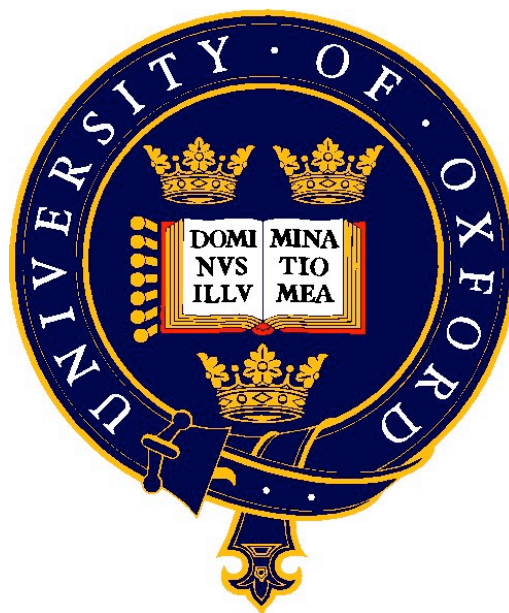


Divine Justification: Flavian Imperial Cult

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Acknowledgements

There will come a time when you believe everything is finished. That will be the beginning.

Louis L'Amour

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Abstract

It is the aim of this thesis to examine and contrast three aspects of the Roman state imperial cult as it existed under the Julio-Claudians and Domitian: the official state cult recorded by the Arval brothers (chapter one), and the roles of the *Genius* of the *princeps* (chapter two) and the *divi* (chapter three) in Roman state imperial cult. I will identify fundamental remodelling of several key aspects of the cult, and argue that this reflects changes to the ideology of imperial power that the cult expressed. Specifically I will argue that the imperial cult under the Julio-Claudians expressed the dynastic and earthly sources of their power – their hereditary claim to power and the powers they were invested with by the senate – and also created a cult of personality around each individual *princeps*, treating them as a prince of Rome. I will show that it was exactly these aspects that were largely removed from the form of the imperial cult by the reign of Domitian. Under Domitian, rather than concentrating on the claim to power of an individual charismatic *princeps*, cult focussed on the Principate as an important institution in Rome that had to be maintained over individual reigns and even dynasties. As a result of these changes the *princeps* was also largely represented as a chief magistrate who acted for the benefit of the state. The subsidiary goal of this thesis is to suggest the possibility that the majority of this remodelling in fact took place during the reign of Vespasian, but the evidence surviving from his reign is too limited to confirm this suggestion with certainty.

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Divine Justification: Flavian Imperial Cult

In this thesis I will examine and contrast three aspects of the Roman state imperial cult as it existed under the Julio-Claudians and Domitian: the official state cult recorded by the Arval Brothers (chapter one), and the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* (chapter two), and the role of the *divi* (chapter three) in the Roman state imperial cult. The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate that the nature of the official imperial cult under Domitian differed in several significant ways from the imperial cult as it existed under the Julio-Claudians. I will also suggest that the differences in cult reflect fundamental changes to the ideology of imperial power that the imperial cult expressed and reflected. Julio-Claudian power was based on dynastic connection to Augustus, and this elite descent in turn led each Julio-Claudian *princeps* to be treated as a charismatic prince whose individual person and character were of special significance.¹ I will argue that it was precisely the dynastic and individual charismatic aspects that were removed from the imperial cult by the reign of Domitian, under whom the form of the imperial cult presented the *princeps* more as a chief magistrate than as a prince of Rome.

The comparative study that forms the core of this thesis hopes to challenge a trend in much existing scholarship, one which treats Flavian cult as a simple continuation and intensification of Julio-Claudian imperial cult, and in turn uses evidence from across the period to draw general conclusions.² I will argue that the imperial cult did not simply progress and develop continuously in a single direction, but that there is in fact evidence for rupture and fundamental change between the Julio-Claudian period and the reign of Domitian, and therefore that evidence must be applied more cautiously.

¹ On the dynastic elements of Julio-Claudian power see Gag  (1931); Lesuisse (1962); Lyasse (2008).

² Eg. Rosso (2006) 127; Luke (2010) 99.

This thesis also hopes to address a trend in the scholarship which does examine specifically Flavian cult, one which concentrates on the reign of Domitian because of the comparatively rich evidence surviving from his reign as opposed to those of Vespasian and Titus. As a result developments to the imperial cult that have been identified for the Flavian period have often been assigned to Domitian's reign and his personal autocratic character, while Vespasian's reign is often characterised as a time of religious scepticism and conservatism.³ However, looking at the character of the changes made to the imperial cult that I will identify throughout the main body of this thesis, it seems to me that they are more appropriate to the reign of Vespasian, the founder of a new dynasty with no charismatic bloodline with which to justify his position, than Domitian, whose claim to power was hereditary. Therefore, as a secondary purpose, at the end of each chapter I will address the possibility that some of the changes made to the Julio-Claudian imperial cult identified from the evidence for Domitian's reign may in fact have been introduced under Vespasian. Unfortunately these sections of the thesis can only be speculative as the evidence surviving from Vespasian's reign is simply too limited to provide a clear image of the imperial cult at the time. Nevertheless, I hope this will demonstrate that assigning the introduction of changes to Domitian's reign because that is when they first appear is an argument based on the silence of the evidence, and that it is worth considering the possibility that many changes were introduced earlier in the Flavian period.

I have limited the scope of this thesis to imperial cult conducted by the Roman state, a sphere that requires definition and justification. With the term cult I refer both to ritual activities - such as vows, supplications and sacrifices - and the apparatus that supported those activities -

³ Eg. Abaecherli (1932) 262; Fears (1977) esp. 222-252, (1981) esp. 74-97; Bengston (1979) 215; Strobel (1994) 359-395; Luke (2010) 77-78.

such as temples and priests. With the term imperial cult I refer to cult conducted in connection with the *princeps*, but also other members of the imperial family, living and deceased, and deities specifically connected with the imperial household. I say cult conducted in connection with the *princeps*, rather than to the *princeps*, as although direct cult in the form of a state temple and priest was decreed for Julius Caesar shortly before his death, this form of cultic recognition did not continue.⁴ Augustus refused direct cult during his life, only allowing cult to be offered to gods of the Roman state for his safety, prosperity and success; consequently imperial cult was conducted for the *princeps* to a variety of different deities. This precedent was imitated by Tiberius, in practice prohibiting direct cult for subsequent *principes* and institutionalising the Augustan form of cultic recognition. Augustus did actively pursue state deification for his afterlife, and after his death was made a god of the Roman state, also creating a precedent for posthumous cult of the *princeps* and members of the imperial family.

With reference to the Roman ‘state’ I mean to focus on these activities as they were undertaken by Rome as a corporate and political entity.⁵ This appears to be a distinction that was relevant to the Romans themselves, as they often referred to cult conducted for the *res publica*, *nostra civitas*, *populus Romanus*, *senatusque populus Romanus Quiritium* and so on.⁶ The primary difficulty presented by this definition is determining what cultic activity falls into this category. Gradel, who also defines ‘state cults or collectively the state cult’ as ‘performed on

⁴ Most modern scholars now agree that Caesar was decreed state cult before his death, as this is consistent with the testimony of the contemporary Cicero (*Philippica* 2.110) and the majority of the other ancient sources (Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Caesar) 76.1; Appian, *Civil War* 2.106; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 44.4), with the exception of Plutarch (*Caesar* 67.8). On Caesar’s deification see Weinstock (1971) 276-287, 305-317; Fishwick (1987) 1.1:56-72; Gradel (2002) 54-72.

⁵ For similar definitions of state cult see Wissowa (1912) 398-399; Ando (1999) 14; Gradel (2002) 9-14; Koch (2003) 299-300.

⁶ Eg. Cicero, *De Re Publica* 2.1; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 6.41.8, 44.12.11; Horace, *Carmina* 3.6.

behalf of the whole city – or city-state’,⁷ suggests that one universal defining characteristic of all state cults was that they were ‘performed or presided over by state magistrates’, including priests.⁸ I will apply this same definition throughout this thesis.

By limiting my study to the Roman state cult I specifically mean to exclude domestic, corporate and civic cults as I am primarily concerned with how the *princeps* and Rome’s state administrative bodies used the imperial cult to formulate the role of the *princeps* in the state, and what unified underlying ideology was applied to the disparate rituals conducted for the *princeps* to a plethora of different deities. Other cults, although certainly influenced by the state cult, were regulated by the individual participants of each, and thus could vary greatly in both their form and ideology. For similar reasons of consistency I will treat Rome’s provincial cults only briefly as supporting evidence for the nature of the imperial cult in Rome. Although these provincial cults officially represented Roman provinces as corporate entities, they were distinct from the Roman state imperial cult as, unlike in Rome, Augustus did not forbid direct cult from the provinces. As a consequence the official provincial cults were fundamentally different from the official cult conducted in Rome. Fortunately the Flavian provincial cults have already been discussed in considerable depth by Fishwick,⁹ allowing consultation of the evidence without significant distraction from the main topic.

As stated above, by examining the state cult I mean to concentrate on how cult was used by the Roman state to formulate the role of the *princeps* within that state, however I do not intend to focus on the agency of specific *principes*. This is because, although each *princeps*

⁷ Gradel (2002) 9-10.

⁸ Gradel (2002) 11.

⁹ Fishwick (1987-2004).

certainly had a dominant role in formulating the imperial cult conducted during his reign, he was not the exclusive policy maker; rather it was a cooperative effort involving the *princeps*, the senate, and state magistrates and priests. Traditionally ultimate power over the state cult rested with the popular assembly, and even in the late republic some decisions regarding religious rites were invalid without their official vote,¹⁰ however in practical terms this authority had long been delegated to the senate.¹¹ It was also senators who populated the official priestly colleges who acted as consultants to the senate, which would then instruct magistrates and priests to act.¹² It has often been suggested that with the advent of the Principate primary power over state religion transferred to the *princeps* as *Pontifex Maximus*,¹³ but this is an inaccurate interpretation of his priestly position. The chief *pontifex* had the role of advisor to the senate on religious matters, with his specific expertise relating to the correct wording of rites; he was also responsible for overseeing the major *flamines* and the Vestal Virgins.¹⁴ Polk has convincingly argued that although this position gave the *princeps* the most important role in Rome's religion, it did not give him absolute control over it,¹⁵ and thus each *princeps* also joined all the major priestly colleges, thereby claiming a monopoly over all the religious bodies that advised the senate.

It was through the senate that the *princeps* passed his religious policies.¹⁶ Augustus' reformation of the calendar was passed by *senatus consultum*,¹⁷ the doors of the temple of Janus, which Suetonius says Augustus closed three times, were in fact closed by decree of the senate,¹⁸

¹⁰ Eg. Cicero, *De Domo Sua* 136; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 9.46.6-7.

¹¹ Wissowa (1912) 394-398; North (2000) 22; Ando (2003) 8.

¹² Eg. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 39.8.3-7, 39.18.7-9.

¹³ Eg. Dumézil (1970) 582-583.

¹⁴ Haepferen (2002) esp. 132; Vanggard (1998) esp. 56-58; Polk (2008) 65.

¹⁵ Polk (2008) 65.

¹⁶ Gordon (1990) 183; Liebeschuetz (1979) 56; North (2000) 33.

¹⁷ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Augustus) 31.2; Censorinus, *De Die Natale* 22.

¹⁸ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 13; Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Augustus) 31.2; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.20.

and after Augustus dedicated the temple of Mars Ultor in 2 BC, it was the senate that decreed that the consuls should celebrate the *ludi Martiales* there annually.¹⁹ The role of the senate in specifically imperial cult policy is well preserved:²⁰ honours for members of the imperial family were consistently passed *ex senatus consulto*,²¹ new imperial cult holidays entered into the calendars were commonly recorded as included by the authority of the senate or consuls,²² new imperial cult monuments, such as the *Ara Pacis*, were voted by the senate,²³ and apotheosis was decreed by the senate.²⁴ Not all proposals that went through the senate were to the *princeps*' taste, and thus some were refused: Tiberius refused *consecratio* for Livia,²⁵ Gaius refused sacrifices to his *Genius*,²⁶ and Nero refused a temple to himself as a *divus* during his lifetime.²⁷ At the same time the *princeps* was not always successful in his plans: for example Gaius' request that Tiberius receive the same posthumous honours as Augustus was ignored by the senate.²⁸ Thus Roman state imperial cult policy should not be assigned entirely to the *princeps* or the senate alone, but was formed by the cooperative efforts of all Rome's governing bodies, the individual influence of each varying over time.²⁹

I further hope by concentrating my study on official state Roman religion to redress two further problems found in many discussions of Flavian imperial cult emerging from Kenneth

¹⁹ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 22.2; cf. Brunt (1984) 437.

²⁰ Talbert (1984) 459, (1984b) 62; Martin (1985) 225.

²¹ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 14; ILS 139; Tacitus, *Annales* 2.83, 4.9.

²² See Lott (1995) 29-31.

²³ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 11.

²⁴ Tacitus, *Annales* 1.10, 1.54; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 56.46.

²⁵ Tacitus, *Annales* 5.1; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 58.2, 59.11; cf. Herz (1981) 324; Flory (1995) 132.

²⁶ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59.4.4.

²⁷ Tacitus, *Annales* 15.74.3.

²⁸ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59.3.7; cf. Price (1987) 86; Polk (2008) 71.

²⁹ Under the autocratic *princeps* Domitian, Tacitus suggests that the senate was in a state of complete servility (*Agricola* 42). Evidence from Trajan's reign suggests that the *optimus princeps* only referred minor matters to the senate (Pliny, *Epistulae* 2.11.18, 3.20.12, 4.12.3, 4.25.5, 5.13.6-8, *Panegyricus* 76). By contrast, during the early years of Tiberius' reign there are extensive examples of him consulting the senate (see Brunt (1984) 423 with references).

Scott's *Imperial Cult under the Flavians* published in 1936. Although a thorough collection of the literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence as well as scholarship available at the time, his analysis is problematic firstly because he relies heavily on the comments of the silver age poets to make assertions about official cult practice, and secondly because he views imperial cult as an aberrant practice imported from the east and applied to Rome as a political tool. Since the publication of his study many examinations of Flavian religion have built on his work and have consequently been influenced by the evidence he collected and his analysis.³⁰

In response to the first of these problems, although I will certainly utilise literary testimony, unlike Scott who concentrated on these sources, I will concentrate instead on evidence produced by Rome's state bodies, such as coins, monuments, and the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, which is the core evidence for chapter one. The Arval Brothers were a state college of twelve priests responsible for the cult of Dea Dia, primarily at her sacred grove on the Via Campania.³¹ By the late republic the priesthood had dwindled in importance, but was rejuvenated by Augustus, who also gave them responsibility for some state imperial cult rituals.³² Prosopographical evidence on the brotherhood collected by Scheid indicates that Augustus made the college one of the most important in Rome: the *princeps* and members of the imperial family were always members, and the rest of the brotherhood comprised loyal supporters who enjoyed prestigious careers.³³ From the time of their rejuvenation until at least the mid-third century AD, each year the Arvals set up records of the rites they conducted on *stelae* in their grove. These describe their rituals in varying detail, listing the date and location of the rituals, their purpose,

³⁰ Eg. Bengston (1979); Winkler (1995); Clauss (1999), reviewed by Fears (2002) 319-321; Rosso (2006).

³¹ Scheid (1990) 95-102.

³² Scheid (1990) 679-694.

³³ Scheid (1975) 335-366, (1990) 183-184; cf. Benoist (1999) 57-58.

what victims were sacrificed to which deities, who conducted the rituals and which brothers were physically present on the occasion. The *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* have no surviving parallels and their purpose is unknown,³⁴ nevertheless it is clear that the college were important players in the state imperial cult landscape, both from the prosopographical evidence, and from where their rites were conducted.³⁵ They undertook the January 3rd *vota* – conducted by officials throughout the empire – on the Capitol where the consuls conducted the same rituals;³⁶ they conducted sacrifices on the birthday of Divus Augustus at his temple where the *sodales Augustales* sacrificed;³⁷ and they undertook sacrifices at the *Ara Pacis* on the anniversary of its dedication until the reign of Gaius, and according to Augustus' *Res Gestae* magistrates, unspecified priests and the Vestal Virgins were all instructed to conduct rituals at the same location on that day.³⁸ Thus the Arvals appear to have been key players in the state imperial cult, working alongside Rome's other important magistrates and priests on behalf of the state. Consequently it is reasonable to suggest that trends in their cultic practices may be representative of wider trends in the state imperial cult.

Addressing the second problem emerging from Scott's thesis, I will understand the purpose of cult within a paradigm identified for the Mediterranean world by Simon Price,³⁹ and specifically applied to the Augustan imperial cult in Rome by his student Ittai Gradel.⁴⁰ According to this paradigm cult can be understood as part of a hierarchical social economy in which individuals granted one another favours, called *officia* or *beneficia*, which the recipient

³⁴ On possible purposes for the records see Rüpke (2004) 34-37.

³⁵ Scheid (1990) esp. 384-426.

³⁶ Scheid (1990) 298-309.

³⁷ Scheid (1990) 257; Gradel (2002) 181-182, 274-275.

³⁸ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 12; on the *Ara Pacis* and its role in the imperial cult see Zanker (1988) 121-123; Lott (1995) 32-58; Severy (2003) 104-111.

³⁹ Price (1984a) esp. 234-248.

⁴⁰ Gradel (2002) esp. 15-26.

was obliged to repay; failure to acknowledge and repay this debt was considered a grievous social crime.⁴¹ Favours could be almost anything, such as political, financial and social aid, or manumission. Debt was repaid with *gratia*, meaning good will, and the form of that *gratia* was determined both by the magnitude of the favour and the status gap between the two parties. Between senators *gratia* could be a favour of one's own,⁴² in unequal relationships it often manifested as a set of standard obligations,⁴³ and manumission was a favour so great that it could not be repaid within a lifetime, and thus freedmen had to both work for their ex-masters in life and include them in their will at death.⁴⁴ Masters and *patroni* were supreme benefactors to their slaves and *clientes*, people entirely reliant on their benefactors for their livelihood, and in these relationships *gratia* often manifested as cult of the superior's *Genius*.⁴⁵ The gods similarly had a position in this economy as supreme benefactors at the peak of the hierarchy, and in addition to other forms of *gratia*, they also received direct cultic *gratia*, such as vows and sacrifices made directly to them.⁴⁶ It was also not unknown for men, colleges and civic communities to offer direct cultic *gratia* to men who were their particular benefactors, but the Roman state is not known to have offered such *gratia* to any man other than Julius Caesar.⁴⁷ The state had previously paid *gratia* to important men - to generals like Scipio Africanus and Pompey and statesmen like Cato Censorinus and Cicero - but the state paid this *gratia* in honours such as

⁴¹ On this economy see Saller (1982) esp. 7-37, defended (1990) 49-62; cf. Wallace-Hadrill (1990) 3-4; Konstan (1997) 122-148; contra Sherwin-White (1983) 271-273; contemporary commentary Cicero, *De Officiis* 1.47, 1.59; Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 1.10.4, 2.23, 3.12.3, 4.20, 7.31.1.

⁴² Eg. Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* 2.6.1-2, 7.23, 13.30-39; Pliny, *Epistulae* 1.14, 1.19.

⁴³ Martial and Horace, equestrians who relied on their patrons to publicise their literary works, would attend their benefactors' morning *salutationes* and escort them through town on business (Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 38.51.6; Horace, *Saturae* 2.6.23, 2.26.8; Juvenal, *Saturae* 1.117; Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 6.33-4; *De Brevitate Vitae* 14.3; *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* 101.3; Martial, *Epigrammata* 3.36, 9.100, 10.10, 10.29).

⁴⁴ Gaius, *Institutiones* 3.41; cf. Saller (1982) 24.

⁴⁵ Gradel (2002) 36-44.

⁴⁶ Gradel (2002) 27-32.

⁴⁷ On cult of men before the Principate see Gradel (2002) 32-34, 44-53.

public statues,⁴⁸ special privileges⁴⁹ and *supplicationes*.⁵⁰ Supplications were days of public rejoicing decreed by the senate in response to benefactions bestowed on the state by men, in particular military victories. On these days many of Rome's shrines exhibited images of the gods of the Roman state and the *populus* attended en masse and made offerings to them in thanks for the benefaction of victory provided through the actions of the general; thus supplications were simultaneously cultic *gratia* for the gods and honorific *gratia* for the general.⁵¹ It was along the same lines as these supplications – in that cult was offered to the gods for the deeds or safety of the *princeps* - that the imperial cult conducted from the reign of Augustus onwards was formed. Thus within this paradigm imperial cult is understood as a way in which Roman society formulated the position of the *princeps* in relation to the state, as a supreme benefactor with a power to influence its prosperity that approached that of the gods.

Turning to the main body of this thesis, in chapter one I will compare and contrast the nature of the state imperial cult conducted by the Arval Brothers. I will show that both the calendar of dates on which rites were conducted and the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps* differed significantly under the Julio-Claudians and Domitian, and suggest that these differences represented significant changes in the way that the position of the *princeps* was formulated by the cult. Under the Julio-Claudians the cult calendar concentrated on the anniversaries of days on which the *princeps* received powers from the state and on imperial

⁴⁸ Eg. Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* 2.43.4; Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* 6.9.14; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 34.19; Plutarch, *Caesar* 6.1; Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Caesar) 11; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 42.18.12, 43.49.1.

⁴⁹ Eg. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 38.56.12; Cornelius Nepos, *De Viris Illustribus* 56.5; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 37.21.4.

⁵⁰ On supplications see Weinstock (1971) 62-64.

⁵¹ Eg. Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* 15.13.1, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 7.2.6, *in Catilinam* 3.15, *Philippica* 14.29, 37; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 3.7.7, 5.23.3, 21.51.7, 27.51.7, 34.42.1, 40.37.3, 43.13.8, 45.2.6. On the wording of accounts of *gratia* supplications see Hickson-Hahn (2004) esp. 58-67.

birthdays. The first of these types of events reflected the earthly powers of the *princeps*, voted to him by the state administration, and the second the dynastic element of Julio-Claudian power, by highlighting the importance of the Julio-Claudian family to the Principate. The pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the Julio-Claudian *principes* also highlighted the dynastic source of their power: the Capitoline Triad and *Salus*, who received sacrifices for the *princeps* on almost all imperial cult occasions throughout the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, were regularly joined by the *divi* – deified ancestors of the Julio-Claudian *gens* – and the *Genius* of the *princeps* – the personal guardian spirit of the *princeps* that also ensured the continuation of his family dynasty. Together this cult calendar and pantheon highlighted the earthly and dynastic sources of Julio-Claudian imperial power, and created a cult of personality around the *princeps*, presenting him as a prince of Rome.

I will demonstrate that, by contrast, under Domitian annual imperial cult was no longer conducted on anniversaries or imperial birthdays, and both the *divi* and the *Genius* of the *princeps* were removed from the pantheon of deities who received sacrifices; consequently the focus of the imperial cult changed significantly. The only annual imperial cult rites from the Julio-Claudian period that continued to be conducted under Domitian were the January 3rd *vota*. These rites, rather than focussing on the personal and individual claims to power of the incumbent *princeps*, focussed on the Principate as an important institution in the Roman state that was maintained over individual reigns and dynasties. I will argue that as a result of maintaining this ritual, which focussed on the Principate rather than the incumbent *princeps*, and the lack of attention paid to the individual character of the *princeps*, by the reign of Domitian the

form of the Arval imperial cult characterised the *princeps* more as a chief magistrate responsible to the Roman state than a prince nurtured by the state.

At the conclusion of this chapter I will suggest that the evidence leaves it an open possibility that the changes made to the Arval cult calendar and pantheon by the reign of Domitian, although they were certainly not yet introduced during the civil war period, may have been introduced during the reign of Vespasian. I will argue that this is a possibility worth considering firstly because the literary sources also suggest that major changes were made to the imperial cult calendar during the reign of Vespasian, and secondly because the nature of the changes made to the Arval imperial cult – suppression of the state and dynastic sources of imperial power - appear to be more suited to the reign of Vespasian than Domitian. Vespasian was the founder of a new dynasty with no significant ancestors on which to base his claim to power, and unlike his civil war predecessors he did not date his accession to the time that he was recognised by the senate and invested with state powers, but from the time that he was recognised by his armies. Domitian's claim to the Principate was his dynastic connection to Vespasian, and the powers he accepted at the start of his reign.

In chapter two I will take a closer look at the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in Roman state cult, iconography and ideology. The *Genius* of the *princeps* was gradually incorporated into the Roman state imperial cult during the reigns of Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, becoming a key figure probably by the reign of Gaius, and certainly by the reign of Nero. Accompanying its increasingly important role in cult, under Nero the *Genius* of the *princeps* also adopted a new iconography. Previously the *Genius* of the *princeps* was depicted in the same

guise as the *Genius* of any man, but on Neronian coinage the *Genius Augusti* was depicted using the traditional iconography of the *Genius Populi Romani*. With this change in iconography I will argue that the ideology of the *Genius* in state religion also changed: the role of primary guardian spirit of the Roman state that had belonged to the *Genius* of Rome's traditional sovereign body, the Roman people, was usurped by the guardian spirit of the *princeps*, emphasising his role as prince of Rome.

I will argue that under Domitian the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in cult and iconography was significantly different from under Nero, being all but absent from both. I will argue that the general absence of the *Genius* of the *princeps* from evidence for cult and iconography should be interpreted as a suppression of its role in imperial ideology on the basis of evidence for a new iconographic theme on three monumental sculptural reliefs surviving from Domitian's reign. On these three reliefs the *Genius* of the *princeps* is not only conspicuous by its absence, but the place occupied by the *Genius Augusti* under Nero was given to a triad of deities comprised of the *Genius Populi Romani*, *Genius Senatus* and the goddess *Roma*, which were used in all three reliefs to represent and personify the Roman state. Contrasting with the Neronian iconography which suggested that Nero's wellbeing was the wellbeing of the state, on these reliefs the *princeps* is depicted serving the state, again taking on the guise of a magistrate or benefactor rather than a prince.

In the final section of this chapter I will argue that the changes made to the iconography of the *Genius* by Domitian's reign may already have been introduced under Vespasian. I will show that *Genius Populi Romani* coins minted at the end of the civil war period and at the start

of the Flavian period show a definitive reaction against the iconographic presentation of the Neronian *Genius Augusti*. I will show that alongside these unusual *Genius Populi Romani* coins, Vespasian's reign also saw the minting of new *Genius Senatus* coins, pre-empting the Domitianic use of this deity. Finally I will argue that there is also numismatic evidence that the *Genius Populi Romani* and the *Genius Senatus*, which are traditionally thought to have appeared together for the first time under Domitian, may in fact have been depicted together on the coinage under Vespasian. Thus I will argue that this iconographic evidence suggests that the themes evident in Domitianic iconography and ideology of the *Genius*, which appear to reflect its role in cult under Domitian, may already have been in use under Vespasian; though again this suggestion can only be speculative.

In chapter three I will examine the role of the *divi* in Roman state cult and religion. It will be seen that the *divi* were in fact promoted as important ancestors of the *princeps* under both the Julio-Claudians and Domitian, but that this was done in significantly different ways. In the Julio-Claudian imperial cult the primary role of the *divi* appears to have been as protectors of the current *princeps*, and as such they were regular recipients of sacrifices for the *princeps* from the Arvals. By contrast, not only were the Julio-Claudian *divi* removed from the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps*, this time certainly under Vespasian, they were never replaced by the Flavian *divi*, even under Domitian who saw four members of his family deified, more than under any other *princeps*.

Despite this disassociation of the *divi* from the cult conducted for the *princeps* that this change in the Arval cult represented, I will argue that Domitian nevertheless used the Flavian

divi to bolster his claim to power through dynasty by promoting each Flavian *divus* not individually, as they were under the Julio-Claudians, but as a collective, with shared temples and priests, creating the idea of a distinctive Flavian heaven from which the *princeps* drew power. I will show that this contrast between individual promotion and collective treatment of *divi* was not isolated to Rome, but was also seen in the provincial imperial cult. Under the Julio-Claudians provincial cults were exclusively dedicated to a single *princeps* or *divus*, sometimes in combination with other individually specified deities such as the goddess *Roma*. By contrast, the provincial cult established at Ephesus in Asia under Domitian was dedicated to the *Sebastoi*, a collective including multiple *divi* as well as the *princeps* and living members of the imperial family, who were not excluded from direct cult as they were in Rome. Although the prominence of the Flavian *divi* in Domitianic Rome demonstrates a promotion of ideas of dynasty under Domitian, something that will not have been seen in previous chapters, it did so in a way that again did not focus on the individual as a charismatic individual, so on the individual *divi*, but on the *divi* as part of something bigger, just as the *princeps* was not promoted as an individual, but as part of the Principate.

Again at the end of this chapter I will turn my attention to the reign of Vespasian. I will suggest that although the prolific deification of members of the Flavian imperial family appears to have been a specifically Domitianic phenomenon, with Vespasian apparently making no attempts to deify any of his ancestors and deifications under Titus being limited to Divus Vespasianus, there are connections between other Vespasianic and Domitianic policies towards the *divi*. It was under Vespasian that the *divi* were removed from the cult of the *princeps* conducted by the Arvals, and this was maintained in cult form by Domitian, with the *divi*

continuing to be excluded from the Arval cult, if not in spirit through his other use of the *divi*. Further, there is direct Vespasianic precedent for Domitian's treatment of the *divi* as a collective in the provinces, as the first provincial cults of the *Sebastoi* were dedicated during his reign. Although it is impossible to say how much this provincial policy may have influenced policy towards the *divi* in Rome, that Vespasian was concerned with the *divi* in Rome is clear from his maintenance of the cult of Divus Claudius.

Thus at the end of this thesis I hope to have identified several significant differences between the Roman state imperial cult under the Julio-Claudians and Domitian, not only in form, but also in the underlying ideology that the form of the cult communicated and reflected. I also hope to have shown that it is a valid possibility that many of the changes made to the cult by Domitian's reign may in fact have been introduced under Vespasian, the significance of whose reign to the development of the Roman state imperial cult, I feel, may often have been overlooked due to an unfortunate scarcity of surviving evidence.

Chapter One: Arval Rituals

This chapter will compare the character of the imperial cult conducted by the Arvals under the Julio-Claudians and Domitian. Fortunately the surviving Arval evidence from Domitian's reign, though incomplete, provides a useful cross section from which to draw conclusions. Records survive from nine different years, including extended sections spanning from January to September AD 87 and January to November AD 91. The Arval evidence for the Julio-Claudian period part of this comparison is more uneven, with the most consistent evidence surviving from the reigns of Gaius and Nero: much of AD 38-40 survives from Gaius' reign, with AD 38 surviving in full, and records from eight different years of Nero's reign survive, with AD 59 in full. The surviving evidence from the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius is much more sporadic, but fortunately it has been much discussed and consistently verifies observations made from the more intact records. A table listing all the imperial cult rites preserved in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* from the reigns of Tiberius to Domitian is provided in Appendix One.

The overall conclusion of this chapter will be that both the calendar of events marked with imperial cult and the pantheon of deities to receive cult on these occasions differed significantly under the Julio-Claudians and Domitian. Section one will show that annual cult conducted both on the anniversaries of days on which the *princeps* received important powers and on imperial birthdays formed the core of the Arval imperial cult calendar under the Julio-Claudians, but by the reign of Domitian annual cult on both these types of days had ceased: imperial birthdays were not included in the Arval calendar at all, and Domitian's assumptions of powers were marked only once, with extraordinary cult (1.1). Section two will examine the only annual imperial cult rituals from the Julio-Claudian period that did continue to be

conducted annually under Domitian, the January 3rd *vota*, and the evolution of these *vota* from the reign of Tiberius to Domitian. Particular attention will be paid to the changing pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices on this day, which reflects general changes in the Arval imperial cult pantheon. The Capitoline Triad and *Salus* were recipients of sacrifices from the Arvals on almost all imperial cult occasions preserved in their records. Under the Julio-Claudians this standard pantheon was consistently joined by the *divi*, deified ancestors of the Julio-Claudian family, and the *Genius* of the *princeps*, a deity responsible for the prosperity and continuation of the Julio-Claudian household. Both these types of deities were absent from the pantheon under Domitian. In this section I will also examine the only new annual imperial cult rite introduced into the Arval calendar under Domitian, a second annual *vota* conducted on January 22nd which appears to have augmented the January 3rd *vota* (1.2).

In section three I will bring together the evidence for the changing cult calendar and take a closer look at the changing character of the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps*. I will conclude that the Julio-Claudian Arval imperial cult calendar focussed on the earthly and dynastic sources of Julio-Claudian imperial power, creating a cult of personality around the individual incumbent *princeps*. At the same time the strong presence of the *divi* and *Genius* in the Julio-Claudian imperial cult pantheon again emphasised the dynastic source of imperial power. The removal of these elements from the cult calendar by the reign of Domitian diminished the importance of these power bases in the cult. Further, the focus placed on the January 3rd *vota* and the new January 22nd *vota*, by the removal of other annual events, focussed the imperial cult as a whole on the importance of the Principate as an institution in the state rather than on the individual incumbent *princeps* (1.3).

In the final section of this chapter I will suggest the possibility that many of the changes made to the Julio-Claudian imperial cult by the reign of Domitian were first introduced under Vespasian. This suggestion can only be speculative because of the nature of the surviving evidence: only twelve individual entries in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* survive from Vespasian's decade long reign, and only four of these relate to the imperial cult, the rest relate to the cult of Dea Dia or membership rituals.¹ Nevertheless I will suggest that information about the reign of Vespasian can be inferred from the fairly complete records that survive from directly before and directly after his tenure. Complete records survive from the first six months of AD 69, a period that encompasses portions of the reigns of Galba, Otho and Vitellius. The rituals recorded are consistent with those conducted under Nero, suggesting that little change was made to Arval imperial cult practices before the reign of Vespasian. Similarly two continuous sections of the Arval records survive from Titus' brief two year reign, and together they cover an almost sixteen month period from May 29th AD 80 to May 1st AD 81, and from May 17th to September 14th AD 81. Despite the comprehensive nature of the surviving sections only two imperial cult rituals are recorded, however what is recorded suggests that both the dramatic decrease in annual rituals and the change in the pantheon, clearly evident under Domitian, were already in place during Titus' reign, and therefore allows for the possibility that they were introduced under Vespasian (1.4).

1.1: Anniversary and Birthday Cult

Under the Julio-Claudians the events most often marked by the Arval Brothers with sacrifices were the days on which the *princeps* received state powers, and the anniversaries of those days throughout the rest of his reign. Benoist argues that these days represented the

¹ On these rituals see Scheid (1990) 451-464, 506-514.

earthly sources of the power of the *princeps*, and that these rituals sanctified them annually.² This pattern of anniversary cult is made clear from the surviving Arval evidence from the reigns of Gaius and Nero. Under Gaius the Arvals conducted cult on the anniversaries of the days on which Gaius was first hailed *imperator* (March 18th AD 37),³ when he first entered the city as *princeps* (March 28th AD 37),⁴ and when he assumed the title *pater patriae* (September 21st AD 38).⁵ Although not an anniversary *per se*, Gaius' assumption of his second consulship on January 1st AD 39 was also sanctified by the Arvals with sacrifices.⁶ Consulship rituals appear to fall into the same category as anniversary cult as they too related to earthly powers bestowed on the *princeps* by the state, and sanctified them for the year.⁷ A similar calendar of anniversary cult probably continued to be conducted under Claudius, for although the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* from his reign are very fragmentary, a definite example survives of a rite conducted on the anniversary of his assumption of the title *pater patriae* (January 12th AD 42) in an unknown year, suggesting that the same general pattern continued.⁸ Under Nero anniversary cult was conducted annually for his assumption of *tribunicia potestas* (December 4th AD 54)⁹ and *imperium* (October 13th AD 54),¹⁰ and rites were also undertaken for his assumption of the consulship in various years.¹¹

These types of anniversaries appear to have been important in the imperial cult from the very beginning of the Principate.¹² Although little remains from the *Acta Fratrum*

² Benoist (1999) 196-213; cf. Scheid (1990) 385-394.

³ CFA 12c:8-14, 13e:12-17.

⁴ CFA 12c:15-19.

⁵ CFA 12c:83-91. On Gaius' accession see Jakobson and Cotton (1985) 497-503.

⁶ CFA 13abcd:4-11.

⁷ On Arval consulship rituals see Scheid (1990) 393-395.

⁸ CFA 17:1-14.

⁹ CFA 25b:14-21, 27:19-23.

¹⁰ CFA 27:9-14, 28a-c:48-50, 30cef.II:34-40.

¹¹ CFA 25a:1-7, 26a-lr:1-12, 27:64-27, 28de:15-23, 33:1-5.

¹² Benoist (1999) 197-201.

Arvalium from the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, many contemporary calendars survive from throughout Italy in which similar days are marked as holidays. Although these calendars were produced by a variety of different groups – such as municipal governments or collegial affiliations – they were most likely derived from an official Roman example. This is indicated by the fact that, accounting for additions over time, the calendars are consistent with one another, and their content is verified by literary sources, including Augustus' *Res Gestae* and Ovid's *Fasti*.¹³ For Augustus, days on which he bestowed important benefactions on Rome – such as his victory at Alexandria which saved Rome from Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra and his restoration of the *res publica* – and days that saw him take up earthly powers – such as the day he first took up the *fasces*, the day he first assumed the consulship, the day the senate awarded him the title Augustus and the day he became *Pontifex Maximus* – were recorded as festive days in the calendars.¹⁴ Tiberius' military victory at Illyricum was similarly noted, as was his assumption of earthly powers, such as the role of *Pontifex Maximus* following Augustus' death.¹⁵

The Augustan and Tiberian cult calendars differ from the Arval calendar under the later Julio-Claudians in that benefactions, seemingly marked annually under Augustus and Tiberius, were marked by the Arvals under the Julio-Claudians with singular extraordinary rituals rather than annual cult. Furthermore, in addition to benefactions bestowed on Rome by the *princeps* being marked with extraordinary cult, under the Julio-Claudians benefactions received by the *princeps*, such as the detection of conspiracies against him, also appear to have been marked by the Arvals with extraordinary cult. The Arval records from Nero's

¹³ Lott (1995) 29-31; Benoist (1999) 31-36.

