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Captive Gods: Romans and Athenian Religion from 229 B.C. to the Age of Augustus

Karen Lee Edwards
Roanoke, Virginia

B.A., University of Virginia, 1989
M.A., University of Virginia, 1992

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of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of
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Department of Classics

University of Virginia
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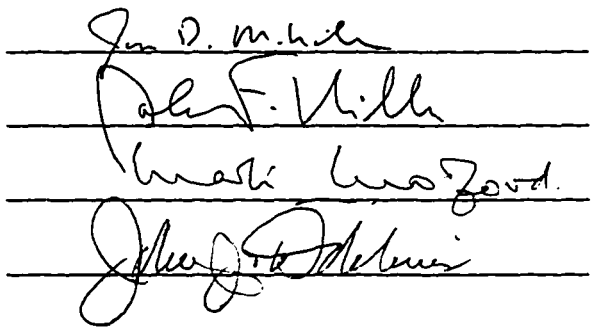

Abstract

Captive Gods: Romans and Athenian Religion from 229 B.C. to the Age of Augustus

This dissertation presents the evidence for Roman involvement in Athenian religion from the late third century B.C. through the end of the republic, along with my views of what that evidence can tell us about larger issues of cross-cultural relations. I focused on three different categories of Romans in Greece (residents, visitors, and high-profile military figures), approaching my sources, literary and epigraphical, with two major goals in mind. The first was to determine whether the Romans responded to the Athenian cults, traditions, and sacred sites they encountered with any consistency of behavior – and if so, to define patterns in that behavior. Second, I was interested in the repercussions of Roman involvement (or non-involvement) in Athenian religion – specifically, the extent to which that involvement reflected contemporary relations between the two peoples or affected future ones.

What emerged from the inquiry was a fairly vivid picture of how issues of religion figured in the dealings of Romans with Athenians, from the practices of Roman merchants residing in Athens to the activities of prominent political and military leaders who passed through the city. My study of this latter group frequently led me to questions of how religion might be used and manipulated – on both sides – in matters of foreign relations and policy. And perhaps most importantly, the sources pointed to the differing religious mentalities of Athenians and Romans. If we realize that such disparities in traditions and attitudes could lead one group to

consider acceptable an act that the other calls sacrilege, then we are in a better position to understand some intricacies of relations between Greeks and Romans.

FOR J.D.M.

ἀπαρχαί

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Acknowledgements

The inspiration for this study came, appropriately enough, as I sat in the Valley of the Muses – shifting around in hot and prickly grass, listening to John Camp read the lines of Pausanias that are quoted at the beginning of the Introduction. At that time I was one of Professor Camp's charges in the Regular Program of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and as our group traveled around that year I collected much information that has been invaluable to me for this project. The American School generously funded a second year in Athens for writing and further research, during which time I reaped all the benefits of working in an atmosphere both scholarly and congenial. Conversations with John Camp and Charles Williams were particularly helpful, as was a series of Saloni chats with Jeff Burden and Christopher Nappa.

I completed the dissertation at the University of Virginia, where I have spent many years in the company of an excellent and supportive faculty. I thank John Miller, both for his friendship over the years and for assuming the role of second reader for this work, which was greatly improved by his comments. I am grateful to Mark Morford, who agreed to read the dissertation at a particularly busy time of year and gave me much encouragement in difficult times. I also thank John Dobbins, of the Department of Art, for serving as an outside examiner on the committee.

Much of the assistance that a candidate receives in bringing a dissertation to its completion, of course, comes from non-academic sources, and I gratefully acknowledge the constant support of my parents throughout

graduate school. My father, Thomas Edwards, through his integrity and devotion to teaching, has been a guiding force in shaping my ideas of what an academic should be, and I hope to succeed in living up to his example. My fiancé, John Donohue, has been with the dissertation as long as he has been with me. He not only took a genuine interest in my work, but also provided encouragement and doses of common sense at every turn.

The dissertation is dedicated to Professor Jon Mikalson, who was closely involved with the work at every stage, both in Charlottesville and in Athens. He gave generously of his time and expertise, and – what was even more important – was unfailingly enthusiastic about my work and where it might go. He has always had my deep respect as a scholar and teacher, and I offer him this first effort in gratitude for his assistance and for the example he has provided.

Introduction

τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκε Σύλλας τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ὀρθόν... ἀνέθηκε δὲ οὐκ οἴκοθεν, Ὀρχομενίους δὲ ἀφελόμενος τοὺς Μινύας. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενον θυμιάμασιν ἀλλοτρίοις τὸ θεῖον σέβεσθαι.

Sulla dedicated (on Helicon) the standing image of Dionysos. He did not dedicate it from his own resources, but took it from the Minyans of Orchomenos. This is what the Greeks call worshipping the gods with other people's incense.

Pausanias, 9.30.1

As I visited Helicon and other Greek sacred sites with professors and fellow members of the American School of Classical Studies, I became interested in a particular kind of stamp that the Roman presence had often left amid the rubble. Again and again I heard or read about the "Roman phase" of various Greek temples and sanctuaries – some famous, others made impressive only by the obscurity of their location. These "Roman phases" can represent various types and levels of Roman involvement, from the restoration of a dilapidated temple to the appropriation of an existing religious structure for reconsecration to Roman gods. In addition, I read numerous anecdotes in the literary sources – like the one Pausanias tells about Sulla – concerning Romans and Greek sacred objects. Sulla's act of removing a sacred statue from one place to another was an occurrence by no means uncommon among Roman visitors to Greece. The phrase Pausanias uses to describe that act – "worshipping the gods with other people's incense" – struck me as not only peculiarly appropriate, but deeply meaningful. I began to wonder how accurately this Greek proverb, used to describe a Roman practice, in fact represented both the Roman behavior vis-à-vis Greek gods

and the Greek perception of their behavior. The present study is a small-scale attempt to get at that large question.

This dissertation presents the evidence for Roman involvement in Athenian religion from the late third century B.C. through the end of the republic, along with my views of what that evidence can tell us about larger issues of cross-cultural relations. I approached my sources with two major goals in mind. The first was to determine whether the Romans responded to the Athenian cults, traditions, and sacred sites they encountered with any consistency of behavior – and if so, to define patterns in that behavior. Second, I was interested in the repercussions of Roman involvement (or non-involvement) in Athenian religion – specifically, the extent to which that involvement reflected contemporary relations between the two peoples or affected future ones.

What emerged from the inquiry was a fairly vivid picture of how issues of religion figured in the dealings of Romans with Athenians, from the practices of Roman merchants residing in Athens to the activities of high-profile political and military leaders who passed through the city. My study of this latter group frequently led me to questions of how religion might be used and manipulated – on both sides – in matters of foreign relations and policy. And perhaps most importantly, the sources pointed to the differing religious mentalities of Athenians and Romans. If we realize that such disparities in traditions and attitudes could lead one group to consider acceptable an act that the other calls sacrilege, then we are in a better position to understand some intricacies of relations between Greeks and Romans.

Any new student of cross-cultural relations between Greeks and Romans reaps the benefit of numerous recent studies that attest to the revival of interest in this area. Most of these are essentially Roman or essentially Greek in their perspective, examining how one of the two peoples or cultures was affected by its contacts with the other. The Roman point of view has tended to win out, there being such a wealth of architectural, artistic, and literary material from which to draw conclusions about possible imitation, emulation, or rejection of Greek models. Particular attention has therefore been paid to determining the nature of the Greek legacy to Rome: what impact the literature, art, religion, and philosophy of the Greeks had on their Roman counterparts. These issues of assimilation, dealt with most recently (and most thoroughly) by Erich Gruen in his *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*, are linked to the rather complicated question of how the Romans felt in general about the Greeks and their achievement. These attitudes, as Gruen notes, have "received a variety of characterizations: a love-hate relationship, the working out of an inferiority complex, a creative tension."[1] He attempts to defend the Romans from charges of collective schizophrenia by defining consistent patterns in their responses to things Greek. While many of his arguments are tendentious and subordinate the evidence to preconceived notions of Roman imperialism and how it was expressed, some of his insights and, in particular, his compilations of source-material were of great use to me as I began to look at Roman responses to Greek religion.

If the Greek side of the cultural exchange has traditionally received less attention, that is largely attributable to two related circumstances. First,

[1] Gruen 1992, 2.

during the period in which Romans and Greeks were in close contact, it was the Roman civilization, not the Greek, that was at or approaching its peak. The late Hellenistic period is often seen as a period of degeneration for Greece, and thus a period of limited interest to the scholar. Second is the paucity of source material for Greece in this period, in comparison with what is available for Rome. In recent years, however, the Greek cause has been championed, in the form of studies examining what the Roman domination of Greece meant for the Greeks and their way of life. Here Susan Alcock's *Graecia Capta* stands out, an up-to-date survey of different aspects of Greek life – economic, political, religious – under the Romans. More specialized studies focus on particular regions or cities in Greece; *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities* by Cartledge and Spawforth, for example, examines the impact of Roman domination on Spartan institutions.

Athens, for various reasons, has consistently been a favorite object of studies of all time periods, including the Roman. Interest has been particularly strong among scholars of architectural history, since the number of Athenian monuments built or renovated in Roman times attests to a veritable renaissance in that area. An additional impetus has been supplied by the excavations of the Athenian Agora, which since their inception in the second quarter of this century have brought to light numerous inscriptions and other pieces of evidence that help to sketch a picture of life in Roman Athens. The contributions of H. Thompson, J. H. Oliver, and A. Raubitschek on the architectural and epigraphical material paved much of the way for current work in this field and continue to serve as its foundation. There is a great deal of new work being done – as recent conferences and colloquia dedicated to Roman Athens will attest – in all areas of inquiry, with particular

attention to the Augustan and Hadrianic periods.

With some notable exceptions, issues of religion have not been given due prominence in studies of Romans in Greece. Alcock makes many useful observations in her chapter "The Sacred Landscape" but is forced by the scope of her topic to sacrifice depth of treatment for breadth. Gruen's chapter on "The Appeal of Hellas" presents much useful evidence for the activities of early Roman visitors of Greek sanctuaries, but his interest lies in identifying the political and imperialistic motives behind these activities, not in looking at them against the background of the religious traditions of Greeks and Romans. In studies confined to Athens, attention has focused largely on the Eleusinian Mysteries (for which Kevin Clinton's work on the later history of the sanctuary and its rituals is indispensable reading).

In other words, I could not quickly or easily find answers to the questions I was asking: How did the Romans respond to the cults that they encountered in Greece? What was the significance of a Roman's removal of a Greek cult statue from one place to another, or the appropriation of a Greek sacred site – of "worshipping the gods with other people's incense?" Considerable effort has been devoted to identifying Greek influences in Roman religion, as well as to the Greek cults which were imported by the Romans and were at times the object of strong opposition. These, however, are all issues of Roman religion as it was practiced in Rome, and my interest here is fundamentally different. In the case of Roman travelers to Greece, we are dealing with a different situation: Roman encounters with Greek cult on Greek soil. My goal was to examine how these encounters came about and in what they consisted.

I have narrowed the scope of the inquiry in various ways. First, I have chosen to focus on Athens. In part this focus is motivated by the nature of the evidence available for Athens in the Roman period. The primary sources for Athens are not only more abundant than those to be found in most other places in the Greek world, but also offer greater variety; in addition to the epigraphical and other archaeological material, there is information to be gleaned from the frequent mentions of Athens in biographical and historical writers. The abundance and nature of the evidence available for periods *prior* to the one in question here are likewise important. Since religious mentalities of the Greeks are often at issue in this study, it seemed reasonable to focus on Athens, a city for which we are fairly well-informed as to religious traditions and practices in earlier periods. Athens also offers advantages in terms of secondary source material, as there are numerous studies of other aspects of Athenian culture in the Roman period – the economy, the constitution, and so on – which can help to fill out the context of the evidence for activites in the religious sphere.

Athens is of course only part of a much larger picture, since Romans came into contact with Greeks and their cults in myriad contexts and locations in Asia Minor, in Magna Graecia, and elsewhere on the Greek mainland. Sites to the east and to the west of Greece, I felt, would be less useful in discussions of "baseline" Greek religious traditions and attitudes, since the Greek cults in both Asia Minor and Magna Graecia were always under the influence of local, non-Greek traditions.[2] Athens, although she too came under foreign influences in religious and other aspects of life, stands

[2] Magna Graecia is the focus of K. Lomas' recent study *Rome and the western Greeks 350 BC-AD 200: Conquest and acculturation in southern Italy* (1993); see pp. 130-132 for her discussion of the influence and absorption of Italic cults, particularly in Oscanized regions of Magna Graecia.

out from these as an "old world" Greek city, with long-standing and well-known civic and religious traditions and with a rich cultural heritage. This is not to say that Athens alone of the cities and sanctuaries on the Greek mainland could claim those qualities, or that she somehow constitutes a unique case when one comes to consider Roman relations with the Greeks. I have chosen to focus on Athens for the reasons given above, with the hope that once the material from there is collected and assessed it may provide a useful foundation for comparative work with other Greek sites.

I have not, however, focused on Athenian evidence to the exclusion of other material that was clearly relevant. I follow Sulla, for example, when he leaves Athens, and look at his activities elsewhere in Greece and the Greek world. The panhellenic sanctuaries, popular destinations for Roman travelers, figure in many of the accounts examined here, particularly when I look at the early periods of Roman contact with indigenous Greeks and when I am concerned with the activities of Romans who visited Athens as part of a tour of other Greek sites. I consider at length the evidence from Delos, since the island, along with its cults, was for most of this period under direct Athenian governance, populated by Athenians, and is thus in some ways an annex of Athens.

I have concentrated on a period which has been somewhat neglected, of late, in studies of Romans in Greece, starting in the late third century B.C. and closing with the end of the Roman republic. As I have said, there is now a great deal of interest in Augustan and Hadrianic Athens, and I think that there is a need to establish a background against which that material can be assessed. Moreover, it was in the early contacts between Romans and Athenians that patterns of behavior were set, with which the later behavior

of emperors might profitably be compared and identified as consistent or inconsistent. I have chosen 229 B.C. as a starting date because it marks the freeing of Athens from Macedonian control – thus the beginning of a new era in Athens – and because it coincides almost exactly with the date of our first piece of evidence for Roman participation in Athenian cult. I end with the accession of Augustus because with his reign comes a profusion of literary, architectural, and epigraphical material for Athens, a detailed examination of which lies outside the scope of this dissertation. Again, it seemed desirable to build a foundation, by sorting out the earlier material, which could serve as the basis of future work. Much of what appears in the present study does foreshadow aspects of the Augustan city, and in recognition of that – and of my plan one day to expand the work to include Augustan Athens – I use the open-ended phrasing of my title: "to the age of Augustus," instead of "to the end of the republic."

Roman contacts with Greece came in various forms, and Romans found themselves in Athens for any number of reasons. Some traveled there to study or passed through as tourists. Some moved to Athens with their families and took up residence, whether for business purposes or as official representatives of Rome. Many saw Athens as they stood in the ranks of a Roman legion. Some came as conquering generals. I have tried to address each of these diverse groups in this study. The second and third chapters are concerned largely with Romans of the "private sector" who worked in Athens or on Delos, or who passed through those places. In the fourth chapter, a study of Roman military figures of the first century, I focus on some of the brighter lights of the history of the period. This is partly a function of

the sources available, which contain a wealth of information about this or that general, but do not reveal as much about the experience of the rank-and-file Roman legionary.

A word about the nature of the primary sources. The principal historical accounts of the periods and figures under examination – Polybius, the *periochae* of Livy, Appian, Cassius Dio, Plutarch's *Lives* – are not without their problems, each being open to charges of bias or (especially for the late accounts) questionable use of sources. I have tended not to quibble with them or to reopen issues of veracity in every instance, although I am aware of the pitfalls inherent in such a policy. Where particular difficulties seem to exist I have included a *caveat*. In questions of the dating of epigraphical material I have taken on good faith the consensus scholarly opinion and proceeded from there. My forays into analysis of archaeological material were greatly assisted by consultation with American archaeologists in Athens, my debts to whom are acknowledged in the notes.

❦ CHAPTER ONE ❦

Early contacts

Roman awareness of the Greek world, in its earliest forms, came largely through what the Romans saw and heard as they stood on their own peninsula: Greek objects taken west for trade, Greek stories told about the Trojan War and its heroes, Greek colonists who had relocated to southern Italy and Sicily. So began, early on, a cultural encounter that would have far-reaching implications for both sides. Direct encounters with the Greeks on the mainland were of course in the offing. Political and military developments in the Greek world in the third and second centuries B.C. led to Roman military and diplomatic intervention, and thus to more opportunities for firsthand experience in Greece itself. When Romans involved in these ventures began to travel east in significant numbers in the second century, they established regular and official contacts with mainland Greeks.

That they did so on Greek soil is important: not only did the Romans come face-to-face with the mainland Greeks as a people, they encountered the physical remnants of the classical Greek culture. Much of what was to be seen in Greece was not entirely new to the Romans, given their familiarity with Greek styles of art and architecture from the cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily. Indeed, Romans living at the end of the third century B.C. did not even have to leave their city to see some originals; masterpieces of Greek art, for example, had adorned their capital at least since Marcellus' sack of

Syracuse in 211 B.C., if not before.[1] But in mainland Greece the Roman visitor met with the "old world" cities and communities that had made up and defined classical Greek civilization and its achievement.

At the religious centers of Greece, early Roman visitors were exposed not only to temples, altars, and statues but also to Greek religious tradition in general.[2] In this chapter I look at their response to that tradition, with a view to providing some background for subsequent chapters on the responses of later Roman visitors and residents of Greece. The period in question here extends through the end of the third Macedonian war, which ended with the capture of the Antigonid king Perseus by L. Aemilius Paullus at Pydna in 168. That date is a turning point for us in many respects – not least because it marks the beginning of a period of increased Roman habitation in the Greek world, thanks largely to Rome's conversion of Delos into a free port in 166. Before that time most of the Roman visitors to Greece were there as generals, ambassadors, or soldiers, and it is their story which concerns us here.

[1] See Gruen 1992, 84 and 94-101 on the significance of the sack and its spoils – a catalyst for the spread of Hellenism in Rome that Gruen also sees as a "message to the Mediterranean world" (p. 101).

[2] Romans had been exposed to Greek cults in Magna Graecia (see Lomas 1993, 128ff.) and had admitted Greek gods and their worship into Rome as early as the fifth century, so this was not a first encounter; my focus here, however, is not on the Greek or Hellenized cults of Italy but on Greek cults indigenous to the mainland.

1. Romans and Apollo

In the aftermath of the battle at Cannae (216), one of the most thorough defeats in Roman military history, the Roman senate sent one of its members, Quintus Fabius Pictor, to consult Apollo's oracle at Delphi.[3] Pictor was well-suited for the mission. His composition of a history of Rome in Greek, at least, suggests a thorough familiarity with Greek language and traditions of Greek historiography. Upon his return to Rome he reported to the senate the pronouncement of the Pythia, translating the Greek hexameters into Latin.[4]

Of particular concern to us is the Romans' appeal to a Greek religious authority. The appeal is striking, though probably less so in the context of the second Punic War than it would be in other periods. Pictor's mission was in many ways in keeping with the spirit of the times – or, more precisely, with the dispiritedness of Rome in 216 and at other low points in the struggle with Hannibal. The reversals suffered by Rome during that struggle, to be sure, resulted in many innovations in the religious sphere. New cults were introduced and new rites performed. In short, the Romans used all means at their disposal to discover the will of the gods and to repair relations with them, in hopes of restoring the *pax deorum*.[5] That foreign gods were included in this effort is clear from the importation of the Hellenized cult of the Magna Mater from Asia Minor in 205/4.[6] The act of bringing new gods into the city aimed at reinforcing it – a point to which we will return at various stages of this study.

Pictor's mission to Delphi, however, cannot be counted among the

[3] Livy 22.57.4-5 (quoted on the following page).
[4] See Livy 23.11.1-6 and the discussion of Gruen (1992, 242).
[5] See Warde Fowler 1923, 316-329.
[6] Livy 29.10.4ff.; 29.14.5ff.; Ov. *Fast.* 4.255ff. See Latte 1960, 258-262.

religious innovations of the second Punic War. The Romans had consulted the oracle on other occasions, in response to disturbing prodigies at home.[7] By Pictor's time, the Romans must have been quite familiar with Delphi. In this connection it is worthwhile to take a closer look at the wording of Livy's account of the events of 216 B.C.:[8]

> Hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum quibus precibus suppliciisque deos possent placare et quaenam futura finis tantis cladibus foret.
>
> When this misfortune was turned into an omen, as is often the case in the midst of such disasters, the decemviri were ordered to consult the (Sibylline) books and Q. Fabius Pictor was sent to Delphi to find out by what prayers and entreaties the Romans could placate the gods, and what end there would be to so many disasters.

Livy's wording suggests an acknowledged kinship between Greek and Roman cult. The "gods" to be placated can be left undefined, and the questions and answers about the appropriate *preces* and *supplicia*, it is presumed, will be mutually intelligible to Delphi and the Romans.[9] The Romans' inquiry, in Livy's version, is no different from one that would be made by a Greek state.[10]

The Sibylline Books, which provided the impetus for Delphic consultations and for the importation of Magna Mater and others, were themselves an example of strong Hellenic influence on Roman religion at a

[7] Livy 1.56.4-10 (delegation sent by Tarquinius Superbus); 5.15.1-3 and 5.28.1-5 (consultation after the prodigy of the Alban Lake; dedication of a gold bowl to Pythian Apollo after the fall of Veii). Ogilvie (p 216, 660-661, 689) discusses the evidence for the historicity of these early consultations.

[8] Livy 22.57.4-5 (see also Sil. It. 12.324-336).

[9] Livy's account of the response that Pictor received (Livy 23.11.1-3) attributes to the oracle a significant understanding of Roman gods and Roman religious practice. In the text that Pictor read to the senate "were the gods and goddesses to whom entreaties were to be made and in what manner" (*divi divaeque in eo erant quibus quoque modo supplicaretur*).

[10] See the catalogue of historical resposes in Fontenrose 1978, 244-267. Examples of Greek states who consulted the oracle and were instructed to appease specific gods in specific ways: H9 (Athenians and allies); H19 (Chalcidians and Philip of Macedon), H28 (Athenians), H44 (Erythrai). The response given to Pictor falls contains two of the standard topics identified by Fontenrose (p. 25): instructions on sacrifices and offerings, and statements concerning victory or defeat in a war.

very early date.[11] Sibylline prophecies had also been instrumental in the installation of a cult of Apollo in 431.[12] These are all issues of Hellenic influence in the development of Roman religion – a topic which has been thoroughly studied and addressed in print, and which I will pass over.[13] This study, as I have said, is concerned more with what happened on Greek soil than on Roman. But I bring up the Hellenic cults of Rome to show that from a fairly early date Romans were familiar – to an extent that they may not have realized themselves – with Greek cult and ritual. The Apollo cult was especially important as a link between the two cultures: its prominence in the Greek religious experience would be matched by the significance to which it attained among Romans. After 431 Romans became more closely acquainted with the figure of Apollo, and there is no doubt that they heard tales of his famous shrines at Delphi and Delos, particularly as they came into more regular contact with the Greek world.

The earliest expressions of Roman interest in Greek cults on Greek soil center on these shrines of Apollo. Two Delian inscriptions place Roman visitors there in the middle of the third century B.C.: an inventory of 250 B.C. lists an offering by "Novius, a Roman," while another from about a decade later records an *anathema* of "Quintus, a Roman."[14] The sanctuary had long

[11] The Books were said to have been acquired during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus (Gellius 1.19.1; Dion. Hal. 4.62; Lactantius, Div. Inst. 1.6.10-11; Zonaras 7.11.1; Servius *ad Aen.* 6.72) and their authority was well-established by the third century. For early consultations, see Dion. Hal. 4.62, 6.17, 10.2; Zonaras 7.11.1, Livy 3.10.7, 4.25.3, 5.13.5, 5.50.2; Pliny, *HN* 13.88.

On the importation of the Magna Mater, see Livy 29.10.4-11.8; Cic. *Har. resp.* 27ff.; Cass. Dio fr. 57.61; Strabo 12.5.3. The Livy passage mentions two Delphic consultations by the Romans around that time: one had taken place before the pronouncement of the Sibylline Books about the Magna Mater was revealed (29.10.6) and the other was made by the ambassadors who traveled to Asia Minor to seek the help of Attalos in bringing the goddess to Rome (29.11.5-6).

[12] For the introduction of Apollo in Rome see Gagé 1955, 19-113.

[13] For discussions of Rome and imported Greek cults, see Warde Fowler 1911, 223-269; Latte 1960, 148-194, 213-263; Dumézil 1970, II 407-431, 446-456.

[14] *IDélos*287A.58 (250 B.C.) and *IDélos* 296B.48 (shortly after 244 B.C.)

since achieved international status, as had the oracular shrine at Delphi. In many respects, then, Pictor's consultation of Apollo in the last quarter of the third century is not anomalous – especially when we consider the motive behind his mission. Foreign delegates and heads of state had been consulting Apollo on questions of foreign policy, and in hopes of success in war, at least since the time of Croesus.

Pictor's mission does, however, tell us something about Rome's perceptions of her own position vis-à-vis Greece and Greek gods. As Gruen notes, the acts of seeking the oracle's advice and of translating its reponse into Latin for the senate "symbolized the application of Greek religious authority to the needs of the Roman nation."[15] The word "application" is important. That the Romans felt a need to consult a higher divine authority in the aftermath of a disastrous defeat is not surprising. That they considered a foreign god such an authority is not unique, given the international status of Delphi, but is still worth noting. Also noteworthy is the sequel to Pictor's trip to Delphi. In Livy's account, Pictor tells the senate that he has brought back to Rome the laurel garland that he wore while performing the ritual at Delphi, and that he has placed it upon the altar of Apollo in Rome.[16] His act leads us to a notion that will surface again and again in our study – namely, the perceived power of sacred objects. The idea of sacred "movables" is worth keeping in mind, as it becomes a central issue in Rome's later experiences with the gods of Greece.

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[15] Gruen 1992, 242.

[16] Livy 23.11.6: *(Pictor dixit) se, quaecumque imperata sint, cum summa religione ac diligentia exsecutum coronam Romae in aram Apollinis deposuisse.* The high priest of the Greek temple (23.11.5) had instructed Pictor to wear his garland on the trip home and not to lay it aside before reaching Rome.

2. Roman generals in Greece

Signs of Roman activity at Delphi and Delos, as well as in other Greek sanctuaries, pick up significantly in the second century, corresponding to the increased volume of travel to Greece. Although much of our source material here concerns not "ordinary" Romans but members of the upper-class elite, I should note that the discussion would probably be skewed towards that group even if the sources were fuller, because the highest level of Roman awareness and interest in things Greek was to be found in that segment of society. The early "high-profile" Romans who came to Greece – military commanders, for example – may have already been acquainted, through their studies, with the more notable sites and cities of the Greek mainland. And in the second century, there were many opportunities for those who were on official business in Greece to make personal visits to these places.

Accounts of the visits of prominent Romans of the early second century suggest that some acted much as modern tourists might, making pilgrimages to major sites and trying, where possible, to use their Greek. After his victory over Philip V at Cynoscephalae (197), Titus Quinctius Flamininus dedicated spoils at Delphi and composed, in Greek, verses to accompany his gift.[17] His name appears in several inventories of dedications to Apollo on Delos.[18] His contemporary Publius Scipio Africanus also made dedications to both Delphic and Delian Apollo.[19] While Flamininus' motives have been called into question (specifically, the validity of the label of "philhellene" often attached to him), Africanus is a less complicated character

[17] Plut. *Flam.* 12.6-7.
[18] *IDélos* 439A.77-78; 442B.85-86; 1429A.21-22; 1411A.105-106; 1446.15.
[19] Delphi: *SEG* 1.144. Delos: *IDélos* 427.12-13; 428.13-14; 439A.81.

in this regard.[20] Africanus, who also wrote in Greek, was a notorious philhellene – to an extent, in fact, that some Romans found excessive.[21] One incident in particular came in for strong criticism: during a stay at Syracuse he conspicuously adopted Greek customs of dress and exercise and indulged in the study of Greek literature.[22] To his detractors, his behavior betrayed laziness and effeminacy – it was "not only not Roman, but not even that befitting a military commander."[23]

The philhellenic activities of Flamininus and Africanus set them apart, and they cannot be taken as representative of the entire Roman nobility. Indeed, the anecdote preserved about Africanus in Livy suggests that his particular response to things Greek was unusual and even, to some, distasteful. Africanus' dedications to the Greek Apollo at Delphi and on Delos seem to fit with what we know of that response, although it is impossible to say what motivated his visits to those places. Since there is no evidence that he was on official Roman business at the time – that is, he had not been instructed by the senate to consult the Delphic oracle, as Pictor had

[20] On Flamininus and "philhellenism:" Balsdon (1967, 177-190) defends the "idealistic" view (associated with Mommsen) of a philhellenic Flamininus, but most scholars emphasize the need to distinguish between "philhellenism" and philhellenic *activities*, which may have a variety of motivations. Badian (1970, 28-57) prefers to think of Flamininus in terms of *Realpolitik*, a view in general endorsed by Armstrong and Walsh, who argue that Flamininus' fluency in Greek was gained only for the sake of political negotiations (1986, 32-37). Ferrary (1988, 110-112) sees Flamininus's actions among Greeks as motivated by some combination of *Realpolitik* and the *philodoxia* that Plutarch emphasizes in his biography (Plut. *Flam.* 1.3; 5.7; 7.2; 9.5; 20.1). Gruen, who once argued (1984, 268) that Flamininus and others compartmentalized cultural attachments and awareness of national interest, has now returned to a more idealistic view (1992, 243-244).

[21] See Gruen 1992, 242-243 on the philhellenic activities of Africanus and his immediate family.

[22] Livy 29.19.11-12; Val. Max. 3.6.1; Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 3.7. Compare the activities of Mark Antony during a stay at Athens (below, Ch. 4 , p. 139)

[23] Livy 29.19.11-12: *Praeter Plemini facinus Locrensiumque cladem ipsius etiam imperatoris non Romanus modo sed ne militaris quidem cultus iactabatur: cum pallio crepidisque inambulare in gymnasio; libellis eum palaestraeque operam dare; aeque segniter molliterque cohortem totam Syracusarum amoenitate frui...*

been, and he was not dedicating spoils after a victory, as Flamininus did – there may be a distinction to be made here between private and public acts of worship.

It is also important to note that Roman overtures to this Greek god were facilitated by the presence of a cult of Apollo in Rome. This connection, discussed in the previous section, should be re-emphasized here, since it helps to explain why Africanus and other Roman visitors chose Delphi and Delos for their benefactions. Their offerings are to a Greek god, but to a Greek god already sanctioned in and present at Rome.

Attention to the sacred sites of Greece emerges particularly strongly when we turn to Livy's account of the travels L. Aemilius Paullus made through Greece in the year after his victory at Pydna (168).[24] On the itinerary were locations of historical, religious, and literary significance, including everything from Sparta to Delphi to the shore at Aulis from which the expedition to Troy was launched. The religious element, in Livy's version, is very prominent: seven of the twelve destinations given are explicitly identified with the deity or deities presiding in those places, and at three of them – Athens, Delphi, and Olympia – Paullus is said to have made sacrifices.[25]

The two Greek accounts of Paullus' travels, those of Polybius and Plutarch, do not share Livy's emphasis on matters of religion.[26] Polybius' narrative is poorly preserved, so we cannot characterize his account as a

[24] Livy 45.27.6-28.5.
[25] Livy 45.27.6-28.5; Polyb. 30.10.3-6; Plut. *Aem.* 28.1-2. Livy 's account (45.27.6-45.28.5), the fullest one available, records the following stops: Delphi (sacrifice to Apollo); Lebadeia (sacrifice to Jupiter [*sic*] Trophonius and Hercynna; Chalcis; Aulis and its temple of Diana [*sic*]; Oropos and its Amphiaraion; Athens (viewing of the monuments and sacrifice to Minerva [*sic*]); Corinth, Sicyon, Argos, Epidauros and its sanctuary of Aesculapius [*sic*]; Lacedaemon; Megalopolis, Olympia (a sacrifice *amplius solito* for Jupiter [*sic*].
[26] Polyb. 30.10.3-6; Plut. *Aem.* 28.1-2.

whole, but we should note that two of the four remaining fragments describe Paullus' admiration for Corinth and its acropolis, Sicyon's fortifications, and the strength of Argos – all of which, it seems, are being sized up by the careful eye of the conquering general, not merely being remarked upon by an appreciative tourist.[27] Plutarch does not offer many details about Paullus' itinerary itself (only Delphi and Olympia receive mention), being chiefly interested in what the tour accomplished for the Greek cities in which Paullus restored civil order and popular governments. These political or imperial aspects of Paullus' tour are absent from Livy's account, which emphasizes the general's attention to and admiration of the venerable shrines of Greece and identifies Paullus' motive for making such a tour as a desire to "see the sights" in his free time.[28] The truth may lie somewhere in the middle: that is, Paullus' attention to the places evocative of the glorious Greek past, and in particular to "old world" religious tradition, may well have been motivated by his conception of how the Greeks might best be conciliated in the present, and unified and governed in the future.[29]

[27] The second fragment (30.10.4) ends with a mention of Epidauros, but Polybius' narrative of what Paullus did there (if it ever existed) is lost. The other two fragments (30.10.5-6) deal with Paullus' visit to Olympia, but not with the sacrifice mentioned by Livy.

[28] Livy 45.27.5: *Autumni fere tempus erat; cuius temporis initio ad circumeundam Graeciam visendaque...uti statuit.*

[29] Ferrary (1988, 556) emphasizes the value of such a tour as "damage control": "Tout donne l'impression que le séjour en Grèce fut un véritable offensive de charme où Paul-Émile s'efforça, par le spectacle de son *eusébeia*, de sa *philanthrôpia* et de sa *paideia*, de rétablir auprès des Grecs une image des Romains que les premières années de la guerre, en particulier, avaient fortement dégradée."

3. Romans and Greek sacred objects: *Sacra peregrina*

A brief notice in Pliny relating to Paullus' activities on his Grecian tour adds a new dimension to our inquiry. Pliny reports that in his day there stood in the temple of Today's Fortune a Phidian statue of Athena that had been brought to Rome and rededicated there by Aemilius Paullus.[30] As we have seen, the importation of Greek art to Rome was certainly nothing new. Some of this material came to Rome as war booty, while other objects were picked up during the travels of art aficionados. Many of the items came from sacred contexts.[31] Gruen characterizes acts of this nature in fairly positive terms, at least from the Roman point of view: in removing such an object the Roman displays respect for Greek artistic skill, and in rededicating it he shows an awareness of, and a concern for preserving, its sanctity:

> A common misconception brands Romans as boorish louts who indiscriminately snatched Greek masterpieces as spoils to display the might of the conqueror. Ancients lamented the moral decline that came with showy opulence, and moderns rebuke the conqueror for neglect of the aesthetic value and religious character of captured art treasures. The facts are quite different. Roman interest in and appreciation of art had a much more refined edge. The Romans rededicated cult images, acknowledged the separate spheres of public and private art and of sacred and secular representations, promoted sculptors and painters, and encouraged creative work to celebrate achievement or distinction.[32]

Gruen alludes elsewhere to the more culturally "imperialistic" motives that may be in operation – the finest Greece has to offer now at the disposal of Rome, and so on – but for the most part the Romans emerge from his

[30] Pliny, *HN* 34.54: *Phidias...fecit et cliduchum et aliam Minervam, quam Romae Paulus Aemilius ad aedem Fortunae Huiusce Diei dicavit...* Gruen (1992, 246) mistakenly says that the statue taken back to Rome was the Olympian Zeus of Phidias; this work awed Paullus, who pronounced it the very image of Homer's Zeus (Polyb. 30.10.6), but was not removed by him.
[31] See Gruen's chapter "Art and civic life" (1992, 84-130) on the Roman response to Greek art (and the ways in which the objects came to Rome in the first place). See also Stewart 1979, 41-46, for examples of reconsecrated cult images.
[32] Gruen 1992, 3.

analysis as preservers, not destroyers, of Greek tradition.

