

The Bosphorus: Gateway between the Ancient West and East (1st Millennium BC–5th Century AD)

Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress on Black
Sea Antiquities

Istanbul, 14th–18th September 2009

Edited by

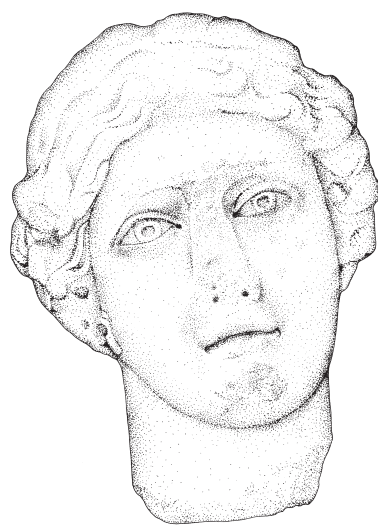
Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

Sümer Atasoy

Alexandru Avram

Şevket Dönmez

James Hargrave



BAR International Series 2517
2013

Published by

Archaeopress
Publishers of British Archaeological Reports
Gordon House
276 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 7ED
England
bar@archaeopress.com
www.archaeopress.com

BAR S2517

*The Bosphorus: Gateway between the Ancient West and East (1st Millennium BC–5th Century AD).
Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities Istanbul, 14th–18th September
2009*

© Archaeopress and the individual authors 2013

ISBN 978 1 4073 1135 7

Printed in England by Information Press, Oxford

All BAR titles are available from:

Hadrian Books Ltd
122 Banbury Road
Oxford
OX2 7BP
England
www.hadrianbooks.co.uk

The current BAR catalogue with details of all titles in print, prices and means of payment is available free from Hadrian Books or may be downloaded from www.archaeopress.com

IMITATIO PRINCIPIS: BETWEEN EUERGETISM AND SELF-CELEBRATION. JULIO-CLAUDIAN STATUARY GROUPS FROM THE BLACK SEA, HELLESPONT AND BOSPORUS*

Mario CESARANO
(University of Ferrara)

Important new contributions have helped our understanding of the phenomenon of Julio-Claudian dynastic statuary groups in the last 20 years. In the present study I intend to deal only with the Julio-Claudian dynastic statuary groups attested in cities along the coasts of the Black Sea, the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, leaving aside the archaeological evidence for certain or possible statuary groups in cities away from the coasts.

Julio-Claudian dynastic statuary groups consist of two or more statues erected in the same location to honour those members of the Julio-Claudian imperial family involved in the succession to the throne. Apart from belonging to *Domus Augusta*, as in the case of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, males must be emperors or heirs to the throne, and females must be associated in the transmission of the power, as wives, mothers or daughters. These statuary groups represent a synthesis of time: the present power legitimised by the past power and projected into the future power¹ (Table 1). The statues of these groups could be erected in different periods of time.

I would like to underline the social phenomenon of the Julio-Claudian dynastic statuary groups. In fact, the early imperial Roman urban society and the imperial cult were characterised by this social phenomenon. The imperial cult rose and developed into a civil religion in which the gods were the *princeps* and everyone involved in the succession to the throne; the sanctuaries were the buildings at the centre of city life, and every citizen could be a priest.

I believe the Julio-Claudian dynastic statuary groups were present in every city of the Roman empire. However, we can only consider the groups that are validly documented and proven. For this, the presence in the same place of at least two statues associated certainly with Julio-Claudian princes and princesses have to be proved by plastic and epigraphic evidence.²

* I would like to thank all of the organisers of the 4th International Congress of Black Sea Antiquities, in particular the late Mehmet Derviş and Gocha Tsetsckhladze, for their helpfulness.

¹ Cesarano forthcoming.

² Saletti 1993, 369. There is evidence of statues and portraits of Augustus and his relatives in some cities around the Black Sea, but it is not always possible to link them to dynastic statuary groups: at Panticapaeum an inscription with a dedication to Augustus (*IGRR* I 875) and another with a dedication to Nero (*IGRR* I 876); at Sinope a portrait of Tiberius (Vermeule 1968, 491) and a dedication to Agrippina

Regarding Julio-Claudian statuary groups from the Black Sea, Hellespont and Bosphorus, we can prove the presence of one group at Phanagoria, the city of the Bosporan kingdom located on the Straits of Kerch, opposite the ancient capital, Panticapaeum. Three other groups are documented at Ilium and one at Cyzicus, the free cities of the Roman province of Asia; and the last group was found at Amisus in the province of Bithynia et Pontus (Fig. 1).