¹⁴ *Fasces*: January 7th (*Fasti Praenestini, Feriale Cumanum*); consulship: August 19th (*Feriale Cumanum, Fasti Antiates Minores*); title Augustus: January 26th (*Fasti Praenestini, Feriale Cumanum*); *Pontifex Maximus*: March 6th (*Fasti Praenestini, Fasti Maffeiani, Feriale Cumanum*).

¹⁵ Illyricum: October 23rd (*Fasti Praenestini*); *Pontifex Maximus*: March 10th (*Fasti Praenestini; Fasti Vaticanani*).

reign preserve testimony of extraordinary cult conducted for Nero's departure to war and military victories,¹⁶ the detection of conspiracies,¹⁷ the safe pregnancy of Nero's wife Poppaea,¹⁸ and for Nero's various *adventus*.¹⁹ Each occasion saw a one-off Arval ritual that was not repeated in later years.²⁰

These slight differences in cult patterns may indicate that while under Augustus the *princeps*' actions on behalf of Rome were considered a primary source of and justification for his power and position in the state, by the reigns of Gaius, Claudius and Nero the Principate had become institutionalised, and it was the powers granted to them by the state that were considered the primary source of their position. Nevertheless, the Augustan and Tiberian calendars indicate that the anniversaries of days on which the *princeps* received official state powers were considered important annual events from the beginning of the Principate, and that by marking them annually the Arvals were continuing a longer tradition.

Alongside his official powers, the dynastic source of Tiberius' power was also recognised in the calendars, as his adoption by Augustus (June 26th AD 4) was a holiday.²¹ This source of imperial power also appears to have been important in the Arval cult conducted under the later Julio-Claudians, as Nero's adoption by Claudius also saw annual sacrifices from the Arvals throughout Nero's reign (February 25th AD 50).²² The importance of the role of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in justifying and securing the power of the *princeps* was also incorporated into cult calendars through the frequent celebration of imperial

¹⁶ CFA 30cd.I:8-14, 30cef.II:1-11; cf. Scheid (1990) 403-408.

¹⁷ CFA 28a-c:10-16, 30cd.I:1-8; cf. Scheid (1990) 394-403.

¹⁸ CFA 29.I:18-24.

¹⁹ CFA 28a-c:24-32, 28a-c:33-40, 29.II:1-29, 30cef.II:27-29; on the importance of *adventus* see Benoist (2005) 79-91.

²⁰ On extraordinary Arval cult see Scheid (1990) 408-411.

²¹ *Fasti Amiternini*.

²² CFA 26a-lr:28-32, 34:12-18; cf. Scheid (1990) 394-396.

birthdays. According to the surviving calendars and other sources, at various different times under Augustus and Tiberius the birthdays of both *principes*, and also Livia, Gaius Caesar, Lucius Caesar, Drusus, Germanicus, and probably also Germanicus' sons Nero and Drusus, were all festive days.²³ Similarly many imperial birthdays were marked with annual rituals by the Arvals. Under Gaius sacrifices were undertaken on the birthdays of the *princeps*, the deceased Tiberius and Livia, Gaius' grandmother Antonia Minor, his deceased father Germanicus and mother Agrippina, and on the birthdays of Divus Augustus and Diva Drusilla, though not on Drusilla's birthday during her lifetime.²⁴ The only references to birthday rites from the extremely fragmentary Arval records from Claudius' reign are to Divus Augustus' birthday in unknown years,²⁵ but similar cult may have continued as according to Cassius Dio equestrian games were held on Claudius' birthday, the Praetorians observed the birthdays of Claudius' wife Messalina and son Britannicus, and Claudius introduced public games on the birthdays of his deceased father Drusus and mother Antonia.²⁶ Under Nero cult was undertaken on the birthdays of the *princeps*, his mother Agrippina and wife Messalina during their lives, and on the birthday of Nero's deceased biological father Domitius Ahenobarbus.²⁷ According to the Arval records, under Tiberius and early in Gaius' reign birthdays simply saw sacrifices to Jupiter, but later in Gaius' reign Jupiter was joined by the rest of the Capitoline Triad, and by the reign of Nero they were also joined by the *divi* and the *Genius* of the *princeps*.²⁸ This plethora of imperial birthdays marked with cult would have given the Julio-Claudian dynasty an unmistakable presence in

²³ See Benoist (1999) 213-232 with references.

²⁴ Gaius: CFA 12c:77-82; Tiberius: CFA 12d:5-10; Livia: CFA 12c:1-4, 13e:1-3; Antonia: CFA 12c:5-7, 13e:4-11; Germanicus: 12c:29-36, 14.I:1-9; Agrippina: 13fgh:9-16; Divus Augustus: CFA 12c:92-109; Diva Drusilla: 14.I:19-26.

²⁵ CFA 18:1-18, 19:1-10.

²⁶ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 60.5, 60.12.4, 60.17.9; cf. Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Claudius) 11.2.

²⁷ Nero: CFA 24:6-14, 25b:28-31, 28de:9-14, 28f:1-10; Agrippina: CFA 25b:6-14, 27:15-18; Domitius Ahenobarbus: CFA 24:1-5, 25b:22-27, 27:24-28, 28de:3-8; Messalina: CFA 37:1-3; cf. Scheid (1990) 412-417.

²⁸ Aberrantly, on the birthday of Domitius Ahenobarbus rites were conducted to the *penates* before his ancestral home (see Scheid (1990) 417).

the Roman state cult, and the inclusion of dynastic deities such as the *divi* and *Genius* in the pantheon by the reign of Nero indicates the role of these rituals in highlighting the dynastic source of imperial power.

Thus it seems that the dominant annual rituals conducted by the Arvals under the Julio-Claudians, which formed the core of their cult calendar, focussed on the earthly power and dynastic descent of the *princeps*. These same rituals also built a cult of personality around the *princeps* as they concentrated on things specific to his individual character: his anniversaries and family. This set the Julio-Claudian *principes* apart from Rome's other magistrates, who were also vested with state power, but who were interchangeable, while the *princeps* was a charismatic head of individual importance.

By contrast, although extraordinary rituals were conducted shortly after Domitian's accession in AD 81 for his reception of *imperium* (September 14th)²⁹ and *tribunicia potestas* (September 30th),³⁰ the anniversaries of these events were not marked with cult by the Arvals in subsequent years. Furthermore, the birthdays of Domitian, living members of the imperial family and the Flavian *divi* were all absent from the Arval records. These absences seem to represent a remarkable contrast considering the core role that these anniversaries played in the Julio-Claudian Arval calendar.

1.2: Principate Cult

Although the annual anniversary and birthday rituals that dominated the Julio-Claudian Arval imperial cult calendar ceased to be conducted annually by the reign of

²⁹ CFA 49:27-32.

³⁰ CFA 49:33-38.

Domitian, one annual ritual was conducted consistently throughout the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods: the January 3rd *vota*. According to Weinstock the conception of the January 3rd *vota* dates from the time of Julius Caesar when the senate decreed that vows and sacrifices should be conducted annually for Caesar's welfare.³¹ Weinstock argues that this involved including Caesar's welfare alongside that of the state in the *vota* for its prosperity conducted annually on January 1st.³² During this January 1st ritual, led by the consuls, victims were promised to the Capitoline Triad and *Salus* on the same day the following year if they preserved the safety of the state, and the victims promised the previous year were sacrificed.³³ No explicit evidence survives to support Weinstock's supposition that Julius Caesar was included in this rite, nevertheless similar vows, though apparently not as part of the January 1st *vota*, appear to have been conducted for Augustus as he claims that the senate ordered the consuls and priests to conduct vows for his wellbeing every five years.³⁴ The Arval records preserve vows for the wellbeing of the Principate, modelled on those undertaken for the state on January 1st, conducted annually on January 3rd from at least AD 28 onwards.³⁵ Literary sources verify that the January 3rd *vota* were conducted throughout the empire.³⁶ I refer to these *vota* as being for the prosperity of the Principate, rather than the *princeps*, firstly because it was not only the safety of the *princeps* that was requested on January 3rd, but also certain members of his family, again alluding to the important role of the continuation of the Julio-Claudian dynasty to the security and prosperity of the Principate. Under Tiberius, Livia and the sons and grandsons of their household were included in the *vota* in some years.³⁷ In AD 38 Gaius' sisters may have been included alongside him, for although only his generic

³¹ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 44.6.1.

³² Weinstock (1971) 217-220.

³³ Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 21.63.7; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.79-88; Tacitus, *Annales* 4.70.1; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 45.17.9; cf. Benoist (1999) 161-170.

³⁴ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 9; cf. Strothmann (2000) 189-190.

³⁵ On these *vota* see Scheid (1990) esp. 298-311; cf. Moralee (2004) 25-27.

³⁶ Eg. Tacitus, *Agricola* 21; Pliny, *Epistulae* 10.35-36, 101-102.

³⁷ CFA 6:1-6, 7a.II:13-23.

domus is not mentioned in the rite conducted on the Capitol on January 3rd AD 38, a subsidiary rite appears to have been conducted on January 11th when the brothers sacrificed a cow to Dea Dia, vowed on January 3rd, to ensure the luck and prosperity of Gaius and his sisters.³⁸ Cassius Dio also says that Gaius' sisters were included in the prayers conducted annually by the magistrates for his safety.³⁹ Only fragmentary evidence survives from Claudius' reign,⁴⁰ but under Nero his wife Octavia was certainly included in the *vota* before her death, and his other wives probably later.⁴¹ The second reason I refer to the January 3rd *vota* as conducted for the Principate rather than the *princeps* is because, unlike any other imperial cult conducted by the Arvals, it was conducted on the same day every year under all *principes*, rather than on a date of specific relevance to the individual *princeps*. This highlights its relevance to the institution rather than the individual.

The *vota* continued during the civil war period, being conducted for Galba on January 3rd AD 69, and later in that year substitutes for the *vota* were conducted for Otho and Vitellius shortly after their accessions. That the rite conducted for Otho on January 26th was a substitute for the January 3rd rite is indicated by the fact that the vows made were to be fulfilled on January 3rd the following year.⁴²

III K(alendas) Febr(uarias) mag(istro) Imp(eratore) M(arco) Othone Caesare Aug(usto) promag(istro) / L(ucio) Salvio Othone Titiano colleg(ii) fratrum [A]rval(ium) nomine im/molavit in [Cap]itolio ob vota nuncupata pro salute Imp(eratoris) M(arci) / Othonis Caesari[s] A]ug(usti) in annum proximum in III Non(as) Ianuar(ias) / Iovi b(ovem) m(arem) Iunoni vacc(am) Minervae vacc(am) Saluti p(ublicae) p(opuli) R(omani) vacc(am) divo / Aug(usto) b(ovem) m(arem) divae Aug(ustae) vacc(am) divo Claudio b(ovem) m(arem) in collegi(o) adfuerunt / L(ucius) Salvius Otho Titianus L(ucius) Maecius Postumus P(ublius) Valerius M[a]rinus M(arcus) Raecius Taurus.⁴³

³⁸ CFA 12a:1-25.

³⁹ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59.3; cf. Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Gaius) 15.

⁴⁰ CFA 23:1-9.

⁴¹ CFA 26a-lr:3-22, 27:37-48, 28de:24-32, 35ab.II:1-7.

⁴² See Scheid (1990) 309.

⁴³ CFA 40[1-7].I:46-54.

Three days before the kalends of February when Emperor Marcus Otho Caesar Augustus was president and Lucius Salvius Otho Titianus was vice-president of the college of Arval Brothers, on account of vows made for the safety of Emperor Marcus Otho Caesar Augustus for January 3rd of the coming year, sacrifices were made in the name of the college, an ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Salus Publica Populi Romani, an ox to Divus Augustus, a cow to Diva Augusta and an ox to Divus Claudius. Present from the college were Lucius Salvius Otho Titianus, Lucius Maecius Postumus, Publius Valerius Marinus and Marcus Raecius Taurus.

That the first Arval rite conducted under Vitellius was also a substitute for the January 3rd *vota* is indicated by the pantheon to which the sacrifices were made. By the end of the Julio-Claudian period the standard pantheon to which the January 3rd *vota* were conducted was the Capitoline Triad and *Salus* along with the *divi*. The Capitoline Triad and *Salus* were the pantheon of the January 1st *vota*, though it must be noted that the form of the January 1st *vota* has been extrapolated by scholars from comparison with the January 3rd *vota* and a passage from Livy which describes the rite as beginning with a sacrifice on the Capitol to Jupiter and concluding with a sacrifice to *Salus*.⁴⁴ Divus Augustus was added to the pantheon under Gaius, and he was joined by Diva Augusta under Claudius, and by Divus Claudius under Nero. Diva Poppaea and Diva Claudia Virgo may also have been added to the pantheon later in Nero's reign, as they received sacrifices for Nero on other occasions, but the last surviving example of the *vota* from his reign comes from AD 63, before their deifications. The *vota* conducted for Galba in AD 69 were made to the same pantheon, though Diva Poppaea and Diva Claudia were removed if they had ever been included, and the same pantheon appears again in the Othonian substitute. Significantly, under Galba and Otho these *vota* are the only Arval imperial cult rituals to include the *divi* in their pantheon. If the same pattern was followed under Vitellius then the first rite that the Arvals conducted for him, the only surviving Vitellian rite to include the *divi* in its pantheon, must also be a substitute for the *vota*.

⁴⁴ Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 4.14-15; cf. Schwarte (1977) 226; Scheid (1990) esp. 298-309.

*isdem co(n)s(ulibus) pr(idie) Idus Mart(ias) / vota nu<m=N>cupata pro s[al]ute et reditu [[Vitelli]] Germanici Imp(eratoris) praeunte L(ucio) Maecio / Postumo mag(isterio) [[Vitelli]] Germanici Imp(eratoris) promag(istro) Maecio Postumo coll(egii) fra(trum) / Arval(ium) nomine Iov(i) b(ovem) m(arem) Iun(oni) vacc(am) Min(ervae) vacc(am) Saluti p(ublicae) p(opuli) R(omani) vacc(am) divo Aug(usto) b(ovem) m(arem) / divae Aug(ustae) vacc(am) divo Claudio b(ovem) m(arem). In coll(egio) adf(uit) L(ucius) Maecius Postumus.*⁴⁵

When the same men were consuls, on the day before the ides of March⁴⁶ vows were made for the safety and return of Vitellius Germanicus Imperator. The proceedings were led by Lucius Maecius Postumus when Vitellius Germanicus Imperator was president and Maecius Postumus was vice-president of the college of Arval Brothers, and in the name of the college he promised an ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Salus Publica Populi Romani, an ox to Divus Augustus, a cow to Diva Augusta and an ox to Divus Claudius. Present from the college was Lucius Maecius Postumus.

That these substitutes were conducted indicates the perceived importance of this ritual in maintaining the continuation and prosperity of the Principate.

Under the Flavians these rites continued to be conducted for the safety of the *princeps* and select members of the imperial family. The surviving records show that until AD 78 they were undertaken for the safety of Vespasian and Titus,⁴⁷ and in AD 79 Domitian joined them.⁴⁸ During the reign of Titus they were undertaken for the safety of Titus, Domitian, and Titus' daughter Julia.⁴⁹ These incarnations of the *vota* differ from those which had been conducted before in that the *divi* were conspicuously absent from the pantheon, which consisted only of the Capitoline Triad and *Salus*.

⁴⁵ CFA 40[1-7].I:76-80.

⁴⁶ The date of this rite, March 14th, is contentious, for although Otho had already left Rome, he had not yet encountered Vitellius, and the Vitellian party was not yet dominant in Rome (Benoist (2001) 286-288). Scheid suggests that the rite was conducted for Otho but was retrospectively assigned to Vitellius ((1998) 107). This, however, would be inconsistent as the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* were only engraved once a year and no other rites were reassigned (Beard (1985) 125-127). A more likely possibility is that the date is simply recorded inaccurately, and the rite was actually conducted in mid-April. News of Otho's suicide reached Rome during the *ludi* of Ceres, April 12th-18th, and Vitellius apparently received allegiance immediately (Tacitus, *Historiae* 2.55).

⁴⁷ CFA 43aa'bcdf:1-10; 44a:1-16.

⁴⁸ CFA 45:1-8.

⁴⁹ CFA 48:35-61.

Following Titus' death a substitute for the January 3rd *vota* appears to have been conducted for Domitian on October 1st AD 81.⁵⁰ The entry in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* records first the fulfilment of vows previously made with sacrifices to the Capitoline Triad, *Salus*, and the *Genius* of Domitian; this is the only occasion on which the imperial *Genius* appears in the surviving Flavian Arval records and is discussed further in chapter two. Following the fulfilment of these vows, further vows are made for the future safety of Domitian, Domitia and Julia, but these are made only to the Capitoline Triad and *Salus*; this ambiguity is again discussed in chapter two. Although, unlike in the Othonian example, it is not explicitly stated that these new vows should be fulfilled on January 3rd, this must be what was intended as the January 3rd *vota* are the only rites in which family members were included under Domitian.⁵¹ Throughout the rest of Domitian's reign the *vota* were conducted as usual on January 3rd for the safety of Domitian, his wife Domitia, and Julia before her death in AD 89, to the same set of deities that were used under Vespasian and Titus, the Capitoline Triad and *Salus*, without the *divi*.⁵²

Although in general the Domitianic form of the January 3rd *vota* followed that of his Flavian predecessors, the records from Domitian's reign do include a unique variation in the composition of the pantheon, this time in connection with the goddess *Salus*. In all earlier recorded January 3rd *vota* the goddess appears either as *Salus*, or a variation of *Salus Publica*. Under Domitian before AD 91 she most often appeared as *Salus Publica Populi Romani Quiritum*. In AD 91 she appeared as *Salus Augusta Publica Populi Romani Quiritum*;⁵³ this is the first reference to *Salus* as *Salus Augusta* in the surviving Arval records. Unfortunately

⁵⁰ CFA 49:39-51.

⁵¹ Cf. Scheid (1990) 314.

⁵² CFA 54:1-26; 55.I:1-50; 58:1-28; 59:1-23; 60:1-11.

⁵³ CFA 59:18.

the records from after AD 91 are not complete enough to determine whether this change was maintained. It has been suggested that this change in title was designed to place emphasis on the importance of the personal safety of the *princeps*, an action considered appropriate for an autocrat like Domitian.⁵⁴ However, I would like to suggest that the emergence of *Salus Augusta* in the Arval records may only have been first possible under Domitian due to the dedication slightly earlier of the first official state shrine of *Salus Augusta*. Personifications of *Salus Augusta* first appeared on the coinage under Tiberius from AD 22/23, probably minted in connection with an illness of Livia, who lent her features to the bust of the goddess.⁵⁵ However, although it has been previously suggested that an altar may also have been dedicated to the goddess around this time, it seems that the senate actually voted an altar to *Pietas Augusta*, which was only completed under Claudius in AD 43.⁵⁶ The first evidence for an actual altar for the goddess is the depiction of an altar on the coinage, first under Titus,⁵⁷ and then later under Domitian.⁵⁸



Figure 1: As, Rome, AD 85. Obverse: IMP CAES DOMITIAN AVG GERM COS XI, laureate head right. Reverse: SALUTI AVGVSTI SC altar.⁵⁹

On the basis of the date of its first appearance, Winkler suggested that the altar may have been dedicated in association with Titus' illness before his death.⁶⁰ However another change

⁵⁴ Eg. Schwarte (1977) 229; Versnel (2007) 247.

⁵⁵ BMCRE (Tiberius) 1:81-84; Tacitus, *Annales* 3.64; cf. Lott (1995) 210.

⁵⁶ CIL 6.915; cf. Lott (1995) 211.

⁵⁷ BMCRE (Titus) 2:261+.

⁵⁸ RIC (Domitian) 2: 242d, 250a-b, 251, 271, 272, 304a-b, 338, 396.

⁵⁹ RIC (Domitian) 2:272; Winkler (1995) plate 4.6; image from www.fredericweber.com.

in the way in which *Salus* is invoked by the Arvals, this time under Vespasian, suggests to me that at least the inception, if not the completion, of the altar belongs to his reign. In the records surviving from Vespasian's reign *Salus* was invoked simply as *Salus* until AD 78, but in AD 79 she was invoked as *Salus Publica*. One possible explanation for the change in her title at this time may be that an altar had been dedicated to *Salus Augusta*, and thus perhaps it was necessary to specify that the *Salus* invoked on January 3rd was the same *Salus* that had been invoked in previous years and not the new goddess worshipped at the altar of *Salus Augusta*.⁶¹ Consequently the introduction of *Salus Augusta* into the Arval imperial cult pantheon may only have been possible under the Flavians when the first public shrine was dedicated to the goddess. However, that this Domitianic innovation may not simply have been designed to meet the demands of the new cult is indicated by the fact that the invocation of *Salus* as *Salus Augusta* was not used by Domitian's immediate successors.

Another unique Domitianic development to the Arval imperial cult appears to be the introduction of new annual *vota*, on January 22nd. Record of these *vota* survives from AD 86, 87, 89 and 90, and they were probably conducted annually until the end of Domitian's reign. The AD 86 example is given below and describes the fulfilment and making of vows for the safety of the *princeps*, explicitly because it is upon his safety that the safety of all depends. These *vota* differ from the January 3rd *vota* in that it is only the safety of the *princeps* that is

⁶⁰ Winkler (1995) 111-117.

⁶¹ As a brief aside, I would like to suggest that rather than being connected with an imperial illness, the altar may have referred to healing powers of the *princeps*. Vespasian displayed powers of healing during his trip to Alexandria before returning to Rome in AD 70. As a vessel of the god Serapis he was able to heal a blind man and a crippled man (Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.81; Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Vespasian) 8). There is also some evidence that the Flavian *divi* may have had a connection with healing as Luke notes that under Antoninus Pius a college of Aesculapius and Hygeia, healing deities, met in the temple of Divus Titus in the *Porticus Divorum* dedicated to both Divus Titus and Divus Vespasianus (CIL 6.10234). On the basis of this Luke suggests that the Flavian *divi* may have had a connection with healing (Luke (2010) 94-95).

mentioned, not his family members, and only Jupiter Optimus Maximus that receives sacrifices.⁶²

*Ser(vio) Cornelio Dolabella C(aio) Secio Campano co(n)s(ulibus) XI K(alendas) Febr(uarias) magisterio Imp(eratoris) Caesari[s] / Domitiani Aug(usti) Germanici promag(istro) L(ucio) Veratio Quadrato collegi(i) fratrum / Arvalium vota nuncupaverunt pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Domitiani Aug(usti) Ger(manici) / Iuppiter O(ptime) M(axime) Capitoline si Imp(erator) Caesar divi Vespasiani f(ilius) Domitianus Aug(ustus) Germanic(us) / pontifex maximus trib(unicia) pot(estate) censor perpetuus pater patriae ex cuius incolumitate omnium salus constat quem no[s] sentimus dicere vivet domusque eius / incolumis erit a(nte) d(iem) XI K(alendas) Februar(ias) quae proxima e populo Romano Quiritibus / rei publicae populi Romani Quiritium erunt et eum diem eumque salvum / servaveris ex periculis si qua sunt eruntve ante eum diem eventumque / bonum ita uti nos sentimus dicere dederis eumque in eo statu quo nunc [est] / aut eo meliore servaveris custodierisque aeternitate[m] imperi(i) quod [susci]piendo ampliavit ut voti compotem rem publicam saepe facias ast tu ea ita / faxis tum tibi bove aurato vovemus esse futurum.*⁶³

When Servius Cornelius Dolabella and Gaius Secius Campanus were consuls, eleven days before the kalends of February when Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus was president and Lucius Veratius Quadratus was vice-president of the college of Arval Brothers, vows were undertaken for the safety of Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus. O Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitoline, if Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus - son of Divus Vespasianus, Pontifex Maximus, with tribunician power, perpetual censor and father of his country - on whose safety the health of all depends, of whom we hold that we are speaking, shall live and his house be safe on January 22nd which will be next for the Roman people, the Quirites, for the state of the Roman people, the Quirites, and if you shall keep that day and him safe from whatever dangers there are or will be before that day and if you shall give a happy outcome in such a way as we hold ourselves to mean, and if you shall keep him in that condition in which he now is or in a better one, and if you shall guard the eternity of the empire, which he has ennobled by undertaking responsibility for it, so that you may often grant the state its prayer, if you shall do these things thus, we vow that you shall have a gilded bull.

This *vota* has long been considered evidence that Domitian presented himself as Jupiter's vice-gerent on earth, elected to the Principate by the chief god of the Roman state.⁶⁴ This ideology of divine election is generally considered to have been a prominent method of justifying imperial power under Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines.⁶⁵ Fears identifies this same ideology on Domitianic coinage, specifically on types minted between

⁶² The AD 90 example is very fragmentary, but it refers to Domitian as *compos*, master and controller, of the *res publica*, a title copied by the contemporary poets on several occasions (Statius, *Silvae* 3.4.20; Martial, *Epigrammata* 1.4.2, 7.5.5, 8.2.6, 8.32.6). Caesar was also referred to as *compos* of the world (Cicero, *de Officiis* 8.83; Lucan, *Pharsalus* 8.553), as was Augustus (Horace, *Carmina* 1.12.57, 1.1.6; Ovid, *Epistulae ex Pontum* 2.8.26; 1.9.36, 3.3.61).

⁶³ CFA 54:35-47.

⁶⁴ Fears (1977) 249, (1981) 80.

⁶⁵ Eg. Scott (1936) 139; Fears (1977) (1981); Scheid (1990) 346.

AD 85 and 96, and therefore corresponding with the introduction of the *vota*, depicting the *princeps* bearing the thunderbolt of Jupiter.⁶⁶



Figure 2: Rome, Sestertius, AD 88-89. Obverse: IMP CAES DOMIT COS XIII CENS P PP, laureate head right. Reverse: SC, Domitian standing left holding thunderbolt and spear being crowned by Victory.⁶⁷

Fears argues that this type clearly shows Domitian as Jupiter's earthly delegate, rather than assimilating Domitian with Jupiter, on the basis that in his other hand Domitian holds a warrior's spear rather than the sceptre of Jupiter.⁶⁸ He also points out that Statius similarly identifies Domitian as Jupiter's terrestrial agent in a poem praising the *Via Domitiana*.

*en hic est deus, hunc iubet beatis
pro se Iuppiter imperare terris...*⁶⁹

See, he is a god, him that Jupiter commands to rule the happy earth in his stead...

If Fears is correct, not only do the Arval records from Domitian's reign demonstrate the decline of Julio-Claudian methods of justifying imperial power by dynasty, but they point towards what this ideology was gradually being superseded with, the idea that the *princeps* was Jupiter's vice-gerent on earth.

⁶⁶ BMCRE 2:345*, 381, 396, 443, 465, 476.

⁶⁷ RIC (Domitian) 2:639; image from www.wildwinds.com.

⁶⁸ Fears (1977) 225-226.

⁶⁹ Statius, *Silvae* 4.3.128-129.

1.3: Imperial Ideology and the Pantheon

Thus it is apparent from comparison of the surviving *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* in the above two sections that by the reign of Domitian some significant changes had been made to the imperial cult conducted by the Arvals under the Julio-Claudians. It is the premise of this thesis that the imperial cult formulated, reflected and communicated the source of the power of the *princeps* and justified his role in the state, and thus these changes to the form of the cult appear also to represent fundamental changes in the ideology of imperial power between the Julio-Claudian period and the reign of Domitian; this is clearly demonstrated in the case of the January 22nd *vota*.

Turning to the ideology reflected by the wider cult, change to the form of the cult has already been established in the case of the cult calendar. Under the Julio-Claudians the anniversaries of days on which the *princeps* received power in the state and imperial birthdays formed the core of the Arval calendar. As such the cult focussed on and reflected the earthly and dynastic sources of Julio-Claudian imperial power, and at the same time built up a cult of personality around the individual *princeps*, presenting him as a charismatic ruler with an individual claim to power. By the reign of Domitian neither of these types of events were marked annually. The only annual imperial cult rituals from the Julio-Claudian period that continued to be conducted annually under Domitian were the January 3rd *vota*. Unlike the other annual rituals, the *vota* did not focus on anything individual to the *princeps* – his birthday or days of particular importance in his career – but was conducted on the same day every year under every *princeps*; this is the only imperial cult ritual conducted for the *princeps* that was conducted on the same day under each. As such, rather than focussing on the specific *princeps* and his particular claim to power, the January 3rd *vota* focussed on the

Principate as an institution, and its important role as a fundamental piece of the state. This change in cult calendar thus appears to reflect a shift in the power base of the *princeps*, with less focus on the earthly and dynastic sources of his power, and also a shift in his role in the state, away from that of a charismatic prince towards that of an incumbent chief magistrate.

Significant change in cult form has also been established in the case of the cult pantheon, as it has already been demonstrated that the *divi* were absent from the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices on January 3rd, a position they enjoyed since the reign of Gaius, under all three Flavians. In fact the *divi* are absent from all the surviving Arval rituals from Domitian's reign. Similarly the *Genius* of the *princeps*, although it appears anomalously in a ritual conducted for Domitian in AD 81 that is discussed further in the following chapter, is also absent from all the surviving Arval rituals for the rest of Domitian's reign. As these were both dynastic deities promoted by the Julio-Claudians, like the removal of imperial birthdays, this change to the cult appears to reflect a removal of focus from the dynastic source of imperial power. The *Genius* of the *princeps* was also the personal guardian spirit of the *princeps*, so its removal may also reflect a change in focus from the *princeps* as a charismatic individual of unique importance, to the *princeps* as a chief magistrate.

In addition to these two specific dynastic deities being absent, a less extensive pantheon of deities appears to have been used in general in the cult conducted by the Arvals for Domitian than for the cult that they conducted for the Julio-Claudians. This can be seen in a comparison of the extraordinary benefaction cult under Nero and Domitian. The Domitianic Arval records preserve testimony of two instances of extraordinary cult from AD

87 and a series of instances from AD 89.⁷⁰ The first example from AD 87 refers to Domitian's return to Rome following his successful campaign against the Dacians.

L(ucio) Volusio Satur[nin]o C(aio) Calpu[rnio] Pisone co(n)s(ulibus) ... K(alendas) Febr(uarias) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) ad vota reddenda] / in Capit[olio] salute e[st] reditu(?) Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Domitiani Aug(usti)] / Germanici magister[io] C(ai) Iuli Silani promag(istro) C(aio) Salvio Liberale Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo)] / b(ovem) m(arem) Iunoni Regin[ae] b(ovem) f(eminam) Minervae b(ovem) f(eminam) ... in collegio] / adfuerunt Imp(erator) Caesar Domitian[us] Aug(ustus) Germanicus C(aius) Salvius Liberalis] / Nonius Bassus L(ucius) Maecius Postumus L(ucius) [Veratius Quadratus].⁷¹

When Lucius Volusius Saturninus and Gaius Calpurnius Piso were consuls ... before the kalends of February, by decree of the senate on account of vows having been undertaken on the Capitol for the safety and return of Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, when Gaius Julius Silanus was president and Gaius Salvius Liberalis was vice president, there were sacrificed an ox to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a cow to Juno Regina, a cow to Minerva... present from the college were Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, Gaius Salvius Liberalis, Nonius Bassus, Lucius Maecius Postumus and Lucius Veratius Quadratus.

A similar rite was conducted for the return to Rome of Nero, Poppaea and Claudia some time in AD 63. Aside from the presence of Nero's wife and daughter in the purpose of the sacrifice, the only notable difference between this and the Domitianic record is that the Neronian sacrifices were conducted to a much more extensive pantheon, including Virtue goddesses, the *Genius* of Nero and the *Junones* of his wife and daughter.

isdem [co(n)s(ulibus)] / IV Idus [...] / magisterio Q(uinti) Tilli Sassi c[ollegi(i) Fratrum] / Arvalium nomine im[molavit in Capito]lio A(ulus) Vitellius ob adv[entum] Neronis Claudi] / Caesaris Augusti G[ermanici] et Poppaeae] / Augustae et Claud[iae] Augustae Iovi b(ovem) m(arem)] / Iunoni vacc(am) Min[ervae] vacc(am) Saluti pu[blicae] vaccam [Felicitati(?) vaccam] / Spei vacc(am) Gen[io] ipsius taurum Iunoni] / Poppaeae Aug[ustae] vaccam Iunoni Claudiae] / Augustae v[accam] / in collegio a[dfuerunt] A(ulus) Vitellius Sulpicius] / Camerin[us] 3 L(ucius) Vitel[li]us C(aius) Pis[o].⁷²

When the same men were consuls, four days before the ides of... when Quintus Tillius Sassi was president of the college of Arval Brothers, Aulus Vitellius sacrificed on the Capitol in their name on account of the return of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Poppaea Augusta and Claudia Augusta, an ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Salus Publica, a cow to Felicitas, a cow to Spes, a bull to the Genius of Nero, a cow to the Juno of Poppaea Augusta and a cow to the Juno of Claudia Augusta. Present from the college were Aulus Vitellius, Sulpicius Camerinus... Lucius Vitellius and Gaius Piso.

⁷⁰ On extraordinary cult see Scheid (1990) 394-412.

⁷¹ CFA 55.I:64-69.

⁷² CFA 29.II:1-21.

The second act of extraordinary cult preserved from AD 87 was undertaken for the detection of a conspiracy against Domitian and consisted of the sacrifice of a single ox on the Capitol, presumably to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

isdem co(n)s(ulibus) X Kalendas Oct(obres) in Ca[p]itolio ob detecta scelera nefariorum mag(isterio) / [C(ai)] Iuli Silani {immolavit} in Capitolio b(ovem) m(arem) immolavit L(ucius) Venu[leius Ap]ronianus.⁷³

When the same men were consuls, ten days before the kalends of October on the Capitol when Gaius Julius Silanus was president, on account of the detection of crimes most abominable Lucius Venuleius Apronianus sacrificed an ox on the Capitol.

Again an example of a similar rite conducted in response to the detection of a conspiracy survives from AD 59 under Nero, and again the most notable difference between the two is that the Neronian rite involved a much more extensive pantheon of deities, including the Capitoline Triad, Virtue deities, the *Genius* of the *princeps* and Divus Augustus.

[is]dem co(n)s(ulibus) Nonis Aprilib(us) / [L(ucius) Calpurnius L(uci) f(ilius)] Piso magister collegii fratrum Arvalium nomine immolavit / [in Capitolio ex] s(enatus) c(onsulto) ob supplicationes indictas pro salute Neronis Claudi Caesar(is) / [Aug(usti) Germ(anici) I]ovi bovem marem Iunoni vaccam Minervae vaccam Saluti / publicae vaccam] providentiae vaccam Genio ipsius taurum divo Aug(usto) bovem marem / [in co]llegio adfuerunt C(aius) Vipstan{i}us Apronianus.⁷⁴

When the same men were consuls on the nones of April, Lucius Calpurnius Piso, son of Lucius, president of the college of Arval Brothers, sacrificed in their name on the Capitol by decree of the senate on account of supplications having been pronounced for the safety of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, an ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Salus Publica, a cow to Providentia, a bull to the *Genius* of Nero and an ox to Divus Augustus. Present from the college was Gaius Vipstanius Apronianus.

The series of extraordinary cult rites surviving from January AD 89 all appear to relate to Domitian's suppression of the revolt of Saturninus.⁷⁵

isdem co(n)s(ulibus) pr(idie) Idus Ianuar(ias) / in Capitolio ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) pro salute vict[oria e]t reditu[m] / Imp(eratoris) Domitiani Caesaris Augusti Ger[manici fratres] Arvales vo[ta] / nuncuparunt in colleg[io] interfuerunt / L(ucius) Veratius Quadratus P(ublius) Sallustius Bl[aesus] L(ucius) Maecius Postumus] A(ulus) Iulius / Quadratus L(ucius) Venuleius Montanus Ap[ronianus]⁷⁶

⁷³ CFA 55.II:62-64.

⁷⁴ CFA 28a-c:10-16.

⁷⁵ On the Saturninus Revolt see Jones (1992) 144-149.

⁷⁶ CFA 57:13-18.

When the same men were consuls, on the day before the ides of January, by senatorial decree the Arval Brothers made vows on the Capitol for the safety, victory and return of Emperor Domitian Caesar Augustus Germanicus. Present in the college were Lucius Veratius Quadratus, Publius Sallustius Blaesus, Lucius Maecius Postumus, Aulus Julius Quadratus and Lucius Venuleius Montanus Apronianus.