To my knowledge, it has never been demonstrated that Romans "acknowledged the separate spheres of...sacred and secular representations" when they returned to Rome with pieces of Greek art, and Gruen does not document this assertion.[33] In any case, his formulation is one-sided, dealing only with the (difficult) issue of Roman motives and with the Roman point of view. From the Greek perspective, *what* the Romans did is likely to have mattered more than *why* they did it, and it is highly doubtful that most Greeks would have perceived the removal of a Phidian statue to Rome as a compliment to Hellenic tradition, or as any other positive statement – particularly if that statue originated in a sacred context. We have no way of knowing if the Athena appropriated by Paullus was a cult statue, but I think we can reasonably assume that it originally stood inside the temenos of a Greek sanctuary. If so, Paullus' act – regardless of its motivation – would have been offensive to Greeks.

The issue of moving and removing sacred objects will resurface with some frequency in this study and is, I think, central to understanding some of the dynamics at work in relations between Greeks and Romans in this and other periods. The essential point is that these acts were viewed very differently by the two sides, largely because of differing religious customs and views concerning the sanctity of specific places and objects. In the Greek tradition, an object, once consecrated in a sanctuary, was the god's property and was expected to remain forever in the sanctuary. Aside from what might

[33] Polybius (9.10.13), commenting on the objects taken from Syracuse by Marcellus in 211 B.C., notes that the Romans "adorned their own homes with the personal possessions (of Syracusans), but adorned the public buildings of the city with state possessions" ('Ρωμαῖοι δὲ...ταῖς μὲν ἰδιωτικαῖς κατασκευαῖς τοὺς αὑτῶν ἐκόσμησαν βίους, ταῖς δὲ δημοσίαις τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως.), but the distinction being made here is not between what is sacred and what is secular.

be required as part of a ritual procedure, that property could not be taken out of the sanctuary – this would be to rob the god, a fundamental and dangerous impiety – and certainly was not taken elsewhere and rededicated to another deity.[34] In this respect the Greeks are fundamentally different from the Romans, who are known to have "called out" gods from cities they intended to destroy, moved cult statues from one place to another, and reinstalled dispossessed gods in new temples. Thus Paullus' appropriation of the Athena statue needs to be considered in the light of the different religious attitudes of Greeks and Romans: behavior that he may not have intended as an affront, or considered sacrilegious, Greeks may have perceived differently.

The Roman view that sacred sites and items were "transferable" was evident in their dealings with the Greeks both in peace and in war. At Heraclea in 191 the Roman consul M'. Acilius Glabrio received the surrender of the Aetolian League, which had been prosecuting a war against the Romans with the support of the Seleucids. This exchange involved the customary ritual of *deditio*, in which the defeated party responded affirmatively to questions posed to them in a set formula. According to the capitulation ritual given by Livy in his account of the surrender of the Sabines, the Romans asked a conquered people to hand over everything – not

[34] Euripides' Hecuba speaks of the inviolabilty of sacred property as a νόμος of the gods (Eur. *Hec.* 799-805). It is because the god's property cannot be removed from the temenos that archaeologists find votive deposits in sanctuaries. Offerings to the god, once they became damaged or simply too numerous, had to be somehow taken out of the way; that they were buried inside the sanctuary clearly implies that they could not be taken outside as rubbish (Nilsson 1964, 79). See also Zaidman and Pantel 1992, 56: "...the sanctuary was...an inviolable or sacrosanct space, an asylum (*asulon*, literally a place from which plunder might not be taken)." Robbing a sanctuary was punishable by death (Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.22; Isoc. 20.6; and Mikalson 1983, 95).

only its territory and resources, but its gods as well:[35]

> "Deditisne vos populumque Collatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia, in meam populique Romani dicionem?"
>
> "Do you surrender yourselves and the people of Collatia, the town, fields, water, boundaries, shrines, materials, all things divine and human, into my power and that of the Roman people?"

The *deditio* ceremony performed by the Greeks surrendering to Glabrio in 191, which is generally asssumed to have been "close...to the one described in Livy,"[36] must have served to emphasized the cultural differences between the two sides. The *deditio* formula, with the assertion of a claim on "all things divine and human," was thoroughly Roman in spirit – but not at all Greek.

The implication that the Romans, on occasions in which they received the *deditio* of an enemy, essentially came into possession of the local gods is best illustrated by another Roman formula used in times a war, that of *evocatio*. This involved "calling out" the gods of a hostile city on the brink of destruction, by inviting them to abandon their current homes (and, by implication, the people in their protection) and assuring them of a new one. Livy's description of the final stages of the siege of Veii in 396 B.C., the *locus classicus* for this practice, records the invitation issued by Camillus to Juno Regina and this exchange between the goddess and the young Roman soldiers

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[35] Livy 1.38.2. See also Polyb. 36.4.2: οἱ γὰρ διδόντες αὑτοὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτροπὴν διδόασι πρῶτον μὲν χώραν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ πόλεις τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ, σὺν δὲ τούτοις ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἅπαντας, ὁμοίως ποταμοὺς, λιμένας, ἱερά, τάφους, συλλήβδην ὥστε πάντων εἶναι κυρίους Ῥωμαίους, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς διδόντας ἁπλῶς μηκέτι μηδενός.). The gods are thus at the disposal of the conquerors. This was true abroad and closer to home: Tacitus, writing a century after Livy, tells us that all of the rituals, temples, and images of the gods in the Italian cities were considered *iuris atque imperii Romani* (Tac. *Ann.* 3.71.1-2).

[36] Eckstein 1995, 274.

who had been commanded to remove her:[37]

> Namque delecti ex omni exercitu iuvenes, pure lautis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda Romam regina Iuno adsignata erat, venerabundi templum iniere... Dein cum quidam, seu spiritu divino tactus seu iuvenali ioco, "Visne Romam ire, Iuno?" dixisset, adnuisse ceteri deam conclamaverunt.
>
> The youths to whom the task of taking Juno Regina to Rome was assigned, selected from the entire army, entered the temple in a reverent attitude, their bodies cleansed and dressed in white... Then, after a certain youth, either touched by a divine spirit or as a childish joke, said, "Do you want to go to Rome, Juno?" the rest shouted out that the goddess had nodded assent.

In this case, the displaced goddess was reinstalled in Rome itself, receiving a temple on the Aventine. While we know of other temples of "relocated" deities at Rome, it is possible that some gods who were "called out" were not moved to Rome but received new accommodations in the vicinity of their former ones.[38]

This ritual of *evocatio* was conducted, according to Servius, in order to avoid sacrilege (*propter vitanda sacrilegia*).[39] Deities duly "called out" were

[37] Livy 5.21.2-5 (Camillus); 5.22.4-5 (the youths). Camillus' words on the occasion are given as follows: *"Te simul, Iuno regina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te dignum amplitudine tua accipiat."* Macrobius (3.9.2) discusses the practice of *evocatio* and the reasons for it: *Constat enim omnes urbes in alicuius dei esse tutela, moremque Romanorum arcanum et multis ignotum fuisse ut, cum obsiderent urbem hostium eamque iam capi posse non crederent, aut etiam si posset, nefas aestimarent deos habere captivos.* He also gives the version of the *carmen* that was supposedly used before the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. (3.9.7-8). On *evocatio*, see Latte 1960, 125, ; Dumézil 1970, 424-431; Le Gall 1976. Le Gall's article deals with an inscription from Isaura Vetus (Cilicia) that implies that *evocatio* was still in use in 75 B.C., when that city was taken by P. Servilius Vatia. The text reads: *Servilius C(aii) f(ilius) imperator, / hostibus victeis, Isaura vetere / capta, captiveis venum dateis, sei deus seive deast, quoius in / tutela oppidum vetus Isaura / fuit, [...] votum solvit.* Before the discovery of this inscription the only two instances of *evocatio* known were those treated by Livy and Macrobius, the sieges of Veii and Carthage.

[38] Le Gall (1976, 523-524) argues that the block on which the Cilician inscription is carved originally belonged to the superstructure of a temple, and deduces that the *votum* mentioned in the text involved reinstalling the tutelary god or goddess of the city in this new local temple. Le Gall also suggests, I think rightly, that some gods who were "called out" may have been taken to Rome and moved into existing temples, being assimilated to deities already present. As for gods who received new temples at Rome after a ritual of *evocatio*, we are certain only of the temple of Juno on the Aventine.

[39] Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.244.

not removed against their will, since their consent was sought and was perceived to have been given before they were relocated. The concern for the will of the god evident in this practice plainly implies that Romans were concerned with the sacrilege attached to removing deities from their homes. Gods simply carried away from their shrines and taken to Rome would be "captive gods," and Macrobius says that the Romans performed *evocatio* precisely "because they thought it wrong to have captive gods."[40] Thus the Romans share this scruple with the Greeks, but differ in one important respect: their notion of what is "sacred" is less location-specific. Sacred objects – including the cult statue – should be treated with respect, but can be picked up and moved. There is nothing inherently sacrilegious about moving them from the place in which they were established.

It is important to note that what we can reconstruct of Roman views on transferring and transporting divine property comes largely from accounts of military conquest and diplomacy, such as those just quoted. This is not a coincidence. The Romans' highly formulaic system for making war and peace was inextricably tied to issues of religion, and it was almost certainly in the military sphere that Roman attitudes concerning appropriate treatment of foreign sacred objects were conceived and fully developed. Livy implies this in his account of Marcellus' sack of Syracuse in 211, which is of particular

[40] Macrob. 3.9.2. On the idea of "captive gods" see Dumézil 1970, 427: "The scruples mentioned by Macrobius and Servius as the origin of the *evocatio* – *quod nefas aestimarent deos habere captivos; propter vitanda sacrilegia* – are belied by one actuality: the *sacellum Minervae captae...*" Ovid (*Fast.* 3.835-848), who places this sanctuary on the Caelian hill, gives various aetiologies for the epithet "Capta." His final suggestion, *quia perdomitis ad nos captiva Faliscis / venit*, seems the most plausible, and Ovid says that there was evidence for this – perhaps an inscription? – in his day (*hoc ipsum littera prisca docet*). The epithet of the goddess, whose city was taken in 241, may suggest that she was not duly removed (i.e., through *evocatio*) from her city before its destruction.

interest here since ancient writers cited this event as one that both engendered a desire for Greek art objects in Rome and set a dangerous precedent for disrespectful treatment of the gods:[41]

> ...Marcellus captis Syracusis...ornamenta urbis, signa tabulasque quibus abundabant Syracusae, Romam devexit, hostium quidem illa spolia et parta belli iure; ceterum inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera licentiaeque huius sacra profanaque omnia vulgo spoliandi factum est, quae postremo in Romanos deos, templum id ipsum quod a Marcello eximie ornatum est, vertit.
>
> Marcellus, after the capture of Syracuse,...carried off to Rome the adornments of the city, the statues and paintings that Syracuse possessed in abundance. Indeed, they were spoils of war and had been acquired according to the *ius belli*. But from that came the very beginnings of admiration for Greek works of art and of the license to plunder sacred and secular buildings indiscriminately – a license that finally turned against Roman gods, and that very temple splendidly adorned by Marcellus.

Livy goes on to explain that very few of the *excellentia ornamenta* with which Marcellus adorned temples near the Porta Capena were still there in his day.[42] Thus the *licentia* displayed in the plundering of the sacred goods of the enemy was later evident in Rome itself, in the temples of Roman gods. Livy clearly sees the sack of Syracuse as a turning point, the occasion on which Romans first, or most strikingly, demonstrated the lack of self-control that in his view characterized much of Roman behavior in subsequent wars.[43]

Plutarch reports that in adorning Rome with all manner of splendid objects Marcellus made himself popular among the common people (παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ), but not with elder Romans, who held up Fabius Maximus as an exemplary conqueror because he had removed χρήματα καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον from

[41] Livy 25.40; cf. Polyb. 9.10.1-12 and Plut. *Marc.* 21.1-5.
[42] Livy 25.40.3: *Visebantur enim ab externis ad portam Capenam dedicata a M.Marcello templa propter excellentia eius generis ornamenta, quorum perexigua pars comparet.*
[43] Polybius (9.10.1-13) seems also to see the sack of Syracuse as a turning point, and consideration of the episode leads him to some weighty questions about Roman views of conquest and empire. Gods and issues of sacrilege do not figure in his account.

Tarentum, but left the statues undisturbed.[44] This older generation (and, clearly, Plutarch himself) disapproved of Marcellus, in part because "not only men, but gods, in the manner of captives, were led about and paraded (in triumph) in the city."[45]

What these accounts suggest is that the sack of Syracuse inaugurated (or was later seen to have inaugurated) an era in which this sort of *licentia* became increasingly characteristic of Roman behavior towards foreign peoples. Clearly, this behavior met with disapproval in some quarters. It is likely that individual generals set the tone for how the capture of a city would be conducted, and the formulae of *evocatio* and *deditio*, which allowed a conquering general to take "ownership" of a city's sacred objects, buildings, or even gods, were not literally applied in every instance. The magnificent objects brought to Rome by Marcellus were the object of great admiration – an admiration that certainly created a desire, and thus a market, for more such imports. This background should be kept in mind when we consider the removal of sacred objects from the Greek mainland.

[44] Plut. *Marc.* 21.3.

[45] Plut. Marc. 21.4: οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν οἷον αἰχμαλώτων ἀγομένων ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πομπευομένων.

4. Romans and Athens

Up to this point Athens has not entered our discussion – except as a stop on the Hellenic tour of Aemilius Paullus, who offered a sacrifice to Athena on the acropolis before heading off to Corinth.[46] By the time of Paullus' visit, Athens was beginning to recover from the difficulties that characterized her history for much of the Hellenistic period. The tide had begun to turn in 229, when Athens was liberated from the Macedonian control that she had endured for over a century and began to reestablish her place – or, at least, find a new niche – in the Mediterranean.

In 228, as a newly freed state, Athens received a delegation of Romans on a diplomatic tour after the first Illyrian War. These men, who had been allowed to participate in the Isthmian Games earlier in the year, became the first known Roman initiates of the Mysteries of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis.[47] The historical accuracy of the account, which is late, has been questioned because of the unlikely name Plautus ("Flat-foot") given for one of the delegates,[48] but I think that there are good reasons to accept the story as genuine.

First, we should note that in this period the cult may have had particular significance for the Athenians themselves. As Mikalson has shown, periods in which the Athenians "recover some measure of freedom from an oppressive foreign power" are characterized by an effort to redefine and regain traditional values – largely by returning to the religious spirit and

[46] Livy 45.28.1: *Sacrificio Minervae, praesidi arcis, in urbe facto profectus Corinthum altero die pervenit.*

[47] Zonaras 8.19 (based on Dio): ...καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους δὲ φιλίαν ἐπεποιήκεσαν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας σφῶν τῶν τε μυστηρίων μετέσχον.

[48] See Errington 1988, 141. The notice that the stade race at the Isthmian Games was won by a Roman named "Flat-foot" seems to Errington "to betray a joke somewhere along the line of transmission."

customs of classical (or classicizing) times.[49] Thus the cult at Eleusis and its rituals, which certainly ranked among the greatest traditions of Athenian religion, may have been receiving renewed and increased attention after the Athenians were freed from the Macedonians.

Now we return to our Roman initiates of 228. If the Athenians in that time were reaching back to old cults and celebrations to remind themselves of who they were as a people, it would not be surprising to find these same cults and celebrations – such as the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries – playing a role in how the Athenians represented themselves to outsiders. Athens, as we have noted, was concerned with reestablishing herself in the international community, and the notion of their allowing Romans to be intiated into the Mysteries fits in well with such a spirit. The Athenians would thus be allowing the Romans to participate in a cult that was uniquely Athenian, and in which they took a nationalistic pride. This would not have been a new way for the Athenians to conceive of Eleusis and their role in administering it: Isocrates, a hundred and fifty years before, spoke of the cult as part of a gift of Demeter which Athens generously shared with others.[50]

The general principles outlined above are known to have been at work in other festivals at Athens, in particular the games of the Panathenaia,

[49] Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (forthcoming). See Day 1942, 14-16 on the revitalization of Athens in various spheres (economic, religious, etc.) after 229. Piraeus and its harbors were repaired, along with the fortifications of Athens. A temple of Asclepius was built in the Attic deme of Sounion; Athens itself saw the building of the Diogeneion, a center for ephebic training, and the precinct of Demos and the Charites.

[50] Isoc. *Paneg.* 28-29. Similar views appear in a decree of the Delphic Amphictyons of 117/6 B.C.; for further discussion of both passages see below, Ch. 3, p. 83-86. I speak of Athenians as "allowing" Romans to be intiated because they, as administrators of the cult, controlled access. This is apparent in the Athenian decree of the 470's or 460's which outlines regulations for various aspects of the cult (*IG* I^3 6): cities with which Athens has some dispute will be excluded from the sanctuary (μὴ χρώσθω τῶι ἱερῶι, Column A, lines 31-32).

which seem to have been revitalized in the flush of new independence in the latter part of the third century. Victor-lists from the second century reveal significant increases in participation by citizens and foreigners alike, indicating that the games were again being celebrated on a grand scale and that they again ranked as one of Athens' major "attractions" for outsiders.[51] Tracy and Habicht, I think, are right to deduce from the variety of places from which participants hailed – and the high status of some of the participants – that the Athenians in this period were using the Panathenaia in the same way that Peisistratos had: "to showcase their city and to remind their contemporaries of Athens' role as the cultural leader of the Hellenic world."[52] The celebration was also an appropriate and useful forum for expressing gratitude to foreign benefactors. From one of the new inscriptions, we learn that honors to the *euergetai* figured among the events on one of the festival days.[53] This particular text is dated to 162 B.C., four years after the Romans significantly advanced Athenian prosperity by giving them Delos as a free port. Tracy and Habicht take *euergetai* to refer primarily to the Romans, who are similarly designated in other Athenian inscriptions of the period.[54]

[51] The relevant inscriptions, *IG* II² 2313-2317 plus the three victor-lists recently published in Tracy/Habicht 1991, show that citizen participation in the equestrian events almost doubled in the second century (see Tracy/Habicht 1991, 235). This points not only to increased attention to the games but also to increased prosperity among citizens.

[52] Tracy/Habicht 1991, 235.

[53] Tracy/Habicht 1991 , 188-189, III 41: σαις τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἡμέραν [- - - ca. 10 - - -].

[54] Tracy/Habicht 1991, 235. For other examples of inscriptions designating Romans as *euergetai* in this period, see *IG* II² 1134.103-104 (τοὺς κοινοὺ[ς ε]ὐεργέτας Ῥωμαίους); *IG* II² 1224.9 (τοὺς κοινοὺς εὐεργέτας ἁπάντων [Ῥ]ωμαίους); *Agora* XV 180.7-11 (ref. to a sacrifice [τῶι δήμω]ι τῶι Ῥωμαί[ων]).

5. Romans and Greek games

The topic of games in general deserves some discussion here, since agonistic festivals, both local and panhellenic, played an important role in introducing Romans to Greek religious traditions on the Greek mainland. Many Roman visitors, in ever-increasing numbers in the second century, participated in Greek games.[55] Since these competitions were in origin and in essence religious celebrations, featuring sacred processions and public sacrifices, participation in them provided a direct kind of exposure to cults and festivals indigenous to Greece.

As we saw above, events of this sort had a role to play in the conduct of foreign policy between Greeks and Romans. For Greeks they were a means of self-representation, and for Romans an opportunity to make a show of goodwill. Others have noted that it is hardly coincidence that T. Quinctius Flamininus chose as the setting for his two major policy proclamations in Greece two sets of games: the Isthmian games of 196 and the Nemean of the following year.[56] Such games offered Flamininus a ready international assemblage of important Greeks; the speeches he delivered there were thus a most effective *captatio benevolentiae.*

Likewise, Lucius Aemilius Paullus aimed to impress Greeks with his respect for and knowledge of their traditions when he put on games at Amphipolis in celebration of his victory over Perseus.[57] Paullus made a point of reproducing the rituals associated with Greek games in every detail: appropriate procedures for the sacrifices, and so on, were researched and executed with a level of precision that amazed the Greeks in attendance. The

[55] See Errington 1988, 145-147 and Gruen 1992, 234.
[56] Polyb. 18.46, Plut. *Flam.* 10.12. Errington (1988, 141) cites these as instances of Romans "trying to keep the Greeks subordinate by keeping them happy."
[57] Polyb. 30.14; Livy, 45.32.8-11; Plut. *Aem.* 28.3-5.

event, as it is described in the sources, appears to have been a calculated attempt at a peaceable "conquest." Paullus' comment on the occasion – that a general skilled in winning wars is also skilled in arranging banquets and games – is telling. Both the general and the master of ceremonies exert control, and both aim, whether through hostility or hospitality, to win over the other side.[58]

Early Roman contact with Greek cults on Greek soil, as we have seen, centered on prominent panhellenic shrines, particularly those of Apollo at Delphi and on Delos. In 216 the Roman senate demonstrated its respect for Apollo's oracle by sending Q. Fabius Pictor to Delphi. In the early second century, more Romans began to travel to Greece and to make the cultural "rounds," visiting religious sites and participating in agonistic festivals. These celebrations allowed many Romans to participate (albeit in a superficial way) in Greek religious celebrations.

To this skeletal summary I add a few important points that have emerged in this chapter and will reappear in later ones. The first concerns the removal of a sacred object for rededication elsewhere. Aemilius Paullus, although he is sometimes considered to have been a champion of Greek tradition, acted in a very un-Greek (but thoroughly Roman) way when he appropriated sacred art for use in Rome. As we have seen, the practice of moving such objects – sometimes with strict observance of Roman religious

[58] Gruen (1992, 247) suggests that Paullus was motivated by a desire to beat the Greeks at their own game: "Aemilius Paullus had driven his point home quite decisively: he had outstripped Macedonians in war and Greeks in peace. The Roman commander could produce games better than any Greek." Since the Macedonian generals regularly held such games, however, Paullus may have been competing with the Macedonians in this too, by showing that he could be more "Greek" and attendent to things Greek than they had been.

scruple, sometimes not – was part of Roman traditions relating to war and conquest. The second important concept is that of a people's self-definition and self-representation through religious practices. In this connection, we have seen that through celebrations such as the Panathenaia and the Eleusinian Mysteries the Athenians could promote themselves and their city in the eyes of foreigners who were in a position to exert some influence, positive or negative, in their lives. Finally, we have noted that Roman displays of respect for or interest in Greek religious traditions – Paullus' pilgramage, for example, to sacred sites in Greece and the sacrifices made there – may have produced, and indeed may have aimed at, a more conciliatory attitude among a people governed by the Romans.

❦ CHAPTER TWO ❦

Settling down: Roman residents

While in the last chapter we were concerned with early Roman visitors to Greece, here the focus is on the group for whom those "pioneers" paved the way: Romans who took advantage of the newly-opened opportunities in Greece, moving their homes and families abroad. Once the Romans gained a foothold in the Greek world, it did not take long for them to establish a significant presence in many Greek communities, including Athens. Those who acquired land – as many are known to have in the first century, and can be assumed to have even in the second – must have viewed their Greek residences as their new homes, or at least as second homes. As Crawford notes, the process of acquiring land in the Greek world "occurred at every level of society, from the soldier at one end of the social scale to the financial magnate at the other."[1] These resident *Romaioi*, as they are called in inscriptions, bought, sold, traded, collected taxes – in short, did whatever promised them a profit. And while they did so, they lived side by side with Athenians and became familiar with many aspects of Athenian daily life, including religious life. The Romans studied in this chapter were "settling down" in various ways, and thus the dynamics here are somewhat different from those discussed in Chapter One.

In this chapter I offer illustrative cases of how these relocated Romans participated in and reacted to Athenian religious practices. First we look at the extent to which Roman merchants involved themselves in the cults of Delos when it was under Athenian control and management. Next we turn

[1] Crawford 1977, 48. On Roman acquisition of land in the provinces in general, see also Wilson 1966, 159-60 (largely examples from the first century).

to Athens itself, where the epigraphical record preserves the record of a large and active Roman community, including well-to-do Romans whose sons participated in the Athenian ephebeia.

A final note on the group of residents under examination. I am concerned with those to whom the Delian and Athenian inscriptions refer as *Romaioi* – a blanket term often used, apparently, of all people from Italy. As Hatzfeld has shown, many of the *Romaioi* on Delos were South Italian in origin,[2] and by extension many of those at Athens must have been as well. Since it was only after the citizenship laws of 89 that members of this group were officially designated as Roman citizens, it is impossible to distinguish which second-century *Romaioi* are in fact *cives Romani*. I have followed Errington's judgement that the issue is "largely irrelevant," or at least not likely to benefit from splitting hairs.[3]

[2] Hatzfeld 1919, 238-242. He estimates that South Italians and Sicilians, recognizable in the inscriptions by their names and ethnic designation, made up a tenth of the total population of Delos after 167 B.C.

[3] Cf. Errington 1988, 142: "[the designation *Romaioi*] happily begs the largely irrelevant question of whether they had Roman citizenship or not."

1. Romans and Delos

Τὴν μὲν οὖν Δῆλον ἔνδοξον γενομένην οὕτως ἔτι μᾶλλον ηὔξησε κατασκαφεῖσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Κόρινθος. ἐκεῖσε γὰρ μετεχώρησαν οἱ ἔμποροι, καὶ τῆς ἀτελείας τοῦ ἱεροῦ προκαλουμένης αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς εὐκαιρίας τοῦ λιμένος· ἐν καλῷ γὰρ κεῖται τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πλέουσιν· ... Ἀθηναῖοί τε λαβόντες τὴν νῆσον καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἅμα καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἐπεμελοῦντο ἱκανῶς.

Delos, which had already gained a reputation, was made still more famous after the sack of Corinth by the Romans, for the importers moved their business to Delos. They were attracted by both the lack of tariffs and the convenience of the harbor, which is nicely situated for those sailing from both Italy and Greece to Asia... When the Athenians took the island they were taking care of both the religious rites and the merchants.

Strabo, 10.486

Delos, in the first half-century of Roman domination in Greece, stood at the crossroads of two different worlds. Literally, by virtue of its location, Delos served as a bridge between east and west. Indeed, the natural attractiveness of Delos as a stopping-place for travelers contributed most significantly to the development of the island into a lively commercial center. This, in turn, leads us to the other respect in which Delos may be considered a "crossroads": as commerce on Delos increased in volume and variety during the second century, so did the population, so that by the end of the century the island supported a large community of great ethnic diversity. Although she and her cults were controlled by Athens in this period, Delos was a truly cosmopolitan place, home to a variety of groups, both eastern and western. As Italians, and specifically Romans, comprised a community of considerable size and influence on the island, Delos provides an excellent opportunity for

the study of Romans living in the Greek world.[4] The architectural remains and inscriptions recovered in excavations on Delos enable us to form a fairly vivid picture of Roman life abroad: where people lived, how they related to people from other cultures, and – most importantly for our study – what their religious practices were. The cosmopolitanism of Delos created a fascinating religious atmosphere in which traditional Greek cults stood alongside those imported by foreign residents. Here I will address the question of how the Romans responded to the Delian environment – specifically, to what extent they adhered to their own religious traditions and to what extent they participated in Greek cults. As Strabo tells us, in 167/6 the Athenians took charge of the island, its inhabitants, and its cults.[5] Since Delos was, in the period in question, essentially an annex – albeit an idiosyncratic one – of the city of Athens, many of the cults to which the Romans were exposed were Attic, or at least "atticized."

As we saw in the last chapter, it is clear that from a fairly early date the Delian Apollo sanctuary, like that at Delphi, received visitors from Rome and elsewhere in Italy. The earliest Roman dedications on Delos date to the middle of the third century (see above, Ch. 1, p.14). Around the same time, in Alexandria, the poet Callimachus was writing his hymn to Delos – which attests to, and in turn contributed to, the renown of the island as a sacred

[4] Errington excludes Delos from consideration in his article on the process of acculturation among Roman residents in the East, on the grounds that "The social structure of the Delian community at this period [i.e. between 167 and 88] was...massively lop-sided, in the East quite unique and therefore totally atypical" (Errington 1988, 145). What he is referring to is the high proportion of Italian residents, which he thinks "outnumbered any remaining resident Delians and problably the resident Athenians as well." He bases that inference on the high proportion of Italians (as compared to Delians and Athenians) in the rosters of the Delian ephebeia. Native Athenians, however, are likely to have sent their sons to the well-established Athenian ephebeia, so Errington's method of judging the makeup of the Delian population is probably misleading. At any rate, in my view, the wealth of material from the island – a major outpost of Rome – cannot be ignored in a study of Romans and Athenian religion.

[5] Strabo 10.486 (quoted on the previous page).

location. Delos, in that period, was an independent state, and had been so since 314, when, in the course of the struggles among the successors of Alexander, she was freed from Athenian control. The regained independence of the Delians found expression, perhaps not surprisingly, in the maintenance of a high level of conservatism in both civic and religious matters. Adherence to religious traditions, manifested in the attention given to uniquely Delian cults, was particularly evident in the Delians' resistance to the importation of foreign cults – although Egyptian cults and festivals appeared at the end of the third century, due to the partial dependence of Delos on Ptolemy Soter.[6]

The second century, however, brought changes for Delos – and indeed for the entire Hellenistic world – as the Romans, drawn into a series of conflicts in the East, found themselves in a position to exert direct influence in Greek affairs. Delos was vitally affected by the shift in the power balance: in 167/6, in the aftermath of the third Macedonian war, the Roman senate declared Delos a free port and handed the island over to the Athenians, expelling the resident Delians from their home.[7] The nature of life on Delos radically changed in all respects, as the Athenians presence asserted itself. In terms of religion, one result of the new régime was the atticizing of religious life. While the Athenians respected Delian cults, they also introduced Attic

[6] See Bruneau 1970, 657-58 (on the religious conservativism of independent Delos) and Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 22 (on the role of Egyptian rulers on Delos).

[7] Polyb. 30.20; Livy 33.30; Strabo 9.411. The Athenians also received Lemnos and the territory of Haliartus. The islands of Imbros and Scyros came to them as well, either at this time or somewhat later (see Day 1942, 50). These donations were made partly out of gratitude for the loyalty of the ruling class at Athens amid anti-Roman sentiments earlier in the second century (Day 1942, 30); in the case of Delos, Rome had the additional motive of checking the expansion of Rhodian commerce in the Mediterranean (see also Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 25).

ones and held all the annual priesthoods.[8] Athens, however, did not enjoy complete autonomy on Delos, and the power of Rome continued to make itself felt in various aspects of life, including religious ones. When a Delian Sarapeion was closed by Athenian officials in 164 B.C., its priest took his grievance to the Roman senate, gaining through his appeal the reopening of the sanctuary.[9]

The Roman policy of 167/6 affected the course of Delian history in other ways as well. The grant of *ateleia* to the port of Delos was especially significant, as it paved the way for rapid growth in commerce and therefore in population. The prosperity of the island grew steadily over the remainder of the century, reaching its apogee around 129.[10] Among the many foreigners flocking to Delos were Romans, who settled there in such significant numbers that official inscriptions from Delos generally divide the population into "Athenians, Romans, and other foreigners."[11] Delos remained a thriving commercial center until she became entangled in the struggle between Mithridates and Rome; the Pontic sack suffered in 88 and an evacuation imposed by the forces of Mithridates three years later inaugurated a period of decline.[12] Although the subsequent restoration of the Agora of the Italians

[8] The Athenians celebrated Theseia on Delos in the second century (as we know from dedications *IDélos* 1951, 1952, 1955) and may have instituted the Atheniaia, a festival not known from the period of Delian independence (see *IDélos* 1504 of 146/5; *IDélos* 1953 of 138/7). For the priesthoods, see the tables of Bruneau 1970, 505-506.

[9] *IDélos* 1510; see also Gruen 1984, 106-7.

[10] See Ferrary 1980, 35 and the Strabo passage (10.486) cited at the beginning of this section (the *locus classicus* for the prosperity of Delos in this period).

[11] See Hatzfeld 1912, 104-7 for examples of inscriptions using this formula. The population of Delos in this period is difficult to estimate; Appian's account of the massacre on Delos in 87 B.C. (*Mith.* 28) has sometimes been taken to suggest a total population of about 20,000, but this is problematic (see Hatzfeld 1912, 119-20).

[12] The accounts of the sack of 88 in Appian (*Mith.* 28) and Pausanias (3.23.3-4) may contain exaggerated estimates of the extent of the destruction. On the evacuation of Delos by the forces of Mithridates, see Ferrary 1980, 36. Delos had in fact remained more or less neutral during the Mithridatic wars; the victorious Sulla visited the island after the first sack and provided for some rebuilding (Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 27).

(the center of the Italian *negotiatores*) and of various pieces of statuary indicate that the business community returned to Delos, at least to some extent, a second sack in 69 by pirates allied with Mithridates proved fatal. The latest inscription which speaks of "Romans living on Delos" dates to 54/53, and by the time Vergil wrote about the visit of Aeneas and his Trojan refugees to the Delian *templa dei saxo...structa vetusto*, even the sanctuary for which the island had been famous had fallen into disrepair.[13]

The ethnic diversity of the inhabitants of Delos naturally had repercussions for the religious life of the island. Many traditional Greek cults, such as those of Hera and Leto, were gradually abandoned in favor of cults more in keeping with the new cosmopolitan atmosphere on the island (such as those of the Egyptian gods).[14] Delos became a place which allowed for religious eclecticism; its inhabitants could continue to worship their own gods, while experimenting with foreign cults. Often the familiar and the unfamiliar were fused, and deities with similar associations were syncretized. In addition, deities sometimes took on new associations among foreign worshippers, as we see in the offering made by a Roman to the Graces in thanks for his recovered health.[15]

What was the Roman response to this eclectic and often exotic religious climate? Our evidence comes almost exclusively from archaeological finds on the island: the architectural remains of the meeting-places of the Italian community, the paintings which decorated the walls of

[13] Verg. *Aen.* 3.84. Delos was not completely abandoned, but it is clear that the commerce which had been the lifeblood of the island had moved to other ports; for the later history of Delos see Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 27-30.
[14] Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 45.
[15] *IDélos* 2449 (see Appendix I, XV).

private houses, and dedicatory inscriptions, both civic and cult-related.[16] The picture that emerges from these sources is one of a carefully organized Italian community, the religious life of which was dominated by several quasi-official associations. Since the Italians on Delos are best represented epigraphically by these organizations, I will discuss their religious activities first, and then look at the those of individuals.

The associations of Italians on Delos

Contemporary with the establishment of an Italian community of significant proportions on Delos was the formation of three Italian associations, each of which was dedicated to a specific deity and which probably also had some civic function. The influence of the Apolloniastai, Hermaistai, and Poseidoniastai, as the groups were known, is evident in the remains of the earliest meeting-place of the Italians, a large open square southeast of the main port of Delos.[17] The leaders (*magistreis*) of these associations, who tended to come from the most prominent Italian families on the island, contributed funds for buildings and dedications in the square throughout the third quarter of the second century B.C.[18] Especially active in this regard were the *magistreis* of the Hermaistai (dedicated, appropriately, to

[16] Since I am primarily concerned with the religious practices of Romans in residence abroad, I will not discuss here the numerous dedications made by Roman generals and other dignitaries who passed through Delos (such as T. Quinctius Flamininus and P. Scipio Africanus Minor, discussed above, Ch. 1, p. 16). These are discussed by Gruen 1984, 167-69. Many of the names are associated with the campaigns in Asia of 191-189 (A. Atilius Serranus, C. Livius Salinator, L. Aemilius Regillus, Cn. Manlius Vulso, Q Fabius Labeo) and with the third Macedonian war (Q. Marcius Philippus, Cn. Octavius).

[17] Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 166-168.

[18] Some of the *magistreis* in the inscriptions are designated as *liberti*, while others are clearly freeborn (see, e.g., the list of dedicants in *IDélos* 1732). These Italian associations seems to have been open to all *free* members of the Italian community; *servi* appear in inscriptions relating to the Competaliastai (see, e.g., *IDélos* 1771).

the patron god of merchants) and of the Apolloniastai.[19] The three associations on occasion made joint dedications.