This paper does not consider two statues incorrectly classified by many scholars as belonging to a Julio-Claudian dynastic statuary group. Of these two statues we have recovered only dedicatory inscriptions (*IGRR* I 821), dedicated to Agrippa and Julia, at Sestus in Thracian Chersonesus, dated most probably between 16 and 13 BC, when Agrippa was the governor of the East.³ In these years Agrippa and Julia were honoured according to Hellenistic tradition as representatives of the power, without dynastic references to their membership in the *Domus Augusta*.⁴ In the statuary group at Sestus there is no reference to Augustus' power as *princeps*. On the contrary, in the bronze statuary group from Thespieae in Boeotia, in the sanctuary dedicated to the Muses, datable between 15 and 13 BC, dynastic connotations exist. In fact, besides Agrippa and Julia, their children are honoured as well. Caius, Lucius and Agrippina Maior represent the dynastic future of the power of the *princeps*, and the statue of Livia refers precisely to the source of power, Augustus.⁵ In the Sanctuary of the Muses, a statue of Augustus, dated before 27 BC, was dedicated to Augustus by the people of Thespieae.

the Elder (*IGRR* III 94); at Ilium dedications to Agrippa and his son Caius Caesar (*IGRR* IV 204, 205); at Apamea Myrlea in Bithynia a dedication to Germanicus (*CIL* III 334); at Mesambria in Moesia Inferior some dedications of statues to Claudius (*AE* 1928, n. 150); at Nicomedia a dedication to Lucius Caesar (*CIL* III 323); at Cyzicus one statue of Augustus dedicated by Aristander Eumenis and one statue of Tiberius dated after AD 23 (Vermeule 1968, 213); at Hodja-Bunar a dedication to Drusus Minor, maybe from Cyzicus (*IGRR* IV 187).

³ Rose 1997, 180. Regarding Agrippa's presence and his travels in the East, see Halfmann 1986, 163-66; Roddaz 1984, 419-75; Magie 1975, 476-79.

⁴ Before Agrippa, other Romans were honoured in the East as representatives of Rome's power and became recipients of divine honours: Marcellus, Flamininus, Lucullus, Sulla, Pompey (see Taylor 1931, 35-37). Fulvia, Antony's wife, was the first wife of a Roman governor honored in the East. Regarding statuary groups honouring Romans and their families in the East, see Balty 1988.

⁵ Rose 1997, 149-51; Hanson and Johnson 1946, 390, n.3; Plassart 1926, 447-51, nn. 88-89.

Table 1: The synthesis of time in a typical *Claudische Galerie*

The past	<p>Divus Augustus + Diva Livia</p> <p>Tiberius</p> <p>Drusus Maior + Antonia Minor (niece of Augustus)</p> <p>Germanicus + Agrippina Maior</p>
The present	<p>Claudius + Messalina or Agrippina Minor</p>
The future	<p>Britannicus, Claudia Antonia, Claudia Ottavia, Nero</p>



Fig. 1: Map of the Black Sea and Asia Minor



Fig. 2: Bronze bust of Queen Dynamis
(after Rostovtzeff 1919, pl. III)

Two statuary bases dedicated to Augustus and Livia by Queen Dynamis (*IGRR* I 901, 902) were found at Phanagoria. Dynamis was the daughter of Pharnaces and the granddaughter of Mithridates Eupator Dionysus, and also the wife of Asander, the king of Bosphorus between 47 and 16 BC. Rostovtzeff recognised Dynamis' portrait in a bronze bust found in a location not very far from Phanagoria, near the present Novorossiisk (Fig. 2).⁶ On the death of Asander, the throne of Bosphorus was usurped by Scribonius. Marcus Agrippa passed the throne over to Polemon, who married Dynamis and reunited the rulership of Bosphorus and the one of Pontus in 14 BC (Dio Cassius 54. 4. 10; 54. 24. 7).⁷ Probably the marriage between Polemon and Dynamis did not last longer than one year. Between 13 and 8 BC there is no trace of Dynamis. Rose recognised Dynamis and her son standing behind Agrippa on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Fig. 3).⁸ According to Rose, Dynamis and her son went to Rome with Agrippa after her separation from Polemon. Rose in his recent studies about the presence of barbarians on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* has changed his opinion, and he has suggested that the woman and young child behind Agrippa are a princess and a young prince from Parthia.⁹ However, after the assassination of Polemon by the neighbouring tribe of Aspurgiani, and after Augustus' intervention, Dynamis resumed the kingdom of Bosphorus again between 8 BC and AD 7/8.¹⁰ In these years her portrait appeared on the coinage.¹¹