*isdem co(n)s(ulibus) XVI K(alendas) [F]ebr(uarias) / in Capitolio ob vota ad suscipienda e[*x ed*]icto co(n)s(ulum) et ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) / pro salute et redit[*u e*]t victoria / Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Domitiani Aug(usti) Germ(anici) collegium fratrum / Arvalium convenit in [colleg(io) inter]fuerunt / A(ulus) Iulius Quadratus L(ucius) Maecius Postum[us L(ucius) Vera]tius Quadratus / [L(ucius)] Venuleius Montanus Apronianus P(ublius) [Sallustius B]laesus Q(uintus) Tillius Sass(ius).⁷⁷*

When the same men were consuls, sixteen days before the kalends of February, the college of Arval Brothers convened on the Capitol on account of vows to be fulfilled by edict of the consuls and decree of the senate for the safety, return and victory of Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus. Present from the college were Aulus Julius Quadratus, Lucius Maecius Postumus, Lucius Veratius Quadratus, Lucius Venuleius Montanus Apronianus, Publius Sallustius Blaesus and Quintus Tillius Sassi

isdem co(n)s(ulibus) VIII [K(alendas) Febr(uarias)] / in Capitolio s{a}enatus tur{a}e et vino sup[plicavit interfuerunt] / A(ulus) Iulius Quadratus L(ucius) Maecius Postumus P(ublius) [Sallustius Blaesus L(ucius) Venuleius] / Montanus Apronianus Q(uintus) Tillius S[assius L(ucius) Veratius Quadratus].⁷⁸

When the same men were consuls, nine days before the kalends of February, on the Capitol the senate made supplications of incense and wine. Present from the college were Aulus Julius Quadratus, Lucius Maecius Postumus, Publius Sallustius Blaesus, Lucius Venuleius Montanus Apronianus, Quintus Tillius Sassi

isdem co(n)s(ulibus) VIII [K(alendas) Febr(uarias)] / in Capitolio ob laetitiam publicam in tem[plo Iovis O(ptimi) M(aximi)? fratres Arvales] / Iov[i] O(ptimo) M(aximo) bovem marem immolarunt [interfuerunt] / A(ulus) Iulius Quadratus L(ucius) Maecius Postumus P(ublius) Sallustifus Blaesus L(ucius) Venuleius] / Montanus Apronianus Q(uintus) Tillius Sassi⁷⁹

When the same men were consuls, eight days before the kalends of February, the Arval Brothers sacrificed an ox to Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol in the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on account of public rejoicing. Present were Aulus Julius Quadratus, Lucius Maecius Postumus, Publius Sallustius Blaesus, Lucius Venuleius Montanus Apronianus and Quintus Tillius Sassi

isdem co(n)s(ulibus) IIII K(alendas) Febr(uarias) / in Capitolio ad vota solvenda et nuncupanda pro salute et re[ditu] / Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Domitiani Aug(usti) Germanici fratres Arvales conven[erunt] / I[o]vi Iunoni Minervae Marti Saluti Fortunae Victoriae Reduci / [Genio po]puli Romani voverunt in collegio adfuerunt / [A(ulus) Iulius Quadra]tus L(ucius) [Maeci]us Postumus Q(uintus) Tillius Sassi⁸⁰

When the same men were consuls, four days before the kalends of February, the Arval Brothers convened on the Capitol for the completion and renewal of vows for the safety and return of

⁷⁷ CFA 57:19-25.

⁷⁸ CFA 57:31-34.

⁷⁹ CFA 57:35-39.

⁸⁰ CFA 57:40-46.

Imperator Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus. Vows were made to Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Mars, Salus, Fortuna, Victoria Redux and the Genius Populi Romani. Present from the college were Aulus Julius Quadratus, Lucius Maecius Postumus, Quintus Tilius Sassi and Publius Sallustius Blaesus.

As can be seen, on January 12th vows were made for Domitian's safety, victory and return by order of the senate. Five days later on the 17th similar vows were made by edict of the consuls and decree of the senate. These seem to represent vows made before the conflict was resolved to ensure Domitian's success against the revolt that threatened the stability of Rome. The next three rites appear to follow news of Domitian's success. On January 24th the senate made supplications of wine and incense on the Capitol; the Arvals do not describe themselves as participating in this rite, though they appear to have been present. This may be a description of the rituals conducted by the senate in order to inaugurate days of public rejoicing, which the Arvals did participate in on January 25th when they made a sacrifice to Jupiter Optimus Maximus *ob laetitiam publicam* (on account of public rejoicing). Finally on January 29th the Arvals made sacrifices in response to the successful fulfilment of the requests they made in their previous vows, perhaps referring back to the vows made on the 12th and 17th of January, and they also made new vows for the future safety of the *princeps*.⁸¹ These final sacrifices were conducted to a much more extensive pantheon including the Capitoline Triad, Mars, *Salus, Fortuna, Victoria Redux* and the *Genius Populi Romani*.

Despite the long lists of deities to receive sacrifices for Domitian at the end of January AD 89, the general trend in Domitianic extraordinary benefactor cult appears to have been to use a limited pantheon, on at least two occasions, the detection of the conspiracy in AD 87 and for the public rejoicing in AD 89, the pantheon being limited to Jupiter Optimus Maximus alone, like for the January 22nd *vota*. This contrasts starkly with the rites conducted on similar occasions under Nero. Supplications decreed by the senate under Nero saw the

⁸¹ Scheid (1990) 405-407, cf. 314-315, 321-326.

Arvals sacrifice to the Capitoline Triad, *Felicitas*, *Clementia*, and probably other deities as the text cuts off.⁸² Nero's safety and return in AD 59 similarly saw sacrifices to a pantheon of deities including the Capitoline Triad, *Felicitas*, the *divi*, Nero's *Genius*, Mars Ultor and possibly other deities as again the surviving text cuts off.⁸³ The placement of a laurel on the Capitol for Nero in AD 63 saw sacrifices to the Capitoline Triad, Jupiter Victor, *Pax*, Janus Geminus, and again other deities now lost from the list.⁸⁴ Thus the Domitianic lists of deities seem significant not only in their omissions of specific deities, in particular the *divi* and the *Genius* of the *princeps*, but also in their focus on Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Here again the form of the Domitianic Arval cult moved focus away from dynastic justifications of power, and again focussed on Jupiter Optimus Maximus as the primary backer of imperial power.

Thus it is the conclusion of this discussion that the form of the imperial cult conducted by the Arval Brothers changed significantly between the Julio-Claudian period and the reign of Domitian, and that the evident changes appear to reflect a change in how the power of the *princeps* was predominantly justified. The Julio-Claudian basis of power was dynastic descent from Augustus and the state powers with which they were subsequently vested; as such they were charismatic rulers who enjoyed a cult of personality. Although dynasty and earthly powers were certainly still a part of the formulation and justification of the power of the *princeps* under Domitian – the importance of dynasty will be seen in chapter three in the discussion of the *divi* – in the Arval cult the primary justification of imperial power that was presented was divine: Domitian was Jupiter's selected representative on earth.

⁸² CFA 30cd.I:15-21.

⁸³ CFA 28a-c:24-2.

⁸⁴ CFA 30cd.I:8-14.

1.4: Vespasian?

It is possible, and it seems to me likely, that the changes made to the Julio-Claudian cult by the reign of Domitian may have been introduced under Vespasian. In this section I will demonstrate firstly that the changes certainly do not predate the reign of the first Flavian as the surviving Arval evidence from the civil war period demonstrates that the same calendar of events and deities received cult under Galba, Otho and Vitellius as under Nero. I will then show that the surviving Arval evidence from the reigns of Vespasian and Titus allows for the possibility that the Domitianic form of the Arval imperial cult was already in place, although the evidence is too fragmentary to verify this with certainty. Finally I will present circumstantial evidence in support of this possibility: firstly, literary evidence that changes were made to the state cult calendar in general under Vespasian, and secondly the nature of the changes themselves, which appear to point to the reign of Vespasian.

Starting with the calendar of events, under Galba, Otho and Vitellius, the same pattern of days were marked with cult by the Arvals as were marked under the Julio-Claudians. Arval evidence does not survive from the first six months of Galba's reign when accession rites would likely have been conducted, but records do survive from the reign of Otho, under whom rites were conducted for his *imperium* (January AD 69),⁸⁵ *tribunicia potestas* (February 28th AD 69),⁸⁶ co-optation into all the major priestly colleges (March 3rd AD 69),⁸⁷ and as *Pontifex Maximus* (March 9th AD 69).⁸⁸ Similarly rites were conducted under Vitellius for his *tribunicia potestas* (April 30th AD 69),⁸⁹ *dies imperii* (May 1st AD 69),⁹⁰ and

⁸⁵ CFA 40[1-7].I:35-40.

⁸⁶ CFA 40[1-7].I:58-62.

⁸⁷ CFA 40[1-7].I:68-71.

⁸⁸ CFA 40[1-7].I:72-76.

⁸⁹ CFA 40[1-7].I:81-84.

⁹⁰ CFA 40[1-7].I:84-88.

on the occasion of some unknown *comitia* meeting,⁹¹ perhaps voting him the perpetual consulship.⁹² Although it is impossible to tell whether the anniversaries of these days would have been marked with cult since each general reigned for less than a year, that at this point the pattern of cult seems to have been following the Neronian pattern is indicated by the fact that consulship rites were conducted for Galba (January 1st AD 69),⁹³ Otho (January 26th AD 69),⁹⁴ and probably for Vitellius' assumption of the perpetual consulship as suggested above,⁹⁵ these rites, akin to the anniversary rituals, were not conducted under Domitian. Furthermore, birthday rituals were also conducted in AD 69, at least under Vitellius, as the records preserve rites on the birthday of his wife Galeria,⁹⁶ and also for an unknown person slightly later in the year.⁹⁷

By contrast, there is no evidence for the Arvals conducting cult on anniversaries or birthdays under Vespasian or Titus. Unfortunately very little evidence survives from the first year of Vespasian's reign to determine whether, as under Domitian, extraordinary cult was conducted in connection with his reception of powers upon his accession.⁹⁸ The only surviving fragment of the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* from AD 70 records rites for Vespasian's *adventus* in September.⁹⁹

[... pr]omag(istro) Q(uinto) Tillio Sassio c[ollegii fratrum] / [Arvalium nomine im]molavit in Capitolio ob diem [quo urbem in]/[gressus est Imperator C]aesar Vespasianus Aug(ustus) Iovi

⁹¹ CFA 40[6].

⁹² ILS 242.

⁹³ CFA 40[1-7].I:1-6.

⁹⁴ CFA 40[1-7].I41-45.

⁹⁵ CFA 40[6].

⁹⁶ CFA 40[1-5].II:10-14.

⁹⁷ CFA 40[7].

⁹⁸ On the senate's conferral of powers on Vespasian see Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.3.3, 4.4.3; Cassius Dio, *Epitome* 66.1.1; cf. Kienast (1996) 108.

⁹⁹ Vespasian was no longer in Egypt when Jerusalem fell on September 8 AD 70 (Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.21), but he was not yet in Rome for the Capitoline Temple ceremony held on June 21 AD 70 (Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.53). Cf. Tacitus, *Historiae* 3.48, 4.51; Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Vespasian) 7; Levick (1999) 91; Griffin (2000) 4.

bov[em m(arem)] / [Iunoni vaccam Mi]nervae vacc(am) Fortunae Reduc[i vaccam] / [in collegio adfueru]nt Q(uintus) Tillius Sassius C(aius) Licinius [Mucianus...¹⁰⁰

When Quintus Tillius Sassius was vice-president of the college of Arval Brothers he sacrificed in their name on the Capitol, on account of the day on which Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus entered the city, an ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva and a cow to Fortuna Redux. Present in the college were Quintus Tillius Sassius, Gaius Licinius Mucianus...

The same event almost certainly saw widespread popular cult throughout Rome, as according to Josephus public rejoicing, including supplications, was carried out on Vespasian's return.¹⁰¹ The evidence for extraordinary accession rituals is equally lacking for Titus. This is firstly because the Arval records from the months immediately following his accession do not survive, and secondly because it is not clear that such rites would have been conducted in that year as he assumed *tribunicia potestas* and *imperium* in AD 71 under Vespasian; the Arvals records from that year also do not survive.¹⁰²

Nevertheless it is certain that neither the anniversaries of any accession rituals nor imperial birthdays received annual recognition under Titus, as neither type of event appears in the extant surviving sections of the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* preserving from May AD 80 to September AD 81. It is more difficult to draw conclusions about anniversary and birthday cult in the case of Vespasian as the continuous sections of the Arval records surviving from his reign are brief, covering from January to May of AD 72, 75 and 78, and this short period unfortunately does not include Vespasian's birthday (November 17th), his *dies imperii* (July 1st),¹⁰³ or the anniversaries of his assumption of any powers.¹⁰⁴ It is certain, however, that

¹⁰⁰ CFA 41:1-5; cf. Scheid (1990) 409-411.

¹⁰¹ Josephus, *Jewish War* 1.71-4.

¹⁰² Buttrey (1980) 18-27.

¹⁰³ Tacitus, *Historiae* 2.79.

¹⁰⁴ According to Buttrey's examination of Flavian titulature, although Vespasian was probably granted *tribunicia potestas* and *imperium* between January and July AD 70, he back dated these assumptions to his *dies imperii*, so if any annual cult was conducted it would probably have been carried out on that day ((1980) 6-17). That Vespasian's accession rites may have been compounded into a single ritual conducted on his *dies imperii* is lent support by the literary sources as Josephus says that Vespasian's accession and Vitellius' downfall were

unlike under Nero, but consistent with the Arval cult under Domitian, Arval sacrifices were not conducted under Vespasian for his assumption of the consulship. As mentioned above, although not anniversary cult per se, rituals to mark the *princeps*' assumption of the consulship, conducted consistently by the Arvals between the reigns of Gaius and Vitellius, marked the earthly power of the *princeps* like his *tribunicia potestas* and *imperium*.¹⁰⁵ Just as anniversary cult was not conducted under Domitian, neither was consulship cult, as indicated by the Arval records surviving from AD 87, when Domitian served as *consul ordinarius*; although the date is covered by the surviving text, no cult was conducted for his assumption of the consulship at the start of that year. Similarly, the Arval records survive from the start of AD 75, when Vespasian served as *consul ordinarius*, but there is no record of cult conducted in connection with this. Considering that both anniversary and consulship cult marked the earthly state powers of the *princeps*, and considering that both types of cult were conducted under the Julio-Claudian but not Domitian, it is reasonable to hypothesise that if consulship cult was not conducted under Vespasian, anniversary cult was probably also not conducted.

Turning to the pantheon of the Arval imperial cult, it can be said with relative certainty that the *divi*, absent from the pantheon of deities to receive cult under Domitian, were removed from the pantheon under Vespasian. As seen above in the discussion of the January 3rd *vota*, the *divi*, prominent in the imperial cult pantheon under Nero, continued to

celebrated in a single festival (*Jewish War* 4.654), and Tacitus says that July 1st was *principatus dies celebratus* for Vespasian (*Historiae* 2.79). Spooner suggests that this passage may also be indicative of annual cult for Vespasian's accession ((1891) 260). Although Tacitus sometimes uses the verb *celebrare* to describe a celebration or festival (eg. *Historiae* 2.95) he also uses it to mean 'to consider or think (eg. *Historiae* 2.71), and Chilver argues in favour of the latter usage in this context, suggesting that Tacitus is contrasting the fact that Vespasian considered the day he was hailed by his troops as his *dies imperii*, whereas Galba, Otho and Vitellius all counted their accession from the date they were recognised by the senate ((1979) 239).

¹⁰⁵ Gaius: CFA 13abcd:4-11; Nero: CFA 25a:1-7, 26a-lr:1-12, 27:64-27, 28de:15-23, 33:1-5; cf. Scheid (1990) 393-395.

have a role in the pantheon under the civil war generals, though only on the occasion of the January 3rd *vota*. Fortunately, the January 3rd *vota* are one of the few imperial cult rituals that are well attested from the early Flavian period, with examples surviving from AD 75, 78, 79 and 81. The Julio-Claudian *divi* are absent from all these rituals, and in the example from Titus' reign and later examples from Domitian's reign, they were not replaced by the Flavian *divi*. This is firm evidence that the *divi* were removed from the pantheon under Vespasian.

The evidence for the other dynastic deity prominent in the Julio-Claudian pantheon, the *Genius* of the *princeps*, is less clear. As mentioned above and discussed further in chapter two, the *Genius* of the *princeps*, consistently included in the imperial cult pantheon under Nero and the civil war generals, was absent from the Arval imperial cult pantheon on all but one occasion during Domitian's reign. The occasion on which it does appear is the substitute for the January 3rd *vota* at the start of his reign; an anomalous appearance since the January 3rd *vota* are one of the few rites in which the *Genius* of the *princeps* consistently did not appear under Nero and the civil war generals. Also, Julio-Claudian precedent suggests many of the surviving Domitianic rites should have included his *Genius* if he was following Neronian practices. The appearance of the *Genius* in the pantheon under Domitian does not appear to have been a continuation of practice under Vespasian and Titus as the *Genius* does not appear in any of the examples of the January 3rd *vota* surviving from their reigns; this suggests that the inclusion of the *Genius* in this ritual at the start of Domitian's reign was unique to him. However, since so few other rituals survive from the reigns of Vespasian and Titus which Julio-Claudian precedent suggests would have included the *Genius*, it cannot be said with certainty, from the Arval evidence alone, whether the *Genius* was removed from the

pantheon. I will discuss further evidence for the removal of the *Genius* from outside the Arval evidence in the following chapter.

Thus there is definitive evidence that the *divi* were removed from the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices during the reign of Vespasian, and that anniversary and birthday cult had ceased to be conducted by the reign of Titus. The evidence also allows the possibility that anniversary and birthday cult, and the *divi* and *Genius* were all removed from the Arval imperial cult during the reign of Vespasian, though not before; unfortunately the Arval evidence is too fragmentary to verify this possibility. That Vespasian's reign was the time of major change for the Arval imperial cult may be lent support by a passage from Tacitus in which he suggests that the imperial cult calendar was deliberately decreased near the start of Vespasian's reign. Tacitus records that in AD 70 the senate ordered excess flattery to be cut from the calendar.¹⁰⁶ This should not be taken as evidence that the senate was acting without or against the new *princeps*. Before mentioning the changes to the calendar Tacitus says that Domitian was addressing the senate on his father's behalf and proposed that imperial honours be restored to Galba, a proposal that the senate ratified. Tacitus then says that commissioners were appointed to review the calendar, and although it is not explicitly stated, this was plausibly also at the behest of Vespasian through his agents in Rome.

Finally, the nature of the changes made to the Arval imperial cult suggests that they were more likely to have been introduced under Vespasian than Domitian. It was the dynastic elements and the elements that referred to the earthly powers bestowed on the

¹⁰⁶ Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.40.

princeps by the state that were removed from the cult, and these removals appear to have resulted in the removal of focus on the individual character and personality of the incumbent *princeps*. The nature of these changes do not suit the reign of Domitian, whose claim to power was his dynastic descent from Vespasian, a fact he did promote in other forms as will be seen in chapter three, and who, according to admittedly hostile contemporary accounts, was an autocrat who promoted his own person as important in the state.¹⁰⁷ Vespasian on the other hand had no deified ancestors on which to rely, and the literary tradition that he was of humble origins may well reflect the fact that he did not try to validate his position through his birth.¹⁰⁸ Further, Vespasian did not date his accession from the time he was recognised by the senate as even his civil war predecessors had done, but rather from the time he was hailed by his armies, demonstrating a lack of concern for the earthly powers bestowed on the *princeps* by the state. Thus the nature of the changes made to the Arval imperial cult by the reign of Domitian align with the character of Vespasian and his reign, supporting the possibility left open by the surviving evidence that the changes were introduced during his reign.

¹⁰⁷ See Jones (1992) 161.

¹⁰⁸ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Vespasian) 12.

Chapter Two: *Genius Principis*

Roman *Genii* deities – and their female equivalents *Iunones*¹ - were personalised deities attached to every person, corporate entity and location.² The third-century grammarian Censorinus is the only surviving Roman author to explicitly define the *Genius* of a man.

*Genius est deus, cuius in tutela ut quisque natus est vivit. Hic sive quod ut genamur curat, sive quod una genitur nobiscum, sive etiam quod nos genitos suscipit ac tutatur, certe a genendo genius appellatur... Hunc in nos maximam quin immo omnem habere potestatem creditum est... Genio igitur potissimum per omnem aetatem quotannis sacrificamus, quamquam non solum hic sed et alii sunt praeterea dei conplures hominum vitam pro sua quisque portione adminiculantes.... Sed omnes hi semel in uno quoque homine numinum suorum effectum repraesentant, quocirca non per omne vitae spatium annuis religionibus arcessuntur. Genius autem ita nobis adsiduus observator adpositus est, ut ne puncto quidem temporis longius abscedat, sed ab utero matris acceptos ad extremum vitae diem comitetur.*³

A *Genius* is a god under whose protection each person lives from birth. Whether this is because it makes sure we get generated, or is generated with us, or takes us up and protects us once we are generated, it is clear that it is called our ‘*gen-ius*’ for ‘gen-eration’... It was believed that the *Genius* had the greatest, or rather absolute, power over us... Therefore we offer special sacrifices to our *Genius* every year throughout our lives. Although it is not the only god, but one of the many gods who support human life during everyone’s allotted span... all these other gods show the effect of their divine powers at only certain points for each person and therefore are not summoned with annual religious observances during the entire course of one’s life. Our *Genius* on the other hand has been appointed to be so constant a watcher over us that he never goes away from us for even a second, but is our companion from the moment we are taken from our mother’s womb to the last day of our life.

Modern scholars have defined the *Genius* both as a life force or guardian spirit, and by its role in procreation and the continuation of the family dynasty.⁴ Wissowa described the

Genius as:

...die göttliche Verkörperung der im Manne wirksamen und für den Fortbestand der Familie sorgenden Zeugungskraft.⁵

Individuals cultivated their own *Genius* on their *natalis*, the anniversary of the start of the relationship between a man and his deity.⁶ The *Genius* of the *paterfamilias* of a *domus* –

¹ Roscher (1884-1937) *Iunones*; Orr (1978) 1570-1571.

² Orr (1978) 1575; eg. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 21.62; Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis* 21; Martial, *Epigrammata* 1.12.9-12; Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 29.5; CIL 7.103, 7.440, 8.2597, 10.772, 14.10.

³ Censorinus, *De Die Natali* 3.1-5.

⁴ Eg. Wissowa (1912) 175; Orr (1972) 45-49; Kunckel (1974) 17-21; Schilling (1979) 416; Gradel (2002) 36-44.

⁵ Wissowa (1912) 175.

comprising his kin and *familia* (slaves and freedmen)⁷ – was given a prominent place in the household shrine. It was typically depicted in domestic *lararia* dressed in a toga drawn over its head (*capite velato*), holding a *patera* and a *cornucopia*.⁸ Dedicatory inscriptions from throughout Italy demonstrate that it was also common practice for members of a *familia*, in particular freedmen, to honour the *Genius* of their *paterfamilias* independently.⁹



Figure 3: Domestic shrine painting from the Casa dei Vettii depicting the *Genius* of the *paterfamilias* between two *Lares*, Insula 6.15.1: Pompeii.¹⁰

In this chapter I will demonstrate that the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in the state cult changed significantly between the end of the Julio-Claudian period and the reign of Domitian. In section one I will outline the gradual incorporation of the *Genius principis* into the Roman state imperial cult under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, showing that it became a prominent recipient of sacrifices for the *princeps* probably by the reign of Gaius, and certainly by the reign of Nero. I will also demonstrate that alongside its increasing

⁶ Eg. Catullus, *Carmina* 64-47-8, Horace, *Odes* 4.11.1-8; Ovid, *Tristia* 3.13.15, 4.5.19, 5.5.13; Tibullus, *Elegiae* 1.7.49-54, 2.2.5-8; Juvenal, *Saturae* 6.22; Servius, *ad Aeneidos* 6.603; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum* 24.2.21, 143; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes* 7.2.67.

⁷ Saller (1994) 74-102.

⁸ According to contemporary literature the *Genius* could also take the form of a serpent (Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 26.19.7; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 6.1.3; Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Caesar) 94.4; Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.95). Serpents also commonly appear in domestic shrines, but Boyce suggests that these represented the *Genius Loci* ((1937) 18). On the *Genius* of the *paterfamilias* in household shrines see Fröhlich (1991) 111-114, 119-120; Gradel (2002) 38-44.

⁹ Gradel (2002) 39, 372-373.

¹⁰ Image from www.the-romans.co.uk; cf. Fröhlich (1991) plate 7.

importance in cult, the *Genius* of the *princeps* became an increasingly important iconographic figure. I will suggest that by the reign of Nero it was depicted in such a way as to indicate that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was the primary guardian *Genius* of both the *princeps* and the state, and in turn that the welfare and prosperity of the *princeps* and Rome were one and the same (2.1).

In section two I will examine the evidence for the role of the *Genius principis* in cult under Domitian. I will argue that with the exception of a sacrifice near the start of Domitian's reign, the *Genius* of the *princeps* was excluded from the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps* from the Arvals (2.2). With this argument I will be going against the suggestion previously made by Gradel that the cult of the *Genius* of the *princeps* was promoted under Domitian. In addition to addressing specific points of his argument in section two, in section three of this chapter I will provide support for my interpretation of the cultic evidence over Gradel's through an examination of contemporary iconographic evidence. The *Genius* of the *princeps* is not only conspicuously absent from all iconographic evidence surviving from Domitian's reign, but on three surviving monumental sculptural reliefs the place of Nero's *Genius Augusti* as the *Genius* of the state is occupied by the *Genius Populi Romani* and *Genius Senatus* who, alongside the goddess *Roma*, were used on all three reliefs to depict Rome. Thus I will argue that just as Neronian *Genius* iconography reflected the increasing importance of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in the Roman state imperial cult, its role in Domitianic iconography may reflect the suppression of the *Genius principis* in cult during his (2.3).

At the end of this chapter I will suggest that the changes made to the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in state imperial cult by the reign of Domitian may already have been

introduced under Vespasian. I will show that the cultic evidence, although too limited to make this argument conclusively, allows for the possibility that the *Genius principis* was not included in the Arval cult under Vespasian and Titus. I will then argue that there is evidence that the iconography of the *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani* that appears on the Domitianic monumental sculptural reliefs may already have been introduced under Vespasian. On the basis of this iconography I will argue that it is reasonable to suggest that the absence of the *Genius* of the *princeps* from the evidence for cult from Vespasian's reign could be interpreted as its absence from cult rather than simply a lack of evidence (2.4).

2.1: The *Genius* under the Julio-Claudians

The *Genius* of the *princeps* - the *paterfamilias* of the *domus Augusti* - was gradually incorporated into the state imperial cult during the reigns of Augustus and the Julio-Claudians. Under Augustus it was introduced into the *compita*. Each of Rome's neighbourhoods (*vici*) had a *compitum* altar dedicated to the *Lares Compitales* (guardians of the crossroads) and other particular patrons of the individual neighbourhood.¹¹ In around 7 BC Augustus rejuvenated the *vici* and their shrines, presenting each neighbourhood with new statuettes of the *Lares*.¹² Subsequently these guardians of the city streets were identified with the guardians of Augustus' *domus* and became known as the *Lares Augusti*. At this time it seems that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was also included in the *compita* alongside the *Lares Augusti*, apparently mimicking Augustus' domestic cult, as in his *Fasti* Ovid describes the three gods as appearing together all over Rome.

¹¹ On Augustus' reorganisation of the *compita* see Taylor (1931) 184-195; Favro (1996) 123-127; Gradel (2002) 116-128; Lott (2004) 81-98.

¹² Some appear to have been rejuvenated slightly earlier: 10 BC: CIL 6.30974; 9 BC: CIL 6.457; 8 BC: CIL 6.458.

*Bina gemellorum quaerebam signa deorum:
viribus annosae facta caduca morae.
mille lares geniumque ducis qui tradidit illos,
urbs habet et vici numina trina colunt.*¹³

I sought for the images of the twin gods, but by the force of long years they had decayed. In the city there are a thousand *Lares*, and the *Genius* of the *dux*, who handed them over to the public; the neighbourhoods worship the three divinities.

This new practice is verified by the presence of the *Genius* in a single surviving Augustan *compitum* altar, on which it is depicted alongside the *Lares* on the face of the altar, and is also probably mentioned in the altar's inscription: *Laribus Augustis G[eniis Caesaru]m sacr[um]* (sacred to the *Lares Augusti* and the *Genii* of the Caesars).¹⁴ This epigraphic restoration is based on identical references to the *Genii Caesarum* on six other *compita* altars surviving from the Flavian period to the first half of the second century AD.¹⁵ A contemporary Augustan inscription from Liparia records a similar dedication *Genio Caesaris et eius liberorum* (to the *Genius* of Caesar and his children), perhaps explaining the plural reference of *Genii Caesarum* as to the *Genii* of Augustus and his heirs.¹⁶



Figure 4: Augustan *compitum* altar depicting a *Genius* standing next to two *Lares*, Vatican Museum: Rome.¹⁷

¹³ Ovid, *Fasti* 5.143-146.

¹⁴ CIL 6.445.

¹⁵ CIL 6.449, 451, 452, 30958, AE (1971) 33, (1971) 34. Only two other surviving *compita* inscriptions refer to the *Genius* at all, and these both designate the *Genius* of a specific *princeps* (CIL 6.30960, 30961).

¹⁶ AE (1989) 346a.

¹⁷ Image from www.ancientrome.ru.

Despite this inclusion in the *compita*, the *Genius* of the *princeps* does not appear to have become a prominent deity in the state cult at this time. Although Augustus' birthday, the main cult day of his *Genius*, was declared a state holiday in 30 BC, there is no evidence that his *Genius* received state sacrifices on this day at any time during his reign.¹⁸ Further, the new holidays introduced at the *vici* in connection with the reorganisation of the *compita* did not include Augustus' birthday, or indeed any personal or familial holidays of the imperial family.¹⁹ The Arval Brothers certainly did not sacrifice to the *Genius* of Augustus, as according to a *Fasti* belonging to them – engraved sometime between 36 and 21 BC but updated with subsequent entries until at least 12 BC – no sacrifices were offered to Augustus' *Genius* on his birthday, only to Mars, Neptune and Apollo.²⁰ The earliest known occasion on which it can be said definitively that the Arvals conducted sacrifices to the *Genius* of the *princeps* is on the birthday of Nero in AD 55.

XVIII k(alendas) Ianuar(ias) in Capitoli[o] / P. Memmius Regulus promagistro fra[trum Arvalium nomine ob natalem] / Neronis Claudii Caesaris Aug(usti) Ger[manici principis parentique publici] / immolauit Iovi o(ptimo) m(aximo) bouem m[arem, Iunoni vaccam, [Minervae vaccam,] / Saluti publicae vaccam, Genio ipsi[us taurum] / In conlegio [adfuerunt ...] / P(ublius) Memmius Regulus [...] / Faustus Corneliu[s Sulla ...].²¹

Eighteen days before the kalends of January, on the Capitol, on account of the birthday of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, first citizen and public father, Publius Memmius Regulus, vice president of the college of Arval Brothers, sacrificed an ox to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Salus Publica and a bull to the *Genius* of Nero. Present from the college were Publius Memmius Regulus and Faustus Cornelius Sulla.

Throughout Nero's reign his *Genius* was a prominent part of the Arval pantheon receiving sacrifices on his birthday, *dies imperii*, for his assumption of the consulship and position of *Pontifex Maximus*, and on various extraordinary cult occasions.²² The *Genius* of the *princeps*

¹⁸ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.19.2, 54.8.5, 55.6.6; Gradel (2002) 128-132.

¹⁹ Lott (2004) 111-112, 114-117.

²⁰ *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium*; Gradel (2002) 128-132.

²¹ CFA 24:6-11.

²² CFA 26a-lr:1-22, 27:9-14, 29-35, 64-70, 28a-c:10-16, 24-32, 33-40, 28de:9-14, 15-23, 28f:1-20, 29.II:1-21, 30cd.I:22-30, 30gh.I:1-11, 30cef.II:1-11.

also continued to be prominent in the cult conducted by the Arvals for Galba, Otho and Vitellius.²³

Although the earliest definitive reference to the *Genius* of the *princeps* in the surviving *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* comes from AD 55, it may have been incorporated into their cult as early as the reign of Gaius. Cassius Dio claims that Gaius had a decree of state sacrifices to his *Genius* annulled early in his reign,²⁴ and there is no evidence for the *Genius* appearing in the continuous surviving sections of the Arval records from AD 38 to 40. However this initial refusal would not have tied Gaius' hands for the future, and reference to the *Genius* of the *princeps* may appear in a fragment of the Arval records dated, on account of reference to Diva Drusilla, to later in Gaius' reign.

[Io]vi [bovem marem, Iunoni vaccam,] / Miner[vae vaccam, Saluti publicae (?)] / vaccam, [Felicitati (?) vac] / cam, Gen[io ipsius taurum, et] / ante tem[plum divi Augusti novum] / divae D[rusillae sorori Germanici Aug(usti)] / vaccam, [item luco deae] / Diae [...].²⁵

An ox to Jupiter, a cow to Juno, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Salus Publica, a cow to Felicitas, a bull to the *Genius* of him, and before the new temple of Divus Augustus a cow to Diva Drusilla the sister of Germanicus Augustus, and at the same time in the grove of Dea Dia...

The supposition that this fragmentary surviving text refers to Gaius' *Genius* may be lent support by the testimony of the contemporary Persius, who describes games held upon Gaius' return from Germany as dedicated to '*dis... genioque ducis*' (to the gods and the *Genius* of the leader).²⁶ This reference may indicate that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was increasing in prominence in cult at around this time. It may also be telling that oaths by the *Genius* of the *princeps* appear to have come into vogue under Gaius. It was an old Roman custom to swear by one's own *Genius* or that of another.²⁷ Despite this tradition Cassius Dio records that

²³ CFA 40[1-7].I:24-34, 35-40, 41-45, 58-62, 63-67, 68-71, 72-76, 81-84, 84-88, II:1-5, 1013, 15-18.

²⁴ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.4.4.

²⁵ CFA 16:1-8.

²⁶ Persius, *Saturae* 6.48.

²⁷ Weinstock (1971) 214.

Augustus and Tiberius did not allow oaths to be taken by their *Genii*,²⁸ though he also gives examples of individuals ignoring their objections and swearing such oaths.²⁹ The first epigraphic example of an oath by the *Genius* of the *princeps* appears on the Sulpician Tablet from Pompeii, dating to October AD 39, in which the parties swore oaths ‘*per Iovem Optimum Maximum et numen divi Augusti et Genium Caii Caesaris Augusti*’ (by Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the divinity of Divus Augustus and the *Genius* of Gaius Caesar Augustus).³⁰ Suetonius records that some people were put to death for refusing to swear by Gaius’ *Genius*,³¹ and also recounts the anecdote that Gaius swore by the *Genius* and *Salus* of his horse, a story that was probably a political satire on the issues of the day.³² Thus it seems a likely possibility that the cult of the *Genius* of the *princeps* began to expand under Gaius.³³

The evidence also suggests that the *Genius* of the *princeps* had a role in state cult, beyond the *compita*, under Claudius. There are no references to the *Genius* of the *princeps* in the surviving Arval records from Claudius’ reign, but the records are so fragmentary from that time that no complete pantheon survives from any events which Neronian examples suggest might have included Claudius’ *Genius*. However, moving beyond the Arval rituals, there is positive evidence that Claudius’ *Genius* had a role in the state cult in the form of the *Frieze of the Vicomagistri*.³⁴

²⁸ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 57.8.3.

²⁹ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 57.9.3, 58.12.6; cf. 58.6.2 (*Genius* of Sejanus).

³⁰ *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum* 68=AE (1973) 138.

³¹ Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Gaius) 27.3.

³² Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Gaius) 55.3; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59.14.7.

³³ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.4.4.

³⁴ Gradel (2002) 162-187. On the frieze see Ryberg (1955) 75-80; Anderson (1984) 33-54.



Figure 5: Frieze of the *Vicomagistri*, Vatican Museum: Rome.³⁵

Gradel has convincingly argued that the main recipients of cult in the depicted scene were the *Genius* of the *princeps*, Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta - who was deified under Claudius in AD 42 - on the basis of the depicted *camilli* and the nature of the sacrificial victims.³⁶ Each *camillus* bears a small statue, two *Lares*, a *Genius* and a now lost figure. Their group is marked as important in the scene by the fact that, although they are youths, they are the same height as the adult figures around them, and they are sculpted almost fully frontal with great depth and pronounced facial portraiture.³⁷ Ryberg suggests that the four youths share generalised Julian facial features and are meant to represent imperial princes, and as such are probably participating in the ritual as *sodales Augustales*, priests created for the worship of Divus Augustus and his *gens* discussed in the following chapter.³⁸ If the *camilli* are *sodales Augustales* then their presence suggests the presence of both the imperial domestic deities they hold and the *divi* to whom they were dedicated in the depicted ritual.



Figure 6: *Camilli* from the Frieze of the *Vicomagistri*, Vatican Museum: Rome.³⁹

³⁵ Image from www.wikipedia.org.

³⁶ Gradel (2002) 183-186; cf. Ryberg (1955) 78.

³⁷ Ryberg (1955) 77-78; Gradel (2002) 175-176.

³⁸ Ryberg (1955) 79-80.

³⁹ Image from www.wikipedia.org.

Gradel argues that the sacrificial victims, identified as a bull, a steer, and a heifer, indicate that the *Genius* of the *princeps* and the two *divi* were the recipients of the sacrifices. In the imperial cult conducted by the Arval Brothers the only gods to regularly receive a bull as a sacrificial victim were Mars and the *Genius* of the *princeps*, and the only gods to regularly receive a steer were Jupiter and the male *divi*. Furthermore, when a ritual was conducted at a single location, deities always received sacrifices in a set order: Jupiter and the Capitoline Triad, other Olympian deities, Abstractions and Virtues, and then the *Genius* of the *princeps* and the *divi* in chronological order, or the *divi* before the *Genius* if the cult was conducted at the temple of Divus Augustus. Consequently the steer cannot be for Jupiter, who always received sacrifice first, and thus must be for Divus Augustus. The heifer must then be for a *diva* as they are the only female deities to receive sacrifices after the Divus Augustus. Finally, the *Genius* was much more likely to receive sacrifices alongside these two *divi* than was Mars.⁴⁰ Therefore, on the basis of this relief, it seems that under Claudius state cult was conducted to the *Genius* of the *princeps* beyond the *compita*, and that it was in some way connected with the cult of the Julio-Claudian *divi* and the *sodales Augustales*.

Although I have argued that the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in state cult appears to have begun to expand beyond the *compita* from the reign of Gaius, Nero's reign should still be characterised as a time of major development in the cult and representation of the imperial *Genius*. Firstly, the *Iunones* of Nero's wife Poppaea and daughter Claudia Virgo also received sacrifices from the Arval Brothers from at least AD 63, and in AD 66 they were replaced by the *Iuno* of Nero's new wife Messalina.⁴¹ This appears to be a new development under Nero as earlier in his reign in AD 58 sacrifices were conducted on the birthday of his

⁴⁰ Gradel (2002) 175-176.