By the end of the second century, these groups had the influence and the means to move their activities to a new location (to the north, near the Sacred Lake), commonly called the Agora of the Italians. This second agora, which was outfitted with new buildings and statuary, was indeed, to use to words of Hatzfeld, "une enclave italienne en terre grecque" – as the numerous inscriptions which speak of *Italikoi* would suggest.[20]

The square that had been vacated was soon reoccupied by another group of "Italians," or, rather, freedmen and slaves of Italians who were themselves, for the most part, of eastern origin. The Competaliastai, an association dedicated to the worship of the Lares Compitales, were prominent in the religious life of Delos from about 100 B.C. to the time of the first sack of Delos.[21] The Compitalia, the Latin festival from which the group took its name, was celebrated every year in late December or January at the crossroads, in honor of the patron gods of the community.[22] The rites associated with it seem to be represented in a series of paintings from houses on Delos.[23] The dedications of the Competaliastai, although they are more modest than those

[19] In Latin inscriptions from Delos these associations are always represented by their leaders, called *magistreis Mirquri Apollinis Neptuni* (*IDélos* 1753; *IDélos* 1751 gives *magistreis Neptunales*). The Hermaistai had six *magistreis*, the Apolloniastai six, and the Poseidoniastai four, but when the *magistreis* of all three groups acted together, they were twelve in number. It is unknown whether the *magistreis* of each association represented the entire community of Italian residents of Delos, or whether the groups had selective membership (Bruneau 1970, 586). The Hermaistai were, to judge by the dates and number of their dedications, "le plus ancien et le plus important de ces groupements" (Hatzfeld 1912, 169).

[20] Hatzfeld 1912, 118.

[21] There is no indication that the Competaliastai resurfaced after 85 B.C.; Hatzfeld suggests that its members, who were largely of eastern origin, may not have made an appropriate show of loyalty to Rome during the conflict with Mithridates and therefore may have been suppressed (Hatzfeld 1919, 345).

[22] On the Compitalia in Rome, see Latte 1960, 90-92.

[23] See M. Bulard, *La religion domestique dans la colonie italienne de Délos, d'après les peintures murales et les autels historiés* (Paris 1926).

of the Italian associations of freeborn men, are quite numerous, comprising roughly ten monuments with statues of various deities, including Pistis, Roma, Hercules, Zeus Eleutherios, and Dionysos.[24] These dedications are written in Greek. As Hatzfeld notes, "Le nom même de leur société, où un suffixe grec est accolé à un nom latin, et l'emploi exclusif du grec dans leur dédicaces, expriment bien le double caractère de ce groupement où des Orientaux, dans une île grecque, honorent une vieille divinité du Latium."[25]

In addition to the four groups discussed above were two "professional" associations of the sort that we commonly find in Rome, both of which made religious dedications to deities appropriate to their trades. The *oinopolai* – who are taken to have been Italians, on the basis of a Latin inscription from Delos referring to *vinarii* – honored Hermes, Dionysos, and Apollo, while the *elaiopolai* made dedications to Heracles and Hermes.[26]

Religious activities of the Italians on Delos

The religious activities of these six associations can be determined from inscriptions naming the donors of buildings, statues, and votives. In addition to the numerous inscriptions relating to the Italian associations we have an equally large body of dedications made by individuals. The dedications by Italians, whether in groups or as individuals, constitute the most important body of evidence for the question of Roman religious practices on Delos;

[24] *IDélos* 1761 (Pistis, who must represent Bona Fides here); 1763 (Roma); 1764 (Hercules); 1770 (Zeus Eleutherios and Dionysos); 1771 (bilingual dedication to Zeus Eleutherios/Jupiter Liber).
[25] Hatzfeld 1919, 344. There is one possible exception to the rule of Greek language in the dedications of this group. The four slaves and one freedman who made a joint bilingual dedication to Zeus Eleutherios/Jupiter Liber (*IDélos* 1771) were probably Competaliastai, although the inscription (in contrast to other dedications made by the group) does not identify them as such. The inscription was found in the Agora of the Competaliastai.
[26] The dedication of the *oinopolai* (called *vinarii* in Durrbach, *Choix* 142) is *IDélos* 1711; those of the *elaiopolai* (cf. *IDélos* 1712, which refers to *olearii*) are *IDélos* 1713 and 1714.

accordingly, I have provided a catalogue of both categories of dedications in Appendix I.

This material, however, presents problems of interpretation. First of all, how many dedicants are native Romans or Italians? The names of the dedicants are often written in a heavily abbreviated fashion, with the *gentilicium* and/or the ethnic *Romaios* omitted, so that it is impossible to distinguish a freeborn Roman from, say, a freedman of eastern origin – not to mention the many businessmen on Delos who came from Italian towns and were not, prior to the Social Wars, Roman citizens. The absence of the ethnic *Romaios* in a large percentage of the texts under consideration is itself meaningless; of the two dedications made to Artemis Soteira by the Roman Sp. Stertinius, one has the ethnic, while the other does not.[27] The real question is: How Roman, in fact, was the Italian community on Delos? As Hatzfeld notes, not all of the *negotiatores* from Italy were in fact "Romans" in the official sense; of the composition of the Italian settlement, he says "...les Romains proprement dits et même les gens du Latium n'en formaient...que la minorité, et la plupart de ces Italiens étaient, soit des Campaniens, des gens de Lucanie, du Brutium, et d'Apulie..., soit des Grecs de Sicile ou de l'Italie méridionale..."[28] Most telling is the way in which the community defined itself in Latin inscriptions: many dedications found in the Agora of the Italians speak of *Italicei*, but none speaks of *Romani*. Greek inscriptions, as was stated above, often contrast the resident *Romaioi* with the Athenians and "other foreigners" (see my n. 11 above); in these cases, however, it seems that the entire Italian community has been subsumed – whether for the sake of simplicity or because of a lack of understanding of Roman politics – under the

[27] *IDélos* 2378 and 2379.
[28] See Hatzfeld 1912, 132 and 1919, 361.

category of "Romans." There is, then, a certain amount of ambiguity in the epigraphical evidence, and this exacerbates the difficulty of deriving from it a picture of the religious practices of native Romans living on Delos.

Early this century, M. Bulard suggested that further information about the religion of the Italian community on Delos could be extrapolated from a series of paintings which date from about 125 B.C. to the time of the destruction of Delos and appear on altars and exterior walls of private houses.[29] Many of these clearly depict religious scenes. Because of certain Italian elements in these paintings – togas on men who appear to be religious officials, and some Latin inscriptions – Bulard took them as faithful representations of the private religious practices of the Italian residents of Delos.[30] Although many of his interpretations have been discredited, his work is valuable for having introduced the notion that some of the rituals associated with the Compitalia are depicted in these paintings.[31] Still, the iconography of the paintings is hardly unambiguous and often cannot be conclusively identified as "Roman" or "Greek" in inspiration. Thus, like the inscriptions, the Delian paintings (to which we will return shortly) can be problematic.

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[29] See Bulard 1926, a discussion of 27 painting "ensembles" from Delian houses. Around the same time Bulard published these paintings in the Delos excavation series (*E AD* IX). His ideas about them had been presented in a preliminary form in 1908 (*Peintures murales et mosaïques de Délos*).

[30] Bulard 1926, Ch. 1.

[31] See Bruneau 1970, 589-614 for a summary of the arguments that have been made for and against various points of Bulard's thesis. There are good reasons to reject Bulard's argument that one of the scenes commonly encountered in the paintings (men dressed in togas, standing before an altar) depicts the sacrifice of the *paterfamilias* to the Genius of the household. No women appear in these scenes, although they were allowed to assist at these sacrifices. The altars that carry the paintings are outside the house, unlike domestic altars of the Genius known from other places (e.g., Pompeii), and the figure identified by Bulard as the Genius does not hold the cornucopia as he does in Pompeiian representations. These scenes of *togati* most likely belong to the Compitalia, as do the scenes of the sacrifice of a pig that Bulard assigned to that celebration.

Further complicating the question of Roman participation in Greek cults on Delos is the fact that, as easterners and their religious influence proliferated on the island, many of the Greek cults lost some of their purely Hellenic elements and gained foreign ones, to an extent which is not easy to determine. For example, the Greek deity Zeus Hypsistos was gradually assimilated to the eastern Ba'al, so that the foundation of a sanctuary for him by a Roman (*IDélos* 2306) may say more about Romans and eastern religion than about Romans and Greek religion.[32] Not only is it difficult to define who the "Romans" are on Delos in the late Hellenistic period, but it becomes difficult to identify traditional Greek cults.

The archaeological evidence from Delos nonetheless reveals certain patterns of religious activity among the Italians. By looking at the dedications of the guilds and of individuals – the terms and language in which they are written, as well as the deities to whom they are addressed – we can deduce some of the general principles at work in this activity.[33]

1. Translation

Often the Roman residents of Delos appear merely to be translating the names of their native gods into the nearest Greek equivalent, then making offerings to the god in his or her Greek guise. The Roman Jupiter Liber, the patron god of freedmen (of whom there were many on Delos), was identified on the island with Zeus Eleutherios.[34] Italian dedications to him, however, cannot be taken to represent expressions of veneration for – or even an

[32] The inscription was originally published in *EAD* XI by the excavator A. Plassart, who thought that the disposition of the altars in the sanctuary was influenced by eastern traditions centered on Ba'al (p. 291).

[33] Numbers in parentheses in the text and notes below refer the reader to Appendix I, where the inscriptions under discussion are catalogued.

[34] See Appendix I, IXb (bilingual dedication, Δία Ἐλευθέριον and *Iovem Leiberum*).

understanding of – the Greek god, since Zeus Eleutherios in the Greek context pointed to the political freedom of a country, not to the social freedom of individuals.[35] On Delos, where there does not seem to have been a pre-existing cult of Zeus Eleutherios, the god was simply Jupiter Liber in translation. Likewise, the Greek gods Hermes and Poseidon, who did not have significant cults on Delos, must be standing in for Mercury and Neptune in the dedications by Italians. These two pairs of gods played different roles and were worshipped differently in their respective traditions, but were close enough for a simple translation to be made. Similarly, a Roman name appears on the only dedication we have to Hephaistos, a god who is not known to have had a cult on Delos and who clearly represents Vulcan here.[36] That Latin god is called by his Latin name in the inscription on the base of a statue dedicated by a group composed mostly of Italian freedmen.[37]

2. Assimilation

In other cases the Italians found already established on Delos gods who were familiar enough, in their attributes and functions, to be virtually interchangeable with Roman deities. This was the case, for example, with Zeus Ourios, who is identified with Jupiter Sequndanus in a bilingual dedication made jointly by the Hermaistai, Apolloniastai, and Poseidoniastai.[38] When members of the Italian mercantile community on Delos dedicate to Heracles/Hercules, they are assimilating their Italian god,

[35] Thuc. 2.71.2 (after Plataea the Greeks sacrifice to Zeus Eleutherios in thanks for liberation from the threat of foreign oppression).
[36] See Appendix I, XIV, dedication of L. Plotius (a base that still supports the lower part of a statue of the god with his anvil). I would agree with Roussel (1916, 274-275) that "il s'agit, ce semble, de l'ancien dieu latin, et non point de son équivalent hellénique."
[37] *IDélos* 2440 (Latin inscription addressed *Volcani*).
[38] See Appendix I, Xa (bilingual dedication *Iovei Sequndano* and Διὶ Οὐρίωι). Six other dedications to Zeus Ourios are known, none of which contain Roman names.

whom they honored for his associations with commerce, to the Greek Heracles, long established on the island but connected primarily with the gymnasium and the ephebate.[39] This kind of assimilation was naturally a prominent feature of the religious life of Italians on Delos, in part, no doubt, because foreigners living abroad inevitably make associations (whether consciously or not) between the unfamiliar and the familiar. Even more important, however, is the influence of the Greek pantheon on the Roman one; quite early on, various indigenous Italian deities had been assimilated to Greek deities in various ways, so that the associations of the sort found on Delos were anticipated and facilitated. In fact, many Roman and Greek deities were so closely associated that in the case of the inscriptions and paintings from Delos it is often difficult to determine the "nationality" of gods.

Thus, an Italian dedication written in Greek, calling the deity by his Greek name, cannot be taken as definitive evidence for worship of a Greek god or for participation in Greek cults. In most cases, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the Italian dedicants on Delos merely assimilated their own gods to those familiar to, and worshipped by, others among the island's population. Although Apollo was the patron god of Delos, there is nothing to suggest that the numerous dedications to him by Italians were not made with their native Apollo in mind. As we emphasized in the last chapter, this was a god already present and sanctioned in Italy. Although it is not possible to know what was in the minds of individual Italian dedicants on Delos, we

[39] For the Italian Hercules and his associations with merchants, see Latte 1960, 215-216. The Italian dedications on Delos: Appendix I, IVa (in both Heracles is paired with Hermes, clearly as a patron of merchants); IVb; IVc (bilingual, *Hercolei* and Ἡρακλεῖ); IVd; IVe. On the cult of Heracles on Delos, see Bruneau 1970, 399-412.

should note that in this case an assimilation could easily be made.[40]

3. Eclecticism

The ethnic diversity of the population of Delos meant, in terms of religion, that a wide variety of foreign cults existed on the island. As the Athenians on Delos adopted a position of great tolerance vis-à-vis such cults, giving them official recognition, there were many opportunities for religious involvement outside of one's native community.[41] The lively interest of Romans in eastern cults, particularly those of Egypt and Syria, is amply attested by epigraphical and archaeological finds from Delos.[42]

Among the individual Italian dedications catalogued above are several to deities who appear to be purely Greek – that is, who are not assimilated to their Roman counterparts (if one exists) or are local gods. The dedication of a χαριστήριον to Demeter and Kore (Appendix I, XIII), notable as one of the few dedications by a Roman woman, may refer to the goddesses of the Attic cult at Eleusis, which was gaining popularity among Romans in the late second and early first centuries B.C. (see Chapter Three).[43] There are two dedications to Zeus Kynthios, a local deity who took his name from the mountain on which his sanctuary was located (Appendix I, XXIIa-b). And, if the reading of Roussel in *IDélos* is correct, a "Gaius Fabius, son of Gaius, a Roman" founded

[40] Bruneau (1970, 248) is probably correct to suggest that we should take a similar view of Athena, but he expresses this with more confidence than the evidence warrants ("Les Romains vénèrent evidemment sous le nom d'Athéna leur Minerve nationale.") A fragment of an altar (Appendix I, II) with the words οἱ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν may have been dedicated by the Hermaistai, but the attribution is uncertain. The name Minerva appears in a Latin graffito scrawled on an altar of Poseidon Nauklarios (*IDélos* 2483): *C. N(e)rius Eros Apolline et Iovei et Neptuno Minerva(e) - - - Mercurio.*

[41] Hatzfeld 1919, 361-62.

[42] For Roman involvement in eastern cults, see Baslez 1977 (*passim*, but in particular the prosopographical index on pp. 315-94)

[43] This dedication could also, of course, be a case of simple translation, since there was a cult of Ceres at Rome.

on Mount Kynthos a sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos, who, to judge by the arrangement of the sanctuary, was probably assimilated to an eastern god such as Ba'al.[44] Another Fabius, possibly related to Gaius, made a dedication in another, unidentified Zeus sanctuary on Kynthos (*IDélos* 2316). A dedication κατὰ πρόσταγμα was made to the Moirai by a M. Orbius, the son (or possibly freedman) of the L. Orbius who appears in other Delian inscriptions as a *magister* of one of the Italian associations.[45]

Religious eclecticism among Romans is most strikingly manifested in the dedications by Sp. Stertinius, who lived on Delos at the end of the second century. In addition to his active involvement with eastern cults, particularly those of the Egyptian gods, Stertinius made dedications to both major and minor Greek deities. His two dedications to Artemis Soteira are both worthy of note. One (Appendix I, XIIa) indicates domestic cult practice, as it was found *in situ* in a niche in a private house; the other (XIIb), a carved relief with a text beneath, depicts Artemis as Artemis Phosphoros.[46] Stertinius' dedication of an altar ornamented with bulls' heads and garlands to the Graces (XV) is striking, as it honors the Graces as healing deities. A dedication to the Minoides, nymphs of a local fountain (XX), completes our picture of the religious activities of Stertinius, summed up by Bruneau as "(la) piété éclectique d'un étranger."[47]

Characters such as Stertinius were clearly the exception, however, and

[44] I do not include this inscription in my appendix; see Bruneau 1970, 241 (in support of the reading of Roussel).
[45] Cf. *IDélos* 1742 and 1743 (Latin inscriptions naming L. Orbius) and Hatzfeld 1912 (s.v. *Orbii*).
[46] Bruneau 1970, pl. I.6 (photograph of *IDélos* 2379). The depiction of Artemis in this relief closely resembles others on Delos in which she is explicitly identified as "Phosphoros;" the goddess wears a chiton and boots, holds a torch in each hand, and is accompanied by a dog.
[47] Bruneau 1970, 661.

not the rule. There seems to have been no consistent pattern of Roman participation in Greek cults on Delos. Although one can point to isolated instances of Roman worship of Greek deities, there are also many examples of prominent Roman residents of Delos who seem to have remained aloof from both Greek and eastern cults.[48] Most of the Italian *negotiatores*, it seems, continued to worship their own gods – whether under Greek names or under Latin ones (as we see in the dedication of a small temple to Venus Victrix by Cn. Babullius).[49] The Delian hero cult of Anios received – to judge by the epigraphical record, at least – no attention from the Romans, although Anius figures in the legend of Aeneas.[50] Certain of the classical Greek cults of Delos went into decline in the late second and early first centuries, and apparently did not appeal to Romans; to the cults of Hera and Leto, which I have already mentioned, may be added that of Poseidon, whose dedications in the period of Athenian domination die out completely.[51]

A picture of Roman religion on Delos is in a sense encapsulated in the paintings that decorated the walls and altars of private homes. Let us take, for example, the figure of Heracles/Hercules, who appears in six paintings, often in the attitude of guarding the door. Bulard, as we have said, saw these representations as purely Italian. As Bruneau points out, however, all depictions are subject to the interpretation of the viewer, so that the freedmen Competaliastai might see the Greek Heracles Alexikakos where a freeborn Roman might see Hercules Tutor. For Bruneau, Heracles/Hercules is "un cas intéressant d'une sorte de *koiné religieuse délienne*" (italics are mine).[52] The

[48] Hatzfeld 1919, 361.
[49] See *IDélos* 2392 (the dedication of Babullius).
[50] Bruneau 1970, 413. Cf. Verg.*Aen.* 3.80 (*Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos*).
[51] Bruneau 1970, 266.
[52] Bruneau 1970, 412.

phrase is an apt one for the religion of the Italian *negotiatores*. The nature of Delos in the period of Roman habitation allowed for great freedom in religious practice. One could experiment with foreign cults (and, as we have seen, some Romans did so) and freely make associations between native gods and foreign ones. The latter response, it seems, was the more common. The Romans on Delos were, to be sure, surrounded by Greek images, and perhaps even commissioned works with Greek iconography; in general, however, they did not do so with a view to participation in Greek cults.

Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of the religious activities of the *Romaioi* is their formation into organizations, each devoted to the worship of a specific deity (although, as the dedications show, they honored a variety of gods). The prominence of the names of the six associations in the Delian dedications can be taken, I think, as a fairly accurate reflection of their prominence in other aspects of island life. These groups, nominally religious in nature, must have played an important social role as well, facilitating the adaptation of the community of *Romaoi* to the unusual and cosmopolitan atmosphere on Delos. This is particularly important to keep in mind since all of the organizations included freedmen, who, because of their low social status (and perhaps because of their chosen profession, if they were slave-traders), may have been seeking respectability in the larger community. Positions of leadership in these quasi-official organizations (i.e., those held by the *magistreis*), which we know were often held by freedmen, would provide ready-made connections not only to the Athenian officals of the island but perhaps also to prominent upper-class Romans.

2. Roman participation in the Athenian ephebeia

Iuventutis vero exercitatio quam absurda in gymnasiis!
Quam levis epheborum illa militia!
Quam contrectationes et amores soluti et liberi!

But how absurd the training of the youths in the gymnasia is!
How silly that so-called "military service" of the ephebes!
What immoral and licentious trysts and affairs!
Cicero, *De re publica* 4.4 (Scipio speaks)

From Athenian-controlled Delos, where we have observed a lively Roman community and its response to Greek cults on the island, we move now to Athens itself. We move too from consideration of specific cults to an examination of an institution with implications including, but also reaching beyond, religious concerns: namely, the Athenian ephebeia. Epigraphical evidence from the second and first centuries B.C. records the enrollment of Roman youths in this program, which combined military training with religious and other civic duties, and it will be useful for us to inquire into several aspects of the phenomenon. What is the nature of, and what are the limitations of, the evidence for Roman involvement? Were these true Romans, or young men who merely bore a Roman name? Can we trace the ancestry of individual Roman ephebes with any degree of precision? And most importantly, what did membership in the Athenian ephebeia mean for Romans in terms of participation in Athenian religious life?

On Delos, foreigners gained entry into the ephebia at some point during the decade beginning in 150 B.C.[53] Jon Mikalson has identified changes in Athenian religion which, he argues, bear the stamp of the "Delian experience;"[54] the admittance of non-Athenians to the Athenian ephebate

[53] Pélékidis 1962, 189.
[54] Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (forthcoming).

may belong to the same movement, as it was later in the second century that Athens began to allow foreigners to join her own ephebe corps. The precise date of the change is uncertain, since the epigraphical record provides a picture that is far from complete, but non-Athenians were on the roll of ephebes by 123/2 B.C.; an ephebic inscription for that year gives a total of 127 young men, 14 of whom are listed separately, under the rubric ΞENOI.[55] While the numbers of *xenoi* are quite low in the second century B.C. (in comparison with those of Athenians), in subsequent centuries foreigners comprise a significant part of the ephebic roster, often outnumbering the Athenians. In the late third century A.D. – four centuries after gaining admission to the ephebeia – foreigners were still enrolling in the institution, and foreign names figure among those listed in the latest extant ephebic inscriptions.[56]

Among the fourteen *xenoi* enrolled in 123/2 B.C., the first year in which we have evidence for foreigners in the corps, were four Romans, identified only by their *praenomina* and the designation Ῥωμαῖος. The extant ephebic lists provide evidence for twenty-two more Ῥωμαῖοι over the course

[55] For the dating, see Reinmuth 1972, 186, which corrects information given in his earlier study of foreigners in the Athenian ephebeia; at that time he believed that 119/8 was the first year in which foreigners were admitted (Reinmuth 1929, 15). A complete text of the 123/2 inscription appears at Reinmuth 1972, 187-91; this text postdates the discovery that *IG* II² 1006 (which provides the date of 123/2, but does not contain any foreign names) joins with *IG* II² 1031 (a fragment containing Roman and other foreign names which had previously been assigned [Reinmuth 1929, 18] to the decade beginning in 90 B.C.).

The rubric ΞENOI seems to have been standard in public ephebic inscriptions of the period under consideration, but does not appear in private inscriptions (in which Athenian and foreign names are mixed together) or in official texts of the first century B.C. on; see Follet 1988, 20.

[56] Cf. *IG* II² 2245 and *SEG* 33.158, which are generally agreed to be the latest ephebic inscriptions; for the relative dating, see the notes accompanying the text in *SEG*. There are no foreigners attested for the 123 years between 39/8 B.C. and A.D. 84/5. Since this is a period in which the epigraphical record in general all but falls silent, yielding only a few inscriptions relating to ephebic enrollments, it is difficult to know what significance to attach to the available statistics for the ephebate in the first century of the Roman principate.

of the next eighty years: one in 119/8, two in 117/6, five in 108/7, two in 101/0, and finally, five in 39/8 (see Appendix II).[57] Rome sent far more young men than any other city in the west (only three other Italian ephebes are attested, and their presence is perhaps less striking because they come from two of the most Greek cities in Italy, Naples and Tarentum)[58] and in comparison with cities in the East, "is surpassed only by Miletus in the number of youths sent to Athens for ephebic training."[59]

Who were these Ῥωμαῖοι? Were they sons of Roman parents, brought up in Rome and sent abroad for their education? Or were they sons of Roman parents already living abroad, that is, foreign residents of Athens?

It was common practice in this period for Romans to avail themselves of the educational opportunities in Athens opened to them by the Roman conquests in Greece; there are countless examples of well-to-do young men who flocked to Athens for rhetorical, literary and philosophical study. By the time Romans begin to appear on the ephebe lists, the military side of the Athenian ephebeia had been de-emphasized to such an extent that the institution was in many ways analogous to a liberal arts college. The ephebeia, however, does not seem to have been a popular choice for young

[57] 119/8: *IG* II² 1008.128; 117/6: *IG* II² 1009.107 and 109; 108/7: *IG* II² 1011.93, 98, 102, 108, 111; 101/0: *IG* II² 1028.157 (two names); ca. 45: *IG* II² 1965.33, 52-54, 65, 67, 68; 39/8: *IG* II² 1043.104, 111, 115, 119, 121. It is possible that one more should be added to this number, depending upon how we interpret a fragmentary catalogue from Athens belonging to the middle of the first century B.C. (see Follet 1988, 27. *IG* II² 2463, a private inscription originally dated to 50 B.C., lists 17 Athenians and foreigners who are probably ephebes (including "Marcus Granius [son of] Marcus, a Roman"). Three of these names are duplicated in *IG* II² 1961, an ephebic catalogue dated to ca. 45 B.C. by M.L. Lazzarini (Lazzarini 1985, 34-54). If these lists in fact belong to the same year, Marcus Granius of *IG* II² 2463 may be identical to the Marcus of *IG* II² 1961 (in which case adding him to the total number of Romans would be counting him twice). Follet (28), who tallies a possible total of 28 Roman ephebes, includes (with some doubt) "Gaius Castricius Alexandrus" of *IG* II² 3730, for whom no ethnic or demotic is given; I think it unlikely that he was a native Roman and do not include him in my total.

[58] Naples sent one ephebe in 108/7 (*IG* II² 1011); Naples and Tarentum sent one apiece in 101/0 (*IG* II² 1028).

[59] Reinmuth 1929, 20.

Romans doing a "term abroad;" such youths would probably be found on the rolls of private schools of philosophy and rhetoric. The Roman participants in the ephebeia, as Baslez points out, were most likely sons of Romans who were resident foreigners in Athens.[60] We should note here that since Romans in Hellenistic Athens did not, as on Delos, form solely Roman or Italian associations for religious, social, or business purposes, they probably had greater reason than their Delian compatriots to assimilate to Athenian practices.

Onomastic study is of some use in determining the background of the Roman participants in the ephebeia, but the ephebic lists present certain problems.[61] Among the youths designated as "Romans" in the lists (see Appendix II) are seven for whom a *nomen gentilicium* is preserved, giving

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[60] Baslez 1984, 324. It is also likely that some of the Athenian ephebes (native Athenians as well as foreigners) were from families actually residing on Delos (Day 1942, 74).

[61] Each entry in the ephebic lists generally has three components: name (for the Romans, the *praenomen*), patronymic (for Romans, genitive of father's *praenomen*), and demotic (for Romans, the ethnic Ῥωμαῖος). With one exception, all of the Roman youths and their fathers have one of the following *praenomina*: Aulus, Decimus, Gaius, Lucius, Marcus, Publius, Tiberius, and Titus (the exception is "Androtimos [son of] Lucius, a Roman" of *IG* II² 1011.98, 107/6 B.C., whose Greek name suggests that his father's Roman *praenomen* is an assumed one).

My discussion of Romans in the Athenian ephebeia deals only with ephebes whose names are accompanied by the ethnic Ῥωμαῖος, as Roman *praenomina* are not in themselves a reliable indicator of nationality. Roman *praenomina* are fairly common among Athenians and other foreigners in the ephebic rosters (see, for example, Γάιος Μαάρκου Μελ[ιτεύς], *IG* II² 1006.122 and [Γ]άιος Γαίου Πειραιεύς, 107; here both ephebe and father have Roman *praenomina* but an Athenian demotic). Most of these must be native Athenian youths whose families had adopted Roman names. Another possibility, however, is that we are dealing with Roman youths whose fathers had managed to enroll themselves in the roster of an Athenian deme and are therefore identified by a demotic instead of the ethnic Ῥωμαῖος. M. J. Osborne notes that "throughout the second century, so far as can be established, the Athenians had displayed a tendency to grant citizenship to wealthy traders and merchants," and determines on the basis of the ephebic lists that by the late second century "a number of the demesmen listed were in fact naturalized citizens." (Osborne 1983, III/IV 105-106). Given that, our task of establishing statistics for the participation of Romans in the ephebeia becomes much more difficult, as it is impossible to distinguish Greeks who had adopted Roman names from Romans who had become a member of an Athenian deme. In short, there may have been more ephebes of Roman origin than the numbers of Ῥωμαῖοι suggest.

us some hope of tracing ancestry.[62] In most cases we can do no more than to identify certain *gentiles* who are known to have been active in the Greek world in the relevant period and may have some connection to the ephebe in question.[63] In one case, however, it is possible to make a specific identification. "Publius Granius (son of) Publius, a Roman" (*IG* II² 1043.111, 39/8 B.C.) was very likely a son of the Publius Granius who appears in Cicero as a witness for the prosecution at the trial of Verres.[64] The elder Publius, a businessman in the coastal trading center Puteoli, apparently had extensive dealings in the Greek world; Cicero describes the treatment that the freedmen employed by this Publius received from Verres when they landed in Sicily, and contact with Delos is suggested by an inscription recording a dedication to Hermes and Maia, which was set up in the forum on Delos by a P. Granius and other men who appear to be freedmen.[65] The elder Publius had a nephew who fought on Caesar's side at Dyrrachium in 48, and it is not unlikely that his own son would have been of a suitable age to enroll in the ephebe corps of 39/8. The *gens Grania*, or at least this particular branch, seems to have

[62] *Gentilicia* appear in *IG* II² 1009 of 117/6 (Valerius, l.109), *IG* II² 1961 of ca.45 (Cornelius, l.56; Vettius, l.57; Annius, l.58; Licinius, l.72), and *IG* II² 1043 of 39/8 (Terentius, l.104; Granius, l.111).

[63] As, for example, "Lucius Valerius (son of) Aulus of Rome," an ephebe of 117/6; although the Valerii, who figured among the *gentes maiores* of Rome and were extremely active politically throughout their history (see Mittelhaus, *RE* , s.v. Valerius, and the index of careers of Valerii in Broughton, *MRR* II 628-31), no record of the career of Aulus Valerius, the father of our ephebe, survives to inform us about his connection to Athens. The lack of a patronymic for "Marcus Terentius, a Roman" (39/8) makes it virtually impossible to establish a possible connection with other members of his *gens* for whom we have some information. There were Terentii who were active in the Greek world in this period – among them another Marcus Terentius (with the *cognomen* Varro), whose name appears in an inscription found in the archive of the temple of Asclepios in Mytilene (*IG* XII 2,35, a text relating to an alliance between Rome and Mytilene) – but no specific identification can be made.

[64] Cic. *Verr.* 5.154. The identifications presented here are those found in *RE* (s.v. Granius, nrs. 2, 5-7)

[65] See, for Sicily, Cic. *Verr.* 5.154 and, for Delos, *CIL* III Suppl. 14203.4. Freedmen have in place of the patronymic the *praenomina* of their patrons; this P. Granius, for example, is listed as ΠΟΠΛΙΟΣ ΓΡΑΝΙΟΣ ΑΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ.

maintained close ties with the Greek world throughout its history. A fragmentary catalogue of names from Athens which may be part of an ephebic inscription (*IG* II² 2463; see n. 57), places a "Marcus Granius (son of) Marcus of Rome" in Athens in the year 50 B.C., and a late Republican or early Augustan inscription from Lebene on Crete (*SIG*² 805) records the gratitude of another Publius Granius to Asclepios for his cure. Even as late as the Antonine period, we find in Puteoli a civic leader by the name Publius Granius who bears the *cognomen* Atticus.[66]

We have no hope, of course, of tracing the nineteen Ῥωμαῖοι for whom no *nomen* is preserved. I cannot speak to the question of why *nomina gentilicia* are given only in certain instances; it may be that name was felt to be worth recording if the Roman was of a particularly distinguished *gens* or if the father was a well-known personage in Athens. We need not, however, take the absence of a *gentilicium* as a meaningful indicator of status – that is, of obscure parentage or low social rank. Given the elite nature of the ephebeia and the eagerness of Roman aristocrats of the time to obtain a Greek education for their sons – and given our ability to prove the *Romanitas* of certain of the ephebes in question by tracing their family background – I think it safe to assume that the Ῥωμαῖοι were young men from well-to-do Roman families. From the standpoint of the Athenian administrators of the ephebeia, "public relations" interests would certainly be much better served by the enrollment of sons of prominent Romans. There appears to be no compelling reason to doubt that the Ῥωμαῖοι of the Athenian ephebeia were from families of some standing in Rome or Athens.

[66] See *CIL* X 1783, which records the roll of dignitaries at a local meeting.

The nature of the Athenian ephebeia in the late Hellenistic period

If we accept, then, that in several cases at least we are dealing with "true" Romans, we can begin to look at what they were doing during their stay in Athens. Requisite to an appreciation of the significance of Roman participation in the ephebeia is a general understanding of the institution itself: what the program involved, what role it played in Athenian life, and how it evolved over the course of its history. I present here a brief overview, with particular attention to the religious issues which are the focus of this study.

The impetus to establish a compulsory training program for young men seems to have its origins in the military inadequacy which Athens was forced to recognize after the debacle at Chaironeia in 338. Athens had proved to be no match for the Macedonian machine; moreover, she was now in a position of subservience to a foreign ruler. The ephebate, if its establishment indeed belongs to this period, is a measure uniquely suited to climate of the time in two ways. First, by requiring a program of organized military training of Athenian youths, it would improve Athens' position vis-à-vis her enemies. And second, because it provided an introduction to other major state institutions – religious ones chief among them – the system would acculturate the ephebes in those aspects of life that were at the heart of Athenian self-identity, in a period when that must have seemed in danger of becoming obscured. The ephebic training provided a special kind of education about Athens, for Athenians – only young men whose parents could prove Athenian citizenship were admitted.

It is clear, then, that the early Athenian ephebeia was inextricably

linked to, and addressed specific concerns of, that city; it is equally clear that as Athens' own situation changed over time, so must the ephebeia. Antipater's innovations relating to property qualifications for citizenship (322/1) diminished the numbers of potential ephebes, and by the end of the fourth century the program was no longer compulsory and its duration was reduced from two years to one. An important modification to the ephebeia occurred once it became clear to Athens that military preparedness need no longer rank high among her priorities, particularly after she became subject to Rome in 146/5. About this time the military training which had been the backbone of the ephebeia was de-emphasized and the program became more of a course of study, with training in literature and philosophy coming to the fore.

Religious activities of the ephebes

Accompanying these changes in the nature of the ephebeia – the abandonment of rigorous military training in favor of the teaching of other subjects – was another change, which is of particular relevance to our study. This was an increase in the emphasis on religion. Although there is no evidence to indicate that religious activities were prominent in the early ephebeia, it is clear that in the late Hellenistic period participation in Athenian cults was an integral part of the program. Throughout their ephebic service, the youths were actively involved in the religious life of Athens, often playing prominent important roles in some the most important cults of the city. Our understanding of the ephebes' regular activities derives largely from a set of inscriptions covering most of the period with which we are concerned (127/6 to 98/7), decrees in which the ephebes and ephebic officials of the previous year are honored by the state for the

successful discharge of their duties. One is struck, upon reading these decrees, by the great emphasis given to religion.

An examination of a representative decree (see Appendix III for a translation of the relevant passage) provides the following insights into the role of religion in the Athenian ephebeia. Of the twenty-six entries in the decree relating to the regular activities of the ephebes, seventeen involve some kind of cult participation. The ephebes were particularly active at Eleusis, both for the Mysteries, where they joined in the procession (number 2 in the translation), took an active role in the sacrifice afterwards (3), and made a dedication to Demeter and Kore (3), and at other Eleusinian celebrations (like the Proerosia, where they assisted at the sacrifice [3]) and games (3). In two instances they were entrusted with the task of "escorting" gods, as when they "joined in leading Pallas to Phaleron and back again" (5) and "brought Dionysos...into the theater" (6). At the important festival of the City Dionysia they also participated in the procession and sacrificed a bull (6), the same role which they fulfilled in the festival for Athena Nike (8). The ephebes are said to have "continually sacrificed" (16) during their term, and indeed we find them doing so on a number of specific occasions: at the Diogeneia (8), at the Galaxia (15), to Amphiaraos (18), to Zeus Tropaios (19), at the Mounichia and Diisoteria (21), and at the Aianteia (22). We find them too in a number of sacred processions, in addition to those I have already mentioned: for the festivals of Artemis Agrotera (1), Athena Nike (7), and the Theoi Megaloi (20), as well as for the Aianteia (22). The ephebes were frequently called upon to exhibit athletic prowess, in races (Epitaphia, 13) and sailing (Theoi Megaloi, 20; Mounichia, 21; Diisoteria, 21; Aianteia, 22).

