]ι  
[-----].

After A.D. 69      Οὐεσπασιανοῦ.

After A.D. 79      on the back  
[Αὐτοκρ]άτορι Καίσαρι  
Σεβαστῶι Τίτωι.

On the left side is a graffito containing the first nine letters of the alphabet or the numbers from one to nine. We do not know the significance of this inscription, but we doubt whether it was inscribed *ludendi causa* as Kirchner suggested.

Hula, who first published this monument, observed that it carried on its front, in addition to the Augustus inscription and that of Vespasian, an erased text which he read and restored (with Adolf Wilhelm's assistance) as referring to Nero.<sup>74</sup> Evidently this altar (mistakenly called a statue base by Hula) served Augustus, Nero, Vespasian, and Titus in turn; see the comments on No. 13.

**13.** (Pl. 9). Thin slab of Pentelic marble with flat mouldings at top and bottom; the back is roughly picked.

Height, 0.57 m.; width, 0.49 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.025-0.035 m.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28 and note 3.

<sup>73</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 3, 471; see also Nos. 45, 62.

<sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 29-30, no. 3; p. 29 note 4; for another Nero altar from Athens, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3278 (in P. Graindor's publication, *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 260, no. 23).

E.M. 10350; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3230.

After 27 B.C.

Αὐτοκράτορος  
Καίσαρος Θεοῦ  
υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.

ca. A.D. 132

Ἀ[δ]ριανοῦ Κτίστου.

Hula, who published this monument, noted that the letters above the first line are the remains of an inept attempt at writing Αὐτ(οκράτορος).<sup>75</sup> He also pointed out that the preserved slab was part of a construction of four thin plaques forming a rectangular base, but he did not notice that it was an altar of Augustus. Hula also recognized that the fourth line of the inscription is a later addition and not part of the Augustus inscription as Dittenberger assumed (*C.I.A.*, III, 430).

As long as the stones published here as Nos. 7-13 were considered to be statue bases, the later use of Nos. 11-13 was explained by the assumption that statues of Augustus were rededicated to several of his successors, an assumption which is not adequately supported by the reference to the one case of such a substitution mentioned by Tacitus.<sup>76</sup> Nor does the general custom of *metagraphe* readily apply to the statues of the emperors; see the comments on No. 8. This difficulty disappears with the realization that the monuments in question were altars and not statue bases. It becomes necessary, however, to explain the circumstances under which altars dedicated to Augustus were later rededicated to Tiberius (No. 11), to Nero (No. 12), to Vespasian (No. 12), to Titus (No. 12), and to Hadrian (Nos. 11, 13).

We know virtually nothing of the origin of the imperial cult in Athens, and J. H. Oliver's account of it is based on evidence which is later in time and which comes from places other than Athens.<sup>77</sup> He did point out, however, that the dedicatory inscription from the Temple of Roma and Augustus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3173) is "the earliest evidence for the imperial cult at Athens."<sup>78</sup> Two priests of this imperial cult are known: Pammenes and Demostratos of Pallene.<sup>79</sup> It should be noted that Pammenes was called ἱερεὺς Θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Σεβαστοῦ Σωτήρος, that Demostratos, the other known priest of Augustus, was ἱερεὺς Θεᾶς [Ῥώμης] κ[α]ὶ Σεβασ[τ]οῦ Καίσαρος, and that the priest of Tiberius was called ἀρχιερεὺς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ.<sup>80</sup> This means that under Augustus and during the first century of our era, the priest of the imperial

<sup>75</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 27-28, no. 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Annals*, I, 74; see Hula, *op. cit.*, p. 27 and note 2.

<sup>77</sup> *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>78</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 85, 92.

<sup>79</sup> On the priest Pammenes, see Th. Chr. Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>80</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3530; see also *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 68-69, no. 21; see J. H. Oliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-84.

cult was called in Athens the priest of the ruling emperor whose name was added to the title *ιερεύς* or *ἀρχιερεύς*.<sup>81</sup> This peculiarity in the title of the priest is reflected in the re-dedication of the altars of the emperors (Nos. 11-13). The altars in question served the imperial cult, and sacrifices were offered on them to the ruling emperor; when he died, his altar was rededicated to his successor just as his priest became the priest of his successor. The peculiar development of the imperial cult in Athens is not confined to this city. An altar to Hadrian (*I.G.*, XII, Suppl. [1939], p. 20, no. 55), when examined in Mytilene, proved to bear on the other side an inscription to Augustus the text of which is identical with that of No. 40 (*I.G.*, XII, Suppl. [1939], p. 19, no. 42).<sup>82</sup> This Augustus altar is the official cult altar to him as Olympian Zeus, and it was this altar which continued to be used in the imperial cult until it was reinscribed to Hadrian.<sup>83</sup> The altar from Aegaeae (No. 59), originally erected to Augustus, Poseidon and Aphrodite, was later inscribed on the back: *καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς*.<sup>84</sup> An altar from Samos (No. 45) is dedicated to Augustus as Zeus Polieus and to Tiberius as Zeus Polieus. Finally, an altar from Cyprus (No. 62) originally dedicated to Augustus seems to have been rededicated to Tiberius; in this case, the name of Augustus may have been erased to make space for the name of Tiberius.