⁴¹ CFA 29.II:1-21, 30cd.I:22-30, 30cef.I:1-11.

mother Agrippina not to her *Iuno*, but to the Capitoline Triad and *Concordia ipsius*, seemingly referring to *Concordia* as belonging to Agrippina in the same fashion as Nero's *Genius* belonged to him.⁴² Later in that year on Nero's own birthday sacrifices were made to the Capitoline Triad, *Salus Publica*, Nero's *Genius* and *Concordia honoris Agrippinae Augustae*.⁴³ Thus *Concordia* appears to have been included in this ritual in lieu of Agrippina's *Iuno*, suggesting that precedent for sacrifices to the *Iunones* of imperial women had not yet been established.

Secondly, Nero's *Genius* received a new iconographic representation. The original iconography of the *Genius* of the *princeps* under the Julio-Claudians mirrored the traditional depiction of the *Genius* of the *paterfamilias* of any Roman *domus*, as a youth wearing a toga drawn over his head, usually holding a *cornucopia*, a horn filled with various fruits that was a symbol of abundance, and a *patera*, a shallow dish used for pouring libations, as seen in domestic shrine painting.



Figure 7: Domestic shrine paintings depicted the *Genius* of the *paterfamilias* accompanied by a *Lar*, Insula 5.2: Pompeii.⁴⁴

Figure 8: Domestic shrine painting depicting the *Genius* accompanied by a *Lar*, a flute player and sacrificial attendants, Insula 9.5.2/22: Pompeii.⁴⁵

This is the form which Augustus' *Genius* took on the single surviving *compitum* to depict his *Genius*, and also seems to be the form of the statuette of Claudius' *Genius* held by the

⁴² CFA 27:15-18.

⁴³ CFA 27:29-35.

⁴⁴ Image from www.novaroma.org.

⁴⁵ Image from www.novaroma.org.

camillus on the *Frieze of the Vicomagistri*, though only the billowing toga is still readily visible. The same iconography is seen on two statues discovered at Puteoli dating to the reigns of Gaius and Claudius. Both depict young men with distinctly Julian facial features, each wearing a toga *capite velato* and holding *cornucopia* and *patera*; these attributes indicate that they are statues of *Genii* rather than of Julian princes in priestly garb.⁴⁶



Figures 9: Claudian statue of the imperial *Genius* from Puteoli, Vatican Museum: Rome.⁴⁷

In contrast, during Nero's reign the *Genius* of the *princeps*, appearing on Rome's coinage for the first time, was depicted on bronzes minted at Rome and Lugdunum between AD 64 and 66 using iconography previously associated with the *Genius Populi Romani*. The *Genius* of the Roman people usually appeared as a semi-nude youth with a mantle around his waist holding a *cornucopia* and *patera*. Nero's *Genius* appears with this same iconography, pouring a libation over a lighted altar, and is only distinguishable as belonging to the *princeps*

⁴⁶ Kunckel (1974) 27, 78.

⁴⁷ Image from www.flickr.com.

by the coin's legend which refers to it as the *Genius Augusti*; this is the earliest recorded use of this term.



Figure 10: As reverse, Rome, AD 64, figure dressed in mantle holding patera and cornucopia pouring an offering over an altar GENIO AUGUSTI SC.⁴⁸

Figure 11: As reverse, Lugdunum, AD 66, figure dressed in mantle holding patera and cornucopia pouring an offering over an altar GENIO AUGUSTI SC.⁴⁹

Gradel suggests that the effect of this change in iconography was that the *Genius* of the Roman people, the traditional sovereign body of Rome, was superseded by the *Genius* of the reigning *princeps* as the primary, most important *Genius* of the city and its empire, and as the *Genius* that represented Rome.⁵⁰

2.2: Cult of the *Genius* under Domitian

Gradel has previously argued that, as under Nero, the *Genius* of the *princeps* was prominent in Domitianic cult. The basis of his argument is an isolated appearance of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* from Domitian's reign, and a passage from Pliny's *Panegyricus* which he argues suggests that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was comparatively prominent in cult under Domitian by comparison to its role in cult under Trajan. To justify his interpretation of the evidence Gradel argues that *Genius* cult was oppressive, and therefore the type of cult that would have been promoted by an autocratic

⁴⁸ RIC (Nero) 1:215; image from www.fredericweber.com.

⁴⁹ RIC (Nero) 1:534; image from www.fredericweber.com.

⁵⁰ Gradel (2002) 188-189.

princeps like Domitian, but not ‘good’ rulers such as Trajan.⁵¹ In this section I will re-examine the evidence used by Gradel and demonstrate that it can also be interpreted as indicating that the *Genius* of the *princeps* had a minimal role in state cult under Domitian, and one that was similar to its role in cult under Trajan. I will then demonstrate that Gradel’s argument that *Genius* worship was oppressive is not conclusive, and argue that its message in the imperial cult was not of oppression but of dynasty. Finally, in the following section of this chapter, I will present iconographic evidence for the state *Genii* under Domitian and argue that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was largely suppressed in state imagery and ideology, lending support to my suggestion that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was also largely suppressed in cult under Domitian.

Starting with the Arval evidence, it has already been seen in chapter one that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was not regularly included in the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps* by the reign of Domitian, as it appears in only one surviving Arval ritual from his reign. Gradel contrasts this single reference with the complete absence of the *Genius* of the *princeps* from the Arval evidence from the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, and therefore suggests that it is indicative of the promotion of the *Genius* of the *princeps* under Domitian.⁵² This is a dubious comparison due to the nature of the surviving evidence, as the only Arval imperial cult rites preserved from the reigns of Vespasian and Titus are several examples of the January 3rd *vota* and two extraordinary rituals, one of which does not list any sacrifices. The January 3rd *vota* are one of the few rites in which the *Genius* of the *princeps* was not included under Nero and the civil war generals, and therefore it would not be expected in these rituals under the Flavians. Consequently, these January *vota* alone cannot be used to prove that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was absent from the Arval imperial cult

⁵¹ Gradel (2002) 189-191.

⁵² Gradel (2002) 189.

pantheon under Vespasian and Titus, and too few other rituals survive to make a definitive judgement either way. When, by contrast, the presence of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in the Arval records under Domitian is compared with its presence under Nero and the civil war generals, it is apparent that the decrease is dramatic, and represents a significant change in the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in the Arval cult.

It also seems significant that the single appearance of Domitian's *Genius* in the Arval records is not in a place suggested by Neronian and civil war precedent, but in the single place where it is unexpected, the substitute for the January 3rd *vota* conducted shortly after Domitian's accession on October 1st AD 81.⁵³ The inclusion of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in this rite is puzzling not only because it goes against existing precedent, but also because it does not fit into the annual cycle of these rituals. The January 3rd *vota*, whether carried out on the usual day or at another time in the year as a substitute, always started with the vows that were made to the gods for the safety of the *princeps* and his family in the previous year being fulfilled, and then new vows made for the coming year. Thus the vows being fulfilled in the Domitianic rite of October AD 81 must be those made earlier that year on January 3rd. This is verified by the fact that the vows being fulfilled are described in the October text as having been made by Lucius Pompeius Vopiscus and Gaius Arruntius Catellius Celer under the auspices of Gaius Iunius Mefitanus, and this is exactly the arrangement listed in the text for the January AD 81 vows. If this is the case, then the vows made and fulfilled are inconsistent, as the January AD 81 text does not include vows to the *Genius* of the *princeps*, but Domitian's *Genius* received a sacrifice in the fulfilment of those vows in October. The text of the January and October rites are given in full below.

III Nonas Ian(uarias) / magister C(aius) Iunius Tadius Mefitanus collegi(i) fratrum Arvalium nomine vota nuncupavit / pro salute Imp(eratoris) Titi Caesaris divi filii Vespasiani Aug(usti) pontif(icis)

⁵³ CFA 49:39-51.

max(im)i tribunic(ia) potest(ate) co(n)s(ulis) VIII et Caesaris / divi f(ili)i Domitia/ni co(n)s(ulis) VII et Iuliae Aug(ustae) liberorumque eorum victumis immolatis in Calpitolio quae superioris anni magister voverat persolvit Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) boves mares II / Iunoni Reginae vaccas duas Minervae vaccas II Saluti publicae vaccas II et in / proximum annum nuncupavit praeunte L(ucio) Pompeio Vopisco C(aio) Arruntio Catellio Celere in ea verba quae infra scripta sunt / Iuppiter O(ptime) M(axime) si Imp(erator) Titus Caesar Vespasianus Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) potest(ate) p(ater) p(atriciae) / et Caesar divi f(ilius) Domitianus quos nos sentimus dicere vivent domusque / eorum incolumis erit a(n)te d(iem) III Non(as) Ian(uarias) quae proximae p(opulo) R(omano) Q(uiritibus) rei p(ublicae) p(opuli) R(omani) Q(uiritium) / [er]junt et eum diem eosque salvos servaveris ex periculis si qua sunt / [eruntve ante] eum diem eventumque bonum ita uti nos sentimus dicere / [dederis eosque in eo st]atu quo nunc sunt aut eo meliore servaveris ast tu / [ea ita faxsis tunc tibi nom]ine collegi(i) fratrum Arvalium bubus au/[ratis II vovemus esse futur]um / [Iuno Regina quae in verba Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) bubus a]uratis II vovimus esse futu/[rum quod hodie vovimus ast tu ea ita faxsis tunc] tibi in eadem verba no/[mine collegii fratrum Arvalium vaccis auratis II vovemus] esse futurum / [Minerva quae in verba Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) bubus auratis II vovimus esse] / [futurum quod hodie vovimus ast tu ea ita faxsis tunc tibi in eadem verba no]//[mine collegii fratrum Arvalium vaccis auratis II vovemus esse futurum] / [salus publica quae in verba Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) bubus auratis II vovimus] / [esse futurum quod hodie vovimus ast tu ea ita faxsis tunc tibi in eadem verba no]//[mine collegii fratrum Arvalium vaccis auratis II vovemus esse futurum].⁵⁴

On January 3rd Gaius Iunius Tadius Mefitanus, president of the college of Arval Brothers, pronounced vows in their name for the safety of Imperator Titus Caesar Vespasian Augustus - son of a god and chief priest with tribunician power and consul eight times - and of Caesar Domitian - son of a god and consul seven times - and of Julia Augusta and of all the children of them. On the capitol, after the victims which the president had vowed in the previous year had been sacrificed, two oxen to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, two cows to Juno Regina, two cows to Minerva and two cows to Salus Publica, fulfilling that promise, vows, led by Lucius Pompeius Vopiscus and Gaius Arruntius Catellius Celer, were pronounced for the following year in those words which are written below. O Jupiter Optimus Maximus, if Imperator Titus Caesar Vespasian Augustus - chief priest with tribunician power and father of his country - and Caesar Domitian - son of a god - about whom we perceive ourselves to be speaking, live and their households are prosperous on January 3rd in the year that is next for the Roman people, the Quirites, and the republic of the Roman People, the Quirites, and if you keep that day and them safe from whatever dangers there are and will be before that day, and if you give a happy outcome as we perceive it, and if you keep them in their current condition or a better one, if you do these things thus, we will sacrifice two gilded bulls to you in the name of the college of Arval Brothers. O Juno Regina, in the words with which we promised Jupiter Optimus Maximus that he will have two gilded bulls, which we vowed today, if you shall do these things thus, then in the same words we vow two gilded cows to you in the name of the college of Arval Brothers. O Minerva, in the words with which we promised Jupiter Optimus Maximus that he will have two gilded bulls, which we vowed today, if you shall do these things thus, then in the same words we vow two gilded cows to you in the name of the college of Arval Brothers. O Salus Publica, in the words with which we promised Jupiter Optimus Maximus that he will have two gilded bulls, which we vowed today, if you shall do these things thus, then in the same words we vow two gilded cows to you in the name of the college of Arval Brothers.

isdem co(n)s(ulibus) K(alendis) Octobr(ibus) [i]n Capitolio collegiu<m=S> fratrum Arvalium immolavit ob votorum / [co]mmendandorum causa pro salute et incolumitate Caesaris divi f(ili)i Domitian(i) / Aug(usti) per L(ucium) Pompeium Vopiscum C(aium) Arruntium Catellium Celerem promag(istrum) C(ai) Iuni Mefitani Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) bovem marem Iunoni Reginae vaccam Minervae vaccam Salut(i) / vaccam Genio ipsius taurum item in annum proximum nuncupavit in / Capitolio pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caesaris divi f(ili)i Domitiani Aug(usti) in ea verba q(uae) s(upra)

⁵⁴ CFA 48:35-61.

s(cripta) s(unt) / Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) bovem marem Iunoni Reginae vaccam Minervae vaccam Saluti vaccam / item pro salute Domitiae Aug(ustae) coniugis eius in ea verba quae supra scripta sunt / Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) bovem marem Iunoni Reginae vaccam Minervae vaccam Saluti vaccam / item pro salute Iuliae T(iti) Imp(eratoris) filiae Aug(ustae) in ea verba quae supra scripta sunt Iovi (Optimo) M(aximo) bovem / marem Iunoni Reginae vaccam Minervae vaccam Saluti vaccam in collegio adfuerun[t] L(ucius) Pompeius Vopiscus C(aius) Arruntius Catellius Celer Q(uintus) Tillius Sassius L(ucius) Veratius Quadratus C(aius) Salvius / Liberalis Nonius Bassus.⁵⁵

On October 1st when the same men were consuls the college of Arval Brothers sacrificed on the Capitol on account of the fulfilment of vows made by Lucius Pompeius Vopiscus and Gaius Arruntius Catellius Celer during the presidency of Gaius Iunius Mefitanus for the safety and prosperity of Caesar Domitian Augustus, son of a god: an ox was given to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a cow to Juno Regina, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Salus and a bull to the *Genius* of Domitian. At the same time the college pronounced vows on the Capitol for the coming year for the safety of Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus, son of a god, in those words which are written above, promising an ox to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a cow to Juno Regina, a cow to Minerva and a cow to Salus. At the same time for the safety of Domitia Augusta, the wife of Domitian, in those words which are written above they promised an ox to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a cow to Juno Regina, a cow to Minerva and a cow to Salus. At the same time for the safety of Julia Augusta, daughter of Emperor Titus, in those words which are written above they promised an ox to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a cow to Juno Regina, a cow to Minerva and a cow to Salus. College members present were Lucius Pompeius Vopiscus, Gaius Arruntius Celer, Quintus Tillius Sassius, Lucius Veratius Quadratus and Gaius Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus.

In addition to the inconsistency in the pantheons between the January 3rd vows and the October 1st sacrifices, the vows made on October 1st to be fulfilled on January 3rd AD 82 also do not include the *Genius* of the *princeps*, and the *Genius* of the *princeps* is not included in any other examples of the January 3rd *vota* from the rest of Domitian's reign.⁵⁶ This is particularly significant because this is the only surviving example of the January 3rd *vota* from the Arval records in which the pantheons of deities listed as receiving fulfilment sacrifices and future vows are different. One possible explanation for this inconsistency in the text could be that the *Genius* of the *princeps*, apparently included in the January 3rd *vota* sometime between January and October AD 81, was removed from that *vota* again by January 3rd AD 82. Beard has shown that the Arval records were only inscribed once a year, usually in April.⁵⁷ If vows were made to the *Genius* of the *princeps* on October 1st AD 81, but the *Genius* was subsequently removed from that ritual before January AD 82 and

⁵⁵ CFA 49:39-51.

⁵⁶ CFA 54:1-26, 55.I:1-50, 58:1-28, 59:1-23, 60.1-11.

⁵⁷ Beard (1985) 126.

therefore the fulfilment sacrifices never conducted, it is possible that when the rituals were retrospectively recorded in April AD 82 the vow made but never fulfilled was not included. Regardless of whether this explanation is accurate, it is apparent that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was only included in the Arval cult for a brief period at the start of Domitian's reign.

The next evidence to address is Pliny's *Panegyricus*, a eulogy to the new *princeps* Trajan read before the senate in AD 100 and then considerably enlarged for publication.⁵⁸ In the text Pliny praises Trajan for not allowing gratitude for his benefactions to be directed to his *Genius*, but instead to Jupiter, implying that Domitian had done the opposite.

*Simili reverentia, Caesar, non apud genium tuum bonitati tuae gratias agi, sed apud numen Iovis optimi maximi pateris.*⁵⁹

With similar reverence, Caesar, you do not allow gratitude for your good deeds to be directed towards your *Genius*, but prefer it to be directed to Jupiter Best and Greatest.

Gradel takes this to be evidence both that the *Genius* was promoted in cult under Domitian, and for its removal from cult after his reign.⁶⁰

Although Pliny's statement may well be based in fact, and may indeed refer to the apparent brief promotion of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in cult at the start of Domitian's reign, aside from this aberrant appearance there is actually little to distinguish between the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in the state under Domitian and Trajan. Just as the *Genius* of the *princeps* is absent from the surviving Arval records from Domitian's reign after AD 81, it is absent from the surviving records from Trajan's reign. Domitian's *Genius* was present in the *compita*, where the *Genii Caesarum* had played a role since the reign of Augustus, as indicated by a surviving Roman *compitum* inscription from Domitian's reign.

⁵⁸ Radice (1968) 166.

⁵⁹ Pliny, *Panegyricus* 52.6.

⁶⁰ Gradel (2002) 192.

*Laribus Aug(ustis) et Geni(i)s Caesarum [Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Domitiano Aug(usto) co(n)s(uli) IX] / desig(nato) X p(atr) p(atr)iae] permissu A(uli) Anni Camartis tr[ib(uni) pleb(is) aediculam reg(ionis) I vici honoris] / et virtutis magistri anni LXXXII a s[olo impensa sua restituerunt] / C(aius) Iulius C(ai) l(ibertus) Zosimus M(anius) Birrius M(ani) l(ibertus) Hierus M(anius) B[...]*⁶¹

Dedicated to the *Lares Augusti* and the *Genii Caesarum* when Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus father of his country was consul for the ninth time and designated for the tenth. With the permission of the tribune of the plebeians Aulus Annius Camars this chapel in region one, in the neighbourhood of Honos and Virtus, was restored by the magistrates of the 92nd year with their own funds. Gaius Julius Zosimus, freedman of Gaius, Manius Birrius Hierus, freedman of Manius, Manius B...

The *Genii Caesarum* however also continued their role in the *compitum* under Trajan, as indicated by a similar surviving inscription.⁶²

*Laribus Augustis et Geni(i)s Caesarum / Imp(eratori) Caesari divi Nervae filio Nervae Traiano Aug(usto) Germ(anico) pontifici maximo trib(unica) pot(estate) IIII co(n)s(uli) III desi[g(nato) IIII] / permissu C(ai) Cassi Interamnani Pisibani Prisci praetoris aediculam reg(ionis) XIII vici censori magistri anni CVI[II] / vetustate dilapsam impensa sua restituerunt idem {pr} probavit / L(ucio) Roscio Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus) / Ti(berio) Claudio Sacerdot{a}e // L(ucius) Cercenius L(uci) lib(ertus) Hermes / P(ublius) Rutilius P(ubli) f(ilius) Priscus // M(arcus) Livius M(arci) lib(ertus) Donax / L(ucius) Coranius L(uci) lib(ertus) Euaristus // dedic(atum) / IIII K(alendas) Ian(uarias).*⁶³

Dedicated to the *Lares Augusti* and the *Genii Caesarum* when Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus, son of Divus Nerva, *pontifex maximus* with tribunician power for the 4th time and consul for the third time and designated for the fourth time. With the permission of the praetors Gaius Cassius Interamnans and Pisibanus Priscus this chapel in region fourteen, in the neighbourhood of the censor, dilapidated with great age, was restored by the magistrates of the 107th year with their own funds, and the same chapel was commended when Lucius Roscius Aelianus and Tiberius Claudius Sacerdos were consuls. Lucius Cercenius Hermes, freedman of Lucius, Publius Rutilius Priscus, son of Publius, Marcus Livius Donax, freedman of Marcus, Lucius Coranius Euaristus, freedman of Lucius. Dedicated four days before the kalends of January.

Further, as seen in section one, oaths by the *Genius* of the *princeps* came into vogue under Gaius. Such oaths continued to be conducted under both Domitian and Trajan. Examples from Domitian's reign survive from Egypt, and from Malaca, Irni and La Puebla de Cazalla in Baetica,⁶⁴ and an example from Trajan's reign survives from Picenum in Italy: *per I(ovem)*

⁶¹ CIL 6.449.

⁶² The *Genius* of the *princeps* may also have continued to be included in the *compita* under Vespasian and Titus, for although no *compita* inscriptions from Rome survive at all from their reigns, ten *compita* altars were preserved at Pompeii, in their form from AD 79. At least two of these included the *Genius* of the *princeps*, depicted on wall paintings connected with the altars, and thus comparison suggests that the *Genius* also appeared in the *compita* in Rome in AD 79 (Bakker (1994) 127 nos. 18 and 19; Spinazzola (1953) 161-185 figs 213-214, 215-217).

⁶³ CIL 6.451.

⁶⁴ Egypt: AE (1910) 75, (1950) 240; Malaca: CIL 2.1963, 1964; La Puebla de Cazalla: CILA 2(4).1206; Irni: CILA 2(4).1201. An example also survives from Herculaneum from the reign of Vespasian: AE (1951) 217, (1956) 265.

O(ptimum) M(aximum) Geniumque Imp(eratoris) / Caesaris Nervae Traiani Aug(usti) / Ger(manici) (by Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and the *Genius* of Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus).⁶⁵ Thus there seems to be little evidence for differences in the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in the state under Domitian and Trajan.

Gradel prefers his interpretation of the evidence – as indicating that the cult of the *Genius* of the *princeps* was promoted under Domitian – because he considers *Genius* worship to be oppressive, representing the *princeps* as master over a dependent *populus*, and therefore appropriate for an autocrat like Domitian. His characterisation of *Genius* cult is based on the observation that almost all epigraphic dedications to the *Genius* of another man, excluding the *princeps*, were made by freedmen.⁶⁶ From this Gradel concludes that in private interactions cultivating the *Genius* of another man was the domain of the servile classes, and that it would have been offensive for a man, including the *princeps*, to ask ranking members of Rome to cultivate his *Genius*.⁶⁷ Gradel suggests that by sacrificing to a man's *Genius* one was accepting a position as their client, and according to Cicero men of rank and substance *patrocinio vero se usos aut clientes appellari mortis instar putant* (find it as bitter as death to be under patronage or to be called clients).⁶⁸ Gradel validates his inference by refuting the long standing argument that the *Genius* of the *princeps* played a key role in the imperial cult under Augustus as an alternative to direct cult, demonstrating that under Augustus *Genius* cult was in fact limited to the *compita*, where it was acceptable because the *vicomagistri* that served at those altars were predominantly freedmen.⁶⁹ He argues that:

⁶⁵ EE 08-01.210.

⁶⁶ Gradel (2002) 39, 372.

⁶⁷ Gradel (2002) 34-41, 101-102.

⁶⁸ Cicero, *De Officiis* 2.20.69.

⁶⁹ Gradel (2002) 118.

It is in my view a mistake, though a common one, to see the form of *Genius* worship as a more ‘moderate’ option, chosen to avoid divine cult... *Genius* worship should be seen and interpreted in its proper institutionalised context within the *domus*.⁷⁰

Following on from this he notes peaks in the cult of the *Genius* of the *princeps* under autocratic rulers such as Gaius, Claudius, Nero and Domitian.⁷¹

I disagree with Gradel’s suggestion that cult of the *Genius* of the *princeps* was considered oppressive. The role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in the state imperial cult appears rather to have been dynastic. This supposition is also lent support by the peaks and troughs in the role of the *Genius* in the imperial cult. Unlike Augustus and Tiberius – who was invested with the powers of the Principate during the reign of Augustus⁷² – the claims to power of Gaius, Claudius and Nero were all based on their dynastic membership of the Julio-Claudian family, and therefore the *Genius* was useful to them to formulate the source of their power. This would also explain why it briefly re-emerged at the start of Domitian’s reign as unlike Titus – who was invested with the powers of the Principate during Vespasian’s reign⁷³ – Domitian, although he had served as consul on several occasions, was still essentially a private citizen at the time of his accession, without *tribunicia potestas* and *imperium*; Domitian’s claim to power was dynastic. This would also explain the next re-emergence of the *Genius* in the Arval cult after the reign of Domitian, under Marcus Aurelius in AD 176, for the *adventus* of Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus.

ob adventum Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)] / [M(arci) Aureli Antonini Aug(usti) immolavit] Iovi Opt(imo) Max(imo) bovem mare[m Iunoni Reginae] / [bov(em) femin(am) Minervae bov(em) femin(am) Sa]luti bovem femin(am) Neptuno t[aur(um) Genio Imperatoris taur(um)] / [et ob adventum L(uci) Aureli C]ommodi Caes(aris) Iovi bov(em) mare[m Iunoni Reginae] / [bovem femin(am) Minervae bovem femin(am) Saluti] bov(em) fem(inam) Genio Imperatori[s taur(um)].⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Gradel (2002) 43-44.

⁷¹ Gradel (2002) 36-44.

⁷² Cox (2005) 251-270.

⁷³ Cox (2005) 251-270.

⁷⁴ CFA 88:5-9.

On account of the *adventus* of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus an ox was sacrificed to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a cow to Juno Regina, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Salus, a bull to Neptune and a bull to the *Genius* of the Imperator, and on account of the *adventus* of Lucius Aurelius Commodus Caesar an ox was sacrificed to Jupiter, a cow to Juno Regina, a cow to Minerva, a cow to Salus and a bull to the *Genius* of the Imperator...

To explain this sacrifice under the ‘good’ *princeps* Marcus Aurelius, Gradel suggests that this happened without his explicit consent while he was away on campaign.⁷⁵ However, in my view it should rather be noted that this development was made in the year after the revolt of Avidius Cassius when Marcus Aurelius did much to promote Commodus as his heir,⁷⁶ and the year before he entered into his joint rule with his son.⁷⁷ Thus although Gradel views this time as ‘unexpected’, Marcus Aurelius being a quintessential ‘good’ *princeps*, it seems to me like a natural time for its rise. Marcus Aurelius was the first *princeps* in over a century to be succeeded by his biological son and therefore had a reason to promote ideas of dynasty.

Returning to Gradel’s epigraphic evidence, although the majority of epigraphic dedications made to the *Genius* of a living man, excluding the *princeps*, were made by freedmen,⁷⁸ in contrast the majority of dedications to the *Genius* of a deceased individual were made by close family and friends of comparable social status.⁷⁹ To explain this Gradel suggests that cult of a living and deceased man’s *Genius* were fundamentally different,⁸⁰ but it seems to me that it is not the cult, but the purpose of the inscriptions, that changes. Gradel himself points out that private and domestic cult, like that of a man’s *Genius*, created little archaeological evidence because it was conducted by well informed insiders who did not need to explain or advertise their actions in texts or with grand monuments.⁸¹ Consequently the question should not be why so few epigraphic dedications to the *Genius* of another man

⁷⁵ Gradel (2003) 192.

⁷⁶ *Historia Augusta* (Commodus) 2.2, 12.2.

⁷⁷ *Historia Augusta* (Marcus Aurelius) 27.5, (Commodus) 2.3-5, 12.5; cf. Birley (1987) 256.

⁷⁸ Gradel (2002) 372.

⁷⁹ Gradel (2002) 36 n. 13.

⁸⁰ Gradel (2002) 36 n. 13.

⁸¹ Gradel (2002) 198.

were produced by the higher classes, but why so many were produced by freedmen. An explanation could be that due to their position freedmen were under obligation to display their gratitude to their patron, and epigraphic dedications were a means of this. After death, it was a man's family and heirs that would commemorate him, explaining why dedications to the *Genii* of deceased men were made by family and friends. Thus Gradel's evidence may reflect epigraphic habit rather than cultic habit.

Consequently it seems to me that Gradel's interpretation of the evidence for the cult of the *Genius* of the *princeps* under Domitian is not the only possible interpretation of that evidence, and that it is also possible to suggest from the same evidence that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was largely suppressed in cult for the majority of Domitian's reign. In the following section of this chapter I will support my interpretation of the evidence on the basis of iconographic evidence surviving from Domitian's reign.

2.3: Iconographic Evidence

An iconographic theme preserved on three monumental sculptural reliefs, which I will argue date to the reign of Domitian, the *Triumphator Relief* on the Arch of Titus and *Cancellaria A* and *B*, support my suggestion that the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in state theology and cult changed significantly between the reigns of Nero and Domitian. On these reliefs the *Genius* of the *princeps* is not only conspicuous by its absence, but each relief also includes the *Genius Populi Romani* and *Genius Senatus*, depicted together perhaps for the first time,⁸² who alongside the goddess *Roma* are used in all three scenes to represent and personify the Roman state. Thus, whereas the Neronian *Genius Augusti* coins presented the *Genius* of the *princeps* as the sovereign *Genius* of the Roman state, with this Domitianic

⁸² Béranger (1964) 78-79; Kunckel (1974) 40-41.

iconography sovereignty was returned to the *Genii* of Rome's traditional sovereign bodies, the senate and Roman people. It is my position that this iconography represents a major shift in the apparent attitude of the state's administrative engines regarding the role that the *Genius* of the *princeps* should play in state theology. Moreover, this change in attitude probably made an impact not only on iconography and theology, but also on cult ritual, and thus this iconography supports my reading of the cultic evidence presented in the previous section.

The *Triumphator Relief* adorns the Arch of Titus on the Via Sacra.⁸³ The date of this arch is not firmly established by its adorning inscription, which simply states that it was dedicated to Divus Titus by the senate and people of Rome.⁸⁴ This dedication, plus the depiction of the apotheosis of Titus on the arch itself, indicate that the monument was completed after Titus' death; exactly how long after is debatable.

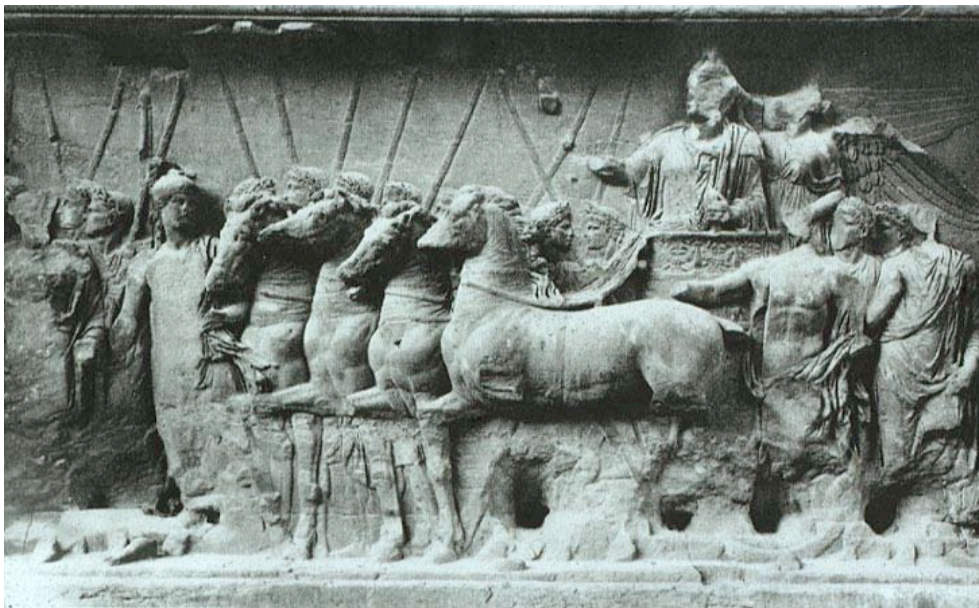


Figure 12: *Triumphator Relief*, Arch of Titus: Rome.⁸⁵

The reign of Domitian - Titus' immediate and only Flavian successor, and the *princeps* under whose auspices Titus was deified – seems like the most obvious time for the arch's

⁸³ On the Arch of Titus in general see Pfanner (1983) passim; Arce (1993) 1:109-111.

⁸⁴ CIL 6.945.

⁸⁵ Image from Pfanner (1983) plate 45.

dedication. Nevertheless this suggestion has been refuted on the basis of the literary tradition that Domitian hated his brother and did little to honour him,⁸⁶ thus some scholars have argued that the arch was dedicated under Trajan.⁸⁷ It is my position that the arch was in fact dedicated under Domitian, firstly because arguments against a Domitianic date and in favour of a Trajanic date are weak, and secondly because reference to Domitian appears on the arch, which is unlikely to have been made following his *damnatio memoriae*.

Firstly addressing positive arguments for a Trajanic date, some scholars have preferred this later date on the basis of dimensional and artistic similarity between the Arch of Titus and the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum.⁸⁸ However, Pfanner has convincingly refuted the suggestion that the two arches were made in the same workshop,⁸⁹ and similarity between the arches can be explained as the result of Trajanic mimesis of the Flavian monument.⁹⁰ Similarly Bennett suggested that an inscription found near the Arch of Titus, describing a dedication made by Trajan to Divus Titus, comes from the arch and can verify its dedication under Trajan.⁹¹ However, that this inscription describes the dedication of the arch seems unlikely as the monument already bears an inscription claiming the senate and people as dedicators and, as Darwall-Smith points out, it would be unusual for a monument to claim two different dedicators in this way.⁹²

Looking at arguments against a Domitianic date, McFayden pointed out that the arch is absent from Martial's *Epigrammata* 1.70, and as a result suggests that it must not yet have

⁸⁶ Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Titus) 10.1, (Domitian) 2.3; Cassius Dio, *Epitome* 66.26.

⁸⁷ Eg. McFayden (1915) 133; Hassel (1966) 23, 50-51; Vermeule (1969) 92; Bennett (1997) 148; Geysen (1999) 718-738; Kleiner (2009) 266.

⁸⁸ Eg. Magi (1945) 162; Hassel (1966) 23, 50-51; Vermeule (1969) 92; Bennett (1997) 148; Kleiner (2009) 266.

⁸⁹ Pfanner (1983) 22, 44.

⁹⁰ Jones (2000) 66; Strong (1988) 153; Kleiner (1992) 224-229; Kleiner (2009) 266.

⁹¹ CIL 6.946; Bennett (1997) 148.

⁹² Darwall-Smith (1996) 170.

been constructed at the time of its composition.⁹³ In the text Martial instructs the personified epigram to travel to the house of Proculus on the Palatine and perform the morning *salutatio* there in his place. Martial describes the route for the poem from the Temple of Castor, passing the temple of Vesta and the house of the Vestal Virgins; it is then to seek out the Palatine by way of the Sacra Via, where it will encounter *plurima... summi... imago ducis* (many grand images of the leader). The voyaging poem is not to be distracted by the colossal statue, but is to turn at the *Tecta Lyaei* and the *tholus* of Magna Mater to the house of Proculus.⁹⁴ On this route Martial's epigram would have passed the Arch of Titus. McFayden's assumption that if the arch had existed at the time of the poem's composition that Martial would have mentioned it, cannot be validated. Martial did not catalogue every monument on his route, and Geysen has argued that he specifically selected monuments connected with Domitian in order to imply that Domitian's house on the Palatine, rather than the nearby house of Proculus, was the true destination of the poem. Underlying reference to Domitian within in the poem is implied by reference to the epigram's addressee as beloved of Phoebus and the Muses, patron deities which Geysen suggests were inappropriate for Proculus, a patron who Martial did not deign to visit personally, but appropriate for Domitian, whose poetic interests are well documented.⁹⁵ Martial could have had many reasons for avoiding explicit reference to Domitian's triumphant brother in his composition, so the absence of reference to the arch in this poem is not strong evidence against it being existent at the time.

In fact, another poem of Martial's may suggest that construction of the arch had begun under Titus himself. Scholars have argued, based on similarities between the events

⁹³ McFayden (1915) 132.

⁹⁴ Martial, *Epigrammata* 1.70.

⁹⁵ Geysen (1999) 728-729.

recorded in Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum* and ostensibly historical events recorded by Suetonius and Cassius Dio, that the anonymous Caesar who Martial addresses in his book on spectacles must be Titus, and the occasion the inauguration of the Flavian amphitheatre in AD 80.⁹⁶ The evidence regarding the arch comes from the following poem which is built by a series of now and then contrasts.

*Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus
et crescent media pegmata celsa via,
invidiosa feri radiabunt atria regis
unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus.
Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri
erigitur moles, stagna Neronis etant.
Hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas.
abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.
Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras,
Ultima pars aulae deficientis erat.
Reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te praeside, Caesar,
deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini.⁹⁷*

Here, where the starry colossus sees the constellations close at hand and a lofty framework rises in the middle of the road, the hated halls of a cruel king used to gleam and in the whole city there was only one house standing. Here, where the awesome bulk of the amphitheatre soars before our eyes, once lay Nero's pools. Here, where we marvel at the swift blessing of the baths, an arrogant estate had robbed the poor of their dwellings. Where the Claudian portico weaves its spreading shade marks the point at which the palace finally stopped. Rome has been restored to herself, and with you in charge, Caesar, what used to be the pleasure of a master is now the pleasure of the people.⁹⁸

Coleman argues that the scaffolding must have been for the construction of an important monument to warrant a reference in the poem, located near the colossus of Nero with which it is compared, and that the Arch of Titus would have been the only monument in the vicinity to fit the bill.⁹⁹ Furthermore, the fact that the exterior of the arch is largely unadorned may lend support to the supposition that the arch was started under Titus, and finished under Domitian: if the arch was less important to the new *princeps* he may not have completed it as elaborately as originally planned.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Coleman (1998) 15.

⁹⁷ Martial, *Liber Spectaculorum* 2.

⁹⁸ Translation from Coleman (2006) 14.

⁹⁹ Coleman (1998) 19-20.

¹⁰⁰ The arch was probably originally surmounted by statuary, Lehmann-Hartleben (1937) suggests a quadriga of elephants on the basis of a 6th century record of such a group on the Via Sacra by Cassiodorus (*Variae* 10.30).

Finally, a positive argument can be made for a Domitianic date on the basis of the iconography of the *Booty Relief*, which hangs opposite the *Triumphator Relief* inside the arch and depicts men carrying spoils taken from Judea in the triumphal procession of AD 71.¹⁰¹



Figure 13: *Booty Relief*, Arch of Titus: Rome.¹⁰²

This procession passes beneath an arch depicted at the far right of the relief which is shown as surmounted by statuary consisting of two men in *quadrigae* flanking a man on horseback and a larger than life female figure.