This background is crucial for an understanding of the significance of

Roman participation in the ephebeia. Although some of the changes in the ephebic program – such as the decreased emphasis on military training and the decision to admit foreigners to the corps - might have made the ephebeia less nationalistic in tone, this is clearly not the case with the religous activities of the participants. In fact, attention to cults of special significance to Athens or to Athenian history, far from being de-emphasized, appears to have been at a very high level in the late Hellenistic period. Jon Mikalson has observed that the celebrations in which the ephebes take part, aside from being extremely traditional, have in numerous cases a nationalistic significance and seem to be part of an attempt to re-create, or at least pay homage to, Athens' glorious past. Many of these festivals, he argues, were old institutions which had fallen into desuetude and were revived by the Athenians in Hellenistic times, perhaps as part of a celebration of independence after 229.[67] By the period with which we are concerned, the greatest military achievement of the Athenians, their victory over the Persians in the fifth century, was commemorated by the ephebes on four separate occasions each year.[68] Past military glories were also evoked in the Epitaphia, a festival honoring those who sacrificed their lives for Athens, and in the festival for Athena Nike, to which a new component, not attested in the fifth century, seems to have been added by the time of ephebic decrees after 122/1. The ephebes' visit to the Amphiaraion at Oropos amounted to an assertion of Athens' claim to the sanctuary, which had at one point passed out of her hands. The Theseia, at which the ephebes made a "display in weapons," is of obvious nationalistic

[67] Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (forthcoming).

[68] These were "the Aianteia on Salamis, the offering to Zeus Tropaios, the offering at the tomb of the war dead of the battle of Marathon, and the procession for Artemis Agrotera on the occasion of the annual sacrifice vowed at that same battle" (Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*).

significance, as it commemorated the *synoikistes* of Attica; this festival, too, seems to have been revived after a period of dormancy, as an optimistic expression of renewed unity.

The patriotic spirit that is evident in these revived celebrations, interesting in itself in terms of the history of Greek religion, adds an intriguing dimension to the issue of foreign participation in the ephebeia. I can adduce no suitable parallel for foreign participation in a program clearly designed to inculcate national pride, largely through religious activities. One wonders about the impact that this religous "tour of duty" would have had on young Romans: To what extent did they approach it in a spirit of piety? What connections did they make in their own minds between Athenian cults and those with which they were familiar at home? And how much of their experience abroad did they take back to Rome? These questions are of course impossible to answer, and we can only say that the ephebic inscriptions from Athens provide evidence that at least as early as 123/2 Romans were actively participating in Athenian cults in the manner described above, and that they continued to do so as late as 39/8. It has long been recognized that Romans of the second and first centuries B.C. were interested in what Athens had to offer in terms of broadly defined "cultural" opportunities; the case of the Roman ephebes shows that at least some Romans became closely familiar with the religious and historical traditions of the city as well.

3. Romans and indigenous Athenian cults in Athens

The Athenian ephebeia, as we have seen, was an exclusive institution, open mainly to members of an elite class, and so it provides only limited information about the activities of the Romans living in Athens. In the late second and early first centuries, there was in fact a large and diverse Roman population in Athens, the composition of which appears to have been similar to that on Delos – at least, a comparison of the most common *nomina gentilicia* implies that many of the *Romaioi* living in one place had relatives in the other.[69] Like Delos, Athens had a colony of "Roman" *negotiatores* and others. It is difficult to establish much beyond the presence of this community, given the sketchy nature of the testimonia, but two dedicatory inscriptions allow some insight into religious activities of the *negotiatores* active in Athens during the late second/early first century B.C. One of these is connected with the sanctuary at Eleusis and will be discussed in the context of my survey of Roman involvement with the Eleusinian Mysteries (Chapter Three); the other is dealt with briefly below.

It is a dedication in Latin "to Aesculapius and Valetudo" by one Lucius Aufidius Bassus, who must be related to the two Aufidii Bassi familiar from inscriptions on Delos and known to have been bankers on the island.[70] The healing god had been a fixture in Rome since he was imported in 293 in response to an epidemic sweeping through the city. The cult of Aesculapius, as the Romans called him, was one of the strongest representations of Hellenism in Roman religion: the god had been officially fetched from his

[69] Hatzfeld 1919, 42 (and notes 1-13).

[70] *IG* II² 4478 = *CIL* III 7279. Above the text of the Latin dedication is a notice in Greek giving the name of the hoplite general of the year. For the other Aufidii Bassi see Hatzfeld 1919, 43 (and n. 3).

sanctuary at Epidauros and his temple on the Tiber island may have been served by Greek priests.[71] Asklepios was, in other words, one of the Greek gods with whom a Roman could easily relate, on the basis of his own experiences at home. Aesculapius at Rome – essentially a Greek god who had not been Romanized to any great extent after his introduction into the city – had quickly become a familiar and popular deity among the Romans. Thus a Roman's dedication to the healing god at Athens can hardly be taken as a specific expression of interest in an Athenian cult, particularly given that the inscription was written in Latin. Rather, it illustrates a principle that we saw at work among Roman residents of Delos: the tendency to make connections with gods and cults that were familiar to them from home.

[71] Livy 10.47.6-7; Livy *Per.* 11; Val. Max. 1.8.2; Nep.*Vir. Ill.* 22.1-3; Ovid *Met.* 15.626-744). See also Latte 1960, 246-248. This was really the first example, as Gruen points out, of "overt public transfer of a Greek cult" to Rome (Gruen 1992, 229).

Conclusions

Given that the cult of Eleusis and Athenian festivals have been left aside for the next chapter, there is not a great deal of evidence for interest or involvement in indigenous Athenian cults among the general population of *Romaioi* in Athens and on Delos. The "Roman" residents of Delos, as we have seen, did not participate in the Greek religious life of the island in any consistent or significant way. When they did make dedications to Greek gods, they seem to have been worshipping their own gods in a foreign guise. Although there is only scant evidence for Athens, there is nothing to suggest that the situation there was radically different.

The Roman youths who participated in the Athenian ephebic program, on the other hand, received extensive exposure to the native cults of the city – but the ephebeia must be treated as a special case, for several reasons. Because it was an elite institution, the Romans who participated in it cannot be taken as representative of the population at large. In addition, there is no indication that the program of religious participation involved in the program served in any way as an inducement for Romans to enroll their sons in it. It is likely that the institution was attractive because of its prestige and its perceived educational value, and that the religious side of it was accepted as part of the package. Still, regardless of the motives behind Roman participation, the end result is extremely significant for us, since through the ephebeia many generations of Romans became closely familiar with Athenian cults, particularly those of historical and nationalistic importance.

The questions of what lay behind Roman participation in the ephebeia, and what was gained by that participation, can be more fruitfully approached from the Athenian perspective. For them, Roman involvement in this

program offered a useful and significant means of civic assimilation – that is, a way of making resident Romans more Athenian. The prominence of the religious element in the ephebeia only increased its usefulness and significance in that respect. As we said in the last chapter in connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Panathenaia, religious traditions – of the sort that were emphasized in the activites of the ephebes – were an essential part of Athenian self-definition and, therefore, of the image that the Athenians wished to present to the outside world.

❦ CHAPTER THREE ❦

Passing through: Roman travelers and visitors

The inevitable by-product of increased Roman habitation in the Greek world was a rise in Roman travel, both for business and pleasure. The Roman businessman returning to his home on Delos, the magistrate on his way to take up a post in Asia Minor, the student heading to Rhodes for school – all had occasion, during their long journeys, to visit sites on the Greek mainland. And many had the inclination to do so. Athens, with her rich cultural history, was naturally a focal point of much of this activity. It was not uncommon for Romans to make extended visits to Athens, whether for work or leisure: to make business deals and contacts in that part of the world, to take advantage of the opportunities for philosophical and other studies, or simply to relax in isolation from Rome.

This group, both in composition and in situation, has much in common with that studied in the last chapter. I think, however, that the "traveler and visitor" category deserves separate mention, on the assumption that a person who has taken up residence in a foreign land behaves and reacts somewhat differently from one who is passing through for a few weeks. The difficulty, of course, lies in distinguishing between the two in the sources. When, as often, we have only a name to go on, there is no way of telling whether the person in question spent ten years or ten days in Athens.

I devote this chapter to Athenian institutions which are known to have been widely popular among Romans: the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Athenian city festivals and games. These events were certainly frequented by Roman residents of Athens, but also attracted Romans who were passing

through. Participation in such celebrations allowed Romans a part of the "Athenian experience" – an experience which, as has been suggested in previous chapters, Athenians, proud of their traditional institutions, may have had some interest in sharing and promoting among Romans and other foreigners.

1. Romans and Eleusis

Quaere quorum demonstrarentur sepulcra in Graecia, reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus, quae traduntur mysteriis, tum denique quam hoc late pateat intelliges.

Ask whose tombs are displayed in Greece, recall – since you have been initiated – what is related in the Mysteries. Then, finally, you will understand how far this (belief) extends.

Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.29 (Marcus speaks)

As we saw in Chapter Two, the festivities associated with the worship of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis figured prominently among the activities of the Roman youths who participated in the Athenian ephebeia. These young men, however, were not the only Romans to become familiar with the Eleusinian cult, which enjoyed great popularity among Romans at large. Since initiation into the Mysteries seems to have been for many Romans an integral part of the "Athenian experience," it will be useful for us to consider Eleusis as another case study of Roman participation in Athenian cult.

The sanctuary at Eleusis – physically linked to Athens by the twelve-kilometer stretch of road known as the Sacred Way – was closely tied to the city and its religious traditions. The festivals in honor of Demeter and Kore were as much Athenian as they were Eleusinian; of the two annual celebrations, one (the Lesser Mysteries) took place in Athens, while the other (the Greater Mysteries) involved activities in both Athens and Eleusis.[1] On the day before the major festival – the Greater Mysteries – got underway, the *hiera* of Demeter were escorted in procession from Eleusis to Athens, where the first four days of celebrations took place, including a sacrifice and prayers on behalf of the Athenian *boule* and *demos*. On the fifth day the crowds of

[1] The Lesser Mysteries are not attested for the Roman period, when they had apparently declined in importance and were no longer obligatory (Clinton 1989, 1503).

worshippers processed to the Eleusinian sanctuary and its Telesterion, in which the newcomers were initiated into the Mysteries.[2]

The cult, in many ways thoroughly Athenian, was atypical in its admission of foreign participants at a fairly early date. From at least the end of the sixth century B.C. the festival was attracting outsiders – apparently in ever-increasing numbers, to judge by the enlargement of the Telesterion in the fifth century.[3] In addition, the Mysteries were open to men, women, children, and slaves.[4] This inclusiveness was appropriate to the nature of the cult, the rituals of which seem to have addressed certain universal human concerns, such as the promise of a better life and an afterlife; indeed, some Greeks considered the Mysteries to be the one of the greatest gifts of Athens to the world.[5]

As we saw in Chapter One, the history of Roman involvement at Eleusis began well before the period of active Roman intervention in Greece, when a group of Roman diplomats was admitted to the Eleusinian Mysteries after the first Illyrian War (ca. 228).[6] In the second century, the increased Roman activity in Greece – evident in growing numbers of Roman visitors and residents, such as those discussed in the last two chapters – seems to have brought with it increased interest in the Eleusinian cult. Although evidence for the numbers of Roman initiates in the second century is scant, we have seen that from the last quarter of the century Roman youths were taking an

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[2] See Mylonas 1961, 224-79.

[3] The late sixth-century date is based on the letter-forms of *IG* I² 814, the dedication of an Italian from Metapontum. In the very early days of the cult, participation had been limited to Athenians and Eleusinians (Mylonas 1961, 248).

[4] Mylonas 1961, 282: "...all people of Hellenic speech and untainted by human blood, with the exception of barbarians, were eligible to be initiated into the Mysteries..."

[5] As did Isocrates (*Paneg.* 28-29); see below, 83-86 for a fuller discussion of this notion and its implications for Roman participation.

[6] See Ch.1, p. 28.

active part in the Eleusinian festivals. Further, a late second-century anecdote preserved in Cicero shows the prestige that the cult had already acquired among certain Romans. L. Licinius Crassus, on his return voyage in 109 from a quaestorship in Asia, went to Athens to participate in the Mysteries and, when he discovered that he had arrived two days too late, petitioned (unsuccessfully) for the rites to be performed again so he could take part:[7]

> ...et inde decedens Athenis, ubi ego diutius essem moratus nisi Atheniensibus, quod mysteria non referrent ad quae biduos serius veneram, succensuissem.
>
> ...and after leaving there (I was) at Athens, where I would have stayed longer had I not been so angry with the Athenians, because they would not repeat the Mysteries, for which I had arrived two days late.

What the story says about one Roman's attitudes towards the Athenians and one of their cults will concern us later; for now it suffices to note that for some Romans, the Mysteries had become a major attraction of the city.

Roman activity at Eleusis seems to have reached a high point in the first century B.C., or is at least (thanks largely to Cicero) better attested for that period. Many prominent statesmen and generals of the last century of the republic – who naturally loom large in the extant sources – were initiated into the Mysteries. Plutarch reports that Sulla became an initiate in 84, on his return trip to Rome after the Mithridatic War.[8] To about the same time should be dated the initiation of Cicero's friend Atticus, who had taken up residence in Athens in 86 or 85. The passage that allows us to identify Atticus as an initiate also gives us the best evidence for Cicero's participation in the

[7] Cic. *De or.* 3.75.

[8] Plut. *Sull.* 26.1 (καὶ μυηθεὶς ἐξεῖλεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν Ἀπελλικῶνος τοῦ Τηίου βιβλιοθήκην...). Clinton (1989, 1503) finds the passage problematic because Plutarch clearly refers to an initiation, but does not specify (as he usually does) that Eleusis is meant. But it is difficult to imagine another suitable explanation for Plutarch's μυηθείς, particularly since at this point he is talking about Sulla's activites at Athens. Sulla had camped at Eleusis in the winter of 87/6, during his campaign at Athens (App. *Mith.* 33).

rites: in the conversation of the two friends presented in Book Two of *De Legibus*, when Cicero has just expressed the desirability of banning nocturnal rites from his ideal city, Atticus asks:[9]

> Excipis, credo, illa quibus ipsi initiati sumus?
>
> You make an exception, surely, for those rites in which we have been initiated?

Cicero's initiation most likely took place in 79, during the course of a six-month stay in Athens. A letter to Atticus, though it is difficult to interpret its vague reference to *mysteriorum*, probably suggests that Cicero intended to return to the Mysteries on a trip to Athens he was planning shortly before his death.[10]

The interest in the Mysteries shown by Cicero and Atticus seems to have been shared by many of their contemporaries. A statue set up at Eleusis by the Athenian *demos* in honor of Titus Pinarius, a friend of Cicero, presumes that he had been initiated, perhaps around the middle of the century.[11] Although we have no definitive evidence for two of the great generals of the period, Caesar and Pompey, it is known that Octavian was initiated and it is generally assumed that Mark Antony was as well. According to Plutarch, while he spent time in Athens in 42, after Philippi, he "witnessed games and initiations."[12] A statue of the general L. Munatius Plancus set up in the sanctuary at Eleusis around 40 B.C. should be taken to indicate that he was initiated into the Mysteries, as was Sempronia Atratina,

[9] Cic. *Leg.* 2.36. Pease (on *Nat. D.* 1.119) believes that "to argue from *Legg.* 2,36, that Cicero had been initiated...appears unsafe," but does not give the reason for his opinion. I have not seen Cicero's initiation questioned elsewhere.

[10] *Att.* 15.25 (June, 44 B.C.): *Est enim hiberna navigatio odiosa, eoque ex te quaesieram mysteriorum diem.*

[11] *IG* II² 4108.

[12] Plut. *Ant.* 23.2 (πρὸς...θέας ἀγώνων καὶ μυήσεις ἔτρεπε). On Caesar and Pompey: a passage in Appian (*BC* 2.70) has sometimes been taken (erroneously, I think) to imply that the two were initiates. Fur further discussion, see below, Ch. 4, pp. 128-129 (Caesar and Pompey); p. 137 n. 90 (Antony); p. 144 n. 108 (Octavian).

who also received an honorary statue at Eleusis from the Athenian *demos*.[13] To the preceding examples of initiations of statesmen and aristocrats of Rome we may add that of an obscure personage, known only though his benefaction at Eleusis: one Gaius Creperius, whom Clinton takes to have been a businessman, donated a marble bench to the sanctuary at some point in the first century, with a dedicatory inscription "to Demeter and Kore."[14]

The interest of first-century Romans in Eleusis and its cult – as well as the spirit of euergetism seen in Creperius' gift – is most strikingly attested by the so-called Lesser Propylaea, an elaborate gateway added to the sanctuary by Appius Claudius Pulcher (cos. 54). Construction of the monument was probably begun soon after the proconsulate of Appius in Cilicia (53-51) and was continued by his nephews (who, like their uncle, must have been initiates) after his death in the early forties.[15] The gate, the only Roman monument at Eleusis of late Republican date and an extremely prominent feature of the sanctuary, was especially conspicuous for its pair of colossal caryatids, which faced the interior of the temenos.[16]

The evidence for Roman participation in the cult at Eleusis prior to

[13] For the dedicatory inscriptions on the statues, see *IG* II² 4112 (L. Munatius Plancus, the addressee of Hor. *Carm.* 1.7) and *IG* II² 4231 (Sempronia L.f. Atratina, wife of L. Gellius Publicola, the consul of 36 B.C.). Plancus' nephew Marcus Titius was honored with a statue in the first century A.D. (*IG* II² 4202).

[14] See Clinton 1989, 1507, who dates the bench (*IG* II² 4708) "perhaps near the beginning of the [first] century rather than the end." Hatzfeld (1919, 42 n. 6) lists this dedication among inscriptions taken to belong to the late 2nd/early 1st century.

[15] See Clinton 1989, 1505-6. Appius had been in Greece in 61 (Cic. *Dom.* 116) and "was either initiated then or when he was on his way back from Cilicia in the autumn of 50." The Eleusis propylon must postdate his Cilician commission as its dedicatory inscription (*CIL* III 547; still visible at Eleusis today) refers to him as *imperator*. He returned to Greece in 49 as Pompey's governor (Val. Max. 1.8.10) and died in the following year. The names of his nephews, Pulcher Claudius and Rex Marcius, also appear on the dedicatory inscription of the propylon.

[16] One caryatid is on display in the museum at Eleusis, the other in the Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge.

Augustus, then, gives some indication of the popularity of the Mysteries, particularly in the first century B.C. Now that we have surveyed this evidence, we may consider the reason for that popularity. Why was the cult attractive to Romans? What benefits did it offer?

While little is known for certain about what new initiates into the Mysteries experienced in the Telesterion,[17] it is generally agreed that what was revealed in the course of the ritual somehow assured the *mystai* a happier lot in the afterlife. The Homeric Hymn to Demeter clearly implies that the rites imparted a knowledge that facilitated the passage from his world to the next:[18]

> ὄλβιος, ὃς τάδ' ὄπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων·
> ὃς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὔποθ' ὁμοίων
> αἶσαν ἔχει φθίμενος περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἠερόεντι.
>
> Happy is he who has seen these things, but he who is not initiate in the rites, who does not share in them, he does not have a lot of like things when he is dead in the dank gloom.

These ideas reappear, in expanded form, in a passage of Cicero – our fullest and most eloquent Roman source on the perceived benefits of the cult – in which the orator reflects on his personal experience of initiation. In response to Atticus' inquiry (see above, p. 73) whether or not the Eleusinian Mysteries would be permitted to continue in the ideal city, Cicero says:[19]

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[17] Initiates were forbidden to reveal the nature of the ritual, which seems to have involved some combination on δρώμενα, δεικνύμενα, and λεγόμενα (see Mylonas 1961, 261-274 for what might have been involved in these phases).

[18] *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 480-482. Compare the epigram of Crinagoras (*Anth. Pal.* 11.42):

> Εἰ καί σοι ἑδραῖος ἀεὶ βίος, οὐδὲ θάλασσαν
> ἔπλως, χερσαίας τ' οὐκ ἐπάτησας ὁδούς,
> ἔμπης Κεκροπίης ἐπιβήμεναι, ὄφρ' ἂν ἐκείνας
> Δήμητρος μεγάλας νύκτας ἴδῃς ἱερῶν,
> τῶν ἄπο κὴν ζωοῖσιν ἀκηδέα, κεὔτ' ἂν ἵκηαι
> ἐς πλεόνων, ἕξεις θυμὸν ἐλαφπότερον.
>
> Even if your life is sedentary and you never sailed the sea or walked the highways of the land, go nevertheless to Attica to see those nights of the great Mysteries of Demeter; your heart shall become free from care while you live and lighter when you go to the realm of the majority.

[19] Cic. *Leg.* 2.36.

> Ego vero excipiam; nam mihi cum multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenae tuae peperisse atque in vitam hominum attulisse, tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus, initiaque ut appellantur, ita re vera principia vitae cognovimus neque solum cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum meliore spe moriendi.
>
> Indeed I will make an exception, for your Athens seems to me to have produced many outstanding and divine things and brought them to men's lives – but nothing better than those Mysteries, through which we are improved, (going) from uncultivated and savage life towards humaneness, and are softened. And the "rites," as they are called – thus we truly recognize the fundamental elements of life and learn not only a way of living in happiness, but also a way of dying with a better hope.

It is striking, to say the least, that our best piece of testimony for the impact of this venerable Athenian cult on the individual initiate should come from a Roman of the first century B.C. It is both fortunate and unfortunate that it comes from Cicero. Fortunate, because a description of such fullness and eloquence is not likely to have been forthcoming from the pen of a Gaius Creperius or others of the Romans initiates at Eleusis. But unfortunate too, because Cicero can hardly be taken as an "average" Roman, and it is difficult to know if his Eleusinian experience, or rather his reaction to it, accurately represents what his fellow Romans may have had to say. The controversy surrounding Cicero's religious beliefs and how to reconstruct them from his

writings presents a further complication.[20]

But there seems to be no compelling reason not to take at face value what Cicero says about the Mysteries and their benefits. At least, there is no indication that what Cicero presents here is an unorthodox view or one to which he could not expect his contemporaries to relate – particularly since in *De legibus* 2 he is not in a "sceptical" mode but is concerned with demonstrating the value of traditional forms and practices. For Romans, as for Greeks, the rites seem to have been appealing chiefly because they addressed questions concerning death and the afterlife. Although in the *Tusculan Disputations* and elsewhere Cicero dismisses the notion that Romans of his day are gripped by fear of death – thus refuting an assumption underlying Epicurean doctrines – Roman interest in the Eleusinian Mysteries may indicate that such fears, or at least concerns, were still, for many, very

[20] For recent studies dealing with this issue, see esp. Beard 1986; Schofield 1986 (both on Cicero and his views on divination); Brunt 1989; Rawson 1985, 298-316, as well as Beard's article in *CAH* IX² (p. 756-757). Aside from the obvious complications produced by Cicero's use of the dialogue form, in which Cicero puts into the mouths of others views that may or may not be his own, one must also contend with the dichotomy between views on the nature of the divine and views on state religion and its various forms. The former do not necessarily impinge on the latter (cf. Brunt 1989, 194, on the *De divinatione* and *De natura deorum*: "for Cicero, speaking through Cotta or in his own person, theoretical agnosticism or outright disbelief has no practical consequences for religious institutions."). While we cannot say for certain with what degree of piety or of intellectual curiosity Cicero approached the Mysteries, it is certain that he had a genuine interest in them; not only was he initiated, but we know that he requested from Atticus a copy of the *Eumolpidon patria*, in which the ancestral customs of the Athenian family most closely involved in the cult at Eleusis were collected (*Att.* 1.9.2; 67 B.C.).

Cicero does not deal with the Mysteries at length elsewhere. Cotta, Cicero's spokesman for the Academy in the *De natura deorum*, mentions Eleusis in the course of refuting the Epicurean view, which he finds destructive to religion (1.119): *Omitto Eleusinem sanctam illam et augustam, "ubi initiantur gentes orarum ultimae," praetereo Samothraciam eaque...Lemni...quibus explicatis ad rationemque revocatis rerum magis natura cognoscitur quam deorum.*

much at issue.[21]

The Romans did not have a precise equivalent for the Eleusinian Mysteries, nor, as far as I know, did they celebrate rites that offered Roman men and women the same assurances – whatever those may have been – that the Eleusinian rites did. The Roman *initia Cereris* (or *sacra Cereris*), connected to a cult of Ceres and Proserpina already in place in Rome by the time of the second Punic war, were closely analogous to the festivities of the Greek Thesmophoria and are likely to have come to Rome via Magna Graecia, where the Thesmophoric cult of Demeter was of great prominence.[22] This cult was administered by women, and its ritual, open only to women, addressed specifically female concerns, such as the mother-daughter relationship and the role of women in society.[23] There were other cults of Ceres – such as that of Ceres, Liber, and Libera on the Aventine – which had

[21] See Cic. *Tusc.* 1.10-11; 1.36-37; 1.48; *Rep.* 6.3; *Clu.* 171. On the question of the pervasiveness of the fear of death among Romans, see Jocelyn 1966, 104: "One may ask whether Cicero was not attributing his own clear-headedness rather too readily to his contemporaries. The careful maintenance among them of the traditional funeral ceremonies signifies little about their private beliefs, but the ritual manner in which defeated parties were sometimes executed in the civil wars of the first century, i.e. as offerings to the *Di manes*, suggests that archaic patterns of belief about the after life were far from extinct."

[22] This cult of Ceres is to be distinguished from that of Ceres, Liber, and Libera established in the early fifth century (on which see Latte 1960, 161 and Spaeth 1996, 6-11). It involved a celebration of the *sacrum anniversarium Cereris* by Roman matrons; Livy's report (22.56.4) of the interruption of this ritual by the mourning imposed on Roman *matronae* after Cannae provides the *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of the cult. Its priestesses, according to Cicero (*Balb.* 55), generally came from Naples and Velia, Greek colonies of southern Italy, and thus the origins of the cult are probably to be sought in Magna Graecia.

[23] Cicero (*Leg.* 2.21) says that in his ideal state women would not be allowed to perform sacrifices at night, except those for the Bona Dea and in celebration of the Greek ritual of Ceres: *Nocturna mulierum sacrificia ne sunto praeter olla, quae pro populo rite fient; neve quem initianto nisi, ut adsolet, Cereri Graeco sacro.* While this shows that the rites admitted women, it does not prove exclusivity. Since, however, the cult with which Cicero pairs the rites of Ceres – that of the Bona Dea – was open only to women, as was the Greek Thesmophoria (on which the Roman ritual was modelled), it is generally assumed that the Roman cult of Ceres and Proserpina was exclusively for women. On the symbolic significance of the myth that was the *aition* for the Greek Thesmophoria, see Spaeth 1996, 108. Festus (s.v. *Graeca sacra*, 97 Müller) says that the *Graeca sacra festa Cereris* were celebrated "on account of the finding of Proserpina."

male officiants and participants, but apparently did not involve initiatory rites.[24] The attempt of Claudius to transfer the Eleusinian cult and rites to Rome presumes that the Romans had not, in his time, duplicated the Mysteries on Italian soil.[25]

Thus the Attic cult of Demeter at Eleusis offered Romans, men and women alike, an experience that was not available to them at home. The willingness of many to seek it out illustrates the general Roman tendency of eclecticism in religious matters that we also see, for example, in the Romans' readiness to import into their city foreign cults and rites. I speak of the Eleusinian experience as one to be "sought out" because participation in the Mysteries involved considerable effort: the festival took place at a fixed time of year, so prospective initiates had to make themselves aware of the schedule, and then present themselves for preparation and purification before the week-long celebration even got under way.[26] Many Romans clearly considered the experience of participation well worth the effort required – as did Cicero, who, as we saw, writes eloquently about the unique nature of the Mysteries and their effect on the intitates.

The physical counterpart of the testimonium left behind by Cicero is the propylon donated to the sanctuary by Appius Claudius Pulcher, with its elegant architectural and decorative program derived from classical Greek models. Many details of the ornamentation are uniquely suited to the

[24] The aediles of the plebs served the triadic cult and were in charge of the *ludi Ceriales*, while the male *flamen Cerealis* was the chief officiant of the old Italic cult of Ceres (see Spaeth 1996, 86-90 for collected testimonia) .

[25] Suet. *Claud.* 26: *Sacra Eleusinia etiam transferre ex Attica Romam conatus est.*

[26] For the program followed by initiates, see Mylonas 1961, 243-285. Cicero, in the letter to Atticus cited in n. 10 above, appears to be asking for information about the scheduling of the Mysteries.

Eleusinian cult and ritual: the two caryatids, for example, differ from their models, the maidens of the Erechtheion, in that each carries on her head the cylindrical *kiste*, a vessel associated with the Mysteries, decorated with various emblems of Demeter's cult.[27] The monument, in other words, was clearly designed and built with the Eleusinian goddesses in mind, although we cannot say to what extent Appius and his family were involved in that process. We should also note that the dedication of the monument, although it is Latin in language (*Cereri et Proserpinae*), is Greek in conception, since the mother-daughter pairing is not as predominant in the Roman tradition as in the Greek.[28]

The dedicatory inscription, fragmentary though it is, remains our best source for the origins of the "Lesser Propylaea."[29] The text appears as follows in *CIL* (III 547):

> *ap. claudi*VS . AP. F. PVLCHE*r* PROPYLVM . CERE*ri*
> *et proserpi*NAE . COS. VOVIT *im*PERATO*r coepit*
> *pulcher clau*DIVS . ET . REX . MAR*cius fec*ERVN*t ex testamento*
>
> Appius Claudius Pulcher, son of Appius, vowed the propylon to Ceres and Proserpina when he was consul and began it when he was *imperator*. Pulcher Claudius and Rex Marcius completed it, as instructed in his will.

The motive for building this monument – the only Roman monument at Eleusis in this period – was long a source of puzzlement, but Kevin Clinton

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[27] See the list in Mylonas (1961, 159): "...head of wheat, the poppy, the lidded Kernos, peculiar to the cult, flanked by flower rosettes reminiscent of the pomegranate flower, a molding representing perhaps the Bacchos, symbol of the Mysteries, made up of myrtle leaves bound together by strands of wool, a molding of beads and reel, and around the base of the cist a molding of wavy ribbon and dot interrupted at the sides by an acanthus leaf."

[28] The Roman version of the Thesmophoric cult, which did make this pairing, was open only to women (see above, n. 23). In the older cult of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, the latter came to be idenitified as Ceres' daughter at a fairly late date, and it is not clear whether she was thus equated with Proserpina; in any case, this pairing does not seem ever to have attained the prominence of the Demeter/Persephone duo in Greek tradition (see Spaeth 1996, 8).

[29] Cicero briefly mentions Appius' project in letters to Atticus (*Att.* 6.1.26; 6.6.2); Cicero himself was contemplating the idea of donating a propylon at the Academy.

has recently made the attractive suggestion that the vow is to be associated with a flood in Rome in 54 (the year of Appius' consulate), in which the waters of the Tiber destroyed much of the grain then in storage in the city.[30] As he notes, the vow need not have been made with the Eleusinian goddesses in mind; Appius may have decided, while passing through Greece to or from his post as proconsul in Cilicia, to fulfill the vow at Eleusis.[31]

While we focused earlier on the Greek aspects of the monument itself – its classical Greek inspiration and the emphasis placed on emblems unique to the Eleusinian cult – we should now consider what is peculiarly Roman about the project. First is Appius' *votum* itself, which reflects the close interconnection between the religious and the political that is characteristic of the Roman system. The ability to vow and to erect impressive monuments in one's own name was one of the "perks" of being a high-ranking Roman magistrate. If the vow was in fact made during a time of famine in Rome, i.e., ostensibly on behalf of the Roman people as a whole, it is significant that the monument was not dedicated in thanks from "the Romans," but mentions only Appius and his heirs. The notion of the individual representing a much larger group, through this kind of vow, is a very Roman one.

In this case the vow to the goddesses is also a measure of piety. Appius was notorious among his contemporaries as a religious enthusiast who defended augury, in which he placed great faith, and observed a high degree of punctiliousness in the execution of rituals.[32] His activities at Eleusis – his

[30] Clinton 1996, 6. See Dio 39.61; 39.63; Cic. *Q. Fr.* 3.5.8.
[31] Clinton 1989, 1506 and 1996, 6.
[32] On Appius and religion, see Beard 1994, 759 and Rawson 1985, 302. Appius, a fellow augur of Cicero, was nicknamed the "Pisidian," after a people whose devotion to augury was well known, and was derided by his colleagues for his enthusiasm (Cic. *Div.* 1.105). See also Cic. *Brut.* 267 (on Appius' knowledge of augury) and *Fam.* 3.4.1 (Cicero thanks Appius for his gift of a book on augural law).

initiation into the Mysteries and his benefaction to the sanctuary – fit in well with this profile. It is clear that he executed his *votum* with great punctiliousness, even stipulating in his will that the monument was to be completed by his heirs. We should also note that if Appius was thanking the goddesses for restoring grain to Rome after a famine, he was recognizing one of Demeter's original Greek aspects, the giver of the harvest.[33] Appius' interest in Greek religious tradition is further suggested by the story that as Pompey's lieutenant in 48 he personally consulted the Delphic oracle about the outcome of the civil war.[34]

Especially striking is the language used for the inscription on the propylon, the only extant example of a Latin dedication from the entire sanctuary. While the language of the dedication does not in itself give us any information about whether specifically Greek or Roman deities are being honored (witness the dedications by Italian freedmen Δία Ἐλευθέριον on Delos), it reveals one way in which such monuments were expected to, and did, function. Through the Latin inscription Appius and his relatives address, and promote themselves among, fellow Romans who visit the sanctuary. The mention that the propylon was built in fulfillment of a vow serves to highlight Appius' *pietas*, while the elaborateness of the monument itself reflects well on the status and prosperity of the Appii Claudii.

This brand of self-advertisement was an established and time-honored Roman practice, but is particularly interesting here because the monument in question was dedicated to foreign deities and stands in a foreign sanctuary.

[33] It is interesting that Cicero does not mention grain in his encomium of Eleusis; see below, p. 86.
[34] See Lucan, *Phars.* 5.194-236. Valerius Maximus (1.8.10) gives a prose version of the response Appius received: *Nihil ad te hoc, Romane, bellum: Euboeae Coela obtinebis.* Appius did, in fact, "occupy" the "hollows of Euboea," since he died and was buried there shortly after going to Delphi (for Appius' career in Greece, see Mason and Wallace 1972).

Foreign, but, as we have seen, not at all alien. The Romans, while they did not have a precise equivalent for the goddesses and rites of the Eleusinian cult, were familiar with – indeed, had imported – other Hellenic cults of Demeter. In addition, many Romans made the journey to Eleusis to participate in the Mysteries. The sanctuary where Appius chose to display his munificence was one for which the Romans seem to have had a special affinity. Indeed, there is no better evidence for this than Appius' impressive, Latin-inscribed propylon, which presumes a significant audience of Roman visitors and admirers.

We turn now to the Athenian side of the equation, and the significance for Athens of Roman participation in the Mysteries. This question was treated briefly in Chapter One, in my discussion of the Roman ambassadors initiated into the Mysteries in 228, but needs elaboration here.[35] There I suggested that the Athenians saw the Mysteries – like the Panathenaia, which underwent a renaissance of sorts after the Athenians were liberated from Macedonian domination in 229 – as a crucial part of their self-identity. Thus they may have welcomed foreign (i.e., Roman) participation as a means of re-establishing or asserting their identity in the ever-changing landscape of the Mediterranean. As I noted, this view of the Mysteries – as something that the Athenians had in their keeping, but could, and should, offer to others – was already inherent in Athenian perceptions of the cult, and is perhaps best expressed by Isocrates, in words that he addressed to a panhellenic audience, in a published speech intended to promote the cause of Athens:[36]

Δήμητρος γὰρ ἀφικομένης εἰς τὴν χώραν ὅτ' ἐπλανήθη τῆς Κόρης

[35] See above, Ch. 1, pp. 28-30.
[36] Isoc. *Paneg.* 28-29 (published 380 B.C.).