In this period, Dynamis ordered the coinage of golden staters with the portraits of Agrippa and Augustus. Moreover, the name of Phanagoria was changed to Agrippia and most probably Dynamis ordered the erection of statues representing Augustus and Livia at Phanagoria. Dynamis called herself Philoromaïos and Augustus and Livia saviours and benefactors. In addition, Dynamis dedicated another statue to Augustus at Panticapaeum (*IGRR* I 875).

At Ilium, Dörpfeld conducted excavations in the *bouleuterion* and discovered inscriptions engraved on two statuary bases dedicated to Augustus and Tiberius (*IGRR* IV 203, 207). The former was written by Melanippides, a prominent local, in 12/11 BC, while the latter was written by the *Boulè* and *Demos* in AD 32/3. These two inscriptions cannot be associated with the portraits of Augustus and Tiberius (Fig. 4)¹² preserved currently in Berlin, since both were found in an unknown location at Ilium. Another portrait representing Agrippina the Elder was found in the same place as the former (Fig. 5); it is now located in Philadelphia (USA).¹³ The three portraits were erected in different periods and belonged to a larger statuary group.¹⁴ Agrippa and his son Caius Caesar were honoured by the inhabitants of Ilium as benefactors, patrons and relatives, but we cannot associate the inscriptions on the bases of the statues because of the lack of excavation data (*IGRR* IV 204, 205).

On the contrary, another Julio-Claudian statuary group of Claudian age has been certainly documented at Ilium.¹⁵ Dedications to Claudius' children, Claudia Octavia, Claudia Antonia, Britannicus and Nero, were engraved on two fragments belonging to the same inscription (*IGRR* IV 209).

According to Rose, the inscription to Nero was added later, between the time Nero was adopted by Claudius (in AD 51) and his succession to the throne (in AD 54).¹⁶

One statuary group honouring Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius was most probably on the top of the honorary arch erected by the Cyziceni and the *Cives Romani* of Cyzicus at Cyzicus in order to celebrate Claudius' victorious war in Britannia.¹⁷ This arch was an echo of the one voted for by the Roman senate in Rome on the *Via Lata*. In 20 BC, the Cyzicenes acted violently against the Romans (Tacitus *Annals* 4. 36. 2; Dio Cassius 54. 7. 6), and in AD 25 Tiberius deprived them of their freedom as a consequence of their neglect of the imperial cult. It records that *incuria caerimoniarum divi Augusti* the temple of *Divus Augustus* (Dio Cassius 57. 24. 6; Suetonius *Tiberius* 37. 3) was not completed.

⁶ Rostovtzeff 1919.

⁷ Roddaz 1984, 463-68.

⁸ Rose 1990.

⁹ Rose 2005.

¹⁰ Rostovtzeff 1919, 100-05.

¹¹ Rose 1990, 458, 21.

¹² Polacco 1955, 120, pl. XV.2.

¹³ Vermeule 1964.

¹⁴ Vermeule 1968, 183, 190-92, 216, 381, n.17, 385, n.11, 386, n.3, 458, fig. 122.

¹⁵ Rose 1997, 178-79.

¹⁶ Rose 1997, 178-79.

¹⁷ *CIL* III 7061; Rose 1997, 171-72.