Figure 14: Top of the arch depicted on the *Booty Relief*, Arch of Titus: Rome.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Pfanner (1983) 91; Rankov (1984) 283. Kleiner (1992) suggests that another argument for a Domitianic date can also be made on the basis of the location of the arch. She argues that the Flavians had a policy of reclaiming land used for Neronian structures to build new public structures. The arch occupied the space of the *domus transitoria* which Nero built to link the Palatine and Esquiline hills with his residence (183-185).

¹⁰² Image from Pfanner (1983) plate 54.

¹⁰³ Image from Pfanner (1983) plate 56.

This arch must represent a temporary structure erected for the day of the Judean triumph, which was probably replaced later with a permanent structure.¹⁰⁴ If this is the case then the statuary must represent the *triumphatores* Vespasian and Titus in the *quadrigae* flanking an equestrian Domitian accompanied by a now unidentifiable goddess.¹⁰⁵ Josephus, a witness to the event, records that Domitian rode horseback on the day.¹⁰⁶ That Domitian is depicted on the arch at all suggests that the relief was created before his *damnatio memoriae*, and the fact that he is the central figure strongly supports the suggestion that the relief image was completed during his reign.

The *Cancellaria Reliefs* also appear to be Domitianic. The two reliefs are certainly contemporaneous with one another and belong together as a pair, or part of a larger series. This is indicated by their complementary compositions: each Luna marble relief is made up of four symmetrical panels 2.06 metres tall, both were originally 6.058 meters long, both contain seventeen figures divided into two roughly even groups, and the height of both depicted processions sags in the centre, probably to create an even appearance when viewed from where they were hung, presumably on the same monument.¹⁰⁷ Their workmanship suggests that they originally belonged to a state monument, but they appear to have been removed for re-cutting and never returned, as indicated by their find spot in a mason's yard or marble worker's deposit near the tomb of the Hirtius in the Campus Martius.¹⁰⁸ Their classicizing style suits a late-Neronian, Flavian or Trajanic-Hadrianic date, each of which has

¹⁰⁴ On these types of arches see Kleiner (1985) 11-12.

¹⁰⁵ Pfanner (1983) 67; Kleiner (1990) 127-136. Pfanner suggests that the goddess is *Virtus*, I think that Minerva or *Roma* would be more consistent with Domitianic iconography, but the figure is simply too worn for a clear identification.

¹⁰⁶ Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.152.

¹⁰⁷ Toynbee (1957) 6-7.

¹⁰⁸ The majority of the pieces of the friezes were discovered on the grounds of the Palazzo della Cancelleria Apostolica in the region of the Campus Martius, but two portions of Frieze A were found twenty-four metres east of the rest under the modern Corso (Magi (1945) 3-34; Kähler (1950) 30; Herzog (2001) 107).

been advocated.¹⁰⁹ Dating has primarily relied on identifying the original characters of the imperial figures depicted. I advocate a Domitianic date on the same basis.

Cancellaria B depicts a procession led by an *apparitor* standing to the left of an enthroned goddess, followed by five Vestal Virgins and three *lictors*. Next a young man stands in the foreground with a togate bearded figure and a semi-nude heroic figure behind his shoulders, greeting an older man being crowned by victory. Behind this man stands another *lictor* and a man holding a volume. Most scholars identify the young man as Domitian and the older man as Vespasian on the basis of portraiture.



Figure 15: *Cancellaria B*, Vatican Museum: Rome.¹¹⁰

The older figure has a wide rectangular hair style arranged at the back of the neck in short curls typical of Vespasian's portraits at the start of his reign before he was bald. The same hairstyle can be seen on portraits of Vespasian in the British Museum,¹¹¹ at Kopenhagen,¹¹² and in Rome's Museo Nazionale delle Terme.¹¹³ The portrait also has Vespasian's typical hooked nose, upwardly arched brows, bulging eyelids, thin tightly pressed mouth, fleshy cheeks and broad wrinkled forehead.

¹⁰⁹ Neronian: Herzog (2001); Flavian: Magi (1945) (1955-1956); Hamburg (1945); Last (1948); Bendinelli (1949); Ryberg (1955); Toynbee (1957); Simon (1960); Keller (1967); Daltrop, Hausman and Wegner (1966); Kunckel (1974); Ghendini (1986); Trajanic-Hadrianic: McCann (1972); Bergman (1981).

¹¹⁰ Image from www.Rome101.com.

¹¹¹ British Museum inv. 1890.

¹¹² NY Carlsberg Gyptothek inv. 2585.

¹¹³ Museo Nazionale delle Terme inv. 330.



Figure 16: Front and side view of Vespasian portrait, *Cancellaria B*, Vatican Museum: Rome.¹¹⁴
 Figure 17: Front and side view of Vespasian portrait, Museo Nazionale delle Terme: Rome.¹¹⁵

The portrait of the youth also matches types of Domitian from early in Vespasian's reign, exhibiting a full curly coiffure with curving locks moving over the forehead from right to left, a hooked nose and broad face with a long mouth and a full slightly receding lower lip, and a firm square chin. These characteristics are also seen on a portrait of Domitian from the Museum of Fine Art in Boston.¹¹⁶

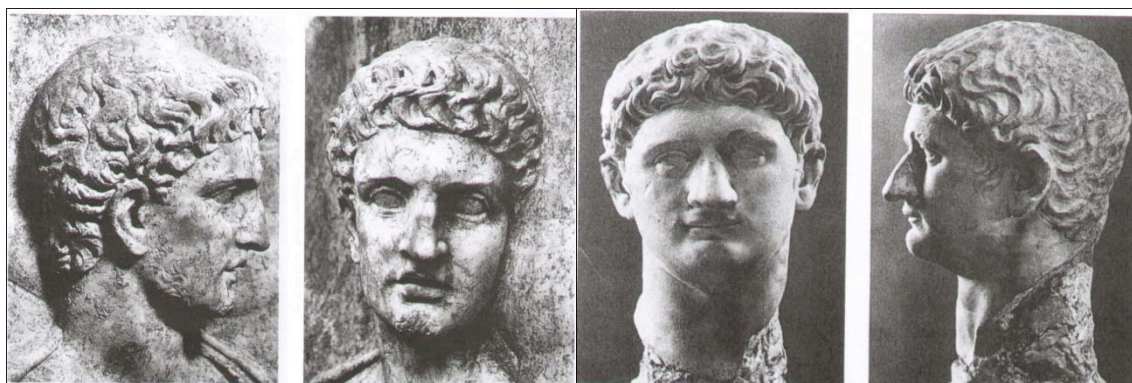


Figure 18: Front and side view of Domitian portrait, *Cancellaria B*, Vatican Museum: Rome.¹¹⁷
 Figure 19: Front and side view of Domitian portrait, Boston Museum and Fine Art.¹¹⁸

Alternative identifications have been suggested. McCaan and Bergman argue that the hairstyle of the youth closely resembles that of the young Hadrian on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, and they prefer this identification because the youth wears a light beard.¹¹⁹ To match Hadrian they suggest that the older figure must be Trajan re-cut as Nerva, pointing to a

¹¹⁴ Image from Daltrop, Hausman and Wegner (1966) plate 5.

¹¹⁵ Image from Daltrop, Hausman and Wegner (1966) plate 4.

¹¹⁶ Boston Museum of Fine Art inv. 88.639.

¹¹⁷ Image from Daltrop, Hausman and Wegner (1966) plate 31.

¹¹⁸ Image from Daltrop, Hausman and Wegner (1966) plate 24.

¹¹⁹ McCaan (1972) 251; Bergman (1981) 25.

relatively high ridge between the face of the older imperial and the background of the relief as evidence for re-cutting. This identification seems unlikely as the hair of the older figure does not match any known styles of Trajan or Nerva. More recently Herzog suggested that the older man is Nero re-cut as Vespasian greeting a personification of the equestrian order; this latter identification is based on the fact that the youth wears equestrian style boots.¹²⁰ This identification also seems unlikely since, as Toynbee has pointed out, it is the youth who is the centre of the scene, and thus he is probably at least as important as the man he is greeting.¹²¹ Furthermore the suggestion that the older figure has been re-cut is not commonly accepted because the features do not appear to have been altered and the head is consistent in size with the body. Toynbee suggests that the high ridge may be the result of the main sculptor leaving the heads of the youth and the older man, which display a more striking individuality and realism than the surrounding portraits, to a specialist imperial portrait sculptor.¹²² Consequently the traditional identification of these men as Domitian and Vespasian seems most likely.

The fact that the portraits display features appropriate for those used early in Vespasian's reign suggests an identification for the scene: Vespasian's return to Rome in AD 70 when he was greeted by Domitian.¹²³ However, considering that it is Domitian who is the central figure, this is probably a retrospective view of this event from Domitian's reign. Last suggests that this may explain why Domitian appears uncharacteristically with equestrian boots and a light beard: until his accession in AD 81 Domitian appeared numismatically as *princeps iuventutis*, a role with equestrian associations, and the beard may indicate that

¹²⁰ Herzog (2001) 114.

¹²¹ Toynbee (1957) 5.

¹²² Toynbee (1957) 6-7.

¹²³ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Domitian) 13; Cassius Dio, *Epitome* 66.10.

Domitian had not yet performed the ceremony of *depositio barbae*.¹²⁴ Perhaps the purpose of these features was to make it clear that the youth interacting with Vespasian was Domitian and not Titus.

The one imperial figure featured on *Cancellaria A* has certainly been re-cut, as indicated by the fact that the head is much smaller than the body and neck, the significant ridge between the face and the background, and between the face and hairline of the figure, which indicates that the hair probably belongs to the original character. Most scholars agree that he is Domitian re-cut as Nerva.¹²⁵ This is evident in the lengthening of the nose, the addition of naso-labial lines and Adam's apple, and shrinking of the eyes and chin; but the portrait still retains some of the fuller more rectangular characteristics of Domitian.¹²⁶ Similar signs are evident on re-cut portraits of Domitian as Nerva from Holkham Hall and the Palazzo dei Conservatori.¹²⁷



Figure 20: Portrait of Domitian/Nerva, *Cancellaria A*, Vatican Museum: Rome.¹²⁸

Figure 21: Portrait of Domitian/Nerva, Holkham Hall: Norfolk, England.¹²⁹

The hairstyle is appropriate for Domitian during his own reign, rather than under Vespasian, showing long strands of hair brushed forward from the occiput and arranged in a series of

¹²⁴ Last (1948) 10.

¹²⁵ Magi (1945) (1955/1956); Hamburg (1945); Curtius (1948); Bendinelli (1949); Ryberg (1955); Toynbee (1957); Simon (1960); Keller (1967); Daltrop, Hausman and Wegner (1966); Kunckel (1974); Ghendini (1986).

¹²⁶ Varner (2004) 115-117.

¹²⁷ Palazzo dei Conservatori inv. 423.

¹²⁸ Image from www.Rome101.com.

¹²⁹ Image from www.wikipedia.org.

waves over the top of the head, also seen on portraits of Domitian from the Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori,¹³⁰ and the Vatican Museum.¹³¹



Figure 22: Portrait of Domitian, Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori: Rome.¹³²

Figure 23: Portrait of Domitian, Vatican Museum: Rome.¹³³

Schefold suggested that the head was always that of Nerva, and that the artist re-cut the head when he realised that he had made it too large,¹³⁴ but the hairstyle does not match any original Nervan styles. Herzog has dismissed the previous suggestion that the relief is Hadrianic on the basis bearded figure in the entourage, which can be seen below, because bearded soldiers are known from the Flavian period, for example on the Domitianic panel in the Louvre showing the *Suovetaurilia*.¹³⁵ Herzog suggests that the image is Nero, re-cut as Domitian, re-cut as Nerva,¹³⁶ but this is based entirely on the fact that he has identified Nero on *Cancellaria B*. Consequently again the traditional identification of Domitian is most likely, and the fact that this relief uses a more mature portrait of Domitian suggests that the two contemporaneous reliefs were both created during his reign.

The identity of the scene depicted on *Cancellaria A* is less obvious than its partner. The far left is missing but the wing of an airborne Victory and the axe of a missing *lictor* can

¹³⁰ Museo Nuovo VII.18.

¹³¹ Braccio Nuovo 126.

¹³² Image from Daltrop, Hausman and Wegner (1966) plate 27.

¹³³ Image from Daltrop, Hausman and Wegner (1966) plate 28.

¹³⁴ Schefold (1949) 546-548.

¹³⁵ Herzog (2001) 112.

¹³⁶ Herzog (2001) 112.

still be seen. They were followed by another *lictor*, and then Mars, Minerva, and Domitian in tunic and *paludamentum*. He is followed by two more *lictores* and a female goddess, then two soldiers in the background and a bearded togate figure and a semi-nude heroic figure in the foreground. Four more military figures then round out the procession, carrying spears, *pila* and ornamented cylindrical shields. When he first published this relief Magi suggested an *adventus*,¹³⁷ but since then most scholars have argued in favour of a *profectio*.¹³⁸ A *profectio* is indicated by the fact that Victory does not crown the *princeps*, as seen on the *Triumphator Relief* and on *Cancellaria B*, but flies ahead of him as a precursor. Which one of Domitian's *profectiones* is not indicated by the scene.



Figure 24: *Cancellaria A*, Vatican Museum: Rome.¹³⁹

All three of these Domitianic reliefs depict the *princeps* alongside deities, including a triad of gods comprising a goddess in a crested helmet, a semi-nude heroic figure and a togate figure. It is my position firstly that these three figures are *Roma*, the *Genius Populi Romani* and the *Genius Senatus*, and secondly that these three deities were used in these reliefs to personify the Roman state. To justify these claims I will firstly argue in favour of my identification of these deities, and then discuss their role in the scenes.

¹³⁷ Magi (1945) 98.

¹³⁸ Hamberg (1945); Curtius (1948); Bendinelli (1949); Ryberg (1955); Toynbee (1957); Keller (1965); Kunckel (1974); Ghendini (1986).

¹³⁹ Image from www.Rome101.com.

Starting with the goddess, on the *Triumphator Relief* she is quite weathered but her crested helmet can be made out, a typical attribute of either *Roma* or *Virtus*; unfortunately no other identifying attributes survive on this frieze to distinguish between the two. A goddess appears with the same crested helmet on the two *Cancellaria Reliefs*. On frieze *B* she is enthroned in the top left corner. On this basis Bendinelli argued that the goddess could not be *Roma*, as this seated position implies that the goddess is depicted in her guise as a temple icon, and *Roma* did not have a temple in Rome until the reign of Hadrian.¹⁴⁰ Bendinelli consequently preferred an identification of *Bellona*, however, this criticism seems unjustified as from the reign of Nero onwards *Roma* was commonly depicted numismatically enthroned on a bed of arms.¹⁴¹ In fact, according to Bieber in his study of the comparative iconography of *Roma* and *Virtus*, enthronement is an identifying aspect of *Roma* as opposed to *Virtus*.¹⁴² The goddess in the crested helmet depicted on *Cancellaria A* carries a shield, which is a common attribute of neither *Roma* nor *Virtus*, but *Roma* often appears seated on a shield, so a possible explanation for this deviation could be that she is carrying her attribute because she is standing as part of the procession. On the basis of these attributes I agree with those who have identified this goddess as *Roma*.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Vermeule (1959) 29; Boatwright (1987) 129.

¹⁴¹ Vermeule (1959) 29, contra Bendinelli (1949).

¹⁴² Bieber (1945) 22-34.

¹⁴³ Magi (1945) (1955/1956); Hamberg (1945); Curtius (1948); Schefold (1949); Rumpf (1955/1956); Toynbee (1957); Simon (1960); Kunckel (1984).



Figure 25: Head of woman leading the chariot on the *Triumphator Relief*, Arch of Titus: Rome.¹⁴⁴

Figure 26: Amazonian goddess on *Cancelleria B*, Vatican Museum: Rome.¹⁴⁵

Figure 27: Amazonian goddess on *Cancelleria A*, Vatican Museum: Rome.¹⁴⁶

Figure 28: Reverse of sestertius minted at Rome AD 68.¹⁴⁷

One further reason for identifying the goddess as *Roma* over *Virtus* is the fact that *Virtus* rarely appears alone, as she is usually coupled with *Honos*. However, some scholars have argued that the nude figure with mantle around his waist that appears in all three processional scenes is *Honos*. In the same fashion as *Roma* and *Virtus*, *Honos* and the *Genius Populi Romani* share very similar iconography. Both wear the same mantle and carry similar attributes: both often carry *cornucopia* and sceptre, but *Honos* will sometimes carry a palm, and the *Genius Populi Romani* a *patena*.¹⁴⁸ Unfortunately on the *Cancelleria Reliefs* the only surviving attribute is the *cornucopia*, and no attributes survive on the *Triumphator Relief*. However, according to Bieber, *Honos* always appeared wearing a laurel crown as a symbol of noble achievement.¹⁴⁹ None of our mantled figures wears such a crown supporting an identification of the deities in these scenes as the *Genius Populi Romani*.

¹⁴⁴ Image from Pfanner (1983) plate 47.

¹⁴⁵ Image from www.Rome101.com.

¹⁴⁶ Image from www.Rome101.com.

¹⁴⁷ RIC (Galba) 1:243; image from www.frederic.weber.com.

¹⁴⁸ Bieber (1945); Kuttner (1995) 19.

¹⁴⁹ Bieber (1945); Kuttner (1995) 19.

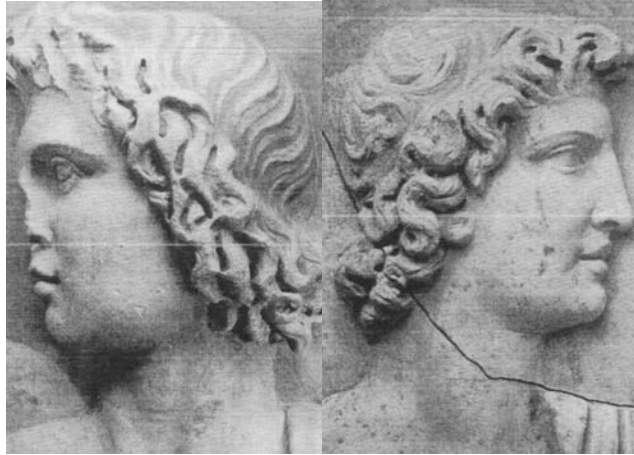


Figure 29: Head of the *Genius Populi Romani* from *Cancellaria A*, Vatican Museum: Rome.¹⁵⁰

Figure 30: Head of the *Genius Populi Romani* on *Cancellaria B*, Vatican Museum: Rome.¹⁵¹

Nevertheless some scholars still prefer to identify the figure as *Honos* because of his proximity to the goddess which they identify as *Virtus*; they claim that in these scenes they represent attributes possessed by the *princeps*.¹⁵² However, it seems to me that it cannot be these two deities that are coupled together in the scenes due to the appearance of the third figure, a togate and bearded man. Pfanner, although he identifies the goddess and mantled figure as *Virtus* and *Honos*, concedes in his examination of the *Triumphator Relief* that on the basis of iconography this figure must be either a personification of the Senate or its *Genius*.¹⁵³ In fact all identifications of this togate figure on all three reliefs make reference to the senate.¹⁵⁴ Significantly, in all three reliefs it is also the two male figures, and not the youth and the goddess, which are paired together. Consequently I agree with Kunckel, Hannestad and Kleiner that they must be the *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani*.¹⁵⁵

Having identified the deities, it is my position that in all three scenes this divine triad is used to personify the Roman state. In the *profectio* scene of *Cancellaria A* Domitian leaves

¹⁵⁰ Image from Kunckel (1974) plate 21.

¹⁵¹ Image from Kunckel (1974) plate 21.

¹⁵² Eg. Pfanner (1983).

¹⁵³ Pfanner (1983) 15.

¹⁵⁴ Simon has unconvincingly suggested that the bearded figure could be Numa Pompilius ((1985) 549-554).

¹⁵⁵ Kunckel (1974) 40; Kleiner (1992) 183.

these three gods behind him, *Roma* pushing him forward as Domitian joins the gods of war, Victory, Mars and Minerva. In the *adventus* scene the gods are among the party that greet the returning *princeps* alongside Domitian. On the *Triumphator Relief* Titus rides his chariot through the city surrounded by these deities. Although these reliefs mark the first time that the *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani* appear together,¹⁵⁶ this iconographic motif nevertheless appears to reprise an Augustan one. On one of the *Boscovale Cups* an enthroned Augustus is depicted receiving a Victory from Venus, behind whom stands the *Genius Populi Romani* and a personification of *Roma*. It has been suggested that this duo too is *Honos* and *Virtus*,¹⁵⁷ but Kuttner convincingly argues in favour of the *Roma/Genius* identification on the basis that the mantled figure holds a *patera* and wears no laurel crown,¹⁵⁸ and the Amazonian appears with a weapons pile under her foot.¹⁵⁹ Kuttner argues that the fact that *Roma* and the *Genius Populi Romani* converse suggest that they are meant to be a pair that, with Venus whose hearth is the hearth of the Roman state, represent the city of Rome.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ Béranger (1964) 78; Kunckel (1974) 40.

¹⁵⁷ Ryberg (1955) 141; Simon (1985) 241.

¹⁵⁸ Kuttner (1995) 19; cf. Bieber (1945).

¹⁵⁹ Kuttner (1995) 19; cf. Bieber (1945).

¹⁶⁰ Kuttner (1995) 18.



Figure 31: *Boscoreale Cup*, Louvre: Paris.¹⁶¹

This *Boscoreale Cup* was probably a vessel for private use, but Kuttner and Koepfel suggest that the scene was copied from a state monument. They hypothesise that it may even be the now almost completely lost *Roma* panel on the *Ara Pacis* which they suggest probably depicted *Roma* crowned by the *Genius Populi Romani*.¹⁶² Regardless of whether this scene was specifically taken from the *Ara Pacis*, that it was taken from some state monument is likely since this type of copying was common, for example Domitian's *profectio* scene from *Cancellaria A* is copied on a local relief from Anacapri, and two fourth-century AD gems, one in Philadelphia formerly in the Biehler Collection and one from southern France now in Vienna, copy the *Triumphator Relief* from the Arch of Titus.

¹⁶¹ Image from Kuttner (1995) figure 1.

¹⁶² Kuttner (1995) 20.

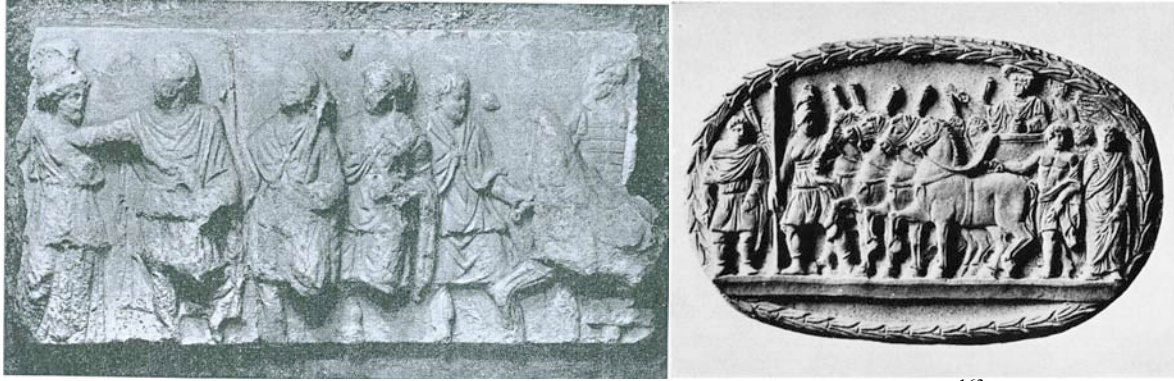


Figure 32: Relief displaying *profectio* of Domitian, Museo della Torre: Anacapri.¹⁶³

Figure 33: Fourth century Gem displaying the triumphal image from the Arch of Titus, Kunsthistorisches Museum: Vienna.¹⁶⁴

On the basis of this evidence it seems reasonable to suggest that in these reliefs *Roma* and the *Genius Senatus* and *Genius Populi Romani* were used to personify the Roman state.

Thus it is the conclusion of this discussion that when the evidence for the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in the state imperial cult under Nero and the civil war generals and under Domitian is compared, that it is apparent that the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* had changed significantly and been minimised by the reign of Domitian. This change in cult is also reflected in the iconography of the *Genius* of the *princeps*. Under Nero the *Genius Augusti* appeared on the coinage for the first time using the same iconography that was used for the *Genius* of the Roman people, and in this way Nero's *Genius* was presented as the sovereign *Genius* of Rome. Under Domitian the *Genius* of the *princeps* is completely absent from surviving iconography, and the *Genius Populi Romani* and the *Genius Senatus*, alongside the goddess *Roma*, are used to represent and personify the Roman state, retaking the sovereignty that was usurped by Nero's *Genius Augusti*. This change in the dynamic of the state *Genii* is clearer in the iconographic evidence than the cultic evidence, but the iconographic evidence supports the interpretation of the cultic evidence.

¹⁶³ Image from Magi (1954-1955) 49.

¹⁶⁴ Image from Bieber (1945) figure 2.

2.4: Vespasian?

It is possible that the changes made to the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in state cult and iconography that has been identified for Domitian's reign were in fact introduced during the reign of Vespasian. The change does not appear to predate his reign as the *Genius* of the *princeps* was prominent in the Arval cult conducted for Galba, Otho and Vitellius.¹⁶⁵ The *Genius* of the *princeps* is absent from the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* surviving from the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, however, as already mentioned, this is not conclusive evidence as the only Arval imperial cult rites preserved for those years are several January 3rd *vota* and two extraordinary rituals, one of which does not list any sacrifices. The January 3rd *vota* are one of the few rites in which the *Genius* of the *princeps* was not included under Nero and the civil war generals, and therefore it would not be expected in these rituals under the Vespasian and Titus. Consequently, these rituals alone cannot be used to prove that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was absent from the Arval imperial cult pantheon, and too few other rituals survive to make a definitive judgement either way.

Nevertheless, the suggestion that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was absent from the Arval cult pantheon can again be lent validity by contemporary iconographic evidence reflecting the state administration's attitude towards the deity. The numismatic depiction of Nero's *Genius Augusti*, discussed above, appears to have been rejected in the years immediately following Nero's death through the minting of *Genius Populi Romani* coin types.¹⁶⁶ *Genius Populi Romani* types were not popular during the republic and are only known from three types, all minted by the Corneli Lentuli family. In 96-94 BC and again in 89 BC it appeared on denarii reverses in its semi-nude form, holding a *corona* over the head

¹⁶⁵ CFA 40[1-7].I:24-34, 35-40, 41-45, 58-62, 63-67, 68-71, 72-76, 81-84, 84-88, II:1-5, 1013, 15-18.

¹⁶⁶ Gradel (2002) 188-189.

of *Roma*.¹⁶⁷ In 76-74 BC denarii minted in Spain depicted a bearded bust on the obverse labelled *G(enius) P(opuli) R(omani)*.¹⁶⁸ In 72 BC another denarius type minted in Rome depicted the semi-nude *Genius Populi Romani* on the reverse, crowned by a flying victory.¹⁶⁹



Figure 34: Denarius reverse, Rome, 96 BC.¹⁷⁰

Figure 35: Denarius obverse, Spain, 76BC.¹⁷¹

Figure 36: Denarius reverse, Rome, 72BC.¹⁷²

This relatively rare theme on the republic coinage enjoyed resurgence during the civil war of AD 68-69 when it appeared on coins minted by Galba's supporters in Gaul and Spain. Types were minted depicting the Zeus-like bust and the youthful bust of the *Genius Populi Romani* on the obverse, and another type showed the semi-nude figure pouring a libation over an altar on the reverse, reclaiming the imagery used for Nero's *Genius Augusti*.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ BMCRR 1:1705=Sydenham 604-605.

¹⁶⁸ Crawford 393/1a=Sydenham 752.

¹⁶⁹ BMCRR 1:3329=Sydenham 791.

¹⁷⁰ Sydenham 604-5; image from www.beastcoins.com.

¹⁷¹ Sydenham 752; image from www.coinarchives.com.

¹⁷² Sydenham 791; image from Kunckel (1974) plate 4.2.

¹⁷³ Gaul: BMCRE 1:295 n. 21-22; Spain: BMCRE 1:288-298 n. 1-2.



Figure 37: Sestertius obverse, Gaul, AD 68.¹⁷⁴

Figure 38: Sestertius obverse, Spain, AD 68.¹⁷⁵

Figure 39: Sestertius reverse, Spain, AD 68.¹⁷⁶

This trend of depicting the *Genius Populi Romani* on the coinage was continued under Vespasian and Titus. Types depicting the sacrificing *Genius Populi Romani* on the reverse were struck at the mint at Illyricum in AD 69-70, and were repeated on coins issued from the Roman mint in AD 76, and AD 80-81.¹⁷⁷



Figure 40: Sestertius reverse, Rome, AD 69/70.¹⁷⁸

Figure 41: Sestertius reverse, Rome, AD 80/81.¹⁷⁹

The fact that these types assigned the exact same iconography to the *Genius Populi Romani* as had previously been used for Nero's *Genius Augusti*, as opposed to other imagery that was available, suggests that these were minted in deliberate response to the iconographic and

¹⁷⁴ BMCRE 1:295 n. 21; image from Kunckel (1974) plate 1.2.

¹⁷⁵ BMCRE 1:289 n. 2; image from Kunckel (1974) plate 1.4.

¹⁷⁶ BMCRE 1:288 (Anm.); image from Kunckel (1974) plate 1.5.

¹⁷⁷ AD 69-70: BMCRE 2:85 n. 417-418; AD 76: RIC (Vespasian) 2:677; AD 80-81: BMCRE 2:266 n. 210.

¹⁷⁸ BMCRE 2:85 n. 417-418; image from Kunckel (1974) plate 1.6.

¹⁷⁹ BMCRE 2:266 n. 210; image from Kunckel (1974) plate 1.7.

ideological promotion of the *Genius Augusti* under Nero.¹⁸⁰ That a backlash against the *Genius Augusti* existed on the coinage supports the suggestion that a similar backlash may have existed in cult.

Surviving numismatic evidence also suggests that the dual iconographic promotion of the *Genius Populi Romani* and *Genius Senatus* identified for Domitian's reign may have had a precedent in iconography from Vespasian's reign. The earliest known appearances of the *Genius Senatus* on the Roman coinage are on two sestertii types minted at Rome and Lugdunum respectively in AD 72. The first shows the bust of Vespasian on the obverse and the *Genius Senatus* holding a wreath over the head of a soldier on the reverse with the legend *Concordia Senatus*.¹⁸¹ The second has the same reverse but with the legend *Senatus Pietati Augusti*, and shows the bust of Galba on the obverse.¹⁸²



3

CAST I

Figure 42: Sestertius reverse, Rome, AD 71.¹⁸³

Figure 43: Sestertius reverse, Lugdunum, AD 71.¹⁸⁴



Kunckel suggests that the reverse reflects the role of the senate in electing and empowering the *princeps*.¹⁸⁵ This would seem cohesive with the unusual Galban obverse as Galba claimed he was an elected *princeps*, and called himself legate of the senate and people of

¹⁸⁰ Gradel (2002) 189.

¹⁸¹ BMCRE 2:113 n. 1.

¹⁸² Kunckel (1974) 38, 140; BMCRE 1:359 n. 260.

¹⁸³ BMCRE 2:113 n. 1; image from BMCRE 2: plate 20.3

¹⁸⁴ BMCRE 1:359 n. 260; image from BMCRE 1: plate 59.3.

¹⁸⁵ Kunckel (1974) 38.

Rome until he met with a senatorial embassy that officially conferred him imperial power.¹⁸⁶ It may be that with the Galban obverse the Vespasianic party was alluding to the fact that Vespasian avenged the overthrow of Galba, the elected *princeps* of the senate. The soldier depicted on both types is most likely Vespasian, the victory he holds reflecting the source of his power.

In addition to both *Genii* appearing individually on Vespasianic coins, the first known depiction of the *Genius Populi Romani* and *Genius Senatus* together is also on a sestertius from AD 71. The reverse shows Vespasian in priestly garb and crowned by a winged victory performing a ritual before a monument. Six specimens of this type survive in varying states of preservation, and consequently several different descriptions of the monument have been published: Cohen describes it as a temple or triumphal arch,¹⁸⁷ Fiorelli as a gate of the city,¹⁸⁸ in RIC Mattingly describes it as a temple, and in BMCRE as a double triumphal arch surmounted by a quadriga.¹⁸⁹ Kleiner recently re-examined the best preserved specimen from Berlin, depicted below, and has argued that the monument is in fact a double arch in three quarter view surmounted by statuary showing two standing figures: a semi-nude youth in a mantle holding *cornucopia* and *patera*, and a bearded togate figure.¹⁹⁰ This iconography matches that used for the two *genii* on Domitianic sculptural reliefs, and on a Trajanic aureus reverse from AD 115/116. Thus the earliest pairing of the *Genius Populi Romani* and *Genius Senatus*, traditionally assigned to the reign of Domitian, may in fact belong under Vespasian.

¹⁸⁶ Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Galba) 10.

¹⁸⁷ Cohen 424 n. 589.

¹⁸⁸ Fiorelli (1870) 99 n. 589.

¹⁸⁹ RIC (Vespasian) 2:71 n. 463; BMCRE 2:124 n. 576.

¹⁹⁰ Kleiner (1989) 85-91.

Figure 44: Sestertius reverse, Rome, AD 71.¹⁹¹Figure 45: Aureus reverse, Rome, AD 115/116 (*vota suscepta*).¹⁹²

Thus it is the conclusion of this section that the cultic evidence leaves it an open possibility that the *Genius* of the *princeps*, largely excluded from the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices from the Arvals under Domitian, was already excluded from that pantheon under Vespasian. The suggestion that this change in cult was introduced under Vespasian is lent support by evidence suggesting that the replacement of the *Genius Augusti* with the *Genius Populi Romani* and the *Genius Senatus* in iconography under Domitian was also already introduced under Vespasian, as not only were the *Genius Populi Romani* and *Genius Senatus* both depicted individually on Vespasianic coins, they also appear to have been depicted together for the first time on his coinage. Consequently it seems possible that the evident changes made to the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in cult and iconography between the reigns of Nero and Domitian may have been introduced under Vespasian.

¹⁹¹ Berlin inv. 852/1910=RIC (Vespasian) 2:463; image from Kleiner (1989) plate 7.1.

¹⁹² BMCRE 3:612; image from www.coinarchives.com; cf. Kunckel (1974) 39, 130 n. VIII, 7-9, 11; BMCRE 3:587, 612, 323, 775.

Chapter Three: The *Divi*

More similarity exists between the role of the *divi* in state religion under the Julio-Claudians and Domitian than for the aspects of the imperial cult discussed in the previous chapters. Both the Julio-Claudians and Domitian used the *divi* to bolster their own position on the basis of their dynastic connections, but this was done in distinctly different ways. As has already been seen in chapter one, the *divi* played a central role in the Arval pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps* under the Julio-Claudians; a role that characterised them as guardians of the *princeps* and emphasised the dynastic source of imperial power. As has also been seen in chapter one, the Julio-Claudian *divi* were removed from that pantheon at the start of Vespasian's reign, and both the Julio-Claudian and Flavian *divi* were absent from the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps* throughout the Flavian period. Despite this significant change, I will argue that Domitian nevertheless used the Flavian *divi* to bolster his claim to power through dynasty by promoting each Flavian *divus* not individually, as they had been under the Julio-Claudians, but as a collective, with shared temples and priests, creating the idea of a distinctive Flavian heaven from which the *princeps* drew power. Furthermore I will suggest that this collective treatment of the *divi* mirrored the focus in the Arval cult on the Principate rather than the *princeps*, as the *divi* were not of individual significance, but part of something larger.

In order to make this argument, in the first section of this chapter I discuss the concept of deification in the Roman world, and the evolution of that concept under the Julio-Claudians (3.1). I will then discuss the identity of the five Flavians to receive deification, and when they were deified, establishing that while Vespasian was deified under Titus, it was only under Domitian that, in addition to Titus, three other members of the Flavian imperial family were deified (3.2). Following on from this I will discuss the state priests and temples

dedicated to the Flavian *divi*, demonstrating that unlike the Julio-Claudian *divi*, who were treated individually, the Flavian *divi* were almost exclusively treated as a collective (3.3). I will argue that this contrasting treatment is not only evident in Rome, but also in the official cult conducted in the provinces. Under the Julio-Claudians provincial cults were dedicated to a single *princeps* or *divus*, sometimes in combination with other specified entities such as the goddess *Roma*, but under Domitian the provincial cult at Ephesus was dedicated to the *Sebastoi*, a collective that included both the *divi* and the *princeps* and members of the imperial family, who were not excluded from direct cult as they were in Rome (3.4).

Again at the end of this chapter I will turn my attention to the reign of Vespasian. Although it is clear that the *divi*, absent from the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps* under Domitian, were removed from that pantheon under Vespasian, similar connections between other Vespasianic and Domitianic policies towards the *divi* cannot be made. The prolific deification of members of the Flavian imperial family in particular seems to have been a peculiarly Domitianic phenomenon with Vespasian apparently making no attempts to deify any of his ancestors, and deifications under Titus being limited to Divus Vespasianus. Nevertheless I will argue that it would be a mistake to view Vespasian as anti-*divi*, and that Vespasian in fact did much to support the institution. Further, I will argue that there may be some Vespasianic precedent for the Domitianic treatment of the *divi* as a collective, as the first provincial cults dedicated to the *Sebastoi* were in fact established during his reign. How much the collective treatment of the *divi* and members of the imperial family in the provinces influenced the collective treatment of the Flavian *divi* in Rome cannot be known, but I will suggest that Vespasian's reign should perhaps not be considered a time devoid of attention to the *divi*, but rather as a time when the relationship between the *princeps* and the *divi*, who were no longer his ancestors, was in a state of flux (3.5).