> ἁρπασθείσης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης ἐκ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἃς οὐχ οἷόντ' ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς μεμυημένοις ἀκούειν, καὶ δούσης δωρεὰς διττὰς αἵπερ μέγισται τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, τούς τε καρπούς, οἳ τοῦ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἴτιοι γεγόνασι, καὶ τὴν τελετήν, ἧς οἱ μετασχόντες περί τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν, οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔσχεν, ὥστε κυρία γενομένη τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἐφθόνησε τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' ὧν ἔλαβεν ἅπασι μετέδωκεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν δείκνυμεν, τῶν δὲ συλλήβδην τάς τε χρείας καὶ τὰς ἐργασίας καὶ τὰς ὠφελίας τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γιγνομένας ἐδίδαξεν.
>
> When Demeter came to our land, in her wandering after the abduction of Kore, and, being kindly disposed towards our ancestors for services which may not be told save to her initiates, gave these two gifts, the greatest in the world – the fruits of the earth, which have enabled us to rise above the life of the beasts, and the holy rite which inspires in those who partake of it sweeter hopes regarding both the end of life and all eternity, – our city was not only so beloved of the gods but also so devoted to mankind that, having been endowed with these great blessings, she did not begrudge them to the rest of the world, but shared with all men what she had received. The mystic rite we continue even now, each year, to reveal to the initiates; and as for the fruits of the earth, our city has, in a word, instructed the world in their uses, their cultivation, and the benefits to be derived from them.

Thus the Mysteries are presented as one of the most meaningful ways in which Athens relates to, and benefits, the world outside: they are, as Isocrates goes on to say, a "service to humanity which is the greatest, the earliest, and the most universal in its benefits."[37] Because this was Demeter's gift to the Athenians, it is in their keeping, and it is through their generosity that they share it with others. The emphasis on this generosity reflects the potential that the Mysteries had as a means of Athenian self-promotion among non-Athenians. Kevin Clinton has recently argued that as early as the fifth century we can see the Athenians, through their control over access to the Mysteries, "using...the sanctuary as a tool of international relations."[38]

A document of a date much closer to the period under examination in

[37] Isoc. *Paneg.* 34: Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν εὐεργετημάτων καὶ πρώτου γενομένου καὶ πᾶσι κοινοτάτου ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν.

[38] Clinton 1994, 163 (his argument is based on the emphasis on access, and Athens' ability to grant or deny it, in the decree *IG* I³ 6 of the 470's or 460's). See above, Ch. 1, n. 50.

this chapter expresses many of the same ideas as the passage just quoted, showing that the Eleusinian cult and Athens' role in adminstering it continued to give Athens the special distinction that Isocrates promoted in the *Panegyricus*. A decree by the Delphic Amphictyony concerning the *technitai* of Dionysos (117/6) contains a remarkable encomium of Athens, a large part of which is given over to a description of the benefits of the Eleusinian Mysteries:[39]

> [ἐπειδὴ γεγονέναι καὶ συνειλέχ]θαι τεχνιτῶν σύνοδον παρ' Ἀθηναίοις [συμβέ]-
> [βηκε πρῶτον, ὧν ὁ δῆμος ἁπάντων τ]ῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν ἀρχηγὸς
> κατασ[ταθεὶς ἐγ μὲν τοῦ]
> [θηριώδους βίου μετήγαγεν τοὺς ἀ]νθρώπους εἰς ἡμερότητα, παραίτιος δὲ [ἐγενήθη
> τῆς]
> [πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίας εἰσ]αγαγὼν τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων παράδοσιν [καὶ διὰ
> τούτων]
> [παραγγείλας τοῖς ἅπασιν ὅτ]ι μέγιστον ἀγαθόν ἐστιν ἐν ἀν[θρώποις ἡ πρὸς]
> [ἑαυτοὺς χρῆσίς τε καὶ πίστις, ἔτι δὲ] τῶν δοθέντων ὑπὸ θεῶν π[ερὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
> νόμων]
> [καὶ τῆς παιδείας *v v v* ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ] τῆς τοῦ καρποῦ παρα[δόσεως ἰδίαι μὲν ἐδέξα]-
> [το τὸ δῶρον, κοινὴν δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ] εὐχρηστίαν το[ῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπέδωκεν]
>
> Whereas it happened that a guild of technitai first arose and was assembled among the Athenians, whose Demos, as the founder of all good things among men, led men from the bestial life into domesticity and was responsible for the interaction of men with one another by introducing the tradition of the (Eleusinian) Mysteries and by announcing to all, through these, that social interaction and trust are the greatest good among men, and, in addition, was (the founder) of the laws concerning men given by the gods and of education; and similarly (the Demos of the Athenians) privately received the gift of the tradition of harvest and gave to Greeks the common use of it,... (Tr. Jon Mikalson)

The source of this encomium – a decree from Delphi, not from Athens – shows that Athens' strategies for promoting herself and her traditional role as a cultural leader were in fact working. The Delphic Amphictyons of 117/6 were seeing Athens as Isocrates had portrayed her almost three centuries earlier. The terms of praise are very similar, emphasizing the civilizing effect of Demeter's gift. Both documents speak of the two major aspects of Eleusis, the harvest and the Mysteries, and describe the advance from a primitive

[39] *IG* II² 1134.16-23.

existence to a state of domestication (οἱ τοῦ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἴτιοι γεγόνασι, Isocrates; ἐγ μὲν τοῦ] / [θηριώδους βίου μετήγαγεν τοὺς ἀ]νθρώπους εἰς ἡμερότητα; Delphic decree). We should note, however, that while Isocrates sees this advance as stemming from the introduction of the knowledge of harvesting fruits of the earth, the decree credits the Mysteries themselves with bringing men "from the bestial life into domesticity." It is significant that Cicero also does so, in his version of an Eleusinian encomium, saying that through the Mysteries men "are improved, (going) from uncultivated and savage life towards humaneness." This reflects one aspect of the Athenians' refinement of the image of Eleusis as they "packaged" it for a role in international relations: it was the Mysteries, the more visible and participatory side of the cult, that came to be emphasized in Athens' role as a civilizing cultural force, and that most appealed to the Romans. Indeed, in the decree of the Amphictyons the Mysteries are said to promote "social interaction and trust," and in the same breath are mentioned Athens' contributions in two other areas of civilization: law and education.

Thus the testimony of these non-Athenian sources says much about the international status to which the Eleusinian cult had risen, and also provides some insight into how the Athenians went about promoting the festival. If the Mysteries did function, as I think, as a tool of international relations, then the Athenians would have welcomed Roman participation. While we can only guess at what motivated the desire of individual Romans to be initiated into the cult, we can be more certain of the effect that this show of interest had on Athenians. For them, participation would have indicated respect.

Athenian appreciation of and gratitude for such displays of respect

emerges when we consider the honorary statues of Romans set up in the sanctuary at Eleusis. Dedicatory inscriptions of four such statues are extant for the period covered in this study. Titus Pinarius and Sempronia Atratina, who received their honors from the Athenian *demos* ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, must have taken a special interest in or displayed particular generosity towards the cult at Eleusis.[40] That is certainly what we must assume in the case of Plancus, whose dedicatory inscription states that he has earned the honor ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐεργεσίας.[41] An image of Cicero's friend Atticus, a well-known benefactor of Athens, was set up on the same base as one of Phaidros, the head of the Epicurean school – a striking visual representation of one Roman's affinity for Athens and Athenian culture.[42]

The testimony of the archaeological record of Roman benefactions and Athenian honors at Eleusis, combined with the literary sources, can help to create a picture of the role this sanctuary played in relations between the two peoples. Many Romans were attracted by this cult and its Mysteries, for which they had no precise equivalent at home, and showed their interest for this Athenian tradition by becoming initiates. Some displayed their generosity by making gifts to the sanctuary. These were not anonymous donations, and were intended to reflect on the donor, who thereby advertised his piety, prosperity, or perhaps philhellenism. The most outstanding example is of course the magnificent propylon of Appius Claudius, but there were no doubt many more donations, now lost, on the order of the bench dedicated by the obscure Gaius Creperius. Gestures of interest or respect made by the Romans

[40] *IG* II² 4108 (Pinarius, ca. 50 B.C.); *IG* II² 4231 (Sempronia, ca. 41-31 B.C.).
[41] *IG* II² 4112 (ca. 43 B.C.).
[42] *IG* II² 3513 (after 56 B.C.).

could be rewarded by honors from the Athenian *demos*, in the form of statues set up in the sanctuary – which, once set up and visible to all visitors, might be expected to encourage further benefactions to Athens and Eleusis in the future. In sum, the picture is one of a mutually beneficial relationship in which the currency is honor and respect.

Finally, we may return to the point at which our survey of notable Roman initiates began: in the second century, with the anecdote concerning the latecomer L. Licinius Crassus and his attempts to have the Mysteries repeated for him. Cicero tells the story precisely because it is remarkable – because Crassus displayed an alarming *lack* of respect both for the traditions of the cult, which called for the observance of a specific schedule, and for the Athenian officials, whom he expected to acquiesce to his demands. In short, he treated not only the Athenians but also the Mysteries as subjects of Rome.[43] The story serves as an illustration of what could happen when one party in the mutual arrangement described above stepped out of bounds – one of the less illustrious moments in the history of foreign relations.

[43] See Gruen's comments on the Crassus incident (Gruen 1992, 250): "This was not merely the impetuosity of youth, nor is there any inconsistency between Crassus' zeal for Athenian learning and arrogance toward Athenian officials. He considered it legitimate for a magistrate of the Roman republic to commandeer Greek cultural events for his own edification." Crassus was not the first to try to tamper with the timing of the Mysteries; In 294, Demetrius Poliorcetes, who also considered the Athenians his subjects, had insisted on their being rescheduled for his convenience (Plut. *Dem.* 26).

2. Romans and Athenian agonistic festivals

As we saw in Chapter One, festivals played an important role in relations between Greeks and Romans, for both sides: Roman spectators and participants gained experience with, and insight into, Greek tradition, while their Greek hosts had a forum in which to showcase their communities. Late Hellenistic Athens offers ample evidence for the prominence of these celebrations in civic life. It is perhaps not surprising, given the emphasis on festivals in the classical city, that Athens, through the Hellenistic period and beyond, "remained a city of festivals."[44] But we should also note that the Athenians were expressly cultivating such celebrations – in some cases, reviving them – as international attractions.

This was particularly true in the second century, largely as a result of the changes brought about in Athens' situation in 229 and then in 166. As stated in the first chapter, the first generations of Athenians to enjoy freedom from Macedonian control were concerned both with resuscitating old civic traditions and with regaining international status. There we were primarily concerned with the Panathenaia, but other festivals fit into this scheme as well. It was in that same flush of independence that the Athenians "raised the Eleusinia to the rank of an international festival, with the result that four great festivals, the Dionysia, the Ptolemaea, the Panathenaea, and the Eleusinia, were celebrated in the city..."[45] And in the second half of the century – particularly after 166, "an epochal date in the life of the city, when *rapprochement* with Rome made Athens rich again"[46] – Athens had the wherewithal to put on celebrations in grand style.

[44] Parker 1996, 267.
[45] Day 1942, 37. See the references in Parker 1996, 275 n. 81.
[46] Parker 1996, 267.

Because these were internationally popular events that attracted foreign spectators I mention them here, in my discussion of Roman visitors, although many aspects of participation in these festivals – from walking in the processions to competing in the games – bring us back to the resident *Romaioi* of the last chapter. Not only did resident aliens of Athens have certain privileges that did not extend to those simply passing through (having a designated role in the Panathenaic procession, for example), but they were also more likely to be able to complete the training customary for participants in the athletic contests.[47] Some of the *Romaioi* who turn up in the inscriptions may even have had Athenian citizenship, as seems to be the case with the young man who was victorious at the Athenian Theseia in or around 142.[48]

What do we know of Roman involvement in these festivals? At Athens, as we saw in Chapter Two, the Romans who entered the ephebeia from at least the last quarter of the second century were fulfilling important roles in a number of city festivals (and thus, indirectly, in their related cults). The abundant evidence for Roman participation in agonistic festivals all over Greece reflects the popularity of these contests.[49] It is worth repeating here a point made in connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries: the Romans did not have their own equivalent of this kind of competition, and thus Greek games provided them with a different kind – a Greek kind – of experience.

[47] Not all of those contests, however, were open to them (see Parker 1996, 273). For the privileges and activities of metics of Athens at city festivals, see Clerc 1893 (repr. 1979), 150-174 and Parker 1996, 267.

[48] Errington 1988, 146. He is the earliest *Romaios* known through victor-lists for Greek festivals.

[49] See Errington's compilation of the evidence (1988, 146-148) and his comments: "Their participation shows very clearly the willingness of large numbers of resident *Romaioi* to share in and even excel in traditional Greek pursuits, whether sporting or intellectual."

Emphasis on physical prowess and its display through competition was traditionally a feature of the Greek value system, not the Roman, and thus Roman participation in Greek games affords an excellent example of assimilation to local customs.

As we saw in the first chapter, the victor-lists from Athens' great agonistic festival, the Panathenaia, show that foreign participation surged in the second century – an indication that the Athenians were trying to enhance the international prestige of their city and her traditions.[50] While the Panathenaia was an old Athenian institution in which the Athenians aimed to generate foreign interest, they also promoted other celebrations which were not so closely tied to the venerable past of Athens and which seem to have been "packaged" to have broad-based appeal. Specifically, they promoted them by allowing foreigners to hold official positions in the administration of the festivals: In the 150's and 140's – again, after the "epochal" 166 – we find the names of foreign residents among the *hieropoioi* for the Athenaia, Ptolemaia, and Romaia.[51]

This last festival, the Romaia, is worth our attention. The Athenian list of *hieropoioi* that attests to its existence is the only one extant, but we should not assume that the festival was only celebrated in that year. Rather, the Athenian document most likely refers to the Romaia on Delos, which is independently confirmed by inscriptions on the island and in which Athenians took part both as administrators and as participants.[52] Of the two Delian inscriptions, one, which mentions a torch-race, dates to the year in which the Romans returned Delos to Athenian control – the event which

[50] See above, Ch. 1, pp. 28-30.
[51] *IG* II² 1937 and 1938.
[52] *IG* II² 1938; on the probable identification with the Delian festival, see Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (forthcoming).

obviously inspired the establishment of the games – and the other, a list of *hieropoioi*, dates to 127/6.[53] Little is known about the program of the festival, but it is likely that it fell under the jurisdiction of the priest of Hestia, Demos, and Roma, a cult which we know to have been in place by 158/7 and which also owes its origins to the gratitude felt towards Rome for her benefaction in 166. The names of five priests are known, the last three of which are designated simply as "priest of Rome."[54]

Thus we see another way in which festivals functioned in relations between Athenians and Romans; the Romaia were explicitly designed in honor of the Romans and for their benefit. Romans who lived on Delos, in Athens, or who were simply passing through could take part in – indeed, could function as *hieropoioi* for – this celebration, in which the Athenians took the leading role. These were agonistic games, but of course had a religious element as well, being overseen by the priest of a cult of Roma.

The Athenians, then, made efforts to encourage Roman interest in their festivals. First, they did so at their own major festival, the Panathenaia, which "remained the great symbol of national identity and focus of patriotic feeling."[55] As we noted in the first chapter, the victor-lists from the Panathenaia imply that, particularly after the Roman grant of Delos to Athens in 166, there was a considerable Roman presence at this celebration. In 162, when the Athenians included on the program of the festival a ceremony in which *euergetai* were honored, they must have had the Romans in mind.[56]

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[53] *IDélos* 1950 (167/6); 2596 (127/6).
[54] For the priests, see *IDélos* 2605.9-10 (158/7); 1877 (129/8); and inscriptions of ἀπαρχαί (Bruneau 1970, 443) for 103/2, 101/0, and 97/6.
[55] Parker 1996, 263.
[56] See above, Ch. 1, p. 30.

The Athenians also promoted other "international" festivals, among which was the Romaia on Delos – a celebration designed to cultivate the goodwill of Rome.

Finally, then, we return to a point made much earlier in this study, that much of the Roman experience with Athenian religious tradition, collectively speaking, came through their participation in various city festivals. In addition, we have also seen in this chapter that through the Eleusinian Mysteries Romans participated directly in an Athenian cult. The Mysteries, however, are a special case, and cannot be taken as representative of Athenian cults in general. The festival was traditionally accepting of foreigners and involved rituals that had an application wider than the narrow civic sphere of Athens. In practical terms, then, this cult was already well-suited to the kind of foreign policy that Athens found herself in need of practicing in the second and first centuries B.C.

I have presented the Mysteries and the major city festivals of Athens together because the Athenians seem to have promoted them in the international community in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. These celebrations allowed Athenians to showcase their city, thereby encouraging Roman euergetism – which, in turn, was recognized and rewarded, whether in the form of honorary statues set up at Eleusis or through honors publicly announced at the festivals. That these fundamentally religious celebrations were so used is perfectly in keeping with the spirit – and needs – of the times. From 229 on, as Mikalson notes, "the Athenians...seem systematically to be employing their religious structures to promote diplomatic goals."[57] And just as Hellenistic rulers "welcomed their overtures," so, as we will see in the next

[57] Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (forthcoming).

chapter, did a group of Romans who are in many respects analogous to them: the major players of Roman history of the first century B.C.

❦ CHAPTER FOUR ❦

Marching on: Roman generals of the first century B.C.

In the first chapter we looked at ways in which various Romans, men with prominent roles in the early contacts between Rome and Greece, responded to Greek religious traditions, as the occasion arose in the course of their dealings with Greece. In the second century, as Rome began unmistakably to exert her power in the East, the Greeks became acquainted with her powerful agents: T. Quinctius Flamininus, L. Aemilius Paullus, M'. Acilius Glabrio, and others. That these men were *agents* is important; regardless of personal ambition, honors, and glory, they were emissaries of the senate of Rome and generally worked within the bounds of her constitutional structure. However much power they may have had as individuals, they still answered to Rome.

The situation changed dramatically in the first century, as political and military developments came increasingly to depend on a handful of men with the brains, energy, and charisma needed to put them, each for a brief time, at the head of the Roman state. The state itself had changed: the Romans now possessed an empire, a complex of subject, allied, and hostile peoples, and would inevitably come into frequent contact, and conflict, with non-Romans. In short, "international relations" became a crucial part of the task for any Roman who had designs on absolute power at Rome – and, by extension, in the Roman empire. Ambitious generals sought to enlarge and strengthen their power base through foreign allies who could lend prestige, as well as more tangible resources, to their cause. Athens, while she could not

offer the manpower and the vast wealth available further to the east, continued to borrow against her glorious past, and still had the prestige of her name to contribute.

The dealings of Roman leaders with foreigners in many cases involved, on both sides, issues of religious tradition and scruple. Therein lies our interest in the last century of the Roman republic. Virtually all of the major players in this eventful period of Roman history had, in varying degrees, experiences with Athens, the effects of which were often felt in the religious sphere. In this section I examine five such men and their relations with Athens.

The first Roman to come to Greece with absolute power, the dictator L. Cornelius Sulla, both by his "imperial" manipulation of Greek cult and by his physical destruction of much of Athens in 86 B.C., set the tone for the decades to follow and set the stage for the renaissance of the Augustan period. After Sulla, the major players can be examined most conveniently in pairs. Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar, as they made their bids for absolute power, approached Athens in fundamentally different ways and accordingly received different responses. So too the next pair of rivals, Antony and Octavian, whose relations with Athens are in many ways parallel to those of their predecessors. All offer some insight into the nexus of religion, politics, and diplomacy evident in the dealings between Romans and Athenians in the first century B.C.

1. Lucius Cornelius Sulla

Roman intervention in Greece in the second century had left an indelible mark upon the country and its future course. By the last quarter of the century the Romans had exerted their influence in the administration of Greece, by organizing the new province of Macedonia – as well as by exerting sheer force, in the ruthless sack of Corinth. Athens had successfully negotiated the often unpredictable course of Roman relations and emerged from this crucial period in a position of some strength, as a *civitas libera et foederata*. The late second century saw increased interest and participation both in civic institutions and in traditional cults (as I have shown in my discussion of the Athenian ephebeia), lively activity in the minting and circulating of silver coins, and revived energy in building projects.[1] This period of prosperity, however, seems to have been short-lived. Some indication of popular dissatisfaction in Athens around 90 B.C. is given by the apparent readiness of many Athenians to throw in their lots with the rebel Athenion, the agent of the Pontic king Mithridates. The connection between Athens and the foreign king, an enemy of Rome, would prove to have deadly consequences, as it brought the city into direct conflict with her master and precipitated the pillaging of Lucius Cornelius Sulla in 86 B.C. The Sullan destruction was a defining event in the history of Hellenistic Athens; aside from its physical effects, which are often strikingly represented in the stratigraphy revealed by archaeologists, are the changes it brought to the relations between Athens and Rome. It is to Sulla and his activities in Greece that we now turn, with two goals in mind. We must know Sulla the general and his treatment of Athens to understand Athens in the late republican and

[1] Geagan 1979, 374.

Augustan periods, while an examination of Sulla the man raises some interesting questions about Roman attitudes towards the Greeks and their gods.

Trouble in the East

During the two decades prior to Sulla's eastern campaign, Mithridates IV Eupator had taken advantage of Rome's involvement in other wars to extend his own territory in Asia Minor. The king, however, clearly wished to avoid a full-scale war with Rome; on more than one occasion he abandoned conquered territory, either in compliance with the demands of the Senate or out of his own reluctance to give battle. Hostilities escalated when Nicomedes IV, King of Bithynia, invaded Pontus in 89 at the instigation of a Roman governor. Mithridates responded by mobilizing huge forces for the task of expelling Romans once and for all from the province of Asia. He swept through Asia Minor, appealing to (and feeding) discontent with Roman rule, and ordered, late in 88, a general massacre of all Italians living in the province. The most conservative of the ancient accounts estimates the number of Italian dead at 80,000.[2] The king then looked to Greece. By this time he had a new agent in Athens, the tyrant Aristion, who fueled hatred of Romans; meanwhile, his admiral Archelaus, having massacred a large number of Italians on Delos, crossed to Athens and occupied the port of Piraeus.

The Romans had been unable to move quickly enough to stop Mithridates because of even more pressing problems at home. The wars

[2] For the Italian massacre, see App. *Mith.* 22, Plut. *Sull.* 24.4, and Val. Max. 9.2.4 (who gives the number 80,000). For discussions of the events leading to the Mithridatic conflict see Bugh 1992, Badian 1976, and Habicht 1976.

between Rome and her Italian allies (91-89) were followed by a power struggle in the capital between the factions of Gaius Marius and L. Cornelius Sulla. Sulla, a member of a poor but aristocratic family, had earned respect – and incurred jealousy – for his part in the surrender of the Numidian king Jugurtha in 106 and for his successes in the Social Wars. It was the command against Mithridates – a highly coveted commission, which the Senate awarded to Sulla – that brought the conflict between Sullans and Marians to a head. When, through the efforts of a Marian tribune, Sulla was deprived of his command, he rallied the legions which had loyally served under him in the Social Wars. In 88 Sulla led his men against Rome, made himself master of the city, and attempted to create a political structure of sufficient stability to allow him to leave for the East.

Sulla in Greece

In 87 Sulla and his five legions landed in Greece to find that, in addition to the Athenians, the Achaeans, Spartans, and Boeotians (save Thespiae) had gone over to Mithridates.[3] Having secured anew the loyalty of the Boeotian towns on his way to Attica, Sulla sent a small contingent to blockade Athens, leading the bulk of his forces against the Mithridatic forces holding Piraeus. His initial attempt was unsuccessful, and he was forced to retire to Eleusis for the winter of 87/6. The siege of Athens continued, however, and by spring of 86 the city had been starved almost into submission. On the Kalends of March Sulla's forces finally gained entry through a weak point in the city walls, and a general slaughter of Athenians ensued. The Roman soldiers made off with many Athenian treasures and

[3] App. *Mith.* 29.

inflicted extensive damage in certain quarters of the city.[4] Much of the city was spared, probably out of respect for her past glory; Sulla had, according to Appian, expressly forbidden the burning of Athens.[5] That fate was reserved for Piraeus, to which Sulla turned after the taking of Athens. On the general's orders the port, with its dock-yards and the famous Arsenal of Philo, was burned to the ground, while the Pontic admiral Archelaus, who had fled to Thessaly, gathered his forces for a final confrontation. After the battles at Chaeronea and Orchomenos in late 86 – both decisively in favor of the Romans – Mithridates was ready to come to terms.

The cost to Greece of Mithridates' war against Rome had been considerable. Quite aside from the loss of life and physical destruction in Athens and elsewhere was the treatment some Greek sanctuaries received at the hands of the Romans. A number of impious acts committed during the

[4] Although Sulla's treatment of Athens is commonly called a "sack," it was not on the same scale as Mummius' sack of Corinth in 146, being both less widespread and less thorough. The destruction of Athens seems to have been selective, and in many cases was of a superficial nature. The Agora, its south side in particular, seems to have sustained some of the most extensive damage (page numbers refer to the discussions of each building in the Agora excavation volume [14] by Homer Thompson and Richard Wycherley): the Bouleuterion was "badly damaged" (33), the buildings south of the Middle Stoa were left in a state of disrepair which was not remedied until the time of Hadrian (23), the old Heliaia, South Stoa II, and the East Building sustained "grievous damage" (71), the pediment of the "Arsenal" to the northeast of the Hephaisteion, as well as the building itself, were "badly damaged" (80), and a system of cisterns was "wrecked" (201). In addition, three significant monuments of the Agora were affected: one off the west end of the Middle Stoa which carried a four-horse chariot group was probably destroyed (67); one which is thought to have stood in the sanctuary of the hero Theseus (which may have stood in the Agora, and was itself destroyed), consisting of a bronze tripod on a marble base "must have suffered" in 86 (126); and the monument of the Eponymous Heroes was damaged (see the report by T.L. Shear, Jr. in the 1970 *Hesperia*). The tent which the Athenians built to imitate that of Xerxes (east of the Theater of Dionysos) was burned down by Sulla (Paus. 1.20). On the Acropolis, the Erechtheion may have suffered worst; according to D. Lewis, we should connect with the destruction of 86 "the damage that necessitated the extensive repairs of Roman date in many parts of the Erechtheion" (*Hesp.* 1975, 384).

[5] App. *Mith.* 38. See also [Plut.] *Mor.* 202E, according to which Sulla gave as an example of his *felicitas* the fact that he was able to save Athens from total destruction.

course of the Mithridatic campaign are associated with the name of Sulla, and these are worth examining in some detail, particularly since Sulla generally emerges from ancient accounts as a man who devoted much attention and effort to the gods. Scholars have attempted to reconcile the numerous characterizations of Sulla as a reverent and pious man with accounts that portray him as cruel and disrespectful of the gods.[6] The military side of Sulla's invasion of Greece has been outlined above; let us now look at the same campaign from a religious angle.

Sulla and Greek sanctuaries

Sulla's campaign in Greece began with a visit to a sanctuary which had received numerous Roman generals and statesmen before him: the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. According to Appian, Sulla, troubled by a vision of Venus he had had in a dream, stopped to consult the oracle about its significance on his way to Athens.[7] It was not the only occasion on which Sulla would receive advice from a Greek oracle; before the battle at Orchomenos he received assurances from the oracle of Trophonius near Lebadeia, both about the outcome of that battle and about the resolution of affairs in Italy.[8] To these instances of Sulla's apparent respect for Greek oracular shrines we may add an example of active participation in Greek cult: in 84, on his way back from the East, Sulla became an initiate of the Mysteries of Demeter and Kore.[9]

Against this background let us consider the impieties attributed to

[6] See, for example, Keaveney 1983 and Alföldi 1976.
[7] See App. *BC* 1.97 (the only source for Sulla's dream).
[8] Plut. *Sull.* 17.1-2.
[9] Plut. *Sull.* 26.1. For the problems associated with this passage, see above, Ch. 3, p. 72 n. 8. Sulla is also said to have held sacrifices on the banks of the Cephisus before the Battle of Orchomenos (Plut. *Sull.* 17.3), but Plutarch does not record the name (or nationality) of the deity.

Sulla, which for the most part consist of the removal of sacred objects from Greek sanctuaries. The most infamous incident involves the very god to whom Sulla appealed upon arriving in Greece: when funds for his initial attack on Piraeus ran short, Sulla sent one of his men to Delphi, giving orders for the seizure of treasures housed in Apollo's sanctuary. According to Plutarch, Sulla's agent, having lost his nerve in the face of troubling omens, sent a message informing Sulla of his reservations, but was cheerfully assured that the strange sounds heard in the sanctuary were meant to convey the god's acquiescence.[10] A great quantity of precious objects was subsequently removed from Delphi, as well as from the sanctuaries at Olympia and Epidauros.[11] After the capture of Athens, forty pounds of gold and six hundred of silver are said to have been taken from the Acropolis, presumably (though Appian's account does not specify) from the treasures of Athena.[12] Also among the loot taken in 86 were the shields affixed to the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora.[13] During a stay in Athens on his way back to Rome in 84, Sulla appropriated columns from the unfinished Temple of Zeus Olympios, with the intention of using them in renovation projects on the Capitoline in Rome.[14] Pausanias, condemning the sacrilegious acts of Sulla at Athens, says that the general behaved in the same way at Thebes and Orchomenos.[15] Only for the latter do we have specific information; in his discussion of the sanctuary in the Grove of the Muses, Pausanias describes –

[10] Plut. *Sull.* 12.4-5.
[11] Plut. *Sull.* 12.3-6.
[12] The event is examined in some detail by Dumézil (1970, 538-539). The chronology here is problematic; this event is recorded in Appian's narrative of the siege and sack of Athens (*Mith.* 39), but he says that it in fact happened "a little later."
[13] Paus. 10.21.6.
[14] Pliny, *HN* 36.5.45 (*...Athenis templum Iovis Olympii, ex quo Sulla Capitolinis aedibus advexerat columnas.*).
[15] Paus. 9.33.1.

in the passage quoted at the beginning of this study – a statue of Dionysos by Myron which had been taken from Orchomenos and rededicated by Sulla.[16] From a sanctuary of Athena in nearby Alalkomenai Sulla is said to have removed – we do not know to what location – "the very statue of Athena," clearly the cult statue of the temple.[17] In addition to these thefts of larger-scale works, which were set up in other places, we should note Sulla's appropriation of a small object for his personal "use" and for a private purpose: a small golden image of Apollo from Delphi became a talisman which he kept with him and to which he prayed before battles.[18]

Sulla and the gods

Reports of Sulla's conduct in Greece notwithstanding, it has been said of him that "religion played a greater part in his life than it did even in the lives of his pious fellow-countrymen."[19] This kind of observation, admittedly subjective and difficult to prove, is based in part on the emphasis given to dreams and portents in Sulla's memoirs. The testimony of the memoirs, however, seems to be corroborated by other sources, and probably provides an accurate reflection of the importance which Sulla regularly attached to such things in daily life. The question of *religio* aside, we can point to many instances in which Sulla appears as a man of great "conventional" piety. That is, at least, the picture that emerges from accounts of Sulla's activities in his native Italy, where "his *pietas* was visible in his working for his country and paying special attention to the sanctuaries of the

[16] Paus. 9.30.1.
[17] Paus. 9.33.5: τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα αὐτὸ συλήσας.
[18] Plutarch (*Sull.* 29.6) records the famous appeal of Sulla to the Apollo image before the Battle of the Colline Gate in 82.
[19] Keaveney 1983, 44.

gods as he did it."[20] Sulla's particular affinity for Apollo was evident from a fairly early date in his public career; as *praetor urbanus* in Rome, Sulla lavished unprecedented attention and funds on the celebration of the *ludi Apollinares*, games which owed their origins to one of his ancestors.[21] In the years between his return from the East in 83 and his death in 78 Sulla devoted himself to the building and restoration of various sanctuaries in Italy. Hercules was the prime beneficiary of much of this activity: three of his sanctuaries were either built or rebuilt, and a Hercules Sullanus (perhaps a statue, if not a shrine) was set up on the Esquiline.[22] In keeping with his *cognomen* Felix, Sulla honored Fortuna by building a temple to her as Primigenia at Praeneste.[23] The sanctuary of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina was refurbished and, although he was never able to carry them out, Sulla had plans to restore the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline.[24]

Religion and power

Keeping in mind the projected refurbishing of the Jupiter temple, which was to incorporate the column drums taken from the temple of Zeus Olympios in Athens, let us return to the question of Sulla's activities in Greek sanctuaries during the Mithridatic campaign. The case of the Olympieion illustrates a significant pattern in Sulla's *modus operandi*: the removal of sacred objects from one location to another. While in some instances – such as the mélée that ensued when Sulla's troops broke into Athens – sacred

[20] Ramage 1991, 115.
[21] Keaveney 1983, 56; Greenidge and Clay 1960, 123-24. The founder of the games was P. Cornelius Sulla (cf. *MRR* I, 268).
[22] See Ramage 1991, 114. Sulla rebuilt the temple of Hercules Custos near the Circus Flaminius (Ov. *Fast.* 6.209-12), as well as those of Hercules at Tibur and of Hercules Curinus near Sulmo.
[23] Sulla is often credited with a temple of Venus Felix near what would become the *Horti Sallustiani*; there is, however, no definitive evidence to link Sulla to it (see Balsdon 1951, 5-6).
[24] Ramage 1991, 113-14.

buildings and objects were damaged or destroyed, in situations outside the heat of battle we often see the appropriation of objects for a different, but still religious, purpose. The Olympieion columns, for example, which were removed not in the pillaging of Athens in 86, but during Sulla's visit to the city two years later, were to be reused in the renovation of a Roman temple.

In the first chapter I mentioned early precedents for this kind of appropriation, which seems to have become a feature of how Romans operated – one of which not all Romans approved – from the late second century on.[25] There I noted the general appeal of Greek art and architectural elements, which provided a new and magnificent kind of adornment for the Roman capital. From the standpoint of the victorious general, these imports served as tangible, public reminders of the magnitude of his exploits and successes. But looted cult statues were not merely *objets d'art* or symbols of Roman domination; they continued to have religious significance. As Susan Alcock rightly observes, "while a fascination with Greek art and a lust for loot cannot be denied, Roman consciousness of exactly what they were taking from the Greeks must also be allowed. Depriving one's enemy of sacred objects and possessing them yourself served two related purposes: defeating them in perpetuity and adding the power of their gods to your own symbolic arsenal."[26] This mentality, as we saw in Chapter One, underlay the practice of *evocatio*.[27] While no such formalized procedure was at work in Sulla's destruction of Athens or in his depredations elsewhere in Greece, the basic principle still applies.

[25] See above, Ch. 1, pp. 21-25.
[26] Alcock 1993, 179. On the idea of getting foreign gods on one's side, see the comments attributed to Sulla (Diod. Sic. 38/39.7.1): while the sanctuaries at Delphi, Olympia, and Epidauros were being plundered during the siege of Athens and her port, Sulla is said to have boasted that he could not lose a war when the gods were working with him by making contributions to his cause.
[27] See above, Ch. 1, pp. 23-24.