Fig. 3: Queen Dynamis on the precinct of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (after Rose 1990)

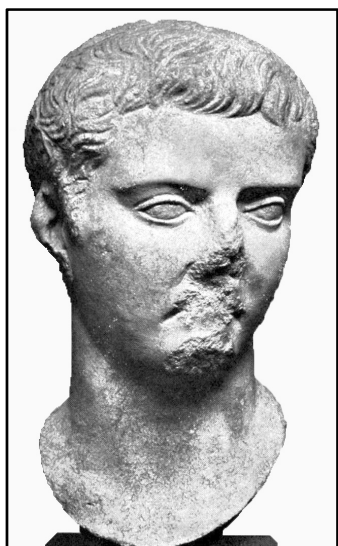


Fig. 4: Portrait of Tiberius from Ilium (after Polacco 1955, 120, tav. XV.2)

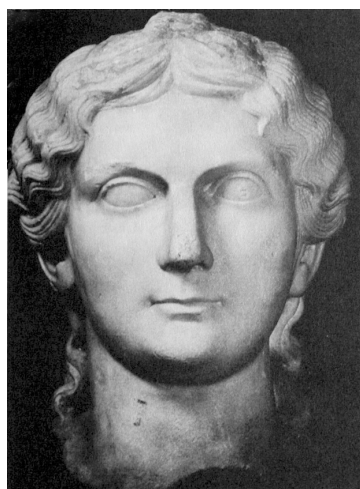


Fig. 5: Portrait of Agrippina Maior (after Vermeule 1968, 193, fig. 122)

In the time of Claudius, devotion to the imperial family was demonstrated by the creation of this arch. According to Roman custom, the Cyzicenes honoured Claudius with this triumphal arch and legitimated his Principate through the continuity among him, Tiberius and Augustus, omitting Caligula, condemned to *damnatio memoriae*.

Finally, the last group was found at Amisus, in Pontus.¹⁸ It is dated to the reign of Nero. On the proposal of Loukios Eutios Poteitos and his fellow magistrates, the *Demos* dedicated statues honouring Nero, his wife Poppea and his brother Britannicus.¹⁹ The statuary group has been dated between the marriage of Nero and Poppea in AD 63 and the death of Poppea in AD 65. Britannicus died in AD 55, murdered by Nero, and his presence in this statuary group suggests to us that the inhabitants of Amisus did not suspect that Nero was responsible for his brother's death.²⁰ The presence of Britannicus in this statuary group, as always with dead Julio-Claudian princes, was the indication of their destiny as heroes, which would come to pass for the current emperor as well.²¹

It is very difficult for us to indicate the exact original location of statuary groups related to the inscriptions, because the data preserved regarding the discovery of all these inscriptions are very rare and extremely imprecise. After accurate studies about numerous statuary groups documented in the entire Roman empire, we can conclude that these groups were situated in the buildings where the new values of identity and community in the urban ideology, profoundly renovated by the ideology of

¹⁸ Bean 1956.

¹⁹ *SEG* 16, 1959, n. 748.

²⁰ Rose 1990, 161.

²¹ Britannicus appears in the East also on the relief of Sebasteion at Aphrodisias in Caria (Rose 1997, 164-69) and in the statuary groups at Arneae in Lycia (Rose 1997, 170-71), at Ilium in Troad (Rose 1997, 178-79), at Alexandria in Egypt (Rose 1997, 185-86), always in Claudian age.