3.1: Julio-Claudian *Divi*

In English 'to deify' means to make, treat or consider something like a god. To understand this concept in the Roman world two different elements must be delineated; I will distinguish between them using the terms deification and apotheosis. I will use the Latin-derived term deification to refer to cult apparatus, such as temples and priests, which granted an individual the same *gratia* as the divine gods such as Jupiter received. I will use the Greek term apotheosis to refer to a metaphysical transformation.

In the Roman world all individuals could undergo a type of apotheosis upon their death, joining a cohort of divinised ancestral spirits collectively called the *di manes* or *penates*. Households cultivated their divinised dead to ensure their continued prosperity, and they received state cult at the public festival of the *Parentalia*.¹ However, just as men were not equal in life, it was thought that the illustrious and powerful could gain a more tangible form of divinity after death, and thus in the 50s BC Cicero could intelligibly describe Scipio Africanus, by virtue of his earthly deeds, as having ascended to heaven to become a star; a common symbol of apotheosis.² Cicero similarly praised the Roman forefathers who helped establish the republic as worthy of undergoing a supreme apotheosis that would rank them among the company and number of the gods.³

The Roman state deified men by offering them the same form of *gratia* that it offered the gods: direct cult. Apotheosis and deification did not depend on one another, and thus Julius Caesar could be deified shortly before his death, when the Roman state decreed him a

¹ On the cult of the *di manes* and *penates* see Wissowa (1912) 232-420; Weinstock (1971) 295-292.

² Cicero, *De Re Publica* 6.9-26. The same topic was discussed by Cicero previously in 63 BC (*Lege Agraria* 2.95, *Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo* 29-30). The idea of earning apotheosis can be traced in literature to Ennius at the start of the second century BC, whose discussion of Romulus' apotheosis is quoted heavily by Cicero (*Tusculanae Disputationes* 1, *De Natura Deorum* 1.119, *De Re Publica* 1.25). On earning apotheosis through earthly deeds see Cole (2006) 531-548.

³ Cicero, *Pro Sestio* 143, *De Legibus* 2.18, 2.22.

sacred image, temple and priest.⁴ However, when Augustus did not permit the state to deify him during his lifetime, though he conspicuously pursued deification for his death and widely anticipated supreme apotheosis, it was implied that such an apotheosis was a prerequisite for state deification.⁵ Consequently only after a senator testified to having witnessed Augustus' apotheosis did he receive state deification with a senatorial decree of *honores caelestes* that included the title *divus*,⁶ a temple (eventually dedicated in AD 37), a cult image and priests.⁷ Germanicus was made Augustus' *flamen* and Livia his *flaminica*, and a college of *sodales Augustales* was created, composed of twenty-one of Rome's best men drawn by lot, to which imperial princes were added as supernumerary members.⁸

Augustus' precedent paved the way for the deification of several other members of the Julio-Claudian family. Although Tiberius did not allow his mother Livia to be deified immediately following her death,⁹ his policy against deifying other members of the imperial family was ignored under Gaius, whose sister Drusilla was deified;¹⁰ Livia herself was also eventually deified under Claudius.¹¹ At the start of Nero's reign Claudius was deified,¹² and later in his reign Nero's deceased wife Poppaea and their daughter Claudia Virgo also became *divae*.¹³ It appears that the widespread application of state deification to members of

⁴ Cicero, *Philippica* 2.110; Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Caesar) 76.1; Appian, *Civil War* 2.106; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 44.4; contra Plutarch, *Caesar* 67.8; cf. Weinstock (1971) 276-287; Fishwick (1987) 1.1:56-72; Gradel (2002) 54-72; Wardle (2002) 181-191.

⁵ On Augustus' pursuit of posthumous apotheosis and deification see Bosworth (1999) 1-18; for anticipation see Taeger (1960) 141-185; Gradel (2002) 266-271.

⁶ On this title see Wardle (2002) 181-191; Gradel (2002) 61-69.

⁷ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Augustus) 100.4; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 56.46.2; cf. Bickerman (1973) 13; Price (1987) 73, 86-87; Gradel (2002) 273-274.

⁸ Tacitus *Annales* 6.45.2; Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Tiberius) 47, (Gaius) 21; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59.7.1; cf. Gradel (2002) 271-276.

⁹ Tacitus, *Annales* 5.1; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 58.2, 59.11; cf. Flory (1995) 132.

¹⁰ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59.11.4; cf. Herz (1981) 324-336.

¹¹ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Claudius) 11; cf. Wood (2000) 250; Barrett (2002) 144.

¹² Tacitus, *Annales* 12.69, 13.2.6; Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Claudius) 45, (Nero) 8; cf. Fishwick (2002) 341-349.

¹³ They appear as *divae* in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* and receive sacrifices for Nero, and a rare Roman coin depicts a female figure standing inside a temple on both sides, with the obverse legend DIVA CLAUD(ia) NER(o) F(ilia) and the reverse legend DIVA POPPAEA AUG(usta) (MIR p. 161).

the imperial family was not always popular, and thus Diva Drusilla, Diva Poppaea and Diva Claudia Virgo were all promptly ignored following the deaths of Gaius and Nero respectively.

Although each of these deified Julio-Claudians became *divi*, they were not all deified in the same fashion. In his 1949 article Oliver pointed out that although the *Feriale Duranum*, an early third-century military calendar, listed the birthdays of many of the *divi* as cult days for the cohort, it did not list the birthdays of all the *divi*.¹⁴ The *feriale* includes the birthdays of Divus Augustus and Divus Claudius, and probably also those of Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus: the sections of the *feriale* that would have included these two Flavian birthdays do not survive, but the editors of the *feriale* suggest that they probably were listed on the basis of comparison with the *Fasti Philocali* of AD 354, the *Fasti Silvii* of AD 448/449, and the third century *Papyri Osloenses*, in which they do appear.¹⁵ The birthdays of the other Julio-Claudian and Flavian *divi*, the women and children of the *principes*, do not appear. In contrast the birthdays of all the Trajanic-Hadrianic and Antonine *divi*, both *principes* and their family members with the exception of Trajan's father, do appear.

Oliver is not surprised by the absence of most of the Julio-Claudian *divae*, as their cults had already been ignored immediately following the reign of the *princeps* under whom they were deified. He is surprised by the absence of Diva Augusta since, as seen in chapter one, she continued to feature in the imperial cult pantheon recorded by the Arval Brothers

¹⁴ Hoey, Fink and Snyder (1940). This Latin papyrus from the Roman garrison at Dura belonged to the *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, stationed there from AD 200-250. The calendar appears to have been discarded when the area was evacuated in AD 256, but it seems to have been heavily used before that time as it shows signs of repair and reinforcement. The calendar itself seems to date specifically to sometime between November AD 224 and August AD 227, under Severus Alexander. This date is based on the fact that it refers to Julia Maesa as a *diva*, and she was not consecrated until after November AD 224, and it also refers to Severus Alexander's father-in-law, who was disgraced by August AD 227.

¹⁵ Hoey, Fink, Snyder (1940) 163.

until the end of the civil war period when all the *divi* were removed. Consequently Oliver concludes that to explain her absence from the *Feriale Duranum* the cult of Diva Augusta must have been diminished at some time after the civil war, probably during the reign of Vespasian.¹⁶ He suggests that at this time the cults of all the *divi* were separated into two categories, *divi principes* and *divi minores*. The previous *principes*, Divus Augustus and Divus Claudius, were placed in the first category, and the family *divi*, the only one still honoured at the time being Diva Augusta, were placed in the second category and received a lesser form of cult. He argues that Flavians also divided their own *divi* into these same two categories, explaining the probable presence of Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus in the *Feriale Duranum*, but the apparent absence of the other three Flavian *divi*. According to Oliver this division must have been abolished under Hadrian: he suggests that Hadrian did this to promote the cult of Marciana, who was already deified along with Trajan's father as *divi minores* under Trajan, elevating her status to that of the *divi principes* in order to utilise her to further his own claims to power. After this time all new *divi*, whether they were *principes* or family members, were given the status of *divi principes*.

Oliver's explanation is unnecessary as it seems that the birthday of Livia was never a cult day for Diva Augusta. According to the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* a sacrifice was conducted to Jupiter on Livia's birthday during her lifetime under Tiberius and posthumously under Gaius, but there is no evidence that any sacrifices were ever made to her as a *diva* on her *natalis* after her deification. This absence of evidence should not simply be dismissed as the result of the fragmentary nature of the Arval records from Claudius' reign, as another entry indicates that Diva Augusta enjoyed a different cult day, the birthday of her husband Augustus. Under Gaius, Augustus' birthday was celebrated on September 23rd with a

¹⁶ Oliver (1949) 35-40.

sacrifice to Divus Augustus at the *templum novum*, and on September 24th with a sacrifice on the Capitol to Jupiter.¹⁷ Under Claudius, September 23rd saw sacrifices on the Capitol to Jupiter and at the new *Ara Gentis Iuliae* to both Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta, indicating that this also became a cult day for her.

IX K(alendas) Oct(obres)] / [natale divi Augusti in Capito]/[lio immolavit L(ucius) Vitellius] / [magister pro collegio] / [fratrum Arvalium Iovi] / [bovem marem ad aram] / [gentis Iuliae immolavit] / [di]vo Aug(usto) [bovem marem] / [et divae Au]g(ustae) vaccam ...¹⁸

Nine days before the kalends of October on the birthday of Divus Augustus, Lucius Vitellius, president of the college of Arval Brothers, sacrificed an ox to Jupiter on the capitol, and an ox to Divus Augustus and a cow to Diva Augusta at the altar of the Julian family...

This evidence, in combination with the fact that following her deification Diva Augusta was not granted a new temple but was rather installed in the temple of her husband,¹⁹ suggests that Diva Augusta may have shared in Divus Augustus' cult on some capacity.

A similar connection with or dependence on Divus Augustus may also be identifiable for Diva Drusilla. According to Suetonius and Cassius Dio, Diva Drusilla enjoyed an elaborate cult: she received the cult name *Panthea*, her own *sodales*, a cult statue in the temple of Venus in the Forum, and games in the style of the Megalesia.²⁰ This testimony is not supported by the epigraphic evidence, and considering the sensationalism associated with descriptions of Gaius' reign, the testimony of the literary sources should be viewed with scepticism. A more conservative character to Drusilla's deification is implied by a closer examination of the evidence. The literary sources also record that when Drusilla died in AD 38 initially only a public funeral and public mourning were decreed, following the precedent of Livia.²¹ It was only after a senator, who may have been trying to win favour with the

¹⁷ CFA 12c:92-109.

¹⁸ CFA 19:1-4.

¹⁹ [Seneca] *Apocolocyntosis* 9; Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Claudius) 11; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 60.5.

²⁰ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Gaius) 24; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59.11, 59.13.8, 60.5.2; cf. Herz (1981) 324-336; Barrett (1989) 87-8.

²¹ Drusilla: Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Gaius) 24; Livia: Tacitus, *Annales* 5.1; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 58.2, 59.11.

princeps, claimed to have witnessed Drusilla's apotheosis that deification was decreed.²² The rites actually recorded for Drusilla's consecration by the Arval Brothers were conducted on September 23rd AD 38, again on the birthday of Augustus, though the details of the ritual itself no longer survive.

*a(nte) d(iem) VIII K(alendas) Octobr(es) / [Taurus Statilius Cor]vinus promagister collegii fratrum Arvalium / [nomine in templ]o novo natali divi Augusti divo Augusto / [bovem marem inmola]vit / [adfuerunt ...] [eodem die ob consecrationem Drusilla]e in templo divi Augusti novo / [... c]ollegium fratrum / [arvalium ...]*²³

Nine days before the kalends of October, Taurus Statilius Corvinus, president of the college of Arval Brothers, sacrificed an ox to Divus Augustus at the new temple of account of the birthday of Divus Augustus. Present in the college were... On the same day, on account of the consecration of Drusilla in the new temple of Divus Augustus the college of Arval Brothers ...

One good reason to select this date for Drusilla's consecration, rather than her own birthday in June, could have been that as was the case with Diva Augusta, Diva Drusilla's divinity was in some way dependent upon that of her prestigious great-grandfather. When cult was conducted on the birthday of Diva Drusilla in AD 40 it was not conducted in the temple of Venus, as the literary sources would suggest, and it was also not conducted to Diva Drusilla directly, but rather sacrifices were conducted on the Capitol to the Capitoline Triad, in the same manner as cult conducted on the birthday of the non-deified Germanicus in the same year.²⁴ Thus it seems that even if her cult had continued beyond the reign of Gaius, Diva Drusilla's birthday would probably not have appeared in the *Feriale Duranum*.

Thus it is apparent that there was already differentiation between the cults of the different *divi* in the Julio-Claudian period. This variation should not be interpreted as a deliberate and hard distinction between two types of *divi*, those who had served as *princeps* and those who had not, though this seems to have been the effect. Rather this variation should be seen as the natural result of experimentation with deification. During the Julio-

²² [Seneca], *Apocolocyntosis* 1; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59.11.4.

²³ CFA 12c:92-104.

²⁴ CFA 14.I:19-26.

Claudian period deification was still a novel concept and there was not a standard set of honours and cult rituals that defined it. Thus the posthumous honours for Drusilla and Livia were based on those of Augustus, but were not identical to them: they received the title *diva* but not unique temples, Diva Augusta received sacrifices but not her own cult day. Similar adaptation of Augustus' posthumous honours can be seen for Germanicus, who did not receive official deification or the title *divus*. According to Tacitus and the *Tabula Hebana*, following Germanicus' death a *sella curulis Germanici Caesaris* was to be placed among the seats of the priests at the *ludi Augustales*, therefore honouring Germanicus as part of the games posthumously established for Divus Augustus. The throne was to be kept in the temple of Mars Ultor until the completion of the temple of Divus Augustus when it was to be kept there, paralleling exactly the arrangements for the cult image of Divus Augustus at the time.²⁵

Thus the posthumous honour of state deification should be seen as a developing idea under the Julio-Claudians, and we should not be surprised that the cults of the individual *divi* were not identical. It seems only to have been with Claudius that Augustus' posthumous honours were exactly replicated, with Divus Claudius being granted his own temple and *flamen*, the *sodales Augustales* becoming *sodales Augustales Claudiales* to accommodate the new god, and Claudius' birthday being established as a unique cult date for the god.²⁶ The one thing that the Julio-Claudian *divi*, with the exception of Diva Drusilla, did have in common was that they were included in the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps* from the Arvals. This role in cult appears to have defined their role in state ideology: as divine ancestors of the *princeps* who protected his position and bolstered his power.

²⁵ *Tabula Hebana*, lines 50-52; Tacitus, *Annales* 2.83; cf. González (1999) 123-129.

²⁶ Tacitus, *Annales* 12.69.4; cf. Fishwick (2002) 341.

3.2: Flavian Deifications

Five members of the Flavian family received deification: Vespasian, Titus, Julia Titi, *Caesar Domitiani filius* and Domitilla. In this section I will discuss when each was deified, arguing that four were deified under Domitian. This is significant not only because it represents more deifications than under any other *princeps*, but it also indicates that although Vespasian was deified under Titus, the practice of securing widespread family deifications in the Flavian period is unique to the reign of Domitian.

The first Flavian to receive deification was Vespasian, though only after a significant delay. Vespasian died on June 24th AD 79, but he was not yet a *divus* in September of that year. This is indicated by two military diplomas dating to September AD 79 that refer to Titus as *Augusti filius*, rather than *divi filius*, indicating that Vespasian had not yet become a *divus*.²⁷ Three other inscriptions surviving from AD 79, two from Phrygia and one from the *Aqua Marcia* in Rome, do refer to Titus as *divi filius*,²⁸ and thus Clarke suggests that Vespasian was deified before the end of that year.²⁹ However, coins minted in AD 79 refer to Titus and Domitian exclusively as *Augusti filius*, but on those minted in AD 80 the pair appear variously as *Augusti filius* and *divi filius*, indicating that their titles changed in that year, and therefore that Vespasian was only deified in AD 80.³⁰ Buttrey supports this latter conclusion, arguing that the coinage was an official document produced by Rome's administrative bodies, whereas the inscriptions from Phrygia were local documents which may have pre-empted official policy.³¹ Buttrey also points out that there is evidence that the *Aqua Marcia* inscription was repaired after AD 79, at which time Titus' titles may have been

²⁷ AE (1962) 288; CIL 16.24.

²⁸ IK Laodikeia am Lykos 9=IGRR 4.845; IK Laodikeia am Lykos 15=IGRR 4.846; CIL 6.1246.

²⁹ Clarke (1966) 318-327.

³⁰ For the numismatic evidence see BMCRE 2:lxxi.

³¹ Buttrey (1976) 453.

updated.³² Consequently it seems that Vespasian was probably not deified until AD 80. This represents a significant delay in comparison with Claudius, who appears to have been deified on the day of his death.³³

The date of Titus' deification is more difficult to determine as the phrase 'brother of a god' was not included among Domitian's titles. Suetonius and Cassius Dio both attest that Domitian deified Titus without delay,³⁴ however it must have taken at least two weeks as Titus died on September 13th AD 81 and on October 1st of that year his daughter Julia Titi still appeared in the Arval records as *Julia T. Imperatoris filia Augusta*, indicating that her father was not yet deified.³⁵ Unfortunately in all later entries in the Arval records she appears simply as Julia Augusta, offering no further insight. She does appear as *divi filia* on coins and in other inscriptions, but none that can be dated precisely.

Julia Titi herself, who died sometime in AD 89, must have been deified within a few months of her death as she appears as a *diva* on coins minted between AD 90 and 94, and is alluded to as a goddess twice in book six of Martial's *Epigrammata*, probably also published in AD 90. Martial describes her as dwelling in heaven with Venus and Cupid,³⁶ and as spinning a golden life thread for Domitian's future successor.

*Nascere Dardanio promissum nomen Iulo,
vera deum suboles: nascere, magne puer,
cui pater aeternas post saecula tradit habenas,
quique regas orbem cum seniore senex.
ipsa tibi niveo trahet aurea pollice fila
et totam Phruxi Iulia nebit ovem.*³⁷

³² Clarke (1966) 324; Buttrey (1976) 453; Levick (1999) 196.

³³ Tacitus, *Annales* 12.69, 13.2.6; Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Claudius) 45, (Nero) 8; cf. Fishwick (2002) 341.

³⁴ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Domitian) 2; Cassius Dio, *Epitome* 67.2.

³⁵ CFA 49:35-59.

³⁶ Martial, *Epigrammata* 6.13.

³⁷ Martial, *Epigrammata* 6.3.

Be born, name promised to Dardanian Julius, true child of the gods; be born, great boy, so that ages hence your father may hand you the everlasting reigns and you may rule the world, an old man with an older. Julia herself with snowy finger will draw golden threads for you and spin Phrixus' entire sheep.

The other two Flavian *divi* must have been deified many years after their deaths. The first is Domitian's infant son by his wife Domitia Longina, the daughter of the famous general Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo,³⁸ who was born in AD 73 and died shortly thereafter.³⁹ The infant was deified early in Domitian's reign, appearing on the coins minted between AD 82 and 84.⁴⁰



Figure 46: Denarius, Rome, AD 82-84. Obverse: DOMITIA AVGVSTA IMP DOMITIANI, draped bust right. Reverse: DIVVS CAESAR IMP DOMITIANI F, sitting left on a celestial orb reaching to stars above.⁴¹

The infancy of the new *divus* was a common theme in the literary sources. Martial describes the child as a sender of snowfall,⁴² and compares Domitian to the Olympian gods whose mortal sons had died, but joined them in heaven.⁴³ Quintilian similarly refers to the boy as a youth, stating that the prince did not earn his place in heaven but was born immortal.⁴⁴ Silius Italicus similarly refers to the child as innately divine in a speech he puts in the mouth of Jupiter.

*ille etiam qua prisca, vides, stat regia nobis,
aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe*

³⁸ On Domitia see Varner (1995) 187-206; Levick (2002) 199-211; Chausson (2003) 101-129.

³⁹ Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Domitian) 3.

⁴⁰ RIC (Domitian) 2:209a, 213, 440; on Domitian's deified son see Desnier (1979) 54-64.

⁴¹ RIC (Domitian) 2:213; image from www.fredericweber.com.

⁴² Martial, *Epigrammata* 4.3.

⁴³ Martial, *Epigrammata* 9.86.

⁴⁴ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 3.7.9.

*et iunget nostro templorum culmina caelo.
tunc, o nate deum diuosque dature, beatas
imperio terras patrio rege. tarda senectam
hospitia excipient caeli, solioque Quirinus
concedet, mediumque parens fraterque locabunt:
siderei iuxta radiabunt tempora nati.*⁴⁵

He shall also erect a golden Capitol on the Tarpeian rock, where, as you see, my ancient palace now stands, and raise the summit of the temple to reach our abode in the sky. Then, o son of gods and father of gods to be, rule the happy earth with paternal sway. Heaven shall welcome you at last, in your old age, and Quirinus give up his throne to you; your father and brother shall place you between them; and hard by the head of your deified son shall send forth rays.

The last of the Flavian *divi*, Diva Domitilla, is more enigmatic than the others, with both her identity and the date of her deification under debate. Starting with her identity, she was either the wife or daughter of Vespasian, both of whom died before AD 69.⁴⁶ Scholars have used numismatic, epigraphic and literary evidence to attempt to identify the *diva*, but with little success.⁴⁷ On the basis of the numismatic evidence, Mattingly suggested that Domitilla must be the mother of Titus and Domitian. Her bust appears with reverses of *Fortuna Augusta*, *Concordia Augusta*, *Pax Augusta* and *Pietas Augusta*,⁴⁸ and although Mattingly considered the first three types fairly generic, he suggested that the fourth clearly points to a mother.⁴⁹ The *Pietas* reverse depicts a woman reclining and reaching towards a child, and Mattingly suggested that this is meant to be the *diva* maternally caring for the imperial heirs.⁵⁰ Kienast follows Mattingly, pointing out that whereas Domitia, the mother of Domitian's deified son, also appeared with this reverse, the apparently childless Julia Titi did not, suggesting that the type was only appropriate for imperial mothers.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Silius Italicus, *Punica* 3.622-629.

⁴⁶ Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Vespasian) 3.

⁴⁷ Wife: Scott (1936) 45; Veyne (1962) 50-51; Ritter (1972) 761; Kienast (1989) 141-147; Barratt (2005) 385-96; Rosso (2006) 144; Wood (2010) 45-57; Daughter: Dessau (1897) 2:81; Mattingly, RIC 2:114, 153, BMCRE 2:270; Raepsaet-Charlier (1987) 350; Alexandridis has suggested that both women were deified ((2004) 15).

⁴⁸ Girard (1998) p. 215-216, n. 137-142; RIC (Domitian) 2:70-73; Vagi (2000) p. 313, n. 979-982.

⁴⁹ BMCRE 2:lxv.

⁵⁰ BMCRE 2:lxv.

⁵¹ Kienast (1989) 142.



Figure 47: Denarius, Rome, AD 82-83. Obverse: DOMITIA AVGVSTAE IMP DOMITI, draped bust right. Reverse: PIETAS AVGVSTAE, seated left holding sceptre alongside a child.⁵²

This conclusion assumes that there was a standard for which Virtues should be associated with imperial wives, mothers, daughters and sisters. This is problematic both because this *Pietas* type was unprecedented, and because the assumption of standard Virtue associations appears to be false as imperial women appear to have been connected with Virtues important to the character of the reign of the individual *princeps* rather than their position in the imperial family.⁵³ A different reverse type, depicting a *carpentum* drawn by mules, does in fact appear to have been minted exclusively for imperial mothers: it was struck by Tiberius for Livia, Gaius for Agrippina the elder, Claudius for Antonia, and by Titus for Domitilla.⁵⁴



Figure 48: Sestertius, Rome, AD 29-30. Obverse: SPQR IVLIAE AVGVSTAE, *carpentum*. Reverse: TI CAESAR DIVI AVGVSTI PM TR POT XXIII, around large S C.⁵⁵

Figure 49: Sestertius, Rome, AD 80-81. Obverse: MEMORIAE DOMITILLAE SPQR, *carpentum*. Reverse: IMP T CAESAR DIVI VESPASIANI AVGVSTI PM TR P PP COS VII, around SC.⁵⁶

⁵² RIC (Domitian) 2:214; image from www.wildwinds.com.

⁵³ Livia lent her features to numismatic depictions of *Pax* under Augustus (Wood (2000) 104), and *Salus*, *Iustitia* and *Pietas* under Tiberius (RIC (Tiberius) 1:47, 46, 43). Gaius' three sisters were depicted on a reverse with the attributes of the goddesses *Securitas*, *Concordia* and *Fortuna* (RIC (Gaius) 1:33). Claudius' mother Antonia appeared only with the newly coined *Constantia Augusti* (RIC (Claudius) 1:65-66).

⁵⁴ Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Gaius) 15, (Claudius) 11; on the honours appropriate for wives and mothers see Hidalgo de la Vega (2003) 47-72.

⁵⁵ RIC (Tiberius) 1:51; image from www.wildwinds.com.

⁵⁶ RIC (Titus) 2:153; image from www.federiceweber.com.

However Domitilla is not referred to as *diva* on Titus' coin, and none of the Julio-Claudian recipients of this type were *divae* at the time of minting. Many scholars have failed to draw this distinction and thus unjustly identified Diva Domitilla as the wife and mother on the basis of this type, when in fact the numismatic evidence offers no clear indication of her identity.

The epigraphic evidence is similarly uninformative as all surviving inscriptions mentioning the *diva* are extremely fragmentary, preserving only her name, with no clue to her identity.⁵⁷ An ostensibly clearer identification is provided by Statius' poem to commemorate the dedication of Domitian's equestrian statue in the Forum, in which Statius lists the divine members of Domitian's family: father, brother, son and sister.

... *hoc et sub nocte silenti,*
cum superis terrena placent, tua turba relicto
labetur caelo miscebitque oscula iuxta.
ibit in amplexus natus fraterque paterque
*et soror: una locum cervix dabit omnibus astris.*⁵⁸

In the dead of night, when earthly things please heavenly, your folk will glide from the sky and mingle kisses close. Son and brother and father and sister will come to your arms. One neck shall make room for every star.

Although Statius' identification of Domitilla as the sister of Domitian seems clear, Kienast has argued that with *soror* Statius is in fact referring to Domitian's niece Julia Titi, pointing out that she was recently deified and would not have been ignored. Further, there is no succinct word in Latin for niece, and thus Kienast suggests that Statius substituted the term sister.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, although the poem certainly dates to around the same time as Julia Titi's death and deification, the exact chronological relationship is unclear, rendering any such conclusions speculative. Consequently it seems that the evidence is simply insufficient to definitively identify Diva Domitilla.

⁵⁷ AE (1962) 272, (1994) 244; CIL 5.2829; 6.893; IG 7.572.

⁵⁸ Statius, *Silvae* 1.1.94-98.

⁵⁹ Kienast (1989) 143-146; Wood (2010) 49-50.

Until recently most scholars dated the deification of Domitilla to the reign of Titus on the basis of the numismatic evidence. The Domitilla-*carpentum* types are dated to AD 80-81 by Titus' titles on the coin legend. The Diva Domitilla types lack a similar point of reference, but have commonly been dated to the same year by analogy. However, as seen in the above discussion, the *carpentum* type was not in fact part of the series honouring Diva Domitilla, so this analogy is unwarranted. Re-examining the coins Carradice has shown that, on the basis of their metrological properties, the Diva Domitilla types must date to after Domitian's reform of the coinage in AD 82.⁶⁰ Wood has also argued that the coins must date to before AD 84/85, as on Domitianic coins minted before AD 85 the obverse legend always runs counter-clockwise with the letters oriented upwards, but on later Domitianic coins the legend is read clockwise from the lower left with the letters inwards. The Diva Domitilla coins are consistent with the former, and thus it seems that Domitilla was deified early in Domitian's reign, probably around the same time as his son.⁶¹

Consequently it seems that four of the five Flavian deifications belong to the reign of Domitian. This is remarkable in itself for the simple fact that it represents the creation of more *divi* than under any other *princeps*. It also means that although Titus chose to honour his deceased mother, with the *carpentum* type used previously to honour important mothers of the Julio-Claudian family, he chose not to deify her, and thus the deification of members of the Flavian family, aside from the deceased *princeps* himself, appears to have been a peculiarly Domitianic phenomenon.

⁶⁰ Carradice (1983) 16-22.

⁶¹ Wood (2010) 48; Carradice (1983) 23-24.

3.3: Cult Apparatus

In addition to their significant number, the Flavian *divi* also appear to have been prominent in Domitianic Rome, as reference to them in contemporary literature was ubiquitous.⁶² With this prominence the Flavian *divi* appear to have had a similar role in Domitianic Rome to that which the Julio-Claudian *divi* enjoyed under the Julio-Claudian *principes*, with the exception of the absence of the Flavian *divi* from the Arval pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps*, and the failure of the Arvals to conduct sacrifices on their birthdays. Nevertheless, in addition to their different roles in the cult conducted for the *princeps*, the apparatus created for the cult of the Flavian *divi* also appears to have differed from that created for their Julio-Claudian predecessors. Specifically, whereas Divus Augustus and Divus Claudius had distinct temples and distinct priests, the Flavian *divi* appear only to have had shared temples and collective priests.

Three temples for the Flavian *divi* are known from Domitianic Rome, two dedicated to Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus together, and a temple of the Flavian *gens*, which was probably dedicated to all the *divi* as well as important family deities such as their *penates* and *Lares*. The first temple of Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus, at the north-west end of the Forum Romanum, appears to have been all but completed as a temple to Divus Vespasianus alone during Titus' reign,⁶³ but according to the fourth-century chronographer it was only completed under Domitian and dedicated to Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus together.⁶⁴ That it was almost complete under Titus is indicated by the inscription on the temple's entablature, only part of which survives today, recording a dedication to Divus Vespasianus alone.

⁶² On the Flavian *divi* in literature see Scott (1936) 61-82.

⁶³ On the Temple of Divus Vespasianus see Blanckenhagen (1940) 213; De Angeli (1992), (1996) 124-125.

⁶⁴ Chronographer of AD 354, 146; *Notitia Regionum* VIII; Anderson (1983) 93-105.

*Divo Vespasiano Augusto s(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) R(omanus) / Imp(eratores) Caess(ares) Severus et Antoninus Pii Felic(es) Augg(usti) restituer(unt)*⁶⁵

Dedicated to Divus Vespasianus Augustus by the senate and people of Rome. Restored by Emperor Caesar Severus Augustus and Emperor Caesar Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus.

An additional dedication to Divus Titus must have been added later, otherwise a dual dedication, like that on the nearby temple of Divus Antoninus Pius and Diva Faustina, would have been more sensible.⁶⁶ An original dedication date under Titus is also indicated by the numismatic evidence, specifically coin types minted in AD 80/81 which are usually associated with the inclusion of Divus Vespasianus' divine image in the procession of the images of the gods at the circus.⁶⁷



Figure 50: Denarius, Rome, AD 80/81. Obverse: DIVUS AUGUSTUS VESPASIANUS, laureate head right. Reverse: EX SC, *quadriga* right drawn by horses with car in form of small temple flanked by victories.⁶⁸

Figure 51: Sestertius, Rome, AD 80/81. Obverse: DIVO AUG VESPAS SPQR, statue of *Divus Vespasianus* togate and radiate seated left on chair cart drawn by elephants with riders, holding sceptre and victory.⁶⁹

Although both types are traditionally associated with the circus honour, it seems to me that the different coin legends may indicate different references. The EX SC type could refer to the decree of the cart in the circus. The elephant drawn type with the legend *Divo Aug(usto) Vesp(asiano) SPQR*, echoing the dedication of the temple, may in fact refer to that temple.

Perhaps this coin celebrates the placement of the cult image of Divus Vespasianus in the

⁶⁵ CIL 6.938; the full inscription was copied into the eighth-century Einsiedeln Itinerary.

⁶⁶ CIL 6.31224. Getty has attempted to tie the temple to Titus through an allusion in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* (1.13-17) to *cultusque deum delubraque genti* (Getty and Sahin (1936) 55). His argument, however, only works if the poem is dated to the reign of Titus, but dates under all three Flavians have been suggested. Recently Kleywegt has argued convincingly that the poem was published under Vespasian ((2005) 19). On the *Argonautica* see Taylor (1994) 212-235.

⁶⁷ This was not strictly a cultic honour as the same honour was granted to Germanicus under Tiberius (Tacitus, *Annales* 2.83.3) and Agrippina under Gaius (Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Gaius) 15).

⁶⁸ RIC (Titus) 2:143; image from www.wildwinds.com.

⁶⁹ RIC (Titus) 2:60; image from www.wildwinds.com.

relatively complete temple during Titus' reign.⁷⁰ If the temple was already dedicated to Divus Vespasianus alone under Titus then the decision to rededicate the temple to both *divi* may indicate an active policy aimed at keeping the Flavian *divi* together rather than an arrangement of convenience.

The fact that the rededication of the temple to both *divi* was not simply an act of convenience and cost is also indicated by the fact that it did not prevent the dedication of additional temples. A second temple of Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus was dedicated in the Campus Martius. No Domitianic literary or numismatic evidence refers to the structure,⁷¹ and the primary testimony for this temple comes from Eutropius and the Chronographer of AD 354, who variously refer to the structure as the *porticus divorum*, *templum divorum* or just the *divorum*.⁷² The plan of the temple is preserved on fragments 35a-i of the Severan Marble plan, which depicts two separate *aedes* within a large rectangular area enclosed by a colonnade entered via a triple arch.⁷³ One of these *aedes* is referred to as belonging to Divus Titus in an inscription from AD 153.

Lex collegi(i) Aesculapi et Hygiae... XIII K(alendas) Oct(obres) die felicissimo n(atali) Antonini Aug(usti) n(ostr)i Pii p(atris) p(atriciae) sportulas dividerent in / templo divorum in aede divi Titi...⁷⁴

Law of the college of Aesculapes and Hygia... Thirteen days before the kalends of October, the most lucky day that is the birthday of our Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of his country, gifts were handed out in the sacred precinct of the *divi*, in the shrine of Divus Titus...

The other *aedes* is ascribed to Divus Vespasianus on the basis of comparison with the other Flavian temple, and an inscription found near the Lateran museum referring to a *templum Divi Vespasiani* may refer to this structure.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Other types for Divus Vespasianus show him seated on a throne holding victory and a sceptre or seated on a curule chair holding a branch and sceptre (BMCRE (Titus) 2:107, 145). These seem to mark his earthly accomplishments rather than depict cult statues.

⁷¹ Mattingly suggests that an aureus and sestertius type from AD 95/96 depicting a small temple containing a seated figure shows the *porticus* temples (BMCRE (Domitian) 2:229, 476*), but Carradice has questioned their authenticity ((1982) 379-380).

⁷² Eutropius, *Historiae Romanae Breviarium* 7.23; Chronographer of AD 354, 146.

⁷³ On the *Porticus Divorum* see Richardson (1976) 159-163; Coarelli (1995) 2:19-20.

⁷⁴ CIL 6.10234.

There is no evidence that the other three Flavian *divi* had individual temples, but like the Julio-Claudian *divae* before them they may have had a place in the temples of Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus. That Diva Julia Titi was installed in some temple may be indicated by the numismatic evidence as a coin was minted for her under Domitian depicting her statue in an cart drawn by elephants, paralleling the type for Divus Vespasianus discussed above, and perhaps referring to the instalment of her image in a temple of Divus Titus.⁷⁶



Figure 52: Aureus, Rome, AD 90-92. Obverse: DIVA IVLIA AVGVSTA, diademed and draped bust right. Reverse: seated left, holding corn ears and sceptre, on car drawn l. by two elephants with mahouts on their backs.⁷⁷

It is also possible that this coin type depicts the installation of her cult image in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, in which all five Flavian *divi* probably had a place, possibly alongside domestic deities of the *gens*. This *templum* was built in the sixth region of Rome in the house in which Domitian was born,⁷⁸ emulating the conversion of Augustus' birth place into a shrine.⁷⁹ Koepfel argues that the Hartwig-Kelsey sculptural fragments came from this structure.⁸⁰ The surviving fragments depict stylised palm trees with figures leaning against them supporting capitals embellished by dentils with hollowed centres, a specifically

⁷⁵ AE (1929) 54.

⁷⁶ Diva Julia Titi received cult from some civic communities: a dedication survives from Celeia in Noricum (CIL 3.13524a), and there are priestesses at Novaria (CIL 5.5614) and Aeclanum (CIL 9.1153).

⁷⁷ RIC (Domitian) 2:219; image from www.coinarchives.com.

⁷⁸ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Domitian) 1, 5, 15; Chronographer of AD 354; cf. Coarelli (1985) 151-153; Torelli (1987) 564-569. Sixteenth-century remains of the structure were described by Flaminio Vacca (Altmann (1906) 88). The area has been identified with the Flavian family on the basis of two inscriptions (CIL 6.29788, 15.7451).

⁷⁹ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Augustus) 5; Fishwick (1992) 232-255.

⁸⁰ Koepfel (1980) 14-29.