The idea of "depriving one's enemy of sacred objects" may shed some light on the "selective" nature of the Sullan destruction of Athens. The city's domestic architecture, which in modern times we might consider the center of a people's lives, was not targeted in the destruction and was generally left intact. On the other hand, there seems to have been a deliberate effort to strike buildings and monuments of significance to Athenian history and to the traditions of the Athenians. Some of these were civic in nature, such as the buildings in the Agora which, as symbols of the democratic ideal which constituted the city's greatest contribution to political history, went to the heart of Athenian self-identity (the Bouleuterion and the old Heliaia, or the monument of the Eponymous Heroes). Other monuments targeted by the Romans combined nationalistic and religious significance: the shields dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora and the sanctuary of Theseus, with its sculpture. It is also significant that, of the buildings sacred to Athena on the Acropolis, the Erechtheion seems to have sustained the most extensive damage. This shrine, the home of Athena Polias, the divine protectress of Athens, was the most significant to the Athenians in terms of cult practice.[28]

We turn now to the Greek perspective, and how Sulla's actions during his campaigns and after would have affected the Athenians and other Greeks. The theft and liquidation of treasure from sanctuaries – a sacrilege in any Greek's estimation – was in this case compounded by the fact that the money

[28] The extent of the Sullan damage has recently been assessed by Hoff, who notes that it "marks the first known occasion that Romans despoiled the city by taking away the treasures and artifacts of Athens' rich historical and cultural past, a practice that most certainly did not endear the Romans to the Athenians" (Hoff 1989, 270).

was to be used to prosecute a war against Greeks.[29] Equally sacrilegious, from the Greek point of view, were Sulla's acts of picking up sacred objects and moving them elsewhere. This notion, as stated in Chapter One, was fundamentally alien to Greeks and has no place in their religious tradition. For them, what had been consecrated to a god – whether a temple, a statue, or something else – remained in the same place, in its sacred context.[30] Thus Sulla's removal and rededication of the Dionysos statue, for instance, can only have been seen as an impious, foreign, and hostile act.

It is important to recognize that such acts were also psychologically destructive, since the removal of a cult statue left the god's former worshippers with a feeling of abandonment. At Alalkomenai, according to Pausanias, after Sulla looted the cult statue of Athena "the sanctuary...was neglected as a place abandoned by the goddess."[31] The significance of cult objects extended beyond their sanctity; they were also symbols critical to a community's sense of history and self-identity. And, as Alcock notes, "The magnitude of such losses would not have been diminished in the Roman period, when the past continued to form an essential part of civic self-definition."[32]

Thus far, in our discussion of Sulla and the Greeks, we have touched upon two forms of religious manipulation evident in the relationship between conquerors and the conquered: first, the destruction of religious

[29] Diodorus (38/39.7.1) is the only source to say that the revenues from the Greek sanctuaries were to fund the anticipated war in Italy, but since the plundering occurred during the siege of Athens – where we know that Sulla was in dire need of supplies, as he had begun to cut down groves around Athens for siege-engines (App. *Mith.* 30) – there seems to be no reason to doubt that the Greek treasures were used to pursue a war against (*inter alios*) Greeks.

[30] See above, Ch. 1, pp. 21-22.

[31] Paus. 9.33.4: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαλκομεναῖς ἠμελήθη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἅτε ἠρημωμένον τῆς θεοῦ.

[32] Alcock 1993, 178.

buildings and objects, and second, the metaphorical appropriation of a people's gods by the physical appropriation of their objects. Equally effective – and also visible in the activities of Sulla – is the inverse of that principle: the intrusion of Roman gods into the Greek landscape. Of the two trophies set up by Sulla at Chaeronea to commemorate his victory over Mithridates, one was in the plain, marking the actual turning-point of the battle, while another on Mount Thurion gave special notice to two Greeks who had played a prominent role in its outcome. Both monuments honored the triad of Mars, Venus, and Victoria. There is some question as to the language used in the inscriptions, as neither trophy survives complete and details about them appear only in Plutarch, who says that the trophies had inscribed on them the names of "Ares, Nike, and Aphrodite."[33] This should not, I think, be taken to indicate that either of the dedications was written entirely in Greek. In particular, Plutarch's special mention of the fact that the part of the Thurion monument which commended the Greek allies is "in Greek letters" would seem to imply that the rest was in Latin. In addition, a parallel for a Sullan dedication to Mars in Latin exists at Sicyon.[34] If, as I think highly likely, the dedicatory portions of both inscriptions were in Latin, the trophies would be extremely effective reminders of Roman presence in Greece. Sulla's trophies – which were well-known among Greeks, as they were represented on coins – would assert that the Roman gods were at work, and deserved a place, in the Greek sphere.[35]

[33] See Plut. *Sull.* 19.9-10. Pausanias (9.40.4) says only that Sulla erected two trophies at Chaeronea. In 1990 a group from the American School found part of the base of the Thourion monument (Camp et al. 1992). It preserves the part of the inscription that honors the Greek allies and is – as Plutarch says – "in Greek letters;" we still do not have the portions of the two trophies that recorded Sulla's name and the divine triad.

[34] *CIL* I² 2828 (offering by "Sulla imperator" to Mars).

[35] For the coins, see Thompson 1961, 430-39, nos. 1341-45.

Sulla, Venus, and Aphrodite

Sulla's dedication of the trophy is not merely an assertion of power, however, but also an outward expression of the *pietas*, the attention to the gods, that characterized the general's activities in Rome itself. It is significant that Venus figured among the gods honored at Chaeronea, since Sulla seems to have advertised a special connection with this goddess. There is some debate as to the date at which this connection began to be promoted; as we will see, it is clearly reflected in Sulla's activities during his campaigns in Greece and Asia Minor.

First, we must consider the cognomen adopted by Sulla in the East. Plutarch's comment in the *Moralia* that Sulla, known as Felix in Rome, called himself "Epaphroditos" in the Chaeronean inscriptions and on other Greek monuments brings us to another aspect of Sulla's relationship both with the gods – Venus in particular – and with Greeks.[36] As others have noted, Sulla's chosen Roman *cognomen*, Felix, carries greater significance than standard *cognomina* referring to personal characteristics or commemorating one's military exploits (as, for example, "Magnus" or "Africanus"), as it indicates a special relationship between the man and the divine.[37] In addition to his self-proclaimed *felicitas*, Sulla cultivated, and advertised, special connections with Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, Venus, and Hercules.[38] The principle here – to solidify one's power and justify one's actions by claiming to have divine sanction – would prove to be of enormous significance through the end of the republic and beyond; after Sulla it became increasingly common for Roman generals, political hopefuls, and emperors to assert special connections with various

[36] Plut. *Mor.* 318c.
[37] Keaveney 1983, 45-47.
[38] Sulla also associated himself, though perhaps to a lesser extent, with Victoria, Diana, the Dioscuri, Janus, and Saturn; see Ramage 1991, 117.

deities.[39] The idea was not a new one, of course; it had already been employed by powerful Romans,[40] and was certainly common among Hellenistic monarchs – a point to which we will return.

Sulla's *cognomen* Felix, then, carried specific connotations for Romans – but what of his choice to use the name Epaphroditos in Greece? The Greek translation of *felix*, as Plutarch notes, would be εὐτυχῆς.[41] The chronology of events in the eighties B.C., however, makes it unlikely that Sulla was ever concerned with translating his Roman *cognomen* for Greeks: by the time the cognomen Felix was officially conferred on Sulla by the Senate (November 82), the name Epaphroditos was already in use in Greece.[42] How, then, do we explain its origin? Balsdon suggests that "Epaphroditos," while it has no more to do with a pre-existing tie between Sulla and the Roman Venus than it does with the name Felix, has much to do with Sulla and the Greek Aphrodite.[43] He argues that the connection originates with the oracle Sulla received at Delphi upon his arrival in Greece in 87:[44]

> πείθεό μοι, Ῥωμαῖε. κράτος μέγα Κύπρις ἔδωκεν
> Αἰνείου γενεῇ μεμελημένη. ἀλλὰ σὺ πᾶσιν
> ἀθανάτοις ἐπέτεια τίθει. μὴ λήθεο τῶνδε·
> Δελφοῖς δῶρα κόμιζε. καὶ ἔστι τις ἀμβαίνουσι
> Ταύρου ὑπὸ νιφόεντος, ὅπου περιμήκετον ἄστυ
> Καρῶν, οἳ ναίουσιν ἐπώνυμον ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης·
> ᾗ πέλεκυν θέμενος λήψῃ κράτος ἀμφιλαφές σοι.
>
> Roman, believe me. Cypris gave the line of Aeneas great power and is its patron. Make your yearly gifts to the immortals. And do not forget the following: bring gifts to Delphi. There is a place under the snowy (side of) Taurus, where is the

[39] On the advantages to be gained by claiming divine support in the Roman republic, see Wardman 1982, 29-30.

[40] The elder Africanus is a conspicuous example; he thought himself divinely inspired and encouraged this belief among his troops. See Polyb. 10.2.5ff.; 10.5.8; 10.7.3; 10.9.2ff.; 10.11.7; Livy 26.19.3ff.

[41] Plut. *Sull.* 34.2

[42] Balsdon (1951, 9) was the first to make this suggestion, which must be correct if the trophy which Plutarch saw at Chaeronea was set up before Sulla returned from his eastern campaigns.

[43] Balsdon 1951, 1-10. See also the discussion in Dumézil (1970, 540-541)

[44] The verses are preserved in Appian's history (*B Civ.* 1.97).

> well-walled city of the Carians, whose town is called after Aphrodite; there, having dedicated an axe, you will get supreme power.

The hexameters, according to the convention of the time, address the Roman as a descendant of Aeneas – thus making reference to the Roman Venus Genetrix, though in the oracle she is called Κύπρις. Sulla carried out the injunction of the oracle – the dedication of an axe at the shrine of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias in Caria – by sending an axe and a gold crown, accompanied by a dedicatory epigram in Greek.

This connection with the Carian Aphrodite may be further illustrated by a frieze on the Carian temple of Hecate at Lagina. On the cella walls of the temple are recorded a series of deliberations which took place in the Roman senate in 81 B.C., as a result of which Caria was rewarded for her loyalty during the Mithridatic wars with special privileges. The Hecate temple was decorated with a frieze representing Carian and Roman deities. Among the latter, Picard recognized the triad of Mars, Venus, and Victoria – the same group to which Sulla dedicated his Chaeronean trophy, and a group not otherwise attested before this period. On the frieze the gods stand around a trophy; Picard identifies this with trophies which also appear on Aphrodisian coins, and which he thinks must be Sulla's trophy from Chaeronea.[45] For the Carians, this would have been a symbol of the elimination of the Pontic threat and of the benefactions of their friends the Romans.

The Sulla/Aphrodite connection implicit in "Epaphroditos," then, seems to have originated in the Greek world, and may have had later implications for the Roman Venus.[46] Schilling notes that "D'abord,

[45] Picard 1957, 175-6.

[46] The nature of Sulla's connection with Venus is a matter of some dispute. For arguments in favor of a Sullan cult of Venus Felix at Rome (mentioned nowhere in the ancient sources), see Wissowa 1912, 291 and Schilling 1954, 272-295. Balsdon (1951, 1-10) is sceptical. An up-to-date survey of the problem can be found in Rives 1994, 296-299.

(l'initiative de Sylla) a étendu les limites de sa jurisdiction. Sans atteindre jamais le rayonnement du temple du Mont Eryx, le sanctuaire d'Aphrodisias devient pour les Romains un "pèlerinage" rattaché au culte de Vénus. (...) L'initiative de Sylla a provoqué ensuite un élargissement de la personalité de Vénus."[47] In short, the actions of Sulla in the East facilitated associations among Romans between their Venus and the Greek Aphrodite.

Among the coins struck by Sulla in his own honor in the East (in 82 and 81) is a type carrying the head of Venus on the obverse.[48] What did this accomplish for Sulla in the Greek world? By emphasizing his connection with Venus, Sulla presented two aspects of his image: his piety and his status as a man favored and protected by the goddess. It is yet another form – though, to be sure, not a novel form – of manipulation of the divine for one's own purposes. Sulla uses the image of Venus to enhance his own image among the people in his power.[49]

Sullan *pietas*

Much of the preceding discussion of Sulla in Greece has focused on expressions of power and domination, but this is not the whole story. What complicates the inquiry is an issue raised earlier – namely, Sulla's reputation for piety at Rome and the apparent difficulty of reconciling it with his activities during the Mithridatic campaign. The difficulty may not, in fact, be so great. While in the last several pages we have been concerned primarily

[47] Schilling 1982, 294.
[48] Balsdon 1951, 9.
[49] Cf. Dumézil (1970, 541), who says that Sulla made "use of this cult for his own advancement" and Ramage (1991, 102): "In Aphrodite/Venus, then, Sulla is able to combine East and West and so create an image for himself which is easily understood by the Greeks, but which at the same time can be readily understood by the Romans." I would not, however, extend the notion of syncretism as far as Dumézil does when he calls this "a time when any Roman saying 'Venus' thought 'Aphrodite,' and vice versa" (Dumézil 1970, 540 n. 13).

with impieties, we have also seen instances of pious behavior, outward displays of respect for the gods – in Sulla's visit to the oracle at Delphi, his dedication to the triad of deities at Chaeronea, and his attention to the cult of Aphrodite in Aphrodisias. Of particular interest is the Apollo statuette that Sulla took from Delphi and used thereafter as a sort of talisman. Here we are dealing not with a public act but a private one – not an assertion of power or a message to the Greeks, but a reflection of how Sulla conceived of his personal relationship with the gods. The statuette was the concrete manifestation of the support that Sulla believed Apollo to be giving to his undertakings.

When we consider the larger picture of Sulla's dealings with the Greeks – that is, when we look beyond the context of war – we find other instances in which Sulla displayed respect for Greek gods. We find Sulla, for example, involved in matters of religious law and the administration of sanctuaries. A senatorial decree from Stratonicea (dated to 82 or 81) is prefaced by a letter from Sulla which provides for the inviolability of the sanctuary of Hecate.[50] Plutarch says that after Chaeronea Sulla consecrated half of the territory of the Thebans to Pythian Apollo and Olympian Zeus, stipulating that its revenues be used to pay the gods back for what he had taken from them.[51] An edict from Oropos dating to 80 records that Sulla, in fulfilment of a vow, assigned additional land to the Amphiaraion and allotted its revenues for religious celebrations.[52]

The Greek response

Sulla's desire to "repay" the gods may have been a matter of personal

[50] *OGI* 441.55-57, 111-112, 131-136.
[51] Plut. *Sull.* 19.6.
[52] *Syll.*[3] 747.43-5, 46-51.

religious scruple after the fact, but he must have been aware that in making reparations he would placate not only the gods but also the offended sensibilities of many Greeks. To what extent did he succeed? It was most likely after Sulla's donation that the people of Oropos set up an inscription honoring Sulla Epaphroditos as their "savior and benefactor," made an offering to Amphiaraios and Hygieia on behalf of Sulla's wife, and joined Thebes and Athens in hosting local religious games in his honor.[53] Little is known about the Athenian games, the Sylleia, which are attested only for the year 80/79. It is uncertain whether they were celebrated before this date, and it is extremely unlikely that they continued after Sulla's abdication in the summer of 79.[54] Raubitschek has suggested that the Athenians did not create the Sylleia as a new festival, but renamed a old one, perhaps the Theseia or the Epitaphia, in Sulla's honor.[55] Sulla had restored to Athens the islands of Imbros, Lemnos, Scyros, and Delos, and Day is probably correct to identify this benefaction as the motivation for the Athenian honors.[56] As we saw in Chapter Two, the Roman donation of Delos to Athens in 166 was immediately followed by the establishment of games, the Romaia, on the island.

Thus the dictator did make conciliatory overtures to Greeks and

[53] For Oropos, see *IG* VII 264, 372 (dedications) and *Syll.*[3] 747.47-49 (games). An inscription from Acraiphion likewise calls Sulla a "savior and benefactor" (*AE* 1971.448). Plutarch records that games for Sulla were held in Thebes (*Sull.* 19.11).

[54] The date is based on an inscription honoring the ephebes for their services during the year, among which was the performance of sacrifices at the Sylleia (*IG* II[2] 1039.57). The inscription, dated by the archon, cannot be earlier than 80/79 (Raubitschek 1951, 50). Sulla visited Athens in 84, but there is no way of knowing if the festival was in place at that time.

[55] Raubitschek 1951. An inscription found in the Agora (published by Raubitschek in this article, p. 51), the dedication of a herm by a victor in the Sylleia, mentions a torch-race. Similar dedications exist for victors of the Theseia and Epitaphia, festivals in which the ephebes played a role (see above, Ch. 2, p. 61) – as they clearly also did in the short-lived Sylleia.

[56] Day 1942, 128.

received some recognition for them. It is of course impossible to equate that recognition with true reconciliation; as the head of Rome, Sulla was someone who had to be honored. We should also note, in connection with the stories of Sulla's benefactions to Delphi, Olympia, and Oropos, that in consecrating new lands and their revenues to the gods Sulla is again doing what Pausanias says he did on Helicon. He is "worshipping the gods with other people's incense."

Was Sulla excessively harsh – or, as Pausanias says, "un-Roman" – in his treatment of Greek sanctuaries?[57] Sulla and his men certainly committed acts which must have been seen by Greeks as sacrilegious affronts to their gods, but this kind of behavior was neither unprecedented nor unparallelled in their own day. On the Greek side, the defender of Athens, the tyrant Aristion, was guilty of at least one of the impieties attributed to Sulla: the theft of religious objects for the conduct of his war. Poseidonius reports that Aristion "did not only plunder the property of citizens, but also that of foreigners, and even stretched out his hands to seize the sacred treasures at Delos."[58] Such behavior is attested for the Pontic forces as well, who, in the days before the battle at Orchomenos, "are said...to have sacked Lebadeia and despoiled its oracle."[59] Grosser impieties, such as acts resulting in blood-guilt, were committed by both Romans and Greeks in the years of the Mithridatic struggle. The Roman commander Fimbria, who arrived in the East in 85 with the intention of taking over the Mithridatic command, is said to have sacked Ilium, "sparing neither the sacred objects nor those who had fled to

[57] Paus. 9.33.6: Σύλλα δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἀνήμερα καὶ ἤθους ἀλλότρια τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ...
[58] Posidonius *apud Ath.* 5.214d.
[59] Plut. *Sull.* 16.4.

Athena's temple, but burning them together with the temple."[60] Three years before, the Asiatic Greeks had committed similar acts during the massacre of Italians ordered by Mithridates: according to Appian, many Italians were slain as they clasped the images of the gods at Ephesus, Pergamon, Caunon, and Tralles.[61]

Appian's conclusion that "it was as much their hatred of the Romans as their fear of Mithridates that brought the Asiatics to the point of committing such atrocities" may put the impieties of Sulla and others into their proper context. The Mithridatic wars were conducted, on all sides, with an intensity born of certain basic motives. The Asiatic and mainland Greeks were chiefly motivated, as Appian says, by their dissatisfaction with Roman rule; their response, the indiscriminate massacre of Italians, as well as the perceived betrayal of Athens and other cities who had gone over to Mithridates, engendered the desire for revenge which was a primary motivation on the Roman side. It is clear that the Mithridatic wars, like other wars, created a kind of topsy-turvydom, in which the basic "rules" of life – including religious ones – did not always apply. We should keep in mind, too, that most of our sources for this period are late, written by authors not immediately in touch with the time and events they describe. Pausanias, in characterizing Sulla as "un-Roman," most likely does not mean that Sulla behaved differently from others of his contemporary fellow-countrymen (as the example of Fimbria shows). The implicit comparison, I think, is not between Sulla and his peers but between Sulla and great Romans of the past.

[60] App. *Mith.* 53. Pausanias (1.20.4) is the only source for the story that Sulla murdered Aristion in a temple of Athena; he connects this impious act with the consuming disease with which Sulla was later afflicted (the disease is again mentioned, and again associated with divine retribution, at 9.33.4).

[61] App. *Mith.* 23.

To many, Sulla exemplified the moral deterioration which became such a common topos in writings from the first century B.C. onward. Plutarch, for example, gives much attention to the comparisions made by the Delphic Amphictyons between Sulla and the Roman generals who came to Greece in the second century, not only leaving the country's sanctuaries intact but contributing to their greatness.[62]

Sulla was clearly influenced by the precedents of Hellenistic monarchs. In defiance of Roman tradition (but backed by strong Hellenistic precedent), he assumed the right to mint gold coins in his own honor in the East.[63] We have seen that Sulla cultivated connections with an oriental cult – that of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias – and that he wished to advertise himself, as Alexander and his successors often did, as a favorite of the gods. His motive, as Balsdon notes, is not difficult to divine: ambitious generals in Rome coveted Sulla's eastern commission, and Sulla could hope to solidify his position in Greece by "building up something of a myth about himself."[64] In addition, peoples in the East were accustomed to having rulers who had special, personal connections with a deity. An effective way to rule them was to assume (as Alexander did) the role of the god they were used to obeying.

Much of our disscussion has centered on issues of religion and power. It is worthwhile to summarize here some of the basic principles that I have emphasized along the way. The removal of sacred objects, a running theme in this study, is again at issue – here, in the "selective" destruction of Athens and in the theft of treasure from Greek sanctuaries. As we have seen, these acts, for the conquered, constitute the most thorough form of defeat. I have

[62] Paus. 9.33.4 and Plut. *Sull.* 12.6. See above, Ch. 1 pp. 16-19 on the activities of Roman generals of the early second century in Greece.
[63] Schilling 1982, 280.
[64] Balsdon 1951, 10.

also suggested that Sulla imported Roman gods into the Greek landscape, by making a dedication in Latin to Mars, Venus, and Victoria at Chaeronea. Sulla's self-promoted connection with Venus/Aphrodite had implications not only for the Roman Venus, but also for his image in Greece as a favorite of the goddess.

We have also examined the issue of Sullan *pietas*. Sulla's outward displays of piety – such as the reparations made to Greek gods – may have played a role in the honors paid to him by Greek cities and sanctuaries. The more private and personal dimension seen in his appropriation and use of the Apollo statuette is a reflection of Sulla's belief in the favor he thought the gods showed to him. The stolen image of Apollo illustrates an important point about the different religious mentalities of Greeks and Romans: what Greeks considered an impiety – the theft of a sacred object from a sanctuary – was for Sulla a reflection of his own *felicitas*, what he saw as his special relationship with the gods.

2. Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar

exhausit totas quamvis dilectus Athenas
exiguae Phoebea tenent navalia puppes
tresque petunt veram credi Salamina carinae.

Although the levy drained all Athens, a few
of her vessels gained the harbor of Apollo.
Three ships claim credence for the story of Salamis.
Lucan, *Pharsalia* 3.181-183

The effects of Sulla's siege, partial destruction, and plundering of Athens continued to be felt in every sphere of Athenian life – cultural, religious, and political – in the decades that followed. While the city repaired what damage she could, and learned to live with what she could not, at Rome a new generation of politicians arose to claim the legacy left by Sulla and Marius: the possibility of gaining supreme power through the army. It became traditional to break with tradition, as those generals had done. Unusual circumstances were invoked more often, extraordinary honors and commands gained more readily.

The young Gnaeus Pompeius is a conspicuous example. Having received a special command during the turmoil that followed upon the death of Sulla in 78, he reached the consulship in 70 with no prior tenure of an elected office. In the subsequent decade Pompey found himself in possession of two special commands, both of which brought him into contact with the Greek world. In 67 he led a campaign against the pirates plaguing Mediterranean trade routes, and in 66 he assumed the place of L. Licinius Lucullus in the ongoing war against Mithridates, which would end with the death of the Pontic king in 63. These years in the East would prove to be the foundation of Pompey's political future, providing him with the wealth and

connections needed to fight his rivals.

Outstanding among these was Gaius Julius Caesar, who like Pompey had received special dispensations and commands during his rise to power. Pompey's exploits in the East were matched by Caesar's in the west, and when the inevitable final conflict between the two generals came, it took place on ground that fell roughly in the middle of the two arenas: mainland Greece. At Pharsalus in 48 the Athenians, along with the rest of the Greeks, pledged their support to one of the two sides. In this section we will consider, from an Athenian point of view, both the background and the aftermath of that battle. The former is almost solely the story of Pompey, who was on friendly terms with Athens throughout his career, while the latter brings us to Caesar, the victor at Pharsalus.

Pompey in the East

Magnus (ὁ μέγας in the Greek-speaking world), the *cognomen* assumed by Pompey after the African campaign of 82-1, unmistakably invited comparisons with Alexander. Indeed, as Pompey in 67 swept piracy from the Mediterranean, effecting in just three months the lasting solution that had eluded other Roman generals for decades, he must have appeared as a second Alexander. The effects of piracy had become unbearable, and not just for Rome. All communities that depended extensively on commerce had suffered heavily and felt immense gratitude to Pompey for his efforts. Pompey's successes in 67 were a significant aid to him as he assembled a network of clients in the East and generally gained the favor of eastern cities.

The Athenians, who relied on imported grain and had been troubled by the depredations of the Mediterranean pirates, naturally gave Pompey

enthusiastic support for his enterprise. Plutarch's account of the general's brief stop in Athens on his way east suggests that the Athenians were already well-acquainted with the general – and well-disposed towards him – even before he accomplished his military successes of 67. The story attests to a great deal of mutual goodwill, significant for us because it is manifested entirely within the religious sphere:[65]

> ἐπειγόμενος δὲ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ παραπλέων τὰς πόλεις ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, ὅμως οὐ παρῆλθε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀναβὰς δὲ καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσαγορεύσας τὸν δῆμον εὐθὺς ἀπιὼν ἀνεγίνωσκεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένα μονόστιχα, τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς πύλης·
>
> Ἐφ' ὅσον ὢν ἄνθρωπος οἶδας, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἶ θεός.
>
> τὸ δ' ἐκτός·
>
> Προσεδοκῶμεν, προσεκυνοῦμεν, εἴδομεν, προπέμπομεν.
>
> Although the crisis was pressing and he was sailing past other cities in his haste, he still did not pass Athens by, but went up, sacrificed to the gods, and addressed the people. Right as he was leaving he read two inscriptions, each of one verse, addressed to him. One was inside the gate:
>
> "As far as you know that you are mortal, so far are you a god."
>
> The other was outside:
>
> "We were awaiting (you), we were making obeisance, we saw, and (now) we send you forth."

First, to examine the episode from Pompey's side. Despite his haste to sail against the pirates, Pompey put in at Athens long enough to sacrifice to the gods and to address the *demos*. The event is extremely noteworthy, although it has not attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. Certain details remain obscure, such as the location of Pompey's sacrifice and the gods to whom he made it. Our clues, ἀναβάς and πύλη, are not really conclusive. The prefix of ἀναβάς could mean simply that Pompey went "inland" from the harbor, or it might suggest that he went "up." If the latter, we are tempted to imagine that Pompey climbed the acropolis at Athens to sacrifice to the gods of the city. Plutarch's lack of specificity (θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς) at first seems to offer no help, but the generic nature of the phrase may in fact be significant: when

[65] Plut. *Pomp.* 27.3.

one reads of "Athens" and then of "the gods," one thinks immediately of the cults of the acropolis. The second clue is equally ambiguous; the πύλη on which Pompey read the inscribed lines of verse could just as well be the acropolis gate as one of the city gates.

There is no way to know for certain if Pompey, when he made his brief visit, proceeded all the way to the heart of Athens, or merely came a short distance inside one of her gates. The vision of the Roman general climbing the acropolis to sacrifice to the gods of Athens is certainly the more arresting one, and more appealing to the imagination.[66] That in itself may be instructive. Pompey would certainly have been aware of the image he was presenting to the Athenians, and by what means to make it more appealing. His sacrifice to Athenian gods – which we should, I think, imagine as taking place on the Athenian acropolis – would have been a highly dramatic gesture. The question of the "sincerity" of this expression of veneration for the Athenian gods is impossible to answer, and is not at any rate the real issue. Plutarch's story is important for what it tells us about the place of religious considerations in successful "public relations" with foreign peoples, a matter already discussed in the context of Sulla's activites in the Greek east. Pompey made a significant statement by making a special stop in Athens to address the *demos* and to sacrifice to the gods of the city – particularly as he was on his way east to secure the safety of Athens and other eastern communities. And he made that statement in full awareness of the effect it would have on the Athenians.

Next we look at Plutarch's account in terms of the Athenians' reception of Pompey. Immediately striking is the wording of the two verses said to

[66] In 286 King Pyrrhus had made a dramatic entrance into Athens, first climbing the Acropolis to sacrifice to Athena (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 12.6-7).

have been inscribed on the gates. Although the anonymous author(s) of these lines do not explicitly address Pompey as a god, they stop just short of it, and definitely play on the idea of divine status for a human being. The second verse is particularly noteworthy, for what it suggests about the depth of the Athenians' veneration for the man who was setting out to make the world safe for commerce: the verb προσκυνεῖν unmistakably connotes a specific kind of divine reverence. Proskynesis, eastern in origin, is the type of reverence traditionally shown to the king of Persia. Alexander appropriated it and, with mixed results, attempted to impose it on the Greeks. One cannot but be reminded here of his court. To return to the point from which we started, then, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, as he set out against the pirates– headed for successes that would make him the master of the East – was indeed well on his way to becoming a second Alexander.

Once Pompey had eliminated the threat of piracy from the Mediterranean, his divine status was confirmed. That, at least, seems to have been the case on Delos, where the Athenian mercantile colony had suffered both a decrease in trade volume and a second sack (in 69), this time at the hands of pirates allied with Mithridates. Delos and her population, which had never truly recovered from the Mithridatic destruction of 88, all but disappear from history after 69. Before they do so, however, we hear of a new cult. Two inscriptions attest to an association of *Pompeiastai*, which on the analogy of the other associations on the island (see above, Ch. 2, pp. 41-43) must refer to a religious group devoted to the worship of Pompey:

IDélos 1641: Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθη[ναίων καὶ ἡ σύνοδος]
τῶν Πομπηιασ[τῶν τῶν ἐν Δήλωι Γναῖον]
Πομπήιον Γν[αίου υἱὸν Μέγαν]

αὐτοκράτορ[α Ἀπόλλονι, Ἀρτέμιδι, Λητοῖ?]
[ἄρ]χοντος δὲ τῆς συνόδου Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ζηνο - -
συναγωγέως δὲ διὰ βίου Αὔλου Καλο[υί]ου τοῦ - -
γραμματεύοντος τῆς συνόδου τὸ τρίτον Λ - -
Διονυσίου τοῦ Ληναίου δημοσίου *vide?*

IDélos 1797: [Αἱ ἄλλαι σύν]οδοι ἥ τε τῶν
Πομπηιαστῶν [καὶ]
[οἱ ξένοι? οἱ τὴν ν]ῆσον [κατο]ικ[οῦντες

Who were the Pompeiastai? The Delian groups we examined in Chapter Two – the Apolloniastai, Hermaistai, and Poseidoniastai – were composed of and led by Italian merchants residing on the island. They convened in customary meeting-places and made dedications to various deities in the name of their associations. The text of *IDélos* 1641 suggests that the organization of the Pompeiastai was fundamentally different. First, we note that not only is the dedication offered in the name of the Athenian *demos* as well as that of the Pompeiastai, a combination that does not appear in the dedications of the Italian associations, but the Athenians appear first in the pair. Perhaps the impulse to grant this honor to Pompey originated in Athens and was brought to fruition with the help of the Delian Pompeiastai, who had a statue and inscription made and put up. In any case, the Athenians seems to have been more closely connected with the Pompeiastai than with the Italian associations we have examined. Second, the name given in the inscription for the archon of the association – Zenon – would seem to rule out the possibility that the Pompeiastai were another group composed of Italian businessmen. This is not to say that the group was entirely Greek either; its συναγωγεύς, for whom the *praenomen* Aulus and the *nomen gentilicium* Calvius are recorded, must have been Roman (or, at least, Italian). The phrase διὰ βίου attached to the title of his office, characteristic of

priesthoods at this time, is thus another indication that we are dealing with a full-fledged cult of Pompey the Great on Delos. If we assume that the cult was established in 67, in gratitude to Pompey for his defeat of the pirates in that year, the earliest possible date of *IDélos* 1641 is 65, since the organization's γραμματεύς is performing his office for the third time.

It is possible that there was a "branch" of the Pompeiastai in Athens as well. That, at least, is the implication of the inscription discussed above, if the two major restorations of it are correct. Both editions of the text (*IDélos* 1641=*Syll.*^{3} 749A) supply the phrase τῶν ἐν Δήλωι after τῶν Πονπηιασ[τῶν in the second line.[67] The modifier would be otiose if there were not an intention to distinguish between an association of Pompeiastai on Delos and one elsewhere, presumably at Athens.

Unfortunately, the second inscription (*IDélos* 1797) is too fragmentary to contribute much beyond the fact that an association of Pompeiastai was active on Delos. Of greatest interest to us would be the third line, which has been heavily restored. If the original text did in fact speak of οἱ ξένοι οἱ τὴν νῆσον κατοικοῦντες in addition to (and thus implicitly in contast with) the Pompeiastai, it would provide further evidence that the organization of the Pompeiastai was primarily composed of non-foreigners, i.e. non-Italians.

It would not be surprising to find Athenians sponsoring or participating in a cult devoted to Pompey, given his services in the operation against the pirates. His elimination of that threat, as it secured not only the physical safety of Athens but also her food supply, and held the promise of renewed prosperity on Athenian Delos, would have qualified him as a σωτήρ

[67] The only major differences in the editions are as follows: *Syll.* gives τὸ κοινόν instead of ἡ σύνοδος in line 1 and ends line 4 at Ἀπόλλονι. *IDélos* seems to be correct in conjecturing ἡ σύνοδος in the first line, given τῆς συνόδου in line 6.

of the city. The cult would have been an honor consistent with those granted to Hellenistic monarchs who were also seen as "saviors." The practice had ample precedent both in Athens and on Delos, where several such cults are attested.[68]

The awarding of special honors to Pompey at Athens in 67 would provide a reasonable context for his actions during his next visit to the city, on his return from the Mithridatic campaign in 62. Plutarch reports that the victorious general, after stops in Mytilene and Rhodes, went to Athens, where he bestowed largesse on Athenian philosophers and on the city at large.[69] His donation of fifty talents to Athens was earmarked for "restoration," probably of Sullan damage.[70] We do not know exactly how these funds were used, but it seems likely that the Piraeus, which had suffered terribly in 87/6, was the prime beneficiary. Pompey knew that his power lay in the East, far from Rome, and it is possible that as early as 62 he envisioned using Piraeus for the construction and deployment of the fleet he would need to safeguard his position.

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[68] For a summary of ruler cults on Delos, see Bruneau 1970, 577-578. Such honors are attested for Antigonos I and Demetrios I, Ptolemy Soter, Ptolemy Philadelphus, Arsinoe Philadelphe, and Mithridates Eupator. Bruneau concludes from his survey of these that "Aucun culte royal n'a été institué à Délos par la cité, ni même, après 166, par Athènes." The latest example prior to the formation of the Pompeiastai was the construction by the priest of the Samothracian gods of a νάος for the worship of Mithridates Eupator. That case, in fact, may provide an interesting parallel. An inscription on a bronze vase found at Antium contains the phrase τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου Εὐπατοριστᾶις, apparently referring to a group similar to our Pompeiastai. The vase is of unknown provenance, and thus cannot be connected for certain with the Delian cult of Mithridates Eupator. Even if the inscription cannot be cited as a Delian precedent for the Pompeiastai, it seems to refer to the same kind of organization.

For ruler-cult at Athens, see Parker 1996, 258-263 (discussion of Demetrios Poliorcetes, Antigonos I, Antigonos Gonatas, Ptolemy III).

[69] Plut. *Pomp.* 42.4-5.

[70] Plut. *Pomp.* 42.6 (τῇ πόλει δὲ ἐπιδοὺς εἰς ἐπισκευὴν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα...).

Pharsalus and the Athenians

The sources fall silent for the decade of the 50's, but what they say when they pick up again around 49 suggests that Pompey did plan some role for Piraeus and for other Greek ports in his struggle against Caesar. We know from Caesar's own account of the months before Pharsalus that Pompey saw to the building of a great fleet "in all locations," and can infer from the actions of Q. Fufius Calenus, Caesar's *legatus pro praetore* for 49-47, that various Greek ports figured among those.[71] Calenus, sent to Greece before Pharsalus to "convince" communities loyal to Pompey to change sides, captured among other places Piraeus, which Dio says was unwalled at the time.[72] If Piraeus was worth taking in 49, it seems likely that the port had regained some of her former status since the Sullan destruction in 86 and, further, that she played some role in Pompey's plans.