Principate, were elaborated.²² In the western part of the empire the basilicas, theatres, *Augusteia* and honorary arches became sanctuaries of the new civil religion of the empire, where the power manifested itself. On the contrary, in the eastern part of the empire the euergetism of the rich and powerful supporters of the regime was materialised not only in the construction of the buildings where daily life took place in the city but also in the construction of magnificent fountains, of *plateai*, of *stoai*. At Ilium, the statues of Augustus and Tiberius were most probably in the *Bouleuterion* (the citizen council). Maybe the statues of the children of Claudius decorated the *stoa* dedicated by Tiberius Claudius Filocles and his wife Parmenis to Claudius and his family (*IGRR* IV 208), but if one considers the specific spot where the inscriptions were found, near the southern gate of the city, these statues probably were placed on the top of the southern gate, making it an honorary arch, which occurred at Rome with Claudius' arch inserted into the *Aqua Virgo*.²³ The statuary group was dedicated by the Cyzicenes and Roman citizens on the top of the honorary arch. Unfortunately, we do not have enough data to state where the statuary group at Amisus was placed. Only one inscription documents the presence of a *Kaisareion* at Phanagoria (*IGRR* I 904). The *Kaisareia* at Alexandria in Egypt and Antiochia in Syria were the building complex for the imperial cult with *cryptoporticus*, with linked *porticus* and with a central courtyard used as garden. The supposed *Kaisareion* at Phanagoria may have been a similar building. In this regard, it is significant that Tiberius Claudius Philocles and his wife chose to dedicate to Claudius and his family a *stoa* that recalls the *porticus* in the *Kaisareia*. According to an inscription from neighbouring Olbia, another *stoa* was dedicated to *Divus Augustus* and Tiberius by Ababo (Calistene's son) (*IGRR* I 853). Moreover in AD 53 a *stoa* was erected by Tiberius Claudius Kleophanes at Ilium in the precinct of the Hellenistic temple to Athena to hold statues of the imperial family, the senate and the *Demos* of the city.²⁴ It seems that in the East the *stoa* was the favourite architectural type for the cult of the emperor and his family. In the West, other types of buildings served the same function and offered the same ideological view as the *stoa* (*porticus Liviae*, *porticus Octaviae* and *porticus Gaii et Lucii* at Rome, but also the building of Eumachia at Pompeii, the whole *Insula II* with *cryptoporticus* at Velia, and finally the types of *fora* at Roscino and at Conimbriga).²⁵

The erection of the statuary groups was very expensive. From the analysis of the statuary groups mentioned, it results that the dedicators may possibly, have been entire citizen communities by their representatives such as the *Boulè* and *Demos*, for example the statue of Tiberius and the statuary group of Claudius' children at Ilium, the

Neronian group at Amisus, the honorary arch dedicated to Claudius by two different civic communities, the Cyzicenes and the Romans, in Cyzicus. In other places, the dedicators may possibly be local prominent citizens, like Melannipides, who dedicated the statue of Augustus in the *Bouleuterion* at Ilium, and Loukios Eutios Poteitos, the magistrate who encouraged the erection of the statues at Amisus with his colleagues, or Tiberius Claudius Philocles, who dedicated a *stoa* to the entire family of Claudius. An inscription from the southern coast of Lake of Ascanius, near Nicea, records that C. Iulius Aquila, from Amastris, was at the same time *procurator Ponti et Bythiniae* and *sacerdos perpetuus Divi Augusti* during the Neronian period (*IGRR* III 15; *CIL* III 346). In reality, the euergetism of these powerful people responsible for the dedication of statuary groups was only one aspect of the worship of the imperial family. The complexity of the imperial cult involved every component of early imperial urban Roman society, but only prominent wealthy people could transform their support of the ideology of the Principate into a physical form changing their cities' look. In this way, they were to their cities what the *princeps* was to Rome. This is known as *Imitatio Principis*. It is very important that this happened also in free cities and in the vassal kingdom of Bosphorus, where the king was the medium between Rome and local population and the promoter of the imperial cult. An inscription from Panticapaeum records that Cotys, son of Aspurgus, most probably the son of Dynamis and Asander, like *Archiereus tôn Sebastôn* called itself *philokaisar* and *philoromaïos* and honoured Nero (*IGRR* I 876.). In a multiethnic and multicultural empire, a strongly differentiated and fragmented society, the *princeps* became the only authentic moment of cohesion and the imperial cult overcame every boundary and became the universal language through which new values were diffused by the centre of power. In those values the *Romanitas* was impersonated and renovated. This phenomenon is very visible in territories around the Black Sea, at the border between two different cultures, which until that time had two different ideas of the city, of man and of power. The imperial cult spread rapidly and strongly – so it contributed to transform every cities of the empire in *effigies parvae simulacraque* of Rome.²⁶ The statuary groups played an important role. Most likely, the poet Ovid depicted the reality not very objectively in the experience of an exile, when, shut up in the house he considered a prison at Tomis, he described it as a place in which it was impossible for a Roman to live and its inhabitants as very distant from the *Romanitas*. Thus, Ovid secluded himself in his private *sacrarium* created in his home, where he prayed to the busts of Augustus, Livia, Tiberius, Drusus Minor and Germanicus, which meant to him the *Imagines Patriae* – so he lived in his 'Imaginary Rome' (Ovid *Epistulae ex Ponto* 2. 8. 1 ff.). This shows clearly how great and significant was the power of the statuary groups; this also shows the role that frontier territories played where the encounter between Rome and the 'Other' occurred sometimes by dialogue and sometimes by conflict.