Domitianic decorative technique.⁸¹ Also surviving are the heads of Vespasian, a *flamen*, a soldier and a youth, as well as part of a bull. Koepfel argues that together these came from the temple's capitals and two exterior reliefs, one depicting the sacrifice of a bull, and the other the triumph or *adventus* of Vespasian.⁸²

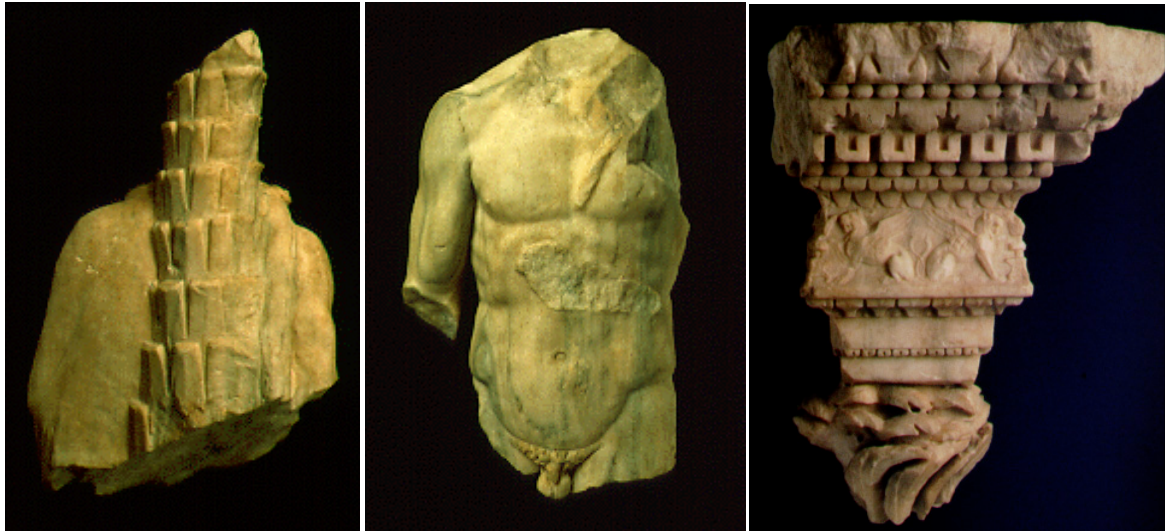


Figure 53: Back of draped male torso leaning against a palm, Museo Nazionale Romano: Rome.

Figure 54: Nude male torso, Museo Nazionale Romani: Rome.

Figure 55: Corner entablature fragment with part of a Capitol, Museo Nazionale Romano: Rome.⁸³



Figure 56: Vespasian wearing *corona civica*, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Ann Arbor.

Figure 57: Relief fragment with representation of the Temple of Quirinus and the head of a *flamen*, Museo Nazionale Romano: Rome.

Figure 58: Relief fragment with the head of a soldier, Museo Nazionale Romano: Rome.

Figure 59: Relief fragment with profile of a male head, Museo Nazionale Romano: Rome.⁸⁴

This depiction of Vespasian verifies that Divus Vespasianus probably had a role at the temple, and the same seems to be true of Diva Julia Titi as according to Suetonius her ashes

⁸¹ Koepfel (1980) 15.

⁸² Koepfel (1980) 15; Torelli (1987) 569-570; D'Ambra (1993) 30; Coarelli (1995) 2:368-369.

⁸³ Images from www.umich.edu.

⁸⁴ Images from www.umich.edu.

were interred there.⁸⁵ Unlike the other temples of the Flavian *divi*, the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* is regularly referred to in the contemporary literature,⁸⁶ though it cannot be definitively identified on the coinage.⁸⁷ It was probably dedicated in AD 94 as it is first mentioned, several times, in book nine of Martial's *Epigrammata*, published around that time.⁸⁸ It may also be mentioned in book four of Statius' *Silvae* published in the same year,⁸⁹ and is certainly mentioned in book five, composed in AD 96.

... 'est hic agnosco, minister
illius, aeternae modo qui sacraria genti
condidit unque alio, posuit sua sidera caelo.⁹⁰

Yes this is the minister of him that lately founded a shrine for his eternal race and set his stars in another firmament.

Although the structure is certainly referred to as a temple by the contemporary poets, it is clear that it also served as a mausoleum, both from the fact that Julia's ashes were deposited there,⁹¹ and the fact that Martial's compares the *templum* with an Idean 'bustum', a funeral pyre, and with an Augustan *polus*, which in this context probably refers to the Mausoleum of Augustus.⁹²

*Iuppiter Idaei risit mendacia busti,
dum videt Augusti Flavia templa poli,
atque inter mensas largo iam nectare fusus,
pocula cum Marti traderet ipse suo,
respiciens Phoebum partier Phoebique sororem,
cum quibus Alcides et pius Arcas erat,
"Gnosia vos" inquit "nobis monumenta dedistis:
certine quam plus sit Caesaris esse patrem."*⁹³

⁸⁵ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Domitian) 17.3.

⁸⁶ It is also mentioned by later sources: *Historia Augusta* (Divus Claudius) 3.6; (Triginta Tyranni) 33.6; *Notitia Regionum* VI.

⁸⁷ Mattingly (BMCRE 2:lxvii; p. 338, n. 119) argues that an octastyle temple coin reverse from AD 92/93 depicts the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. Based on the literary sources Ward-Perkins suggests that the temple was round ((1981) 77), and Scott suggests that an aureus of AD 95/96 showing a four columned round temple depicts the *templum* ((1936) 67; BMCRE 2:229). Torelli suggests that a sestertius of AD 95/96 showing a three storied building with a façade of ten columns may be the temple ((1987) 564-567; BMCRE 2:12), and Hill links a further coin with the temple ((1989) 16; BMCRE 2:229), though its authenticity has been questioned (Carradice (1982) 379-380).

⁸⁸ Martial, *Epigrammata* 9.1.6-10, 9.3.12, 9.20, 9.93.3.

⁸⁹ Statius, *Silvae* 4.3.18-19; cf. Sauter (1934) 150-152; Scott (1936) 64.

⁹⁰ Statius, *Silvae* 5.1.239-41.

⁹¹ On the interment of the other Flavians see Arce (1988) 78-80.

⁹² On the Mausoleum of Augustus see Hesberg and Panciera (1994).

⁹³ Martial, *Epigrammata* 9.34.

Jupiter laughed at the falsehood of his Idean tomb when he saw the Flavian temple of the Augustan heaven; and at table, already drenched with copious nectar, as he handed the cup to son Mars, looking the while at Phoebus and Phoebus' sister (Alcides and the loyal Arcadian were there too), "You gave me," he said, "a Gnosian monument. See how much greater a thing it is to be Caesar's father."

Consequently Dąbrowa argues that the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* combined the functions of Julio-Claudian mausoleum and *Ara Gentis Iuliae*,⁹⁴ even though the Romans did not usually combine their burial and cult sites.⁹⁵ The prominence of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* in the literary sources over the other temples of the Flavian *divi* may be a further indication as to the important role that the Flavian *divi* played in Rome as a collective, rather than individuals.

Just as the Flavian *divi* appear only to have had shared temples, it also appears that, again in contrast to Julio-Claudian precedent, they only had collective priests. The Julio-Claudian *divi* were served by at least two types of priests: *flamines* and *sodales*. In the Roman state cult a *flamen* was an individual priest responsible specifically for a designated deity. Germanicus was the first *flamen* of Divus Augustus,⁹⁶ and Livia the first *flaminica*.⁹⁷ Upon Germanicus' death it was decreed that only another member of the imperial family could fill the position,⁹⁸ and he was followed in quick succession by Tiberius' son Drusus, and then his own son Nero.⁹⁹ No successor was immediately appointed for Livia following her death, but upon his accession Gaius made his grandmother Antonia *sacerdos divi Augusti*.¹⁰⁰ The deviant title *sacerdos* may indicate that Antonia did not in fact take over Livia's priesthood, which may have been a unique honour for the wife of Augustus and not designed to be continuous. In similar fashion, following Claudius' deification Agrippina was

⁹⁴ Dąbrowa (1996) 153-161.

⁹⁵ Richard (1966) 134-135.

⁹⁶ Tacitus, *Annales* 2.83.1; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 56.41.1; CIL 10.513.

⁹⁷ Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.9.107; Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romanum* 2.75.3; Tacitus, *Annales* 1.73.3; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 56.46.1.

⁹⁸ *Tabula Siarensis*; González (1999) 129.

⁹⁹ For references see Rüpke (2008) 161-173.

¹⁰⁰ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59.3.4; CIL 6.921; RIC (Gaius) 1:67-68.

made his *flaminica*,¹⁰¹ but his *flamen* was one Gaius Hostidius Geta, who does not appear to have been a member of the imperial family.¹⁰² The incumbent *flamen* of Divus Augustus at the start of Nero's reign was one of Augustus' more distant relatives, D. Iunius Silianus Torquatus.¹⁰³ Consequently it seems that the selection criteria for the *flamen* of the Julio-Claudian *divi* were relaxed over time. The *sodales Augustales* were a college of priests created by Tiberius to serve Divus Augustus and the Julian *gens*. Originally it was made up of twenty-one members of Rome's elite, to which the men of the imperial family were added as supernumerary members.¹⁰⁴ After Claudius' deification they became *sodales Augustales Claudiales*, so the Claudian *gens* was added to their responsibilities.¹⁰⁵ This college continued to be important in Rome after the fall of the Julio-Claudians, with all three Flavian *principes* being members.¹⁰⁶

The Flavian *divi* do not appear to have had *flamines*, nor do any priests appear to have been dedicated to an individual Flavian *divus*. There is no surviving epigraphic evidence for any such priests in the Roman state cult, though the position did exist in municipal communities.¹⁰⁷ Momigliano suggests that this absence is not simply an accident of survival on the basis of Suetonius' description of Domitian celebrating his new Capitoline games with the aid of the *flamen* of Jupiter and the *collegium flavianium*, clearly referring to the *sodales*

¹⁰¹ Tacitus, *Annales* 13.2.3.

¹⁰² CIL 9.2847; cf. Rüpke (2008) 721.

¹⁰³ AE (1936) 68; CIL 3.2808, 9.913, 10.798, 11.3336. Kleiner (1971) suggests that Claudius took up the office himself at some point and is depicted as such on the *Ara Pietatis*.

¹⁰⁴ Tacitus, *Annales* 1.54; Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Claudius) 6.2; cf. Pistor (1965) 145-146; Gottlieb (2000) 1109; Varhalyi (2002) 43.

¹⁰⁵ There are no examples of *sodales Claudiales* without them also being *Augustales* (eg. CIL 5.6977, 6978, 6979, 6980, 6.332, 41218, 41219, 8.18269, 11.3367, 14.2391).

¹⁰⁶ Rüpke (2008) 197-218.

¹⁰⁷ AE (1908) 205, (1913) 190, (1916) 117, (1917/1918) 23, (1934) 232, (1947) 46, (1952) 226, (1973) 616, (1987) 204, (1987) 478, (1988) 182, (1988) 184; CIL 2.2227, 2412, 6095, 3.660, 13910, 5.5239, 5667, 6360, 6513, 6514, 6797, 6995, 7021, 7458, 8.14364, 26470, 26604, 9.731, 2600, 2855, 10.413, 5382, 11.1447a, 14.298, 4641, 4664, 14.400, 4142, 4622; ILAfr 280, 469; ILTun 723, 1513; IRT 275, 347.

Flaviales, discussed further below.¹⁰⁸ Momigliano argues that if there had been Flavian *flamines* they too would have been mentioned here.¹⁰⁹ This supposition may be supported by the fact that, judging from the precedent of Divus Augustus, the *flamen* and *flaminica* of the *divi* were likely to have been members of the imperial family, and the evidence confirms that none of the prominent Flavians held these titles. Curiously this absence of *flamines* appears to be specifically Flavian as inscriptions do survive recording *flamines* of Divus Nerva,¹¹⁰ Divus Traianus,¹¹¹ and Divus Hadrianus.¹¹²

By contrast, considerable epigraphic evidence survives for *sodales* of the Flavians, with thirty inscriptions from throughout the empire seeming to refer to individuals who held the position in Rome's state cult.¹¹³ The Flavian *sodales* did not all have identical titles, but were known variously as *Flaviales*, *Titiales*, *Flaviales Titiales* or *Titiales Flaviales*. The significance of these respective variations has been debated. Scott suggested that two distinct groups of *sodales* were created, *Flaviales* and *Titiales*, serving Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus respectively. This is based on the fact that in an inscription from Ager Mogontiacensis each adjective is prefaced independently by the title *sodalis*.¹¹⁴

*A(ulus) Didius Gallus / [F]abricius Veiento co(n)s(ul) / III XVvir sacris faciend(is) / sodalis Augustal(is) sod(alis) Flivial(is) / sod(alis) <T=I>i<t=I>ialis et Attica eius / Nemeton(ae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Domitian) 4.

¹⁰⁹ Momigliano (1975) 662.

¹¹⁰ Sextus Carminius Vetus on the basis that L. Calventius Eunomus is listed as *kalator* of Nerva's *flamen* and Eunomus was his freedman (CIL 6.31034, 6.32445b); and M. Clodius Lunensis, again on the basis of record of his *kalator* M. Clodius Tiro (CIL 6.32445b).

¹¹¹ D. Manilius Vopiscus Viciniallius, L. Elufrius Severus Iulius Quadratus Bassus (CIL 14.4242); P. Coelius Balbinus Vibullius Pius (CIL 6.1383).

¹¹² C. Betitius Pius Maximilianus (CIL 9.1160).

¹¹³ CIL 3.6813, 6.1333, 32436a, 33084, 37177-8, 41095, 41111, 41112, 41117, 8.13, 11.1430, 5670, 5672, 13.1806, 5089, 7253, 14.2397, 2501; AE (1912) 222, (1917/18) 26, (1952) 115, 168, (1973) 300, (1974) 129, (1983) 142, (1962) 229; (1998) 285 (1999) 1576; ILS 8970, 8975; ILAlg 1.1230-2; ILJug 2.2568bs. See Rüpke (2005) (2008).

¹¹⁴ Scott (1936) 80.

¹¹⁵ CIL 13.7253.

Aulus Didius Gallus Fabricus Veiento consul for the third time, member of the board of fifteen men in charge of sacred duties, *sodalis Augustalis*, *sodalis Flavialis*, *sodalis Titialis*, and Attica his wife dedicated this to Nemetona, willingly and deservedly fulfilling his vow.

Scott argued that the distinct priesthoods merged following the death of Domitian when the Flavian *divi* became less important, and that the order of the adjectives depended on which priesthood the individual was originally a member.¹¹⁶ Dessau took the opposite view and suggested that the additional *sod.*, which is unique to the Ager Mogontiacensis inscription, is an epigraphic error, and that Didius Gallus Fabricius only served as *sodalis Augustalis* and *sodalis Flavialis Titialis*. He proposed that the occasional inversion of the title to *Titiales Flaviales* is simply epigraphic variation.¹¹⁷ The problem with Dessau's interpretation is that, unlike in the case of the *sodales Augustales Claudiales* for whom there is no record of *sodales Claudiales* without *Augustales* included in the title, there are examples of *sodales Titiales* without *Flaviales* included. In his recent study of Roman priests Rüpke suggested the title *sodalis Titialis* was either epigraphic variant, as the five inscriptions bearing this title are all from long after the Flavian period, or that in some cases the inscriptions may also in fact mark the individual as a member of the *sodales Titi*: this was an old college responsible for traditional Sabine rituals that was rejuvenated under the Julio-Claudians.¹¹⁸ To me it seems most likely that the various Flavian *sodales* formed one college as an inscription from Bovilliae refers to a *sodalium Flavialium Titialium*, indicating a single group.¹¹⁹ This is probably a reference to the state college, rather than a local group, as the *sodales Augustales* created under Tiberius also had ritual duties at Bovilliae, as indicated by the fact that *fasti* of these priests survive from both Bovilliae and Rome.¹²⁰ Presumably the Flavian *sodalium* also had a role at Bovilliae, emulating the Augustan *sodalium*.

¹¹⁶ Scott (1936) 80.

¹¹⁷ Dessau (1877) 211-213.

¹¹⁸ Rüpke (2008); Tacitus, *Annales* 1.54.

¹¹⁹ CIL 14.2397.

¹²⁰ Bovilliae: CIL 14.2388-2404; Rome: CIL 6.1984-1988; cf. Varhelyi (2002) 33.

Dessau argued that the *Flaviales* were created following Vespasian's deification, and that the title *Titiales* was immediately added following Titus' deification. McFayden on the other hand suggested that no Flavian *sodales* were created until the reign of Domitian, when the *sodales Flaviales* were given the care of Divus Vespasianus, Divus Titus and the other Flavian *divi*; he suggests that *Titiales* was added to their title only following Domitian's death to clearly limit the domain of the Flavian *sodales* to Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus, excluding the rest of the disgraced *gens*.¹²¹ The suggestion that only the title *Flaviales* existed under Domitian is supported by the testimony of Suetonius who only mentions *Flaviales* at the Capitoline games,¹²² but the title *Titiales* must have been added very shortly after Domitian's death, probably around the same time as his *damnatio memoriae*, as Didius Gallus Fabricius used the dual title very early in Trajan's reign.¹²³ I disagree, however, with McFayden's suggestion that the *Flaviales* were only created under Domitian, as a surviving epigraphic fragment, discovered after the publication of his article, appears to preserve the record of one *sodalis Flavialis* from the reign of Titus.

[Aus]pic[ius Imp(eratoris) T(iti)] Caesa[ris d]ivi Vespa[sia]ni f(ilius) Vespa[siani Aug(usti) pont(ificis) max(imi) trib(unicia) pot(estate) IX imp(eratoris) XV co(n)s(ulis) VIII censoris p(atris) p(atriciae) per M(arcum) Ulp]ium Traianum co(n)s(ulem) leg(atum) A[ug(usti) leg(ionis) X Fretensis bello Iudaico] et provinciae Syriae proco(n)s(ulem) Asiae et Hispanicae Baeticae XVvir(um) [s(acris) f(aciundis) sod]alem Flavial[is]em triumphalibus orn[a]men[t]is...¹²⁴

Under the auspices of Imperator Titus Caesar Vespasian Augustus, son of Divus Vespasianus, pontifex maximus with tribunician power for the 9th time, hailed imperator fifteen times, consul eight times, censor and father of his country, through Marcus Ulpus Traianus, consul, legate of Augustus for the tenth legion Fretensis during the Jewish war, proconsul of the provinces of Syria, Asia and Baetica, member of the board of fifteen men in charge of sacred duties, *sodalis Flavialis* with triumphal ornamentation...

This inscription, though heavily restored, clearly refers to Titus as the living *princeps*, and Traianus, the father of Trajan, as *sodalis Flavialis*. Consequently it seems that the title *sodales Flaviales* was simply not changed under Domitian, and this is perhaps not surprising,

¹²¹ McFayden (1915) 140-141.

¹²² Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* (Domitian) 4.4.

¹²³ CIL 13.7253.

¹²⁴ AE (1999) 1576.

as if this college was analogous with the *sodales Augustales*, it would have been given responsibility for Divus Vespasianus and his *gens*, which included all the other Flavian *divi*.¹²⁵

Epigraphic evidence also survives for one *kalator sacerdotii Fliviali*,¹²⁶ and two *sacerdotes Titiales Flaviales*.¹²⁷ The character of these *sacerdotes* is enigmatic. Momigliano explored both the possibilities that they were some kind of replacement for the *flamines*, and that they were members of the *sodalium Flivialium Titialium*.¹²⁸ They certainly do not seem to have been replacements for the *flamines* in the sense that they were responsible for a single Flavian *divus*, as indicated by the fact that both the adjectives *Titiales* and *Flaviales* were attached to their titles, indicating multiple responsibilities. It also seems possible that these *sacerdotes* had nothing to do with either priesthood, especially in light of the fact that, on the basis of these inscriptions, the title only appears to have emerged after the Flavian period, as the inscriptions date from between the reigns of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius.¹²⁹ Perhaps these *sacerdotes* were part of some new college created under the Antonines, such as the *ordo sacerdotum domus Augustae*, for which the earliest surviving evidence is a college Album of AD 182.¹³⁰ Unfortunately the evidence is insufficient to draw any kind of picture of these priests. What is apparent is that the cult apparatus that surrounded the Flavian *divi* during the

¹²⁵ As an aside, Momigliano (1975) makes the interesting suggestion that the *sodales Flaviales* were based in the Temple of Jupiter Propugnator, on the basis of an early third-century inscription regarding a college that met inside that temple on the Palatine (CIL 6.2004). Momigliano suggests that the unnamed college in the inscription may be the Flavian *sodales* since they participated in the Capitoline games for Jupiter, and because Domitian probably built this temple (cf. Darwall-Smith (1996) 112). Although this is an attractive suggestion it does not seem likely as there is no specific evidence connecting the priesthood of the temple with the *sodales Flaviales* or any of its individual members, and the inscriptions describes the Jupiter group as meeting on December 12th, and then on April 10th, but not on November 17th or December 30th, the birthdays of Vespasian and Titus, which would probably have been important cult days for the *sodales Flaviales* (cf. Rüpke (2008) 9).

¹²⁶ CIL 6.2188.

¹²⁷ CIL 6.1523, 8.597.

¹²⁸ Momigliano (1975) 661.

¹²⁹ For their careers see Varhelyi (2002) 40.

¹³⁰ On the *ordo sacerdotum domus Augustae* see Rüpke (2008) 10.

reign of Domitian was designed to treat them not as individuals, but collectively as a divine cohort.

3.4: Provincial Cult

The contrast between Julio-Claudian singular approach and Flavian collective approach in Rome is also reflected in the form of their respective provincial cults. Although provincial cults are outside of the parameter of ‘Rome’ established for this thesis, they were nevertheless ‘official’ in that they were authorised by the Roman administration to represent a certain region as a corporate entity, in the same way that state cults represented Rome as a corporate entity. The title ‘provincial’ can be misleading since not all cults that served a province were official – the cult of the Achaean League represented most of Greece but was never certified by Rome¹³¹ - and not all officially sanctioned cults served a province per se - the altar at Lugdunum served three,¹³² and the *Arae Sestianae* only a subsection of a province.¹³³ The defining characteristic of a ‘provincial cult’, that distinguished it from the ‘civic cults’ located in individual communities throughout the empire, was that it was given official status by Rome.¹³⁴ Although provincial cults were sanctioned, and often initiated and modified, by Rome’s administrative engines, their conduct was the domain of provincial councils, called a *koinon* in the east and a *consilium* in the west. These councils comprised local community leaders and conducted business of provincial concern, such as prosecuting corrupt Roman governors and magistrates.¹³⁵

¹³¹ Lozano (2002) *passim*, esp. 138.

¹³² Fishwick (2002) 3.1:9-21.

¹³³ Fishwick (2002) 3.1:6-9.

¹³⁴ On the distinction between provincial and civic cults see Price (1984a) 54-55; Fishwick (1987) 1.1:91-92, 129-130.

¹³⁵ On provincial councils see Price (1984a) 75-77; Fishwick (1987) 1.2:283-285; Burrell (2004) 343-358.

The first provincial cult was created in 29 BC when the communities of Asia, through their provincial council, requested and were granted permission to dedicate a temple at Pergamum to Augustus and *Roma*.¹³⁶ As a condition, Rome's administration required that a sister cult be dedicated to Divus Julius and *Roma* for the use of Roman citizens living in the province.¹³⁷ According to Cassius Dio an analogous pair of provincial cults was dedicated to the same deities in Bithynia;¹³⁸ and archaeological and epigraphic remains reveal a provincial temple dedicated to Augustus and *Roma* at Ankyra in the province of Galatia.¹³⁹ In the west a series of provincial altars were dedicated to the same two deities. The most well known was dedicated by the elder Drusus at Lugdunum in 12 BC to represent the inhabitants of the three newly established provinces of Gallia Lugdunensis, Gallia Aquitania and Gallia Belgica; once established its care was passed to the *consilium provinciae*.¹⁴⁰ Similarly the *Tres Arae Sestianae* was established in Hispania Citerior between 22 and 15 BC by the Roman general L. Sestius Quirinalis Albinus to service three sub-administrative regions of the province.¹⁴¹ Although less evidence survives, it seems that similar altars were established near modern Cologne, probably designed to serve the province of Germania,¹⁴² among the Ligones in Gallia Belgica,¹⁴³ and on the eastern bank of the Elbe.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁶ Tacitus, *Annales* 4.37; Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Augustus) 52; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.20.6; cf. Burrell (2004) 17-22. Suetonius' account implies that Augustus imposed the requirement that *Roma* be included in the cult on the provincials.

¹³⁷ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.20.6; for epigraphic evidence see Fayer (1976) 112-113. This requirement suggests that there was a sharp distinction between what cults were considered appropriate for Roman and provincial citizens to participate in, even outside Rome. However, this distinction seems to have broken down quickly as already in the Julio-Claudian period Roman citizens living in the provinces are known to have served as provincial priests (Fishwick (2002) 3.1:230-233).

¹³⁸ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.20.6; cf. Fishwick (1987) 1.1:76; Burrell (2004) 147-152.

¹³⁹ Burrell (2004) 166-173; cf. Fittschen (1995) 309-315; for archaeological evidence see Krencker and Schede (1936) 22, 51; for epigraphic evidence see Bosch (1967) 35-49.

¹⁴⁰ Strabo, *Geography* 4.3.4; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 139; Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Claudius) 2.1; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.32.1; for the dedication being to *Roma* as well as Augustus, a fact not preserved by the literary sources, see CIL 13.1036, 1042-5; RIC (Tiberius) 1:237; Fishwick (2002) 3.1:9-19.

¹⁴¹ Ptolemy, *Geography* 2.6.3; Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis* 3.13; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 41.11; cf. Fishwick (2002) 3.1:6-9.

¹⁴² Tacitus, *Annales* 1.39; cf. Fishwick (2002) 3.1:20-21.

¹⁴³ Cassiodorus, *Chronicon* 385D; cf. Fishwick (2002) 3.1:22.

¹⁴⁴ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 55.10a.2; cf. Fishwick (2002) 3.1:23.

Under Augustus' successor Tiberius newly established provincial cults took different forms. In AD 23 Asia requested, and was granted, permission to dedicate another provincial temple at Smyrna, but this time dedicated to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate.¹⁴⁵ However, in AD 25 when Baetica made a similar request to dedicate a provincial temple to Tiberius it was refused, with Tiberius claiming that he preferred to reserve the honour for his father Augustus.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps the refusal was motivated by the fact that, unlike Asia, Baetica did not already possess a provincial cult of Augustus. Ten years earlier, when the neighbouring province of Hispania Citerior sent an embassy to Rome requesting permission to dedicate a provincial temple to Divus Augustus in their capital Tarraco their request was granted, and according to Tacitus became *in omnes provincias exemplum* (an example to all the provinces).¹⁴⁷ Whether Tacitus' words refer to an official policy, a passing recommendation, or to actions after the fact is unclear, but an identical provincial cult dedicated to Divus Augustus was set up in the neighbouring Spanish province of Lusitania at their capital Emerita.¹⁴⁸ That one cult was copied from the other is suggested by the numismatic evidence: both provinces minted coins referring to Augustus with the unusual title *Deus Augustus*, rather than using his proper posthumous title Divus Augustus, and both provinces also minted coins using the previously unknown legend *Aeternitas/atis Augustae*.¹⁴⁹

Tiberius' failure to maintain the form of provincial cult used by Augustus meant that no standard was established for his successors. Thus when a provincial cult was begun for Gaius at Miletus in Asia it did not adhere to any established form, but was to be set up inside the existing temple of Apollo near Didyma.¹⁵⁰ The cult appears to have been abandoned

¹⁴⁵ Tacitus, *Annales* 4.15, 4.55-56; cf. Burrell (2004) 38-42.

¹⁴⁶ Tacitus, *Annales* 4.37-38; cf. Fishwick (2002) 3.1:111.

¹⁴⁷ Tacitus, *Annales* 1.78; cf. Fishwick (2002) 3.1:43-53.

¹⁴⁸ Fishwick (2002) 3.1:53-59.

¹⁴⁹ Fishwick (1987) 1.1:151-152, 156-157; (2002) 3.1:43-44.

¹⁵⁰ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 59.28.1; cf. Burrell (2004) 55-57.

following Gaius' death.¹⁵¹ Similarly the provincial cult established under Claudius at Camulodunum in his newly won province of Britain was dedicated to the living *princeps* without *Roma*, and centred on a temple like the cults of Divus Augustus rather than on an altar, like the previous western cults of the living *princeps*.¹⁵² Thus it seems that although under Augustus there was some standardisation applied to the provincial cults of the empire, this disappeared by the end of the Julio-Claudian period.

The Domitianic provincial temple at Ephesus was very different from the Julio-Claudian provincial cults because rather than focusing on a single *princeps* or *divus*, it was dedicated to the *Sebastoi*. Knowledge of the temple comes from its archaeological remains, and thirteen inscriptions found in close proximity. Found among the archaeological remains of the temples was a colossal statue head which has variously been identified as representing Domitian or Divus Titus, indicating that the temple was established under the Flavians.¹⁵³



Figure 60: Colossal head from the provincial temple at Ephesus.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Burrell (2004) 57.

¹⁵² [Seneca], *Apocolocyntosis* 8.3; Tacitus, *Annales* 14.32; for the archaeological evidence see Hull (1958) 162-177; Richmond (1946) 57-60; Crummy (1980) 243-251; Drury (1984) 28; Fishwick (2004) 3.3:135-148.

¹⁵³ Domitian: Keil (1931) 59-60; Knibbe (1980) 775; Meric (1985) 240; Varner (2004) 128; Titus: Daltrop, Hausmann and Wegner (1966) 26, 38, 86, 100; Friesen (1993) 62.

¹⁵⁴ Image from www.anistor.gr.

The thirteen inscriptions form a uniform set that were set up by different neighbouring cities on account of the completion of a ναῶι τῶι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῶν Σεβαστῶν κοινῶ[ι] τῆς Ἀσίας (temple in Ephesus of the *Sebastoi* common to the people of Asia).¹⁵⁵ *Sebastos* is the Greek term for Augustus, and thus the cult was dedicated to the *Augusti* in the plural. Local cults in the east dedicated to the *Sebastoi* are known from the reign of Claudius onwards, and probably acted as a precedent that was imported to the provincial level.¹⁵⁶ Price and Lozano both argue that *Sebastoi* was an indefinite term which could include the living *princeps*, the *divi*, deceased *principes* who had not been deified, and any other important members of the imperial family, living or deceased; the exact composition of the group was determined by the individuals applying the term.¹⁵⁷

Thus just as the nature of the priests and temples of the *divi* in Rome indicate that at least Divus Augustus and Divus Claudius were treated as separate and unique deities, the provincial cults dedicated under the Julio-Claudians treated each *princeps* or *divus* individually. By contrast, just as the Flavian *divi* were treated as a collective in Rome, the provincial cult established under Domitian treated the *princeps*, *divi* and imperial family as a collective. There could be many possible explanations for this change in approach, but one does not appear to be decreased importance of the *divi* or decreased finances for their cult in Domitianic Rome, as the Flavian *divi* were arguably more prominent than their Julio-Claudian predecessors, enjoying multiple temples, even though they were shared. They are also consistently referred to collectively in contemporary literature, already quoted above, for example when Silius Italicus describes Domitian's divine father, brother and son as together

¹⁵⁵ IvE 232, 232a, 233, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 1498, 20248; cf. Friesen (1993) 59-75; Burrell (2004) 64.

¹⁵⁶ Athens: IG 2(2):3183; Acraephaiae: IG 7.2713; Aphrodisias: REG 19 (1906) n. 8; Cos: IGRR 4.1086; Delphi: BCH 20 (1896) 710; Didyma: OGIS 494=ILS 8860; Eresus: IG 12(2):549=IGRR 4.18; Lampascus: IGRR 4.180; Magnesia on Menander: IMagn 113; Sidyma: IGRR 3.577; Thyateira: IGRR 4.1242.

¹⁵⁷ Price (1984b) 79-85; Lozano (2007) 139-152.

in the heavens,¹⁵⁸ and when Statius refers to son, brother, father and sister all supporting the living *princeps*.¹⁵⁹ Consequently the decision to treat the Flavian *divi* as a collective appears to be a conscious one. One possible explanation could be that by treating them collectively emphasis was placed on dynasty: they were not just individual gods but part of a divine line. Perhaps this was considered important to counterbalance the loss of focus on dynasty caused by the removal of the *divi* from the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps*. Another possibility is that just as the *princeps* was increasingly less treated as a charismatic individual in the Arval cult and increasingly more treated as one in a line of *principes* that ensured the Principate as an institution, so too this may have had the effect of moving focus away from the individual, and focussing on the larger institution. Regardless, this collective treatment was surely a deliberate policy.

3.5: Vespasian?

Although, as seen in chapter one, it is clear that the *divi*, absent from the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps* under Domitian, were removed from that pantheon under Vespasian, it is more difficult to draw similar connections between other Vespasianic and Domitianic policies towards the *divi*. The prolific deification of members of the Flavian imperial family in particular appears to have been a peculiarly Domitianic phenomenon. There is no evidence that Vespasian attempted to deify any of his family, and the literary tradition of his humble origins and his contempt of attempts to create for him an illustrious ancestry may reflect his lack of interest in this.¹⁶⁰ Similarly, although Titus did see the deification of Vespasian, as has been argued above, no other *divi* were created during his reign.

¹⁵⁸ Silius Italicus, *Punica* 622-629.

¹⁵⁹ Statius, *Silvae* 1.1.94-98.

¹⁶⁰ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Vespasian) 12.

Despite this it would be a mistake to view Vespasian as anti-*divi*, as he in fact supported the institution by maintaining the cult of Divus Claudius. Construction of a grand temple of Divus Claudius was begun under Nero on the Caelian Hill, but the temple was not only neglected, but also partially destroyed to make space for other Neronian building projects.¹⁶¹ Russo suggests that this neglect was the equivalent of undoing Claudius' deification,¹⁶² but this is overstating the matter for, as seen in chapter one, Divus Claudius continued to receive sacrifices from the Arvals alongside the other *divi* until the reign of Vitellius. Nevertheless it is significant that the temple of Divus Claudius was completed under Vespasian – and Suetonius specifically assigns the impetus for this action to Vespasian¹⁶³ – as it seems that he could have ignored Divus Claudius if he chose. That Vespasian was under no pressure to support Divus Claudius is indicated by the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*. Whereas this *senatus consultum* confirming Vespasian's powers referred to Augustus as a *divus*, it only referred to Claudius by his mortal titles, ignoring his divinity, and thus it seems that in AD 69 Claudius' divine status was not secure.¹⁶⁴ Darwall-Smith suggests that Vespasian's purpose in completing the temple was to draw a link between himself and the previous dynasty through Claudius, and he supports this position by pointing out connections between the two: Vespasian received triumphal ornamentation, two priesthoods, and a consulship under Claudius, and Titus grew up with Claudius' son Britannicus.¹⁶⁵ It seems to me that better explanations present themselves. First, that Vespasian was working to maintain respect for the Principate as an institution by maintaining

¹⁶¹ Martial, *Liber Spectaculorum* 2.9-10; Frontinus, *de Aquis* 1.20, 2.76; Colini (1944) 137-162; Buzzetti (1993) 1:277-278; Cante *et al* (1997) 123-151.

¹⁶² Russo (2006) 130.

¹⁶³ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Vespasian) 9.

¹⁶⁴ CIL 6.930=ILS 244; cf. Brunt (1977) 95-116; Hurlet (1993) 261-280. Charlesworth suggested that with this wording the senate was protesting Claudius' treatment of them ((1937) 58), and Levick suggests that they were simply treading cautiously because they were unsure how Vespasian would regard Claudius ((1999) 191).

¹⁶⁵ Darwall-Smith (1996) 52-54.

respect for its previous incumbents, possibly to counter the damage he himself did to the institution through his vilification of Nero.¹⁶⁶ Second, that Vespasian was maintaining a precedent for future imperial deifications. Without Claudius, Augustus and Livia were the only *divi* to receive lasting deification, and neither were a good precedent: as the founder of the Principate Augustus could be considered a special case, and Livia's deification was tied up with her husband's. That Vespasian was concerned with future deification is indicated firstly by the prediction of that deification by the elder Pliny, a friend and supporter of Vespasian, in the preface of his *Historia Naturalis*, and also by an anecdote recorded by Suetonius indicating that Vespasian predicted his own deification with his final words, *vae puto deus fio* (o dear, I think I am becoming a god).¹⁶⁷ Further, also according to Suetonius, Vespasian proclaimed in the senate that his sons would succeed him or no one, and he must have had plans to secure that, quite possibly including his deification to add prestige to the position of his sons in the same way as Julio-Claudian deifications had previously.¹⁶⁸ Vespasian eventually was deified, confirming the precedent of deification, and allowing a further four members of the Flavian family to be deified.

Further, there may be Vespasianic precedent for the Domitianic treatment of the *divi* as a collective, as the first provincial cults dedicated to the *Sebastoi* were in fact established during his reign, in Pamphylia and Macedon. The province of Pamphylia was reorganised under Vespasian,¹⁶⁹ and at that time a provincial cult was also established at Perge, the seat of the Roman governor of Pamphylia and Lycia.¹⁷⁰ An inscription from AD 275-276 calls

¹⁶⁶ Ramage (1983) 209-214.

¹⁶⁷ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Vespasian) 23-24.

¹⁶⁸ Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum* (Vespasian) 25.

¹⁶⁹ Pamphylia was on the southern coast of Asia Minor between Lycia, Galatia and Cilicia. At some point Pamphylia was incorporated into both the provinces of Galatia and Cilicia, though its final settlement, under Vespasian, was as a semi-independent province connected to Lycia; it had its own provincial *koinon*, but on the Roman side it was administratively merged. This arrangement lasted until the early 4th century AD when the provinces became completely independent (Sahin (1995) 1).

¹⁷⁰ Haensch (1997) 290-297.

Perge ‘four times *neokoros*’ - indicating that in the third century the city held four provincial cults - and claims it was first made *neokoros* by Vespasian - indicating that it first received a provincial cult during his reign.

[αὔξε Πέργη ἢ] ἀπὸ Οὐεσ[πα]-
[σιανοῦ ν]εωκόρος
...
αὔξε Πέργη δ’ νεωκόρος
αὔξε Πέργη ἢ πρώτη τῶν
ἀγορέων¹⁷¹

Increase Perge, the city named *neokoros* by Vespasian... Increase Perge, the city which is four times *neokoros* and first of the assembly.