Athens suffered greatly for her allegiance to Pompey. Dio's statement that Calenus did a great deal of damage to Athenian territory – although he was unable to take the city itself – corroborates the testimony of Servius Sulpicius, who in a letter to Cicero describes the sorry state of Piraeus and other famous Greek ports a few years later:[73]

> Ex Asia rediens cum ab Aegina Megaram versus navigarem, coepi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Aegina, ante me Megara, dextra Piraeus, sinistra Corinthus quae oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos iacent.
>
> On my way back from Asia, as I was sailing from Aegina towards Megara, I began to look at the surrounding areas. Aegina behind me, Megara in front, Piraeus on the right, Corinth on the left – at one time such thriving towns –

[71] Caes. *BCiv.* 3.3: *Pompeius...magnam...classem coegerat, magnam omnibus locis aedificandam curaverat.*
[72] Cass. Dio 42.14.1.
[73] Cass. Dio 42.14.1 and Cic. *Fam.* 4.5.4 (45 B.C.). Day (1942, 130) associates the condition of all these ports with the events of 49 B.C.

now lay prostrate, in ruins, before my eyes.

The destruction brought about by Calenus and his fifteen cohorts is a benchmark in Greek history, and deserves a larger place than it has received in studies of the period. For Athens, a city so severely demoralized just one generation before, the effects must have been overwhelming. It is possible that in 49 Athens lost, in addition to her port, her possession of Oropos – another Attic port city – and the sanctuary of Amphiaraios housed there. Around this time "the *demos* of the Oropians" erected a statue of Calenus, hailing him as their "savior and benefactor," perhaps in thanks for liberating them from Athenian control.[74]

The Athenians persisted in their support of Pompey and contributed what they could to his cause on the day of the battle. Lucan, in the lines of the *Pharsalia* quoted at the beginning of this section, tells us that Athens sent three ships, and Appian includes the Athenians in a catalogue of Greeks who joined the Pompeian army.[75] This latter passage, though it presents problems of interpretation, repays close examination because of its reference to an Athenian cult:

> ἐστράτευον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, κηρυξάντων μὲν αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρων μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἱεροὺς τῶν Θεσμοφόρων...

The principal difficulty is the lack of grammatical specificity, which allows the genitive absolute, the pronoun αὐτούς, and the adjective ἱερούς to be fitted to a number of different interpretations. The translation that seems best to me is as follows:[76]

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[74] *IG* VII 380. For the argument that this inscription relates to a liberation of Oropos from Athens, see Oikonomides 1979, 99.

[75] Lucan, *Pharsalia* 3.181-3 and App. *B Civ.* 2.70.

[76] For the interpretation accepted by many see Owens 1976, 720: "...Appian records that previously both sides had sent embassies to Athens to ask the Athenians not to participate in the coming struggle on the pretext of religious duties."

> Athenians were campaigning also, although both (Roman) sides had proclaimed that the army would do no harm to them (the Athenians), since they were sacred to the Thesmophoroi.

This interpretation, if correct, would mean that both Caesar and Pompey promised to spare Athens on religious grounds. It is unclear how we should reconcile this notice in Appian with Dio's statement that Calenus tried unsuccessfully to seize Athens. Either the proclamation was issued after the attempt failed, or Dio, unaware of such a proclamation, simply assumed that Athens, because she remained safe while her outlying territory was ravaged, withstood an attack by Calenus. In any case, despite the problems with the Appian passage, it is significant for us that at least one of Appian's sources on Pharsalus connected religious scruple with the conduct of a war in which Romans and Athenians were involved. The story demonstrates an awareness of, and respect for, an Athenian religious tradition on the part of the Romans.

The identification of that religious tradition may also be significant. Appian's Θεσμοφόρων is not a reference to the Athenian festival of the Thesmophoria, a celebration for women, but to Athens' connection with the goddesses at Eleusis. As we saw in Chapter Three, this was the Athenian cult most popular with, and most respected by, the Romans, and Athens found it advantageous to play up her association with Eleusis at various points in her dealings with Rome. The months before Pharsalus may have been such a time.

Athens clearly did not capitalize on the opportunity offered to her to avoid involvement in the struggle between Caesar and Pompey. Athenians did fight at Pharsalus. Appian, in the sequel to the passage quoted above, says that they did so because of the magnitude of the conflict, which would decide

the question of supremacy among the Romans (ἐστράτευον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι...πρὸς δὲ τὴν δόξαν ἄρα τοῦ πολέμου τραπέντες ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνιούμενοι.) The Roman world now encompassed the Greek, and the future master of the Roman empire would also be the master of the Greeks. It was in recognition of this that Athens did not remain aloof from the fighting at Pharsalus, but lent what support she could to Pompey. It is a testament to the civic spirit of Athens that, despite the demonstrations of Roman power witnessed by Athenians of the past two generations, the city continued to struggle for control of her own destiny.

Caesar and Athens

The power demonstrated by Caesar before Pharsalus left only one course of action open to Athens after the battle was over. The Athenians had to make amends with the victor – previously, as far as we know, a stranger to them – for the sake of self-preservation. Caesar, fortunately, was disposed to spare them; during a brief visit to Athens he extended *clementia* to her for her misplaced allegiance, although he reportedly said in exasperation that only Athens' glorious past had saved her.[77] The *demos* duly responded to the pardon with honors to the new head of Rome. Two statue bases dedicated on behalf of the *demos*, one on Delos and the other in Athens, probably date to the period immediately after Pharsalus.[78] A third base, from Athens, which supported a much larger monument, perhaps a colossal statue of the dictator, may represent a thank-offering for a major donation Caesar made to Athens during a brief visit in the fall of 47.[79] Caesar's gift, which must have been in

[77] App. *B Civ.* 2.88: ποσάκις ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένους ἡ δόξα τῶν προγόνων περισώσει;
[78] Raubitschek 1954, 65-66; the inscriptions (*IDélos* 1587=*SEG* 14.502, Delos and *SEG* 14.121, Athens) are given on the following page.
[79] Raubitschek 1954, 68-69.

an amount equal to or surpassing that donated by Pompey in 62, was to finance the building of the Roman marketplace later completed under Augustus.

For our purposes, the reception given to Caesar by the Athenians is perhaps less significant than the way in which he portayed himself to them and to the rest of the Greek-speaking world. For this let us look now in greater detail at the three inscriptions which record honors voted to Caesar by the Athenian *demos*:

IDélos 1587 (Delos, 48 B.C.):

[Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθη]ναίων Γάιον Ἰούλιον
[Γαίου υἱὸν Καί]σαρα, ἀρχιερέα καὶ αὐτο-
[κράτορα ὕπα]τόν τε τὸ δεύτερον, τὸν
[κοινὸν εὐεργ]έτην τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

SEG 14.121 (Athens, 48 B.C.):

[Ὁ δῆμος]
Γάιον Ἰούλιον Γαίου [υἱὸν Καίσαρα, τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ]
αὐτοκράτορα ὕπατό[ν τε τὸ δεύτερον, τὸν σωτῆρα]
καὶ εὐ[εργέτην].

IG II² 3222 (Athens, 47 B.C.):

Ὁ δῆμος
[Γ]άιον Ἰούλιον Καίσα[ρα]
[τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀ]ρχιερέα καὶ δικτάτορ[α τὸ δεύτερον,]
[τὸν ἑα]υτοῦ σωτῆρα καὶ εὐ[εργέτην].

The formulae are clearly very similar, with only a few divergences. The third inscription mentions Caesar's dictatorship, which he did not hold at the time the first two were carved, and the honorific σωτῆρα seems to have been omitted on the base found on Delos. In general, however, there is enough uniformity in these inscriptions – indeed, in all those which record honors for the victor of Pharsalus, all over the Greek world – to make the restorations quite secure.

The restoration of τὸν ἀρχιερέα in the second inscription illustrates that

point: a survey of the corpus of dedications to Caesar in Greece and Asia Minor leaves little doubt that this was what originally stood on the stone.[80] The use of the term ἀρχιερεύς in Caesar's inscriptions, in recognition of his status as *pontifex maximus* at Rome, seems to have been standard practice.[81] Interestingly, this tendency appears to be unique to the case of Caesar. In Payne's catalogue of the 246 statue bases honoring Romans in the Greek world in the republican period, the term ἀρχιερεύς appears only on bases that once carried statues of Caesar.[82] As Raubitschek and others have noted, this circumstance is of obvious interest for our understanding of the process by which honorary dedications were made, as it seems clear in this case that Caesar, or his agents, specified how he should be titled.[83]

Of greater interest to us is what this tells us about the place of religion in Roman self-representation in Greece, an issue considered in our discussions of Sulla and Pompey. The ἀρχιερεύς inscriptions can, I think, be treated as evidence for "self-representation," because even if the wording of the dedications was the product of Caesar's agents, one assumes that they were working within guidelines prescribed by him. On the basis of the numerous Greek inscriptions referring to Julius Caesar as *archiereus*, then, we infer that in his dealings in the Greek world Caesar wished to emphasize his status as *pontifex maximus* – either because he valued that position most

[80] See the entries for Caesar in Payne's index (Payne 1984, 384-385).
[81] On the use of the term ἀρχιερεύς for *pontifex maximus* see Mason 1974, 115.
[82] Payne 1984, 367-89 (list of statue bases). In interpreting these statistics, of course, we must take account of the fact that many of the inscriptions set up in honor of Romans and others in Greece have not been preserved to us. Antony, for example, was made *pontifex maximus* shortly before he made an extended visit to Athens (39/8) – but we have no way of knowing if the Athenians recognized this office on his statue bases, because none of them survived his subsequent downfall.
[83] Raubitschek 1954, 73. The direct transliteration of *dictator* in the third inscription – a Latin term that had no real meaning in Greek (and, if translated by an equivalent term in Greek, might conjure up too many associations with tyranny) – certainly suggests that the wording of the dedication was conceived by a Roman.

highly of all his offices or because thought that it had the greatest impact as a tool of "public relations." It is likely that, just as Sulla advertised a special connection with Venus/Aphrodite through the *cognomen* he used among Greeks, Caesar wished to promote himself as the most holy man at Rome.

The *Roman* emphasis in all of this merits emphasis in our discussion. Caesar made no real effort to fit himself into the Greek tradition. Instead, he gave prominence to his tenure of an office that the Greeks did not even have, and for which they had no set terminology.[84] His approach thus stands in sharp contrast to what we know of Pompey's.

Athens after Caesar

The record of inscriptions set up in honor of Julius Caesar in the Greek world ends as abruptly as it begins. Expressions of veneration for the dictator, not surprisingly, all fall within the period of the dictatorship itself, suggesting that the Greek cities were either glad to be rid of Caesar or were withholding all shows of partisanship until the political situation at Rome had been settled. In the case of Athens, we have fuller testimony than this epigraphical silence to tell us how the Athenians were disposed. Plutarch records that after Caesar's assassination Marcus Brutus received at Athens the hero's welcome that he never got in Rome, being praised in honorary decrees and hailed as a tyrant-slayer.[85] Statues of Brutus and Cassius were even erected in the Agora, in imitation of (and in close proximity to) those of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. This honor, though it would be ephemeral, was a great one: the republican pair stood in the company of a number of illustrious Athenian

[84] See Mason 1974, 115 for the various renderings of pontifex maximus into Greek. It is worth noting that the whole notion of priestly hierarchies is Roman, not Greek.
[85] Plut. *Brut.* 24.

statesmen.[86]

The celebrated sixth-century tyrannicides, who received divine honors at Athens and gained a mythology all their own, epitomized heroism and the love of freedom. That the first-century pair was identified with them says much about how the Athenians had come to perceive Roman domination in Greece. We should also note that, although it is generally hazardous to conjecture about the "sincerity" of dedications, it is possible to do so with some confidence in this case. While Caesar's newly acquired position at the head of the Roman empire demanded a certain reception from the Athenians on his visit after Pharsalus, Brutus came to the city in 44 more or less as a refugee, unwilling – and, indeed, unable – to give assurances about the future of his cause. He does not seem to have approached Athens with a view to getting out of her what resources he could. Raubitschek argues that, on the contrary, it was the Athenians who took the initiative, doing much to bolster Brutus' flagging spirits before the battle of Philippi.[87] There can be no doubt that the support shown to him by the Athenians was genuinely and spontaneously given.

The rapidly changing allegiances of the Greeks in this period is perhaps attested most vividly at Oropos, where the *demos* erected a statue of Brutus at the Amphiaraion[88] – the sanctuary which Caesar's agent Calenus may have "liberated" from Athenian control, and in which an image of Calenus apparently continued to stand even after honors were granted to Brutus. The formula of the inscription erected for Brutus exactly matches that put up for

[86] Harmodius and Aristogeiton stood near what would be in Pausanias' time the site of the temple of Ares, in the vicinity of which were also images of Kallias, Demosthenes, and Lycourgos (Paus. 1.8.3-5).
[87] Raubitschek 1957, 1-11.
[88] *IG* VII 383 = *SEG* 18.209.

Calenus, hailing him as σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην.

3. Antony and Octavian

After the death of Caesar the Athenians, like the rest of the Greeks, were again required to choose sides in renewed Roman civil conflict. At Philippi, as at Pharsalus, they backed the losing cause, supporting the "tyrannicides" Brutus and Cassius against the Caesarians Antony and Octavian. Once the dust settled at Philippi the two victors set about taking care of business in their separate spheres of the empire, with Antony taking charge of the East and Octavian of the West. Thus, from the Athenian perspective the situation that began to unfold bore a great resemblance to one in very recent memory, from the era of Caesar and Pompey. Antony, who displayed an interest in Athens and spent a significant amount of time among her citizens, became a favorite of the Athenians and received honors from them. Octavian, like his adoptive father Julius Caesar, became well-known to the Athenians only after he had conquered their favorite.

Given these basic similarities, my examination of Antony and Octavian will resemble that of Pompey and Caesar: I outline the history of each man's involvement with Athens, with particular attention both to participation in Athenian religious tradition and to honors received at Athens. The account again has a pivotal point, on a battlefield – not in the plain of Pharsalus this time, but in the harbor of Actium.

Antony in the East

Mark Antony and the Athenians probably did not become closely acquainted until after he had avenged the death of Caesar at Philippi in 42. Athens, as we have noted, had not been a great supporter of Caesar, and it is

hardly surprising that in 44 she favored his assassins over a duo composed of one of his top officers and his adopted son. While the Athenians definitely gave tangible support to the republican cause before the battle, however, it is not certain that they remained loyal to it to the bitter end. Antony's treatment of the Athenians after Philippi, which exceeded the requirements of common *clementia*, may suggest that Athens had come over to his side at the eleventh hour.[89] On the other hand, Antony's kindness may merely reflect a fondness for the city on his part, or a nostalgic respect for the glorious Greek past. According to Plutarch, in any case, Antony "delighted to be called a Philhellene, and still more to be addressed as Philathenian, and he gave the city very many gifts" while he lingered in Greece after Philippi to raise money to pay his troops. During this time the triumvir is said to have involved himself in various aspects of Athenian life, handing down judgements and "indulging his fondness for literary discussions." Plutarch also reports that Antony was active in the religious sphere, witnessing "initiations" (πρὸς...θέας ἀγώνων καὶ μυήσεις ἔτρεπε).[90] This interest in Greek sacred tradition is reflected in the contemporary story, also told by Plutarch, that Antony had the temple of Pythian Apollo measured, intending to complete the restoration needed after the building was pillaged and burned by Thracian barbarians in 85/4.[91]

In 41 Antony left Greece to journey further east. The reception he received at Ephesus, where he was hailed as the New Dionysos and followed trains of Bacchic revelers, was very likely repeated in other cities of Asia Minor, and we know that his first meeting with Cleopatra was touted as an

[89] Antony gave the Athenians the islands of Aigina, Keos, Peparethos, Ikos, and Skiathos (App. *BCiv.* 5.7).
[90] Plut. *Ant.* 23.2. By μυήσεις Plutarch must intend a reference to the Eleusinian Mysteries.
[91] Plut. *Ant.* 23.3.

encounter between Aphrodite and Dionysos.[92] By the time Antony returned to Athens, in 39, he had apparently come to expect recognition and veneration in his new divine guise. The Athenians not only complied with his wish to be honored as Dionysos, setting up statues of the triumvir with his divine surname inscribed on them, but went so far as to make Athena his "consort."[93] Raubitschek has shown that at this time Octavia, whom Antony had married in the previous year, was identified with the divine protectress of Athens, Athena Polias. Antony and his wife, both favorites of the Athenians, were celebrated, in the tradition of Hellenistic monarchs, as Θεοὶ Εὐεργέται of the city.[94]

Antony remained in Athens with Octavia for the winter of 39/8, and therefore had the leisure – as previously in the months after Philippi – to immerse himself in Athenian culture. Again, he seems to have taken an interest in participating in activities associated with Athenian daily life and tradition. Plutarch gives this account of Antony's actions upon the receipt of good news about military maneuvers being carried on further east, against

[92] Plut. *Ant.* 24.3 (Ephesus), 26.3 (meeting with Cleopatra). See Raubitschek 1946, 149 n. 11 for a list of works dealing with the identification of various rulers (including Antony) with Dionysos.

[93] The story, told by Seneca (*Suas.* 1.6), "is probably based on the eyewitness account of Qu. Dellius" (Raubitschek 1946, 147): *Nam cum Antonius vellet se Liberum patrem dici et hoc nomen statuis suis subscribi iuberet, habitu quoque et comitatu Liberum imitaretur, occurrerunt venienti ei Athenienses cum coniugibus et liberis et Διόνυσον salutaverunt. Belle illis cesserat, si nasus Atticus ibi substitisset; sed dixerunt despondere ipsos in matrimonium illi Minervam suam et rogaverunt ut duceret; Antonius ait ducturum, sed dotis nomine imperare se illis mille talenta.* The accounts of Appian and Plutarch concerning Antony's stay at Athens in 39/8 make no mention of this incident (and Plutarch's record of the title Νέος Διόνυσος at *Ant.* 60.3 has no chronological referent).

[94] See Raubitschek 1946, 149 (original publication of Agora Inv. no. 3071). On the use and significance of the term *theos* see Price 1984, 79-87 and 93-95 (where the relevant references are collected).

the Parthians:[95]

> ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰστία τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐγυμνασιάρχει δὲ Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας παράσημα καταλιπὼν οἴκοι μετὰ τῶν γυμνασιαρχικῶν ῥάβδων ἐν ἱματίῳ καὶ φαικασίοις προῄει καὶ διαλαμβάνων τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐτραχήλιζεν.
>
> Because of this (victory) Antony was giving feasts for the Greeks. He was also serving as gymnasiarch for the Athenians. Having left at home the insignia of his command he would go forth in a himation and white shoes, carrying the wands of the gymnasiarch, and he would separate the young men (fighting), taking them by the neck.

This report sheds light on the mention, in a decree honoring the Athenian ephebes of the year in question (39/8), of the youths' particpation ἐν τοῖς Ἀντωνιήοις τοῖς Παναθηναικοῖς Ἀντωνίου Θεοῦ Νέου Διονύσο[υ -]. It is likely, as Raubitschek and others have noted, that the games were called "Antony's" because he presided over them in some official way, perhaps in the role of gymnasiarch described by Plutarch.[96]

If Antony was not merely an honoree at the Panathenaia but an active participant in the guise of an Athenian official, we have a prime example of Roman participation in Athenian religious tradition. This case, as it is related by Plutarch, is all the more striking because of its emphasis on the contrast between things Greek and Roman, and Antony's preference, on this occasion, for the former. The general lays aside "the insignia of his (Roman) military command" (τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας παράσημα) – in other words, the outward signs of his *imperium* – in favor of the garb of an Athenian official. It is clear that Antony wished, for whatever reason, to immerse himself in Athenian life and religious tradition during his stay. It is not surprising, then, to hear that on his way out of the city at the end of the winter of 38, he purposefully

[95] Plut. *Ant.* 33.4. P. Scipio Africanus had been censured for similar behavior on a much earlier occasion: during a stay at Syracuse he went to the gymnasium, exercised as a Greek, wore Greek dress, and read Greek books (Livy 29.19.11-12, Val. Max. 3.6.1, Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 3.7); see above, Ch. 1, p. 17.

[96] Raubitschek 1946, 148-149. We should recall here the establishment of Sylleia (perhaps a renaming of a preexisting festival) in honor of Sulla; see above, p. 114.

visited two sacred locations on the Athenian acropolis: Athena's olive-tree and the Klepsydra spring:[97]

> Ἐξιέναι δὲ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας στέφανον ἔλαβε, καὶ κατά τι λόγιον ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεψύδρας ὕδατος ἐμπλησάμενος ἀγγεῖον ἐκόμιζεν.
>
> When he was about to go off to the war he took a wreath from the sacred olive-tree, and, as had been instructed by some oracle, filled a vessel with water from the Klepsydra and took it with him.

The act of taking a branch from the sacred olive tree is reminiscent of Sulla's removal of the Apollo statuette from Delphi, and probably was similarly motivated.[98]

Octavia did not accompany her husband to Syria and must have remained in Athens while Antony carried on what Plutarch calls a "protracted" siege against Antiochus of Commagene.[99] Some indication of the duration of her stay among the Athenians is given by Plutarch's scattered notices on the size of her family. When Octavia first arrived she had just borne Antony a daughter; by the time she left she had delivered a second daughter and was pregnant with a third child.[100] Antony joined his family in Athens after his campaign in the East, and the four sailed to Italy for negotiations with Octavian.[101] Octavia would visit Athens again in 35, on her way – as she thought, at any rate – to join her husband in the far east. Vigorously dissuaded from this venture by Antony, she returned to Rome despite his injunction to remain in Athens. All we know of the duration of Octavia's stay in Athens on this occasion is that it must have been long enough for a few rounds of correspondence to pass between her and her

[97] Plut. *Ant.* 34.1.
[98] See above, p. 103.
[99] Plut. *Ant.* 33.3 (τὴν δὲ Ὀκταουίαν ἄχρι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπήγετο) and 34.4 (τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας μῆκος λαμβανούσης).
[100] Plut. *Ant.* 33.3 and 35.1.
[101] Plut. *Ant.* 35.1.

husband.[102]

Just as Octavia seems to have spent enough time in Athens for her to consider the city a second home, Antony came to regard Athens as his second headquarters, after Alexandria. In the winter of 32 he and his entire retinue – including Cleopatra, whom he now called his wife – moved from Alexandria to Athens for several months. Events in Athens that year, which would prove to precipitate the final break between Antony and Rome, may have made Antony a less appealing figure to the Athenians. In 39 they had acknowledged the "marriage" of Antony to Athena Polias, the divine counterpart of Octavia; by 32 it was clear that the honeymoon, so to speak, was over. A bill of divorce served on Octavian's sister by Antony amounted to a declaration of Roman civil war. Meanwhile, at Athens, the conduct of Antony and his entourage – the continual revelling which had come to be seen as a hallmark of the East – was sufficiently alarming to prompt at least two of Antony's adherents to abandon him and return to Rome, where they retailed stories of Antony's debauchery and his plans to legitimize Ptolemy Caesar as the dictator's rightful heir.[103] These were the proximate causes of the enmity that would find resolution at Actium.

For the Athenians, Antony's treatment of Octavia – his symbolic divorce from Rome – had obvious significance in the political sphere: whenever Romans went to war with one another, subject cities like Athens must have feared its outcome, and, in particular, the consequences of the alliances they chose to make. In this case, however, there may have been a more personal dimension to the Athenians' view of Antony after the eventful winter of 32. Octavia had lived among them for some time and had

[102] Plut. *Ant.* 53-54.1.
[103] Plut. *Ant.* 57.2 (break with Octavia) and 58.2-3 (desertion of Titius and Plancus).

earned the affection of the *demos*. She had also gained, as we hear from Plutarch, enough official honors in the city to earn the jealousy of Cleopatra during the queen's stay with Antony at Athens in 32. It is a sign of the times – of the political uncertainty of these years – that the *demos*, despite its professed preference for Octavia, did not remain loyal to her memory for long after the arrival of her Egyptian rival. The Athenians duly voted honors to Cleopatra, who had lavished gifts upon them. The report of this vote was carried to her house by a group of representatives which included Antony, as Plutarch says, ...ὡς δὴ πολίτης Ἀθηναίων.[104]

By the time of the conflict at Actium, then, Antony was a citizen of Athens and had lived among the Athenians on three different occasions. What do we know of the relations of his opponent, Caesar Octavian, with Athens?

Octavian and Athens

Gaius Octavius was not born to an assured place in the power structure of Rome. Although the Octavii were wealthy and respected, Octavius' family did not have a distinguished political history and had attained senatorial rank only in the preceding generation. It was through the more illustrious *gens* of his mother, the Iulii, that Octavius gained his introduction into the inner circles of Roman politics. Julius Caesar, the boy's great-uncle, took an interest in him and set about preparing him for future service to Rome. Through Caesar Octavius acquired patrician status and was set on a course which had become common for aristocratic Roman youths: study in Greece with a Greek

[104] Plut. *Ant.* 57.1-2.

master. Octavius, accompanied by his friend Agrippa, crossed to the Macedonian city of Apollonia, where his literary and rhetorical education was rounded out with training in military manoeuvers.[105] In Apollonia Octavius learned of the murder of Caesar and left the Greek world to assume his place – now as C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus, adopted son of the dictator – in the world of Roman politics.

Up to that point Octavian had had no personal experience with Athens. And in the ensuing years of the Second Triumvirate he did not have – or, more precisely, did not take – opportunities to form personal associations with the city; Greece was of little strategic importance and Octavian was content to let it remain under the purview of his fellow triumvir Antony, while he concentrated his attentions on Italy. Pompey, who had focused on the East, ultimately had been forced to stake his career on the Eastern alliances made while his enemies multiplied back in Rome – and the great Pompey had lost. Octavian would concede the East to Antony; the wealth and resources of the eastern kingdoms, immense though they were, were a fair price to pay for control of the home front. Athens, now a provincial town with no wealth or resources to speak of, was of no account in these considerations.

The aftermath of Actium

Although Octavian crossed to Greece – Antony's "territory" – for their final conflict, Actium was ultimately a struggle not between Rome and the Greek East but between Rome and Egypt. While the Ptolemaic dynasty in Alexandria, a mortal enemy of Rome, must be eliminated, the offenses of

[105] Kienast 1982, 22.

Athens were not of the sort to demand immediate or harsh reprisal. The Athenians' error consisted in misplaced allegiance. As we have seen, this was not the first time Athens had picked the losing side in a Roman civil war: in 48 she backed her benefactor Pompey, and in 42 she supported the murderers of Caesar before Philippi.[106] In these cases Athens, for the most part, had made amends with the victors; Caesar's *clementia* and Antony's preferential treatment of the city brought them honors at Athens. Octavian – Antony's ally at Philippi – was an exception: he had not sought (or, as far as we know, been offered) a chance to improve relations with the Athenians. At Actium, then, the Athenians opposed Octavian for a second time. The situation had changed radically, however, since Philippi. Octavian now had won undisputed control of the Roman world, and many Athenians must have hoped that his relations with their city would improve on further acquaintance. Octavian's first visit to Athens, just after Actium, afforded Athens an opportunity – if she wanted one – to make amends.[107] Our only information about that visit comes from a brief notice in Dio, who says that Octavian "settled affairs in Greece and took part in the Mysteries of the two goddesses."[108]

The "settling of affairs" to which Dio elliptically refers involved, in part, the distribution of grain among the various Greek cities – including Athens, presumably – whose resources had been depleted by years of Roman civil war on Greek soil. Michael Hoff has recently argued that a lead token in

[106] Athens had also, of course, sided against the Romans in the Mithridatic conflict.
[107] Plut. *Ant.* 68.
[108] Cass. Dio 51.4.1 (τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι διῴκησε καὶ τῶν τοῖν θεοῖν μυστηρίων μετέλαβεν). In addition, there may have been a formal reconcilation between Octavian and the Greek cities (...καὶ διαλλαγεὶς τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν περιόντα σῖτον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου διένειμε..., Plut. *Ant.* 68), if that is the force of διαλλαγείς.

the Numismatic Museum of Athens belongs to this distribution effort.[109] It features the profile of a youthful figure who can be seen either as Apollo or as Octavian. It would not be surprising to find Octavian promoting a connection with Apollo in this manner (compare Sulla's coins depicting Venus), particularly when we consider his activities after the final battle with Antony. At Actium, where in the cult of Apollo Aktios Octavian found a ready-made association with the Greek Apollo, he erected a trophy to the god, and at the nearby foundation of Nikopolis, where he dedicated further monuments and renovated the temple of Apollo, a local Acarnanian festival was transformed into a set of games (the Aktia), which were raised to the level of the other famous penteteric festivals in Greece.[110]

It is likely that Octavian made a second brief visit to Athens two years later, in the summer of 29, as he crossed Greece on his return to Rome from the East.[111] None of our sources, however, mentions Athens specifically or provides any insight into the nature of Octavian's relations with the city at this time. We have no way of knowing if Athens and the new head of the Roman empire had come to terms with each other. For the next round of testimonia we must wait until the end of the 20's – by which time Octavian had become Augustus, the newly established principate had enjoyed triumphs and weathered conspiracies, and most sectors of the empire were being reminded of the joys of peace.

[109] Hoff 1992, 223-232. It is interesting, given the connections of Eleusis with grain, that Octavian was initiated into the Mysteries around the time that he was having grain distributed in Greece.
[110] Cass. Dio 51.1.2-3; Strabo 7.6.325; Suet. *Aug.* 18.
[111] See Cass. Dio 51.21.1 (Octavian's crossing to Italy through Greece) and Bowersock 1964, 121.

The careers of the five men surveyed in this chapter offer ample material for our study of the interplay of religious traditions and attitudes of Greeks and Romans. The first century B.C. was a pivotal point in relations between Athens and Rome, largely because of the actions of the Roman generals we have discussed – and, as we have observed from those actions, religious considerations on many occasions figured prominently among larger issues of foreign policy. Here I review the evidence for Roman involvement in, and manipulation of, Athenian religion in the half-century prior to the accession of Augustus.

First, a *recusatio*. In this chapter I have frequently made reference to experiences in "the East" – the eastern part of the Greek-speaking world, that is, where Roman generals were exposed to manifold religious traditions and were in many cases granted divine honors. Since my focus is on Athens, I cannot attempt here a detailed discussion of the complex situation in the East. That situation, however, is of great relevance even to an Athenocentric study, as the experiences of individual Romans with eastern Greek customs must have influenced their subsequent encounters with the Greek world in general – or, to keep to what directly concerns us, their subsequent encounters with Athens. To return to the example of the generals of the late republic, the treatment that some of them received in the East must have raised in their minds certain expectations, or set a standard for their future relations with Greek cities. At the very least the eastern experience introduced some very un-Roman notions of sovereignty and divinity. Pompey and Antony, who received a great deal of attention and adulation – in many instances, overt worship – in eastern cities and kingdoms, are the most important figures to

be considered in this regard. Unfortunately, many specifics of Pompey's personal relations with Athens remain obscure, and it is impossible to say whether he demanded there the kind of treatment he had received during his campaigns to the East. In the case of Antony, however, we have a much fuller body of testimonia for Athens, and it clearly shows the effects an eastern sojourn could have. When Antony appeared in Athens in 39, having been dubbed a New Dionysos in various eastern cities, he obviously expected – in fact, stipulated – that the Athenians should recognize and honor him in that guise. The Athenian side of that transaction, which clearly falls within the scope of this study, is discussed in the next chapter. As for the eastern background, I merely note its significance as a motivating force behind some of the actions of Romans studied here.

I move on to what we know to have taken place at Athens in the first century B.C., in terms of Romans and Athenian religion. It is to the names of Pompey and Antony – perhaps not surprisingly, in light of what we have just said – that the majority of examples of active Roman participation in Athenian cult are attached. Both display an awareness of Athenian religious tradition and, more importantly, a desire to experience that tradition in some way themselves. The question which immediately arises is also the most difficult to answer: what motivated their actions?

Pompey, as we saw, made a special stop on an otherwise rushed voyage in order to make a sacrifice at Athens to Athenian gods. I am inclined to interpret this as being, to some extent, part and parcel of the goodwill mission that his campaign against the pirates represented; Pompey was still at a fairly early stage in his career, he knew that support to the east of Italy would be of

use to him later, and he was, in short, out to win people over. This pragmatic interpretation is, I think, valid, although I would also say that Pompey's concern with his public image is unlikely to have been the sole motivator for his sacrifice at Athens. Pompey was generally fond of things Greek, and it may be that he had a particular fondness, as did many Romans of his day, for Athens. His actions then might be attributed, at least in part, to such feelings. Pompey's donation of a generous sum to Athens for repairs of Sullan damage might be seen to fit in with this view. Again, however, there is a practical side that canot be ignored: that donation was used not to repair civic or sacred monuments in the city itself but provided for rebuilding at the Piraeus, a port almost certainly used by Pompey in his struggle with Caesar.

Antony cuts rather a different figure. He is unique among the Roman generals I have examined in that he spent a great amount of time among the Athenians and is the only one marked out in the sources as a citizen of the city. From the time of his first extended stay in Athens after Philippi, when he attended "games and initiations," he showed an interest in Athenian religion. He dressed and functioned as gymnasiarch, perhaps at the Panathenaic festival, and on another occasion departed from Athens armed with a wreath cut from Athena's sacred olive and a vessel of water from the sacred Klepsydra spring. These actions, like Pompey's sacrifice, are likely to have been motivated by several factors. Of course, Antony must have realized that his highly public self-immersion in Athenian culture could only add to his popularity in the city. While other Roman generals, chiefly Sulla, had shown a lack of concern for the religious traditions of the Athenians, Antony came across as a Roman who was not only respectful of those traditions, but keenly interested in them. It is difficult to determine what

Antony's experiences with Athenian religion may have meant to him otherwise. One assumes from his actions – as Plutarch did – that Antony considered himself, and was generally reputed to be, "philathenian." Thus the "nostalgia" factor must be considered; Antony's admiration of Athens, or of her classical predecessor, may have brought about a desire to participate in *all* aspects of Athenian life during his lengthy stays in the city. But it would not be surprising if Antony were particulary interested in the religious side. The zeal with which he immersed himself in various roles at Athens – that of a gymnasiarch, complete with the correct costume and accoutrements, that of the New Dionysos – is reminiscent of the tales told of Antony's role-playing at the court of Cleopatra and in other eastern cities. I would imagine that Antony displayed at Athens the same spirit of religious experimentation that characterized his response to religions further to the east.

For Eleusis, which from the Roman perspective was the most "mainstream" of the Athenian cults, we have incomplete evidence. It seems unlikely that the Romans studied in this chapter were immune to the allure of this cult, when so many of their countrymen were not, and I imagine that most or all of these men, given the opportunity to participate in the Mysteries, would have done so. Antony did, to judge by Plutarch's reference to μυήσεις. Otherwise, only Sulla and Octavian are explicitly identified as initiates in the sources – a circumstance of some irony, given what we know about the nature of their relations with Athens. Rainer Bernhardt argues that the sparse information available for the initiation of Roman generals at Eleusis in the first century B.C. is not due to a gap in the sources, but faithfully reflects the reality of the situation.[112] He takes the statistics as a meaningful

[112] Bernhardt 1975, 233-237.

indicator of how the Athenians were conducting foreign policy with Romans in the last decades of the Roman republic. Octavian's visit to Eleusis after the Battle of Actium, he believes, came about on the initiative of the Athenians and was part of their attempt to effect a reconcilation with the new head of the Roman world – just as Sulla was initiated in between seasons of his campaign against Athens. Thus, according to Bernhardt, it is not unusual that Pompey and Antony are nowhere recorded as initiates (he takes Plutarch's μυήσεις to refer to some other activity of Antony); they did not "need" to be since their relations with Athens were uniformly cordial throughout their careers.

I believe, and have argued above, that the Athenians were aware, probably from a fairly early date, that the world-renowned cult at Eleusis could be a valuable asset in foreign relations. We have also seen, however, that the Mysteries were inherently appealing to Romans, attracting them in significant numbers from the second century B.C. on. When we consider the questions that Bernhardt raises, I think, the evidence for political expediency should be balanced with the evidence for genuine Roman interest in the Eleusinian cult. Privileging one to the other provides only a one-sided picture. Genuineness of interest is of course difficult to assess, but its possible role should not be downplayed. In addition, participation in the cult at Eleusis was desirable to many Romans on levels other than the religious. The Mysteries were also, to give a broad definition, a cultural experience. And that culture, by the first century B.C., was in the jurisdiction, and at the disposal, of the Romans. Thus Sulla's initiation, to take one example, may well make a statement that has little to do with Athenian reconciliations or with genuineness of religious interest.