²² Boschung 2002.

²³ Fasolini 2006, 135-54; Rodríguez Almeida 1993; Barrett 1991; De Maria 1988, 112-13, 280-82, n. 69; Kleiner 1985, 59-62; Koeppl 1983; Gordon 1958, 101-02, n. 103; Hanson and Johnson 1946, 393, n. 18; Castagnoli 1942.

²⁴ Vermeule 1968, 216.

²⁵ Cesarano forthcoming.

²⁶ Torelli 1990, 43.

Bibliography

- BALTY, J.C. 1988: 'Groupes statuariés impériaux et privés de l'époque Julio-claudienne'. In Bonacasa, N. and Rizza, G. (eds.), *Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato* (Rome), 31-46.
- BARRETT, A. 1991: 'Claudius' British Victory Arch in Rome'. *Britannia* 22, 1-19.
- BEAN, G. 1956: 'An Inscription of Amisus'. *Belleten* 20, 213-16.
- BOSCHUNG, D. 2002: *Gens Augusta: Untersuchungen zu Aufstellung, Wirkung und Bedeutung der Statuengruppen des julisch-claudischen Kaiserhauses* (Mainz).
- CASTAGNOLI, F. 1942: 'Due archi trionfali della Via Flaminia presso Piazza Sciarra'. *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 70, 57-73.
- CESARANO, M. forthcoming: *In honorem domus divinae: Cicli statuari giulio-claudii da Augusto a Nerone a Roma e in Occidente. Propaganda politica e ascesa sociale* (Rome).
- De MARIA, S. 1988: *Gli archi onorari di Roma e dell'Italia romana* (Rome).
- FASOLINI, D. 2006: *Aggiornamento bibliografico ed epigrafico ragionato sull'imperatore Claudio* (Milan).
- GORDON, A.E. and GORDON, J. 1958: *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions: Rome and the Neighborhood, Augustus to Nerva* (Berkeley).
- HALFMANN, H. 1986: *Itinera Principum* (Wiesbaden).
- HANSON, C. and JOHNSON, F.P. 1946: 'On certain portrait inscription'. *AJA* 50, 389-400.
- KLEINER, F. 1985: *The Arch of Nero in Rome: A Study of the Roman Honorary Arch before and under Nero* (Rome).
- KOEPEL, G. 1983: 'Two Reliefs from the Arch of Claudius in Rome'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung* 90, 103-09.
- MAGIE, D. 1975: *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* (Princeton).
- PLASSART, A. 1926: 'Inscriptions de Thespies'. *BCH*, 383-462.
- POLACCO, L. 1955: *Il volto di Tiberio* (Padua).
- RODDAZ, J.M. 1984: *Marcus Agrippa* (Rome).
- RODRÍGUEZ ALMEIDA, E. 1993: 'Arcus Claudii'. In Steinby, E.M. (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, vol. 1 (Rome), 85-86.
- ROSE, C.B. 1990: 'Princes and Barbarians on the Ara Pacis'. *AJA* 94. 3, 453-67.
- 1997: *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period* (Cambridge).
- 2005: 'The Partians in Augustan Rome'. *AJA* 109.1, 21-75.
- ROSTOVITZEFF, M.I. 1919: 'Queen Dynamis of Bosphorus'. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 39, 88-109.
- SALETTI, C. 1993: 'I Cicli statuari giulio-claudi della Cisalpina. Presenze, ipotesi, suggestioni'. *Athenaeum* LXXXI, fasc. II, 365-90.
- TAYLOR, L.R. 1931: *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, CT).
- TORELLI, M. 1990: 'Il modello urbano e l'immagine della città'. In Settis, S. (ed.), *Civiltà dei Romani. La città, il territorio, l'impero* (Rome), 43-64.
- VERMEULE, C.C. 1964: 'Greek and Roman Portraits in North American Collections Open to the Public: A Survey of Important Monumental Likenesses in Marble and Bronze Which Have Not Been Published Extensively'. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 108.2, 99-134.
- 1968: *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, MA).