#### CONCLUSION

The survey presented here tends to show that altars were erected to Augustus all over the Greek world and especially in Athens. The Athenian altars could be connected with special sacrifices made in honor of Augustus' birthday, but they must have been used also on other occasions which called for sacrifices to the emperor. There can be no doubt that these altars were public monuments and that they constitute our earliest and best evidence for the existence of a cult of Augustus in Athens. Some of the altars were used, after Augustus' death, for the cult of his successors from Tiberius to Hadrian. The Imperial cult in Athens under Hadrian was greatly revived, as the large number of altars dedicated to this emperor indicates.

It is not possible to localize the Augustus cult within the city of Athens, but it

<sup>81</sup> On the distinction between the two titles, see J. H. Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Th. Chr. Sarikakis, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>82</sup> This inscription (No. 40) is reported to be inscribed on a plaque of white marble, not on a round monument, but the peculiarities of the text, where ΘΕ|Ω is split between the second and third lines and the *iota* omitted while written in the other cases of the dative, make it almost certain that *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 19, no. 42 (our No. 40) and *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 20, no. 55, are inscribed on opposite sides of the same stone; see the illustration, Plate 9.

<sup>83</sup> Six other inscriptions from Mytilene (*I.G.*, XII, 2, 206, 209, 540, 656; Suppl. [1939], p. 19, no. 42; p. 20, no. 59) also refer to the official designation of Augustus as Olympian Zeus; see P. Riewald, *Diss. Phil. Halenses*, XX, 1912, pp. 293-295.

<sup>84</sup> See Ad. Wilhelm, *Arch.-Ep. Mitteil.*, XX, 1897, p. 61.

is significant that all but one (No. 10) of the altars were found in or near the Agora (or the Roman Agora). The construction of the Roman Agora was completed about 10 B.C., and there were many places in it where altars of Augustus could be erected.<sup>85</sup> It must be remembered that the Roman Agora of Athens, as it is called now, was in fact one of the many imperial buildings which E. Sjöqvist has shown to merit the name Kaisareion, and one would expect to find the imperial cult centered in such buildings or market places.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> See H. S. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 299-305; I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens*, pp. 205-206.

<sup>86</sup> *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, XVIII, *Opuscula Romana*, I, pp. 86-108; see also the comments on Nos. 17 and 53.



E.M. 3949



No. 1



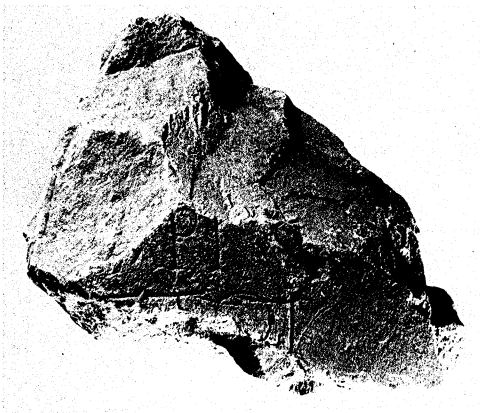
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No. 3



No. 4



No. 5



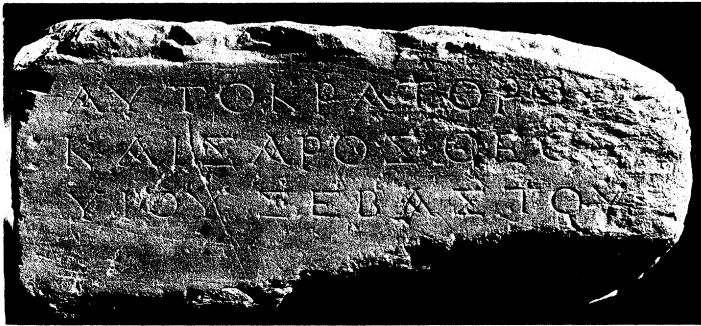
No. 6



E.M. 4565



No. 7



No. 8



No. 10



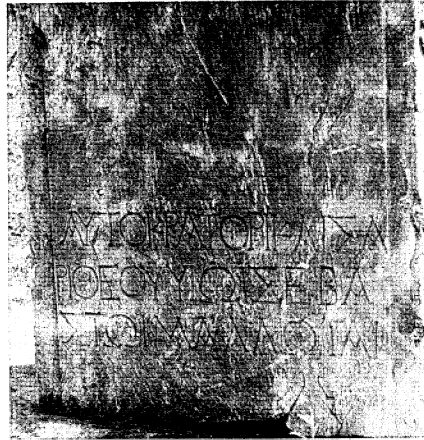
No. 13



No. 11



No. 28



No. 40