Although I do not agree with Bernhardt in all the particulars, I wish to emphasize the very valid point that underlies his thesis: namely, that matters of religion and of foreign policy were often inseparable in formal relations between Athenians and Romans. What about the Roman side of this equation? How did ambitious Romans represent themselves to Athenians, whether seeing them as subjects or as potentially useful allies?

First and foremost, Roman generals emphasized their personal connections with specific gods, as they also did at Rome and in all other parts of the empire. This was clearly a matter of "public relations," since the alleged support of a god lent credence to one's cause and strengthened one's claims to power. I do not mean to imply that such assertions of "divinity by association" were in every instance a conscious attempt at exploitation. The concept was more deeply rooted than that, taken too much to heart to be considered a mere tool of propaganda. Over the course of the first century the idea of divine sanction became an integral part of how Romans – and the men who aspired to lead them – perceived both a man's fitness for power and that power itself. The influence of eastern kingdoms and dynasties, to which I alluded above, laid the groundwork for these beliefs.

Sulla's connection with the Greek Aphrodite, which may have originated with the dedication sent to her shrine at Aphrodisias, was promoted in the Greek world through iconography on coins and through the use of the cognomen Epaphroditos. Antony arrived in Athens as the New Dionysos – not only the favorite but the earthly incarnation of the god. Octavian associated himself with Apollo on the grain tokens distributed after Actium, clearly making his claim to be the savior of the Greeks. His uncle

Julius Caesar stands apart from the preceding examples because what he was "advertising" was somewhat different. When Caesar had the title ἀρχιερεύς used on his inscriptions in the Greek world, he emphasized his connections with the gods *of Rome*. While Sulla, Antony, and perhaps Octavian promoted associations that would bridge the gap, in religious terms, between Romans and Greeks, Caesar gave prominence to his tenure of a position that did not even exist in the Greek tradition.

Besides claiming connections to specific gods, the Romans studied in this chapter on many occasions displayed interest in specific Greek sanctuaries. Sulla augmented the land holdings of the Amphiaraion at Oropos and refilled the coffers of Zeus and Apollo at Olympia and Delphi. Granted, in these last cases, it was Sulla himself who had emptied the coffers, and thus his gesture of generosity had much to do with "damage control." But regardless of the respective roles of genuine religious scruple and of showmanship, such gestures were an important part of how Roman leaders wanted to be – and were – perceived in Greece. Benefactions to important religious sites were an effective means of making a public statement. This was particularly true of the symbolic acts of rebuilding or of restoring sacred sites. Antony's plan to rebuild the burned temple of Apollo at Delphi is a case in point. It is noteworthy – and surely no accident – that the examples of Sulla and Antony both involve panhellenic sanctuaries. These sanctuaries were not only repositories of the ancient Greek traditions inherently appealing to many Romans, but were highly public and cosmopolitan assembly-places. It is also significant, as has been noted above, that in the case of Apollo, these men were honoring a deity who was sanctioned and present in Rome.

Up to this point I have focused on the role of religion in "foreign relations" between individual Romans and the Athenians when both sides were working, generally speaking, towards some kind of rapprochement. This chapter opened with a very different scenario: Sulla's campaign of revenge in Greece in the 80's. The actions of Sulla provide an opportunity to look at how the different religious traditions of Romans and Greeks clash in the context of war. The greatest differences lie in perceptions of the impiety and sacrilege attached to certain hostile acts. This is, as we have seen, very much a matter of perspective. For instance, the removal of a sacred object from a sanctuary for reuse or rededication elsewhere – an act of sacrilege among Greeks – is fully consistent with Roman tradition.

❦ CHAPTER FIVE ❦

Summing up: Roman behavior and the Athenian response

Many of my conclusions about the nature of the Roman experience with Athenian religion on Athenian soil have already been stated in, or can be anticipated from, observations made in the individual chapters. Here I offer a brief summary, with some final remarks on what the facts suggest about the attitudes, dynamics, and motivations at work on the two sides.

1. Romans and Athenian religion

The early activities of Romans at Greek sanctuaries reflected the larger picture of early cross-cultural contacts, in that the Romans in question were generally upper-class and were primarily interested in those aspects of Greek culture which were evocative of the glorious Greek past. Thus the panhellenic shrines at Delphi and elsewhere – already renowned as international attractions – were at the center of Roman attention. During the Second Punic War, as on previous occasions of upset in the Roman republic, Rome consulted the oracle of Pythian Apollo. By this time Apollo was already well-established in Rome itself, and in appealing to the authority of Delphi the Romans were dealing with a cult that was not entirely foreign, but with which their own Apollo cult was seen to have some kind of kinship. The Apollo connection would prove to be an important factor in the actions of many Roman visitors to Greece, for the duration of the period examined in this study. It also illustrates a general point: similarities in the Greek and Roman pantheons facilitated the connections Romans often made between

their gods and those they encountered while traveling or residing in Greece.

A new era in Rome's relations with the Greeks, and with the Athenians in particular, was inaugurated when Rome returned the island of Delos to Athenian control and granted its port *ateleia* (167/6). For Romans and other Italians, this brought new opportunities for business and for pleasure travel in the Greek world – and thus new experiences with religious traditions of the Greeks. The large numbers of *negotiatores* who took up residence in Athens – and especially those who lived on Delos – were exposed both to indigenous cults and to other foreign cults. The fairly extensive epigraphical evidence available for Delos, at least, allows us to speak of patterns in the religious habits of the resident *Romaioi*. The religious associations they formed encouraged *sodalitas* both within the group and in the community at large. The numerous dedications they set up on the island – largely in Greek – were outward displays of *pietas* directed in part at that community. While the *Romaioi* formed a large percentage of the population of Delos and were generally prominent in island life, they did not involve themselves to any great extent with local cults. Rather, they tended to maintain their native Italian religious practices, assimilating local gods to their own. The foreign cults which did draw significant Roman interest originated further to the east, in Egypt, Syria, and so on.

The scant testimonia from Athens add little to our picture of the religious life of the *negotiatores* in the second and early first centuries. The dedication in Latin to Aesculapius and Valetudo belongs to the same category as many of the dedications made by *Romaioi* on Delos: it was clearly made with the Roman deities, not the Greek Asklepios and Hygieia, in mind. In other activities of the Romans living in Athens, however, some divergences

from the practices of their Delian counterparts are apparent. Roman residents of Athens did not form associations parallel to those on Delos, and may have been more likely to assimilate to local traditions. Some of the wealthier *Romaioi* living in Athens enrolled their sons in the ephebeia, a program which involved extensive and active participation in Attic cults and religious celebrations. Romans, first attested in an ephebic roster of 123/2, joined other foreigners as well as native Athenians in these activities. The ephebeia, which in this period was giving especial prominence to commemorations of major historical events and to the revival of various Athenian religious traditions, was highly nationalistic in focus and in purpose. The young Roman participants were thus in a position to gain a level of exposure and insight into Athenian state cults that was not available to most Roman residents and visitors of Athens.

There was a high level of interest among Romans in some uniquely Athenian cults and festivals. The most illustrative case is that of Eleusis, where significant numbers of Romans were initiated into the Mysteries and, to judge by the comments of Cicero, were strongly affected by the ritual. Greek agonistic festivals – from the major civic festival of Athens, the Panathenaia, to smaller celebrations such as the Romaia on Delos – also held great appeal for Romans. The Mysteries and agonistic festivals, as celebrations for which the Romans had no precise equivalent at home, provided them with a uniquely Greek experience. In certain festivals, resident *Romaioi* might participate in some significant way, as officials with responsibilities for the religious program of the festival.

In addition to the Roman residents of and visitors to Greece, we have

considered a small and special class of Romans: high-profile military and political figures, whose relations with Athens ran the gamut from outright hostility to warm cordiality, and who led us to consider issues of religion, power, and foreign relations. Religion, as we have seen, was often used to serve the various purposes of these men, whether the effect aimed at was revenge or reconciliation.

L. Cornelius Sulla was in many respects a pioneer in this kind of manipulation in Greece. His acts of robbing and then restoring sacred treasures of panhellenic sanctuaries, though opposite in nature, were identical in the message they sent to the Greeks: both were reminders of Sulla's power and position in the Roman state. The return of stolen treasure, whether or not it had complex motivations, certainly produced manifold salutary effects for Sulla: through this act he simultaneously placated the gods and the Greeks, all of whom he had offended. At other times we found Sulla moving – or simply removing – sacred objects from sanctuaries and appropriating them for his own use, a practice that was well-established by his time and would continue long afterwards.

Sulla's consultation of the Delphic oracle upon his arrival in Greece in 87 pointed him towards the cult of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias. Regardless of whether or not this was the origin of Sulla's special connection with Venus/Aphrodite or of his adoption of the cognomen Epaphroditos in the Greek world, it seems certain that the activities of Sulla in the East had implications both for the Roman Venus and for the Greek Aphrodite. And it is certainly true that in cultivating an association with Aphrodite, Sulla created for himself, as Ramage puts it, "an image...which is easily understood by the Greeks, but which at the same time can be readily understood by the

Romans."[1] This points to a significant way in which Sulla's actions anticipated those of the men who followed him in power in the first century B.C. Many of the eastern activities of the figures studied in the last chapter had an impact on Roman conceptions of their own deities, as increasingly close associations were being made – indeed, were being encouraged – between Roman and Greek gods. The result was, to use Schilling's phrase, "un élargissement de la personalité" of certain Roman gods.[2] Two of Sulla's successors, as we have seen, cultivated close relations with deities and promoted them among Greeks: Antony, who demanded recognition as the New Dionysos, and Octavian, who associated himself with Apollo after Actium.

Sulla can also be considered a "pioneer" in relations between the Romans and Greeks in the first century B.C. because of his keen awareness of the interplay between religion and public opinion. His successors were likewise aware, though some may have cared about public opinion among the Greeks more than others. We have observed many instances of public displays of interest in and respect for Athenian religious tradition. Sometimes this was communicated through actions – as in Paullus' tour of sacred sites, Pompey's sacrifice to Athena, Antony's *gymnasiarchia*, and in the initiations of prominent Romans at Eleusis. In other cases, Roman benefactions served as more concrete reminders of Roman respect for Greek religious tradition. The propylon dedicated by Appius Claudius Pulcher at Eleusis is the most outstanding example. Antony announced a plan to restore the burned temple of Apollo at Delphi, but never undertook the project. All of these actions could have had a variety of motivations. It is

[1] Ramage 1991, 102.
[2] Schilling 1982, 294 (said of Sulla's impact on Roman conceptions of Venus; see above, p. ??).

certainly true that such benefactions served to promote the donor (in the case of Appius, the donor and his entire family), by advertising both *pietas* and status. To what extent do they reflect genuine interest in or respect for Greek gods? In many cases there is no compelling reason to doubt that the interest was genuine – whether it stemmed from antiquarian curiosity, philhellenism, or religious piety. But this is dangerous ground, since "sincerity" is the most difficult element to measure in these accounts. What *can* be said is that the public involvement of powerful Romans in Athenian religious life, regardless of its cause, had a measurable effect on the Athenians.

2. *Laceratae Athenae*

The Athenian response to Rome and her representatives naturally had much to do with the historical situation and with her frequently changing position vis-à-vis Rome. These changes in the formal relationship between Athens and Rome (or, in the first century, individual Roman leaders), as well as the positive and negative consequences they involved for the city, can be difficult to follow and need to be summarized here.

Our study took as its starting point 229 B.C., the year in which the Athenians regained control of their city from the Macedonians. In the years after the liberation, the citizens of Athens sought to reassert both their national self-identity and their prestige in the Mediterranean. Each of these impulses found expression, directly or indirectly, in the religious sphere. The desire to reach back to Athens' glorious past led the Athenians to give renewed attention to old cults and to traditional celebrations – as we see, for example, in the activities of the ephebes in the late Hellenistic period. They

promoted these traditions both for their own sake – for increased solidarity as Athenians – and in the interest of reaching out to foreigners. They realized, in other words, that their religious traditions had value in the conduct of foreign relations.

Around 228 B.C. some Roman diplomats were initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries, and many Roman initiates were to follow, particularly from the late second century on. Athenians had long admitted foreigners to this cult, and as we saw in Isocrates and in the decree of the Delphic Amphictyons, were promoting the Mysteries as a civilizing force which was their gift to share with others. Cicero's statement on the benefits of the Mysteries demonstrates that this view of the cult had gained widespread currency.

The Athenians certainly promoted city festivals in the second century, especially after the Romans returned Delos to their control, thereby assuring Athens of new commerce, new revenues, and increased volume of tourist traffic. The activities of the ephebes give us some insight into the continued civic significance of these festivals; as Parker notes, "The ever-increasing involvement of the ephebes with the festivals shows how clearly they remained occasions of civic display."[3] The Eleusinia, Dionysia, Ptolemaia, and, in particular, the Panathenaia were occasions for the Athenians to showcase their city and to make public expressions of gratitude to Roman benefactors. The gratitude expressed by the Athenians could take the form of divine honors. On Delos, for example, the Athenians recognized the generosity of the Romans by acknowledging the goddess Roma in a cult on the island (around 167/6) and by establishing the Romaia. The Athenians'

[3] Parker 1996, 273.

promotion of their various festivals served purposes other than that of "showcasing" the city, particularly in terms of the assimilation of foreigners. The Athenians facilitated the assimilation of resident *Romaioi*, both by admitting youths to the ephebeia, which emphasized religious service, and by allowing Romans to function as *hieropoioi* at the Delian Romaia.

Athens had enjoyed relative security as a *civitas libera et foederata* of Rome. She enjoyed considerably less security in the first century, partly because of the mercurial changes in the political climate at Rome, and partly because she made a series of unfortunate alliances. The Athenians' support of King Mithridates prompted Sulla to destroy parts of their city in 86. About forty years after Sulla's troops damaged the Erechtheion – the seat of Athena Polias, the protectress of the city – a lieutenant of Julius Caesar devastated much of the Attic countryside and the port of Piraeus, intent on punishing Athens for her allegiance to Pompey.

That is the background against which to consider the effusive honors given by the Athenians to their Roman supporters. When the young Pompey eliminated the threat that Mediterranean piracy posed to Athenian commerce, he was hailed as a god on Delos (and probably in Athens as well). The Athenians were also liberal with their honors to Antony and Octavia, openly identifying these friends and benefactors with Dionysus and Athena. We have also seen lesser figures honored by the Athenians, such as those who received honorary statues at Eleusis. These gestures most likely reflected the Athenians' gratitude towards Roman benefactors of the sanctuary.

At other times, of course, the Athenians granted honors where no true good feeling is likely to have existed, but merely for the sake of expediency and self-preservation. Sulla, Caesar on his visit after Pharsalus, Caesar's

lieutenant Calenus, Cleopatra – all received what I would call "automatic" honors, which is to say that they were shown respect in direct proportion to the power they wielded. And, according to what had become the convention of the time, such honors could place them among the gods.

Along the way the sanctuaries of Athens and of other Greek sites suffered the depredations of individual Romans. Sulla's theft from several major treasuries prompted Pausanias to call him "un-Roman;" that Sulla was not in fact alone is indicated by comparable accounts of (*inter alios*) Gaius Verres and of L. Calpurnius Piso, whose plundering prompted Cicero's phrase *laceratae Athenae*.[4]

3. A synthesis: Some religious mentalities

The theft of gold and silver from Greek sanctuaries, through it may not have been "un-Roman" in practice, was considered sacrilegious by Romans as well as by Greeks. In other instances, however, issues of sacrilege and other aspects of religious propriety were viewed quite differently by the two peoples and can add to our understanding of the dynamics at work in their encounters with each other. In conclusion, then, I would like to review some religious "mentalities" or tendencies that have emerged most prominently from this study.

Assimilation and syncretism

In analyzing the activities of various types of Romans, from the

[4] Verres: Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.45 (Verres at Athens, presiding over the theft of a *grande auri pondus* from the temple of Athena); 2.1.46-47 (Verres' unsuccessful attempt to ship away statues he had stolen from the Apollo sanctuary on Delos). Piso: Cic. *Pis.* 40.96 (*Achaia exhausta, Thessalia vexata, laceratae Athenae, Dyrrachium et Apollonia exinanitata, Ambracia direpta, Parthini et Bulienses inlusi, Epirus excisa, Locri, Phocii, Boeotii exusti...*)

resident *negotiator* on Delos to the highest-ranking general, we have frequently made note of the connections being made between Greek and Roman gods. These associations facilitated, in diverse ways and with diverse results, Roman dealings in the Greek world.

The most conspicuous example is that of the *Romaioi* living on Delos. While living abroad they strove to continue the religious practices familiar to them from home. This was possible, even easy, for them to do on Delos – not simply because the island was a melting pot of peoples and customs, although that was certainly true, but because their native gods could easily be assimilated or otherwise related to Greek gods. While in some cases there were preexisting cults on Delos to which the Romans attached themselves, in others (as in the case of Mercury/Hermes) the Romans introduced into their Greek environment the cult of a "Greek" god not previously prominent in life on the island. Hermes on Delos was essentially Mercury in Greek guise, and the association of the Hermaistai, which was dedicated to his cult, was not Greek but Italian. There were other such religious organizations of Italians, which were, to use Hatzfeld's phrase for their meeting-place, "une enclave italienne en terre grecque."

The close-knit community of *Romaioi* on Delos was thus able to achieve a high level of continuity with Italian practices, largely because the readiness with which associations could be made between their own gods and Greek gods created what Bruneau called a "*koiné* religieuse."

The concept of a *koiné* is also helpful in considering the activities of the powerful statesmen and generals who passed through Greece. We have seen syncretism at work in the "public relations" efforts of these men. Sulla and Octavian, for example, promoted their own interests by advertising their

connections with specific (Roman) deities, taking care to facilitate associations between these gods and their Greek counterparts. Sulla, having adopted the cognomen Epaphroditos, minted coins in the Greek east depicting himself and Venus, while the grain tokens that Octavian distributed after Actium may have portrayed Octavian as an Apollo figure. Because there were so many "ready-made" connections between the Greek and Roman pantheons, what Sulla and Octavian were trying to do was easily accomplished, and they could expect it to have some effect.

Removing and moving

We have considered at various points the question of how Greeks and Romans viewed the following: 1) the connection between a specific deity and a specific location, 2) the removal of sacred objects from one place to another, and 3) the appropriation and reuse of sacred objects, and have emphasized that Romans and Athenians (or Greeks in general) had fundamentally different opinions on these matters.

The formulae for the Roman rituals of *evocatio* and *deditio*, although they refer specifically to conquered gods and do not come into play in the relations between Romans and Athenians discussed in this study, can still tell us much about how the Romans perceived the removal and appropriation of sacred objects. Underlying *evocatio*, for instance, was a principle that applied in other contexts, even in peacetime: stolen cult images, once set up in Rome, were seen to add their power to what Alcock calls Rome's "symbolic arsenal." For the Greeks, the consequences were more serious than the affront of the sacrilege itself; the loss of a cult symbol was thoroughly demoralizing and destructive to the community. We cannot deny, as Alcock notes, the Romans

consciousness of exactly what they were taking," and thus we return to issues of religion and power.

Religion: power and *pietas*

I have laid emphasis on religious manipulation as an assertion of power. That kind of assertion was certainly an *effect* of the actions of some Romans in Greece, but we must be careful not to assume in every case that it was a conscious *motive*. From about 50 B.C. on, all who visited the sanctuary at Eleusis had to pass under the elaborate gate inscribed, in Latin, with the names of Appius Claudius Pulcher and his heirs, as well as those of "Ceres and Proserpina." A vivid reminder, to be sure, of the Romans' position in Greece – but Appius' own motives are not likely to have been so heavy-handed. It is often easy to ascribe political or imperialistic motives to the high-profile figures discussed in the first and fourth chapters – easy, but not, I think, always correct. It must certainly be said that the Roman leaders examined here, particularly those of the first century, were not unaware of the potential of religious manipulation in their attempts to gain and preserve power, both at home and abroad. And on some occasions, as we have seen, conscious exploitation of religion or of religious symbols by high-profile Romans in Greece did occur. But we have also examined incidents which can best be explained in terms of the personal religious attitudes of the individuals involved. Sulla's attachment to the Apollo figurine taken from Delphi and Antony's cutting of a branch from Athena's sacred olive are good examples of actions stemming from personal motives, which cannot be defined or categorized. On many occasions we can discern a high level of interest among Romans in the religious traditions of the Athenians and

other Greeks – a reflection of the power that that culture continued to exert on her western master.

Appendix I: Dedications made by Italians on Delos

Dedications by the Italian associations: The numbers at the beginning of each entry correspond to those in *Inscriptions de Délos*. All inscriptions are in Greek, unless otherwise indicated, and all dates are B.C.[1]

I. Apollo
- a. 1730 (Ἀπόλλωνι, by the Apolloniastai. Ca. 125 B.C.)
- b. 1758 (Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἰταλικοῖς, by the Hermaistai, Apolloniastai, and Poseidoniastai. 74 B.C.)
- c. 1711 (Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Διονύσωι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι, by the *oinopolai*. 98/7 B.C.)

II. Athena
- 1747 (τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν; from an altar, perhaps a dedication of the Hermaistai. Undated.)

III. Dionysos
- a. 1711 (see Ic)
- b. 1770 (Δία Ἐλευθέριον καὶ Διόνυσον, by the Competaliastai. Undated.

IV. Heracles
- a. 1713, 1714 (Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἑρμεῖ, by the *elaiopolai*; see V. Ca. 100 and 96/5 B.C.)
- b. 1746 (τὸν Ἡρακλῆν; from an altar, perhaps a dedication of the Hermaistai. Undated.)
- c. 1753 (bilingual dedication *Hercolei* and Ἡρακλεῖ, by the Hermaistai, Apolloniastai, and Poseidoniastai. 113 B.C.)
- d. 1757 (dedication Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἰταλικοῖς, by the Hermaistai, Apolloniastai, and Poseidoniastai. 97 B.C.)
- e. 1764 (τὸν Ἡρακλῆν, by the Competaliastai. 93 B.C.)

V. Hermes
- a. 1711 (see Ic)
- b. 1713, 1714 (see IVa)
- c. 1731 (bilingual dedication *Mercurio et Maiae* and Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Μαίαι, by the Hermaistai. ca. 140 B.C.)
- d. 1732 (bilingual dedication *Mircurio et Maia* and Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Μαίαι, by the Hermaistai. 150-125 B.C.)
- e. 1733 (bilingual dedication *Mirqurio et Maiae* and Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Μαίαι, by the Hermaistai. Ca. 125 B.C.)
- f. 1737 (Ἑρμεῖ, by the Hermaistai. The date, reckoned by the

[1] I am heavily indebted to the excellent work of Bruneau, who has collected and commented on virtually all of the inscriptions I will discuss (Bruneau 1970, *passim*).

proconsulship of L. Calpurnius Piso, is given in Latin and Greek. 57/6 B.C.)

g. *BCH* 87 (1963) 252-53 (Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Μαίαι, by the Hermaistai)

VI. Pistis

1761 (τὴν Πίστιν, by the Competaliastai. 98/7 B.C.)

VII. Poseidon-Neptune

a. 1751 (bilingual dedication Ποσειδῶνι and *Neptuno*, by the Poseidoniastai. Ca 125 B.C.)

b. 1752 (*Neptuno*, by the Poseidoniastai. Second half of second c. B.C.)

VIII. Roma

1763 (τὴν Ῥώμην, by the Competaliastai. 94 B.C.)

IX. Zeus Eleutherios

a. 1770 (see IIIb)

b. 1771 (bilingual dedication Δία Ἐλευθέριον and *Iovem Leiberum*, perhaps by Competaliastai. Undated.)

X. Zeus Ourios

a. 1754 (bilingual dedication *Iovei Sequndano* and Διὶ Οὐρίωι, by the of the Hermaistai, Apolloniastai, and Poseidoniastai. Undated.)

Dedications by individuals: I have excluded the following categories of inscriptions: those honoring eastern gods, those written in Latin in honor of distinctively Roman gods, and those which are clearly dedications of freedmen.

XI. Apollo (as many of these inscriptions specify the motive for or intention of the dedication, I give these along with the name of the dedicant)

a. 2346 (κατ' ἐπιταγήν; by L. Gnaeus Spurius, a Roman)

b. 2347 (δῶρον; only the ethnic *Romaios* and five letters of a name are preserved)

c. 2349 (εὐχήν, by the son of a Publius)

d. 2350 (εὐχήν, by the son of a Lucius)

e. 2354 (in Latin; fragmentary dedication *Italikei Apollini* by a Horatia)

f. 2355 (κατὰ πρόσταγμα; by L. Granius, son of Publius, a Roman)

XII. Artemis

a. 2378 (Ἀρτέμιδι Σωτείραι, by Spurius Stertinius)

b. 2379 (Ἀρτέμιδι Σωτείρᾳ, by Spurius Stertinius, son of Spurius, a

Roman. The text appears below a relief depicting Artemis, who holds two torches and is accompanied by a dog; see Bruneau 1970, pl. I.6)

XIII. Demeter and Kore
2399 (χαριστήριον, dedication Δημητρὶ καὶ Κόρηι, by Babullia; see VIIIc for dedications of Cn. Babullius)

XIV. Dioscuroi
a. 2401 (Διοσκόρους, by A. Claudius son of Gaius and L. Maecius son of Quintus)
b. 2123 (to the Egyptian gods and Διοσκούροις; by two Tutorii)

XV. Graces
2449 (dedication Χάρισι of thanks for a cure; by Sp. Stertinius, son of Spurius, a Roman)

XVI. Hephaistos
2439 (dedication Ἡφαίστωι by L. Plotius, son of Publius)

XVII. Heracles
2409 (Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἑρμεῖ; only the ethnic *Romaios* and the genitive ending of the patronymic are preserved.

XVIII. Hermes
a. 1804 (χαριστήριον, dedication Ἑρμεῖ, by P. Arellius, son of Quintus, a Roman. He is designated as κῆρυξ and may be acting as the head of one of the Italian associations.)
b. 2404 (bilingual dedication *Mercurio* and Ἑρμεῖ, by L. Orbius, son of Marcus)
c. 2407 (Ἑρμῆ καὶ Μαίαι, by Cn. Babullius, son of Lucius)
d. 2409 (see VII)

XIX. Moirai
2443 (κατὰ πρόσταγμα, dedication Μοίραις; by M. Orbius, son of Lucius)

XX. Nymphs (of fountain Minoe)
2446 (dedication Νύμφαις Μινοίσι, by Sp. Stertinius, son of Spurius)

XXI. Zeus Hypsistos
2306 (dedication Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ; C. Fabius, son of Gaius, a Roman)

XXII. Zeus Kynthios
a. 1893 (dedication Διὶ Κυνθίῳ, by Q. Granius, son of Gaius, who has

served as kleidouchos)

b. Bruneau 1970, 223 (κατὰ πρόσταγμα, dedication Διὶ Κυνθίῳ by L. Pinarius. This dedication, otherwise unpublished, was found in 1965.)

Appendix II: Ῥωμαῖοι in the Athenian ephebic lists

The names are given as they appear in *IG* (exceptions noted), with the line numbers. All dates are B.C.

123/2 (*IG* II² 1006 + 1031)

5 ΤΕΒΕΡΙΟC ΡΩΜΑΙΟC
6 ΠΟΠΛΙΟC ΡΩΜΑΙΟC
11 ΓΑΙΟC ΡΩΜΑΙΟC
12 ΔΕΚΜΟC ΡΩΜΑΙΟC

119/8 (*IG* II² 1008)

128 ---C ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΟC

117/6 (*IG* II² 1009)

107 ΓΝΑΙΟC ---ΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΟC
109 ΛΕΥΚ[Ι]ΟC ΟΑΛΕΡΙΟC ΑΥΛΟΥ ΡΩ[ΜΑΙΟC]

107/6 (*IG* II² 1011)

93 ΠΟΠΛΙΟC ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΟC
98 ΑΝΔΡΟΤΙΜΟC ΛΕΥΚΙΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΟC
102 ΑΥΛΟC ΑΥΛΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΟC
108 ΛΕΥΚΙΟC ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΟC
111 ΛΕΥΚΙΟC ΑΥΛΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΟC

101/0 (*IG* II² 1028)

157 ΜΑΑΡΚΟC Λ[---ΡΩΜ]ΑΙ
157 ΔΕΚΟΜ[ΟC Δ]ΕΚ[Ο]ΜΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΟC

ca. 45 (*IG* II² 1965. The most recent text of the inscription is that of Lazzarini [*RFIC* 113 (1985) 34-54]; I give both readings.)

	Lazzarini	*IG*
33	[ΓΑΙ]ΟC) ΡΩΜΑΙΟC	– OC) ΡΩΜΑΙΟC
52	[ΠΟ]ΠΛΙΟC ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟC ΡΩΜ[ΑΙΟC]	..ΤΑ?.. ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟ[C Ρ]ΩΜΑΙΟC
53	Τ[ΙΤΟC Ο]ΥΕΤΤΙΟC ΡΩΜΑ[ΙΟC]	[..... ΟΥ]ΕΤΤΙΟC Ρ[Ω]Μ[ΑΙΟC]
54	ΓΑΙ[ΟC ΑΝ]ΝΙΟC ΡΩΜΑΙΟC	ΓΑ[ΙΟC ΑΝ]ΝΙ[ΟC] ΡΩΜΑΙΟ[C]
65	ΜΑΡΚΟC) ΡΩΜΑΙΟC	ΜΑΡΚΟC) ΡΩ[Μ]ΑΙΟC
67	ΠΩΛΛΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΩΝ[Ο]C ΡΩΜΑΙ[ΟC] ΡΩ[Μ]Α[ΙΟC]	ΠΩΛΛΙΩΝ ΧΡΥCΩΝ[Ο]C
68	ΑΥΛΟC ΛΙΚΙΝΝΙΟC ΡΩ[Μ]ΑΙΟC	ΑΥΛΟC ΛΙΚΙΝΝΙΟC Ρ[ΩΜ]Α[ΙΟ]C

39/8 (*IG* II² 1043)

104 ΜΑΡΚΟC ΤΕΡΕΝΤΙΟC ΡΩΜΑ[ΙΟC]
111 [ΠΟΠ]ΛΙΟC ΓΡΑΝΙΟC ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ ΥΙΟC ΡΩΜΑΙΟC
115 ΛΕΥΚΙΟC) ΡΩΜ[ΑΙΟC]
119 --( ) ΡΩΜΑΙΟC
121 ---) ΡΩΜΑΙΟC

Appendix III: Religious activities of the Athenian ephebes

The following is Jon Mikalson's translation of *IG* II² 1006.1-43 (122/1 B.C.), which he has supplemented with references to other decrees which contain divergences from the otherwise standard formula.[1]

In the archonship of Nicodemos, in the third prytany, that of the tribe Aegeis, for which Epigenes, son of Epigenes, of Oinoe was secretary, on the eighth, intercalated day of Boedromion according to the archon, on the ninth day according to the moon, on the ninth day of the prytany, the Ekklesia Kyria met in the theater. Of the *proedroi* Timon, son of Theopompos, of Paiania and his fellow *proedroi* presided. It was approved by the Boule and the Demos. Aphrodisias, son of Aphrodisias, of Azenia proposed:

Whereas the ephebes in the archonship of Demetrios (123/2)

1) sacrificed (the *eisiteteria*, 1011.5) at their registration in the Prytaneion on the public hearth of the Demos (and sought good omens, 1008.6), with the *kosmetes*, the priest of Demos and the Charites, and the *exegetai* in accordance with the laws and decrees of the Demos, and put on the procession for Artemis Agrotera;

2) and (in armor, 1008.8) met the sacrificial victims and escorted them, and did the same for Iacchos;

3) and lifted up (in manly fashion, 1006.78) the cattle (at the Mysteries, 1008.8-9 and *SEG* 15.104.12) in Eleusis at the sacrifice and at the Prerosia and those in the other sanctuaries and gymnasia, and performed the races;

4) and also participated in the processions and ran the appropriate torch races;

5) and joined (with the *gennetai*, 1011.11) in leading Pallas to Phaleron and back again from there under torchlight in all good order;

6) and brought Dionysos from the *eschara* into the theater under torchlight and at the Dionysia sent a bull worthy of the god – a bull which they also sacrificed in the sanctuary at the procession. And for this they received a crown from the Demos;

7) and, when the sacrifice was being performed for Athena Nike, they

[1] Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (forthcoming).

joined in the procession well and in an orderly manner, escorting the cow which they also sacrificed on the Acropolis to the goddess;

8) and they joined in performing also the other appropriate sacrifices to the gods and to the benefactors (including Diogenes, 1011.14-15) in accordance with the laws and decrees;

9) and through the whole year they continually were at the gymnasia and obeyed the *kosmetes*, and, having thought it most important and most necessary to maintain good order in the lessons assigned by the Demos, they were always without reproach and obeyed the pronouncements of the *kosmetes* and their teachers;

10) and through the whole year they persevered in studying with Zenodotos in the Ptolemaion and the Lyceum, and likewise with all the other philosophers in the Lyceum and the Academy;

11) and they also sat in good order in weapons in the meetings of the Ekklesia;

12) and through the whole year they met Roman friends, (allies, 1006.75) and benefactors who arrived;

13) and at the Epitaphia they made the race in weapons from the public tomb and the other appropriate races;

14) and they made a display (for the Boule, 1006.77) in weapons at the Theseia and the Epitaphia;

15) (and they sacrificed to the Mother of the gods at the Galaxia, 1011.13) and they contributed 70 drachmas to the fund established for this purpose according to the decree of the Demos for the *phiale* for the Mother of the gods, and they dedicated a second (silver, 1006.80) *phiale* (as a *charisterion* in the Mysteries, 1028.30) (for Demeter and Kore, 1009.7) in the sanctuary in Eleusis;

16) and they went out to the boundaries of Attica in weapons and became experienced in the land and roads, and they were present [...] at the sanctuaries in the countryside, and in these they continually sacrificed and sought good omens on behalf of the Demos;

17) and coming to the public tomb at Marathon they put a crown on it and made an offering to those having died in war for freedom's sake;

18) and they went to the Amphiaraion and they inquired into the proprietary rights over the sanctuary which were established from ancient times by their ancestors, and, having sacrificed, they returned on the same day to their own land;

19) and they sailed to the trophy monument and they sacrificed to Zeus Tropaios;

20) and in the procession of the Theoi Megaloi they made the contest of the ships;

21) and at the Mounichia they sailed in a race into the harbor at Mounichia (and sacrificed to the goddess, 1028.21), and likewise at the Diisoteria (for Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira, 1008.21-22);

22) and they sailed also to the Aianteia, and, after having made the contest of the ships there, the procession, and the sacrifice to Ajax (and to Asclepios, 1011.17 and 55 and *SEG* 15.104.23), they were praised by the Demos of the Salaminians and received a gold crown because they had made their stay in an orderly and seemly manner;

23) and in the whole year they preserved harmony and friendship with one another, with no discord, in accordance with the policy of the *kosmetes*;

24) and, (at the end of their term, 1028.41-42), they made also the appropriate display for the Boule in accordance with the law;

25) and showing a love for all good and beautiful things, and wishing to act, in accordance with the policy of the *kosmetes*, for the benefit of the state and for their own seemliness, from their own funds they serviced one of the old, stone-throwing catapults, repaired the defective parts, and restored, after several years, the use of and instruction in the weapon, [...] and they practiced with it;

26) and in other matters they continually were free from reproach in their activities [...];

in order that the Boule and Demos may appear honoring those from their earliest youth worthy and obeying the laws, decrees, and *kosmetes*,

with good fortune, the Boule has resolved that those selected by lot *proedroi* for the coming Ekklesia treat this matter and report to the Demos the opinion of the Boule, that the Boule resolves to praise the ephebes of the archonship

of Demetrios and to crown them with a gold crown because of their piety towards the gods, because of the good order which they have maintained in the whole year, and because of their generosity towards the Boule and Demos, and to announce this crown at the new tragedies of the City Dionysia and at the athletic contests of the Panathenaia and Eleusinia.

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