Another inscription records that Perge possessed an *archiereus* of the *Sebastoi* and *agonothetes* of both the great pentaeteric *Kaisarea* and the *Artemesia Vespasianeia*.¹⁷² This indicates that like the Ephesian cult, the Vespasianic provincial cult at Lycia was dedicated to the *Sebastoi*.¹⁷³

The Macedonian provincial cult was located in Beroia, the seat of the provincial *koinon*, while the Roman governor probably resided in Thessaloniki. The foundation of this cult is usually dated to the reigns of Domitian or Nerva on the basis of two inscriptions. The first honours Quintus Popillius Python, *archiereus* of the *Sebastoi* and *agonothetes* of the *koinon* of Macedon, who led an embassy to Nerva requesting that Beroia continue to be the only city in Macedon with the rank of *neokoros* of the *Sebastoi* and metropolis.¹⁷⁴

τὸν διὰ βίου ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν Σεβαστῶν
καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τοῦ κοινοῦ Μ<α>κε-
δόνων Κ(όντων) Ποπίλλιον Πύθωνα πρεσ-
βεύσαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος Βεροί-
ας ἐπὶ θεὸν Νέρουαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μό-
νην αὐτὴν ἔχειν τὴν νεωκορίαν τῶν Σε-
βαστῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀξίω-

¹⁷¹ Merkelbach and Sahin (1988) 115-116, n. 22, lines 5-6, 14-17. The earliest inscription to refer to the city as *neokoros* comes from AD 141/2 (IGRR 3.793).

¹⁷² Sahin (1995) 18, n. 35.

¹⁷³ Burrell (2004) 175-177.

¹⁷⁴ On Python Tataki (1998) 259 n. 1114.

μα καὶ ἐπιτυχόντα...¹⁷⁵

C. Papillius Python, high priest of the *Sebastoi* for life, *agonothetes* of the *koinon* of Macedon, being the ambassador of Beroia to Theos Nerva he successfully asserted the claim of his city to the exclusive right to the privilege of *neokoria* and the position of metropolis...

The second was set up by Tiberius Iulius ?krates, an *archiereus* of the *Sebastoi* and *agonothetes* of the *koinon* of Macedon, in gratitude for Nerva's renewal of those privileges.¹⁷⁶

θεὸν Νέρουαν
ἢ Βεροιαίων πόλις
συντηρήσαντα αὐτῇ
τὰ τῆς μητροπόλεως
δίκαια, ἐπιδόντος τὴν δαπά-
[νην ἐ]κ τῶν ἰδίων Τι(βερίου) Ἰουλίου
[...]*κράτους τοῦ ἀρχιερέως*
[τῶν Σε]β[α]στῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέ-
[του τ]οῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων.¹⁷⁷

The city of Beroia erected this to Theos Nerva, on account of him having maintained their rights as Metropolis, the expense of the monument was met by Tiberius Iulius ?krates, high priest of the *Sebastoi* and *agonothetes* of the *koinon* of Macedon.

Burrell assigns this cult to Nerva,¹⁷⁸ but it is clear that Nerva preserved existing rights, which would not be necessary during his short reign if he had established them.¹⁷⁹ Zeithen more plausibly credits Domitian with the cult,¹⁸⁰ but I would like to suggest a Vespasianic foundation based on two additional inscriptions.

The first inscription is a dedication to Titus as reigning *princeps* by an *archiereus*.

[Ἀὐτοκράτορι]
Τίτῳ Καίσα-
[ρ]ι θεοῦ Οὐεσπα[σι]-
[ανοῦ υἱῷ ἀ]ρχιερατεύοντος [— — —]¹⁸¹

Dedicated to Emperor Titus Caesar son of Theos Vespasian [by] the man being high priest...

¹⁷⁵ Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulous (1998) n. 117, lines 1-9; Cormack (1940) 50-52.

¹⁷⁶ On Iulius see Tataki (1998) 179 n. 626.

¹⁷⁷ Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulous (1998) n. 63, lines 1-5; Cormack (1940) 50-52.

¹⁷⁸ Burrell (2004) 191-192.

¹⁷⁹ Tataki suggests that Python may have led the embassy to Nerva as the existing provincial priest, which would again require that the cult had already been established (Tataki (1988) 259-261 n. 1114).

¹⁸⁰ Ziethen (1994) 33-34, 253-254.

¹⁸¹ Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoklos (1998) n. 62; Tataki (1988) 184 n. 641.

Unfortunately the text cuts off, so evidence for whether the priest was provincial or civic is lost. The term *archiereus* suggests that the priest was provincial, as civic priests were usually, though not always, simply *iereus*.¹⁸² The existence of a provincial priest of Macedon during Titus' reign would seem to indicate that a provincial cult was already established there, probably under Vespasian. The second inscription, dated to AD 69-74 by the reference to the Macedonian proconsul L. Baebius Honoratus,¹⁸³ may, like the Nervan inscriptions, refer to Beroia as 'metropolis and *neokoros*'.

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Οὐέσπασσιανόν(?) Σεβαστὸν Μ]ακεδόνων τὸ κοινὸν καὶ
[Βεροιαίων ἢ μητρόπολις καὶ νεωκόρος, διέποντος τ]ῆν ἐπαρχίαν · Λ(ευκίου) · Βαιβίου
Ὀνωράτου...¹⁸⁴

To Emperor Caesar Vespasian Sebastos by the koinon of Macedon and the metropolis and *neokoros* of Beroia when the governor of Macedon was L. Baibius Honoratus...

Reference to the status of the city is entirely restored, but this restoration is strongly supported by the estimated size of the missing lacuna, comparison with other inscriptions using similar wording,¹⁸⁵ and the surviving reference to the *koinon* of Macedon. This is the earliest reference to the *koinon* from Roman controlled Macedon. The emergence of the term may indicate that the *koinon* took on a new significance at this time, perhaps in connection with the administration of the new provincial cult.¹⁸⁶

No alternative restorations have been suggested,¹⁸⁷ but the above is not commonly accepted because current scholarship connects the introduction of the title *neokoros* with the Domitianic cult at Ephesus, as the earliest definitive surviving references to a city as *neokoros* come from Ephesus, and the title only appears to have been applied to other cities

¹⁸² Nigdelis argues that the provincial priesthood of T. Flavius Pramonos may also belong to the Flavian period, but the inscription is too fragmentary to be certain (Nigdelis (1995) 170-183).

¹⁸³ Tataki (188) 132 n. 318.

¹⁸⁴ Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoklos (1998) n. 61, lines 1-2.

¹⁸⁵ Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoklos (1998) n. 66, 70, 481, 483.

¹⁸⁶ Kienast (1996) 170-171; Burrell (2004) 192.

¹⁸⁷ IPArk (1899) 4.3:167.1; SEG 16.391, 43.383.

that already had provincial cults, like Pergamum and Smyrna, at the end of the first century AD.¹⁸⁸ Nevertheless, there is some evidence to support the suggestion that the title may have been used selectively before Domitian's reign. In the first case, Friesen has shown that the Ephesian temple was completed between AD 88 and 91,¹⁸⁹ but the earliest reference to Ephesus as *neokoros* of the *Sebastoi* comes from a theatre architrave from AD 85/86.¹⁹⁰ This indicates either that this new title and honour was fully envisioned around the time that the temple was granted, rather than completed, or that the title was not new at that time, precedent perhaps existing from Beroia and Perge. If this is the case the question is why did it take so long for other cities to adopt the title. It seems to me that the answer may lie in the Beroian inscription, as the city asks that it continue to be the only city in the province with the title *neokoros* and the status of metropolis. This request may indicate that when the title was first applied it was meant to honour the exclusive seat of the provincial cult in a province, and was designed for provinces like Pamphylia and Macedon where provincial cult was newly established. However, when the title was adopted at Ephesus in Asia, a province with multiple provincial cults, this changed. This theory is supported by the epigraphic evidence from Pergamum, which indicates that the city did not simply start using the title, but negotiated its adoption. This would explain why it used the title *neokoros* from AD 100, but in AD 102 upgraded to 'first *neokoros*', a distinction the city maintained when it became 'first and twice' and eventually 'first and thrice' *neokoros* as it was granted additional provincial cults.¹⁹¹ An original underlying element of exclusivity contained within the title may also explain why Nicomedia, the first seat of the provincial cult in Bithynia, did not adopt the title until the end of the second century AD, and then only when it received its

¹⁸⁸ Price (1984a) 64-65; Dräger (1993) 238-256; Friesen (1993) 53-59.

¹⁸⁹ Friesen (1993) 41-49.

¹⁹⁰ IvE 2034.

¹⁹¹ For epigraphic evidence see Eck (1970) 171; Halfmann (1979) 112-115.

second provincial cult and became twice *neokoros*.¹⁹² Between the reigns of Augustus and Vespasian, Nicomedia was eclipsed as the first city in Bithynia by Nicaea: perhaps the new pre-eminent city opposed the use of this title by its now lesser brother. Nicaea began to refer to itself as *neokoros* before Nicomedia, when it received a provincial cult under Hadrian in AD 123.¹⁹³ Finally, although the date of the Perge inscriptions renders it of limited use to this debate, the fact that it specifically states that it was made *neokoros* by Vespasian may indicate that they were in fact granted the title at this time and not simply granted the title retrospectively for that cult when they received future cults. The prestige connected with receiving the title so early may also explain the prominent role of Vespasian in the inscription created two centuries after his death. Consequently I think that it is not unreasonable to suggest that the title *neokoros* was first applied to the seat of a provincial cult before the reign of Domitian, and that the above inscription provides evidence that the provincial cult of the *Sebastoi* in Macedon was established under Vespasian.

Even though the evidence for the Macedonian cult is not conclusive, the Pamphylian provincial cult of the *Sebastoi* alone demonstrates that a direct Vespasianic precedent existed for Domitian's cult of the *Sebastoi* at Ephesus.

It is the conclusion of this section that although the widespread deification of members of the Flavian family appears to be a peculiarly Domitianic phenomenon, there are some connections between the policies towards the *divi* implemented under Vespasian and Domitian. The most obvious is in their role in the cult of the *princeps* conducted by the Arvals. The *divi* were removed from the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps* under Vespasian, and the absence of all *divi* from that pantheon was maintained

¹⁹² TAM 4(1):25, AD 214.

¹⁹³ IK Iznik 29-30.

under Domitian, even after the creation of new Flavian *divi*. Similarly, although the Arvals had previously conducted cult on the birthday of Divus Augustus, though this appears to have ceased under Nero, the Arvals did not conduct cult on the birthdays of any of the Flavian *divi*. Although these changes to the Arval cult could appear like an attack on the *divi*, I think that this is not how it should be read. Vespasian supported the institution of the *divi*, maintaining the cult of Divus Claudius although he was under no obligation to do so, and also becoming a member of the *sodales Augustales Claudiales*. Thus the changes to the Arval cult do not appear to be an attack on the *divi*, but rather a change applied to the relationship between the *divi* and the *princeps* in cult: cult could be conducted to the *divi* independently, and does seem to have been conducted for Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus as indicated by the appearance of their birthdays in later calendars, but their cult could not be linked with that conducted for the *princeps*. This appears to be a distinction that Domitian technically maintained, by keeping the *divi* out of the Arval cult, even if it was not maintained in the spirit of his reign when the Flavian *divi* were promoted in other media as important ancestors and supporters of Domitian as *princeps*. Further, precedent for the Domitianic treatment of the *divi* as a collective may also be identifiable for Vespasian's reign through the provincial cults: Domitian's provincial cult was also dedicated to a collective, and the earliest precedent for this kind of provincial cult comes from the reign of Vespasian. Although it is a stretch to argue that Vespasian's collective treatment of the *divi* in the provinces influenced Domitianic treatment of the *divi* in Rome, or even that Vespasian himself applied a similar policy in Rome, it is an attractive suggestion. If I am correct in my supposition that the collective treatment of the *divi* had the same effect as the changes made to the calendar and pantheon of the Arval cult, to remove focus from the individual and place it on the institution, that Vespasian may also have applied this in Rome would make sense. It would be consistent with the changes I argue he made to the Arval cult, and it would make sense for Vespasian,

who did not have a connection to the existing *divi*, to want to focus on them as an institution, rather than as charismatic gods that supported their individual descendants.

Conclusion

The primary aim of this thesis has been to demonstrate that significant differences existed between several aspects of the Roman state imperial cult as it existed under the Julio-Claudians and Domitian, and that these changes represent fundamental remodelling of several key aspects of the cult. The subsidiary goal of this thesis has been to suggest the possibility that the majority of this remodelling took place during the reign of Vespasian, although lack of evidence makes this impossible to determine with certainty.

The aspect of the imperial cult examined in chapter one was the rituals conducted by the Arval Brothers. It was demonstrated that while annual cult conducted on the anniversaries of days on which the *princeps* received state powers and on imperial birthdays formed the core of the cult calendar under the Julio-Claudians, both of these types of rites ceased to be conducted by the reign of Domitian. This represented a major change in the dynamic of the cult calendar as the Julio-Claudian focus on the earthly and dynastic sources of the power of the individual incumbent *princeps* was removed. The January 3rd *vota* was the only rite from the Julio-Claudian period that continued to be conducted annually under Domitian. This rite, conducted on the same day each year under all *principes*, did not focus on the individual *princeps*, but rather on the Principate as an institution that was important in the Roman state and had to be maintained regardless of the incumbent *princeps*. In this way the cult calendar shifted in focus away from a personality cult of the *princeps*, onto the Principate as an institution. A similar depersonalising trend is also evident in the pantheon of deities that received sacrifices for the *princeps*. Under the Julio-Claudians sacrifices were consistently conducted to the Capitoline Triad, *Salus*, the *divi* - deified ancestors of the *princeps* - and the *Genius* of the *princeps* - another dynastic deity that was also the personal guardian spirit of the *princeps*. This pantheon drew focus towards the individual person of

the *princeps* and his dynastic membership of the imperial family. By the reign of Domitian the *divi* and the *Genius* of the *princeps* were removed from the pantheon, again moving focus away from the individual person of the *princeps*.

Although the evidence for the Arval cult surviving from the reigns of Vespasian and Titus is limited, it was possible to demonstrate firstly that Julio-Claudian style anniversary and birthday cult had already ceased to be conducted by the reign of Titus, and secondly that the *divi* were removed from the pantheon by the reign of Vespasian. The surviving evidence also leaves the possibility open that the changes to the calendar were also in place during Vespasian's reign and that, like the *divi*, the *Genius* of the *princeps* was removed from the pantheon during Vespasian's reign. This possibility is worth considering in light of the character of the changes made to the Arval cult which were more suited to the reign of Vespasian than Domitian. It was the dynastic and earthly sources of imperial power that were suppressed in the cult, but Domitian's claim to power was his dynastic membership of the Flavian family, and his position was granted to him by the powers voted to him by the state. Vespasian on the other hand had no dynasty on which to draw, and unlike his civil war predecessors, who dated the start of their reigns to when they were voted titles and powers by the senate, Vespasian dated his accession to the day he was hailed by the troops, demonstrating disdain for the state powers that formulated the position.

Chapter two established the role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* in state cult, iconography and ideology. It was demonstrated that the *Genius* of the *princeps* was a key figure in cult during the reigns of Nero and the civil war generals, and that in addition to its strong presence in cult, under Nero the *Genius* of the *princeps* came to be represented not only as the guardian spirit of the *princeps*, but also the state itself, when the iconography of

the *Genius Populi Romani*, the *Genius* of Rome's traditional sovereign body, was usurped on the coinage by the newly named *Genius Augusti*. By contrast, under Domitian the cult of the *Genius* of the *princeps* appears to have been limited, and its role in iconography one of conspicuous absence. Furthermore, not only was the *Genius* of the *princeps* absent from surviving Domitianic iconography, but the place of *Genius* of the state, occupied by Nero's *Genius Augusti*, was returned to the *Genius Populi Romani* which, in combination with the *Genius Senatus* and the goddess *Roma*, was used on three surviving monumental sculptural reliefs to personify the state. On these reliefs these three deities appear among the community that greet Vespasian upon his *adventus* to Rome in AD 70, surround Titus while he celebrates his triumph over Judea in AD 71, and see Domitian off on one of his many campaigns on behalf of the state. In this way the Flavian *principes* were presented as working for the state for her benefit as a serving chief magistrate, rather than as the embodiment of the state as Nero was with his *Genius Augusti*.

It was suggested in this chapter that it is entirely possible that the extensive role of the *Genius* of the *princeps* under Nero and the civil war generals was already limited during Vespasian's reign, though again the evidence is too limited to determine this with certainty. Not only is the *Genius* of the *princeps* absent from all evidence for cult and iconography surviving from the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, but coins were minted for the *Genius Populi Romani* using the same iconography that had been usurped for Nero's *Genius Augusti*, suggesting that there was a backlash against its appropriation. Furthermore, although the Domitianic monumental sculptural reliefs are usually cited as the first occasions on which the *Genius Populi Romani* and *Genius Senatus* were depicted together, there is evidence that the two in fact appeared together for the first time on a Vespasianic coin of AD 71. This may

indicate that the iconographic and ideological role of the *Genius* identified on the Domitianic monumental sculptural reliefs may have been introduced under Vespasian.

Chapter three examined the role of the *divi* in Roman state cult and religion. It was seen that the *divi* were in fact promoted as important ancestors of the *princeps* under both the Julio-Claudians and Domitian, but in significantly different ways. In the Julio-Claudian imperial cult the primary role of the *divi* appears to have been as protectors of the current *princeps*, and as such were regular recipients of sacrifices for the *princeps* from the Arvals. By contrast, not only were the Julio-Claudian *divi* removed from the pantheon of deities to receive sacrifices for the *princeps* during the reign of Vespasian, but they were not replaced by the Flavian *divi*, even under Domitian who saw four members of his family deified, more than under any other *princeps*. Despite this disassociation of the *divi* from the cult conducted for the *princeps*, Domitian nevertheless used the Flavian *divi* to bolster his claim to power by their heavy promotion in other spheres. The Flavian *divi* were, however, promoted in a new way. Rather than being promoted as individual *divi* as the Julio-Claudians had been, each Flavian *divus* was part of a collective, with shared temples and priests. This contrast between individual and collective treatment was not isolated to Rome, but was also seen in the provincial imperial cult. Under the Julio-Claudians provincial cults were exclusively dedicated to a specific *princeps* or *divus*, sometimes in combination with other individually specified deities such as the goddess *Roma*. The provincial cult established at Ephesus in Asia under Domitian was dedicated to the *Sebastoi*, a collective including multiple *divi*, and the *princeps* and living members of the imperial family, who were not excluded from direct cult as they were in Rome. This approach to the *divi* may have had a similar aim as the changes made to the Arval cult, which saw less focus on the individual *princeps* and more focus on the Principate as an institution; the *divi* also appear to have been treated less as

individuals and more as part of a larger institution.

In this chapter I also argued that although the prolific deification of members of the Flavian imperial family appears to have been a specifically Domitianic phenomenon, there are connections between other Vespasianic and Domitianic policies towards the *divi*. It was under Vespasian that the *divi* were removed from the cult of the *princeps* conducted by the Arvals, and this was maintained in cult form by Domitian, with the *divi* continuing to be excluded from the Arval cult, if not in spirit through his other use of the *divi*. Further, there is direct Vespasianic precedent for Domitian's treatment of the *divi* as a collective in the provinces, as the first provincial cults of the *Sebasteoi* were dedicated during his reign. Although it is impossible to say how much this provincial policy may have influenced policy towards the *divi* in Rome, that Vespasian was concerned with the *divi* in Rome is clear from his maintenance of the cult of Divus Claudius.

Thus the surviving evidence allows for the possibility that many of the changes applied to the Julio-Claudian imperial cult by the reign of Domitian were in fact introduced under Vespasian, and several fragments of evidence may even suggest that this is a strong possibility, but collectively the surviving evidence is simply too limited to properly characterise the form of the Roman state imperial cult under Vespasian. Nevertheless my suggestion throughout that Vespasian's reign was a time of major change and development in the imperial cult in Rome is lent further support by evidence from the provincial cults, this time from the western empire. Duncan Fishwick has firmly established that new provincial cults were created in Gallia Narbonensis,¹ Baetica² and Africa Proconsularis³ during Vespasian's reign, and that these three provincial cults, plus the existing provincial cults in

¹ IG 2(2) 4193a-b=ILS 6964; Fishwick (1987) 1.2:240-241, 254-256; (2002) 3.2:100-109, 130-133.

² Fishwick (1987) 1.2:220-239; (2002) 3.1:112-119.

³ Fishwick (1971) 467; (1987) 1.2:260; (2002) 3.1:200-204.

Hispania Citerior,⁴ Lusitania⁵ and Tres Galliae,⁶ underwent major reorganisation during his reign, and that all six provincial cults were given a uniform set of regulations exemplified by the *Lex Narbonensis*.⁷ He also makes strong arguments, on the basis of priestly titles, that new provincial cults were also established in Mauretania Caesariensis, Mauretania Tingitana, Alpes Cottiae, Alpes Maritimae and Sardinia under Vespasian.⁸ Even if Fishwick is only correct about the first half of this argument, this still represents that most extensive and systematic attention paid to the provincial imperial cult since the reign of Augustus, as seen in chapter three. This extensive reorganisation of provincial imperial cults throughout the western empire along new and different lines demonstrates that the Vespasianic administration was highly concerned with the imperial cult and open to manipulating and changing it in innovative ways, and this attention may well also have been applied in Rome.

Thus it is the conclusion of this thesis that several significant differences existed in the form of the imperial cult as it existed under the Julio-Claudian and Domitian, and these changes appear to represent major reorganisation of the existing imperial cult. Although it is impossible to determine with certainty on the basis of the surviving evidence, there is a reasonable possibility that much of this reorganisation took place during the reign of Vespasian.

⁴ Fishwick (2002) 3.1:156-166; (2002) 3.2:73-137; (2004) 3.3:31-40.

⁵ Fishwick (2002) 3.1:166-169

⁶ Fishwick (2002) 3.1:150-154.

⁷ Fishwick (2002) 3.1:100-111, 3.2:3-15.

⁸ Fishwick (1987) 1.2:266-281; (2002) 3.1:171-195; (2002) 3.2: Mauretania Caesariensis (206), Mauretania Tingitana (209), Alpes Cottiae (249), Alpes Maritimae (252-253), Sardinia (213-214).

Appendix One: Surviving Arval Imperial Cult Rituals, Tiberius to Domitian

DATE	EVENT	LOCATION: DEITIES	CFA REF.
TIBERIUS			
11 Jan AD 21	<i>pro salute</i> of Tiberius, Livia, children and grandchildren <i>domus eorum</i>	Grove: Dea Dia	4a:7-19
30 Jan AD 25?	Birthday of Livia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	10:1-4
4 Jan AD 27	Annual Vota: Tiberius and Livia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva; Grove: Dea Dia	5a-e:1-33
30 Jan AD 27	Birthday of Livia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	5f:1-14
3 Jan AD 28?	Annual Vota: Tiberius, Livia, <i>domus eorum</i>	...	6:1-6
16 Nov AD 33	Birthday of Tiberius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	7a.I:1-5
23 Sept AD 35	Birthday of Divus Augustus	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	7a.II:1-3
16 Nov AD 35	Birthday of Tiberius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	7a.II:4-12
3/4 Jan AD 36	Annual Vota: Tiberius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus...	7a.II:13-23
13 Jan AD 37	<i>pro salute</i> of Tiberius	...	8a:1-6
23 Jan AD 37	Security and Safety of Tiberius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	8a:7-14
GAIUS			
3 Jan AD 38	Annual Vota: Gaius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Dea Dia, Salus, Divus Augustus; (Jan 11, Grove and <i>Domus Caesaris</i> : Dea Dia)	12a:1-24
30 Jan AD 38	Dedication of <i>Ara Pacis</i>	<i>Ara Pacis</i> : Pax Augusta	12b:8-12
30 Jan AD 38	Birthday of Livia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	12c:1-4
31 Jan AD 38	Birthday of Antonia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	12c:5-7
18 Mar AD 38	Gaius hailed <i>Imperator</i>	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus	12c:8-14
28 Mar AD 38	Gaius enters Rome	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus	12c:15-19
23 Apr AD 38	Dedication of the Statue of Divus Augustus near the Theatre of Marcellus	Before the statue of Divus Augustus at the Theatre of Marcellus: Divus Augustus	12c:24-28
24 May AD 38	Birthday of Germanicus	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	12c:29-36
26 Jun AD 38	Adoption of Tiberius	<i>Ara Providentiae Augustae</i> : Providentia Augusta	12c:54-57
4 Jul AD 38	<i>Ara Pacis</i> vowed	<i>Ara Pacis</i> : Pax Augusta	12c:66-70
1 Aug AD 38	Dedication of the Temple of Divus Augustus	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus	12c:71-76
31 Aug AD 38	Birthday of Gaius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	12c:77-82
21 Sept AD 38	Gaius hailed <i>Pater Patriae</i>	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus	12c:83-91
23 Sept AD 38	Birthday of Divus Augustus/Consecration of Drusilla	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus	12c:92-104
24 Sept AD 38	[Birthday of Divus Augustus]	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	12c:105-109
16 Nov AD 38	Birthday of Tiberius	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	12d:5-10
1 Jan AD 39	Gaius assumes consulship	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus	13abcd:4-11
30 Jan AD 39	Birthday of Livia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	13e:1-3

Appendix One: Surviving Arval Imperial Cult Rituals, Tiberius to Domitian

31 Jan AD 39	Birthday of Antonia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	13e:4-11
18 Mar AD 39	Gaius hailed <i>Imperator</i>	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva	13e:12-17
AD 39	?	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, Minerva, Salus, Divus Augustus; Templum Concordiae: Concordia; Palatine: Divus Augustus; Ara Providentiae Augustae: Providentia Augusta	13fgh:1-8
24/26 Oct AD 39	Birthday of Agrippina	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	13fgh:9-16
27 Oct AD 39	Detection of Conspiracy	...	13fgh:17-22
24 May AD 40	Birthday of Germanicus	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva	14.l:1-9
2/5 Jun AD 40	Birthday of Diva Drusilla	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva	14.l:19-26
CLAUDIUS			
12 Jan AD 44	Claudius hailed <i>Pater Patriae</i>	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Felicitas, Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta	17.1-14
17 Jan AD 44	Consecration of Diva Augusta	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta	17.15-23
23 Sept AD 43/45	Birthday of Divus Augustus	Capitol: Jupiter; Ara Gentis Juliae: vaccam?	18:1-11
24 Sept AD 43/45	[Birthday of Divus Augustus]	Palatine: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta	18:12-18
23 Sept AD 43/45	Birthday of Divus Augustus	Capitol: Jupiter; Ara Gentis Juliae: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta	19:1-4
24 Sept AD 43/45	[Birthday of Divus Augustus]	Palatine: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta	19:5-10
3 Jan AD 47?	Vota: ?	?	23:1-9
12 Oct AD 53	<i>Augustalia</i>	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta	20:17-30
28 Jun AD 54	Vow for the Safety of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani Quiritium	22:3-29
NERO			
11 Dec AD 55	Birthday of Domitius Ahenobarbus	ante domum Domitianum: bouem marem?	24:1-5
15 Dec AD 55	Birthday of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Genius ipsius	24:6-14
AD 55/56?	Vota: Nero, Agrippina, Octavia?	...	31:1-7
1 Jan AD 57	Nero assumes consulship	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, Minerva; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	25a:1-7
6 Nov AD 57	Birthday of Agrippina	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Concordia	25b:6-14
4 Dec AD 57	<i>Tribunicia Potestas</i> of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva	25b:14-21
11 Dec AD 57	Birthday of Domitius Ahenobarbus	ante domum Domitianum: bouem marem?	25b:22-27
15 Dec AD 57	Birthday of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter...	25b:28-31
1 Jan AD 58	Nero assumes consulship	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Genius ipsius	26a-lr: 1-12
3 Jan AD 58	Annual Vota: Nero, Octavia	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	26a-lr: 13-22
25 Feb AD 58	Adoption of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani	26a-lr:28-32
12 Oct AS 58	<i>Augustalia</i>	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	27:4-8
13 Oct AD 58	<i>Imperium</i> of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Felicitas Publica, Genius ipsius, Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	27:9-14
6 Nov AD 58	Birthday of Agrippina	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Concordia ipsius	27:15-18

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4 Dec AD 58	<i>Tribunicia Potestas</i> of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva	27:19-23
11 Dec AD 58	Birthday of Domitius Ahenobarbus	ante domum Domitianum: bouem marem?	27:24-28
15 Dec AD 58	Birthday of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Concordia Honoris Agrippinae Augustae, Genius ipsius	27:29-35
3 Jan AD 59	Annual Vota: Nero, Octavia	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	27:37-48
25 Feb AD 59	Adoption of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica	27:57-63
4 Mar AD 59	Nero assigned Consulship	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Genius ipsius	27:64-70
5 Apr AD 59	Detection of Conspiracy	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Providentia, Genius ipsius, Divus Augustus...	28a-c:10-16
23 Jun AD 59	Safety and Return of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Felicitas... Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius; Forum Augustum: Mars Ultor, Genius ipsius	28a-c:24-32
11 Sept AD 59	Safety and Return of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva; Forum Augustum: Genius ipsius, Salus; ante domum Domitianum: di Penates	28a-c:33-40
12 Oct AD 59	<i>Augustalia</i>	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	28a-c:41-47
13 Oct AD 59	<i>Imperium</i> of Nero	Capitol...	28a-c:48-50
11 Dec AD 59	Birthday of Domitius Ahenobarbus	ante domum Domitianum: bouem marem?	28de:3-8
15 Dec AD 59	Birthday of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Felicitas, Genius ipsius	28de:9-14
1 Jan AD 60	Nero assumes consulship	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Genius ipsius	28de:15-23
3 Jan AD 60	Annual Vota: Nero, Octavia	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	28de:24-32
15 Dec AD 60	Birthday of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Felicitas Publica, Concordia, Genius ipsius	28f:1-10
3 Jan AD 61/65	Annual Vota: Nero, wife	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus...	35ab.II:1-7
1 Jan AD 61?	Nero assumes consulship	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	33:1-5
25 Feb AD 62?	Adoption of Nero	Capitol:...	34:12-18
21 Jan AD 63	Pregnancy and Safety of Poppaea	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva...	29.1:18-24
after 11 Jan AD 63	<i>Adventus</i> of Nero, Poppaea, Claudia	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica, Felicitas, Spes, Genius ipsius, Iuno Poppaea, Iuno Claudia	29.II:1-21
after 11 Jan AD 63	Detection of Conspiracy	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Mars, Providentia... , Honos, Aeternitas...	30cd.I:1-8
after 11 Jan AD 63	Award of a Laurel	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Jupiter Victor...Pax...; Arcus Ianus Geminus:...	30cd.I:8-14
after 11 Jan AD 63	Supplications decreed by the Senate	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Felicitas, Clementia...	30cd.I:15-21
after 11 Jan AD 63	?	Capitol and Templum Novum: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius, Diva Claudia Virgo, Diva Poppaea, Genius Imperatoris Neronis Claudi Caesaris Augusti Germanici, Juno Messalinae	30cd.I:22-30
after 11 Jan AD 63	?	... Securitas... Victoria... Genius ipsius	30gh.I:1-11

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after 11 Jan AD 63	Award of a Laurel	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius, Diva Claudia Virgo, Diva Poppaea, Genius ipsius, Juno Messalinae	30cef.II:1-11
25 Sept AD 66	Safety and Return of Nero, Messalina	...	30cef.II:27-29
12 Oct AD 66	<i>Augustalia</i>	Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius, Diva Claudia Virgo, Diva Poppaea	30cef.II:30-34
13 Oct AD 66	<i>Imperium</i> of Nero	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Felicitas Publica; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius, Diva Claudia Virgo, Diva Poppaea...	30cef.II:34-40
AD 68?	Birthday of Messalina	...	37:1-3
GALBA			
Jan 1 AD 69	Galba assumes consulship	Capitol:...	40[1-7].I:1-6
Jan 3 AD 69	Annual Vota: Galba	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus; Templum Novum: Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	40[1-7].I:7-16
Jan 10 AD 69	Adoption of Licinius Piso	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani... Provodentia... Securitas... Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:24-34
OTHO			
Jan 15 AD 69?	<i>Imperium</i> of Otho	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Victoria, Salus, Felicitas, Mars Ultor, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:35-40
Jan 26 AD 69	Otho assumes consulship	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:41-45
Jan 30 AD 69	Substitute Annual Vota: Otho	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani, Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	40[1-7].I:46-54
Feb 28 AD 69	<i>Tribunicia Potestas</i> of Otho	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus, Victoria, Genius Populi Romani, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:58-62
Mar 1 AD 69	Award of a Laurel	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus, Victoria, Mars, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:63-67
Mar 3 AD 69	Otho co-opted into all major priestly colleges	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:68-71
Mar 9 AD 69	Otho becomes <i>Pontifex Maximus</i>	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Dea Dia, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:72-76
VITELLIUS			
Mar 14 AD 69	Substitute Annual Vota: Vitellius	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani, Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta, Divus Claudius	40[1-7].I:76-80
April 30 AD 69	<i>Tribunicia Potestas</i> of Vitellius	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:81-84
May 1 AD 69	<i>Dies imperii</i> of Vitellius	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Jupiter Victor, Salus, Felicitas, Genius Populi Romani; Forum Augustum: Mars Ultor, Genius ipsius	40[1-7].I:84-88
May AD 69	Safety and <i>Adventus</i> of Vitellius	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Jupiter Victor, Salus Publica Populi Romani, Felicitas, Genius Populi Romani; Forum Augustum: Mars Ultor, Genius ipsius	40[1-5].II:1-5
June 3 AD 69	Birthday of Gelaria	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani, Concordia, Genius ipsius	40[1-5].II:10-13
June or July AD 69	?	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Jupiter Victor, Salus Publica Populi Romani; Forum Augustum: Mars Ultor, Genius ipsius	40[1-5].II:15-18
AD 69	<i>pro salute/ob comitia</i>	...	40[6]

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AD 69	<i>ob natalem</i>	...	40[7]
VESPASIAN			
Sept AD 70	<i>Adventus</i> of Vespasian	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Fortuna Redux	41:1-5
Jan 3 AD 75	Annual Vota: Vespasian and Titus	Capitol:...	43aa'bcdf:1-10
Jan 3 AD 78	Annual Vota: Vespasian and Titus	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus	44a:1-16
Jan 3 AD 79	Annual Vota: Vespasian, Titus, Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Publica	45:1-8
TITUS			
Dec 7 AD 80	Restoration of Capitoline Temple	Capitol in Temple of Ops	48:11-16
Jan 3 AD 81	Annual Vota: Titus, Domitian, Julia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Publica	48:35-61
DOMITIAN			
Sept 14 AD 81	<i>Imperium</i> of Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus, Felicitas, Mars	49:27-32
Sept 30 AD 81	<i>Tribunicia Potestas</i> of Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva	49:33-38
Oct 1 AD 81	Substitute Annual Vota: Domitian, Domitia, Julia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus, Genius ipsius	49:39-51
Jan 3 AD 86	Annual Vota: Domitian, Domitia, Julia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Publica	54:1-26
Jan 22 AD 86	Vota: Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	54:35-47
Jan 3 AD 87	Annual Vota: Domitian, Domitia, Julia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani Quiritium	55.1:1-50
Jan 14/21 AD 87	Safety and Return of Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva	55.1:64-69
Jan 22 AD 87	Vota: Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	55.1:70-II:12
Sept 22 AD 87	Detection of Conspiracy	Capitol: bovem marem?	55.II:62-64
Jan 12 AD 89	Safety, Victory and Return of Domitian	Capitol	57:13-18
Jan 17 AD 89	Safety, Return and Victory of Domitian	Capitol	57:19-25
Jan 22 AD 89	Vota: Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	57:26-30
Jan 24 AD 89	Supplications for Domitian	Capitol: supplication of incense and wine	57:31-34
Jan 25 AD 89	Public Rejoicing for Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	57:35-39
Jan 29 AD 89	Safety and Return of Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Mars, Salus, Fortuna, Victoria Redux, Genius Populi Romani	57:40-46
Jan 3 AD 90	Annual Vota: Domitian, Domitia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Publica Populi Romani Quiritium	58:1-28
Jan 22 AD 90	Vota: Domitian	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus	58:36-43
Jan 3 AD 91	Annual Vota: Domitian, Domitia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus Augusta Publica Populi Quiritium	59:1-23
Jan 3 AD 92	Annual Vota: Domitian, Domitia	Capitol: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva, Salus ?	60.1-11

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| Chronographer of AD 354 | Frontinus, <i>de Aquis</i> |
| Cicero, <i>De Domo Sua</i> | Gaius, <i>Institutiones</i> |
| <i>De Legibus</i> | <i>Historia Augusta</i> |
| <i>De Natura Deorum</i> | Horace, <i>Carmina</i> |
| <i>De Officiis</i> | <i>Saturae</i> |
| <i>De Re Publica</i> | Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i> |
| <i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i> | Juvenal, <i>Saturae</i> |
| <i>Epistulae ad Familiares</i> | Livy, <i>Ab Urbe Condita</i> |
| <i>In Catilinam</i> | Lucan, <i>Pharsalus</i> |
| <i>Lege Agraria</i> | |
| <i>Philippica</i> | |
| <i>Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo</i> | |
| <i>Pro Sestio</i> | |
| <i>Tusculanae Disputationes</i> | |

- Martial, *Epigrammata*
Liber Spectaculorum
- Minucius Felix, *Octavius*
- Notitia Regionum*
- Ovid, *Epistulae ex Pontum*
Fasti
Tristia
- Papyri Osloenses*
- Persius, *Saturae*
- Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis*
- Pliny (elder), *Historia Naturalis*
- Pliny (younger), *Epistulae*
Panegyricus
- Plutarch, *Caesar*
- Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*
- Ptolemy, *Geography*
- Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*
- Seneca, *De Beneficiis*
De Brevitate Vitae
Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium
- [Seneca], *Apocolocyntosis*
- Servius, *ad Aeneidos*
- Silius Italicus, *Punica*
- Statius, *Silvae*
- Strabo, *Geography*
- Suetonius, *De Vitis Caesarum*
- Tabula Hebana*
- Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum*
- Tabula Siarensis*
- Tacitus, *Agricola*
Annales
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- Tibullus, *Elegiae*
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- Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium*
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