Neue Zeiten – Neue Sitten

Zu Rezeption und Integration römischen und italischen Kulturguts in Kleinasien

herausgegeben von

Marion Meyer

Sonderdruck

Phoibos Verlag, Wien 2007

Peter Talloen

One Question, Several Answers: The Introduction of the Imperial Cult in Pisidia*

Introduction

Romanization is generally applied to processes of socio-cultural change resultant upon the integration of indigenous societies into the Roman Empire, and their effect on the nature of the Empire[1]. This pattern of change comprised such diverse categories as language, religion, art and architecture, law, urbanization, the army, enfranchisement.

In this paper, the term Romanization is applied to specific religious developments within the ancient region of Pisidia (SW-Turkey) which can be traced to the patterns of Roman rule. In other words: what did the coming of Rome entail for religious life in Pisidia?

Roman deities, priests and ceremonies were not systematically exported to the conquered territories and, for the most part, ›native‹ religious traditions continued under Roman domination[2]. For the Greek East, the components of religious life thus continued to be modelled on the Hellenic tradition. In his discussion of Roman provincial cultures, Greg Woolf even characterised Romano-Greek culture as »Greek in language and cult«[3]. Nonetheless, Roman power did influence the religion of the provincial territories. One phenomenon discerned in the material evidence of religious life in Pisidia, in particular, can be related to Roman rule, namely the cult of the emperors.

As stated by Stephen Mitchell, »much of the ›Romanness‹ of a city of the eastern provinces during the imperial period could […] be traced directly to the institution of emperor worship«[4]. The pace at which Pisidia embraced this ruler cult, therefore, potentially offers an indicator for the local attitudes towards imperial rule and its cultural implications at the beginning of the Principate.

It has often been contended that the diffusion of the cult of Augustus and of other members of his family throughout the Greek East was very rapid, indeed almost instantaneous[5]. Yet, except for two notable instances at Apollonia and Kormasa dating to the early imperial period[6], all other imperial sanctuaries in Pisidia, like the *Traianeion* at Adada, the temple for Hadrian and

* We would like to thank Prof. Dr. Marion Meyer for her kind invitation to present a paper at the Vienna conference, and for the warm hospitality she extended during our stay. The author is a postdoctoral fellow of the Fund of Scientific Research – Flanders (Belgium).

Please note the following abbreviations:

von Aulock 1979 = H. von Aulock, Münzen und Städte Pisidiens II, IstMitt. Beih. 22 (1979)

Buckler 1933 = W. H. Buckler (Hrsg.), Monuments and documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia, MAMA IV (1933)

Beard u. a. 1998 = M. Beard – J. North – S. Price, Religions of Rome. A History I (1998)

Hall 1986 = A. S. Hall, AnSt 36, 1986, 137–157

İplikçioğlu 1991 = B. İplikçioğlu, Epigraphische Forschungen in Termessos und seinem Territorium I, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 575 (1991)

Metzler u. a. 1995 = J. Metzler – M. Millett – N. Roymans – J. Slofstra (Hrsg.), Integration in the Early Roman West. The Role of Culture and Ideology. Papers Arising from the International Conference at the Titelberg (Luxembourg) 12–13 November, Dossiers d'Archéologie du Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art 4 (1995)

Mitchell 1993 = S. Mitchell, Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor II. The Rise of the Church (1993)

Price 1984 = S. R. F. Price, Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor (1984)

Talloen – Waelkens 2004 = P. Talloen – M. Waelkens, AncSoc 34, 2004, 171–216

1 M. Millett u. a. in: Metzler u. a. 1995, 1.

2 Beard u. a. 1998, 156.

3 G. Woolf in: Metzler u. a. 1995, 16.

4 The Oxford Classical Dictionary ^{3}(2003) 1322 s. v. Romanization (S. Mitchell).

5 Price 1984, 80; P. Zanker, Augustus und die Macht der Bilder (1987) 294; S. Mitchell, Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor I. The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule (1993) 100.

6 Apollonia: Buckler 1933, 48–56; Kormasa: Hall 1986, 137–157.

Aelius Caesar at Selge, and the sanctuary dedicated to the deified Hadrian and Antoninus Pius at Sagalassos, to name but a few[7], appear to have been built from the first half of the 2nd century AD onwards, more than a century after the incorporation of the region into the Augustan province of Galatia in 25 BC.

Why was there such an interval in time? In order to explain this chronological discrepancy, this paper will present a closer look at the different manners in which the imperial cult became established in the Pisidian cities, and the mechanisms behind them.

The exceptional situation of the Roman colonies

As already mentioned, local religious traditions simply continued under Roman rule. It was only in the Roman colonies that specifically Roman religious practices were institutionalized[8]. This is exemplified in Pisidia by the cult of the Capitoline gods at Olbasa and Kremna[9], and by typically Roman religious offices such as the *flamen* and the *sacerdos* at Parlais and Kremna[10].

The establishment of the colonies and the construction of the *Via Sebaste* which linked the colonies with one another and with the Pamphylian plain to the south (Abb. 1), were part of a grand scheme devised by Augustus in order to organise the region and subdue it once and for all. Together with the role they played in the political submission and the development of the region, the Roman settlements will also have had an ideological importance for its incorporation into the Empire. The *coloniae* have always been regarded as strongholds of Roman religion in a provincial environment as they mirrored, to some extent, the religious institutions of Rome itself[11]. As the coins of the Pisidian colonies of Komama and Kremna illustrate[12], they were founded according to a religious ritual modelled on that which Romulus was supposed to have used in the foundation of Rome: the auspices were taken and the founder ploughed a furrow round the site to mark its sacred boundary.

Not only did the colonists bring Roman cults and rituals with them to which they, as new arrivals in an alien environment, adhered, they were also highly significant in the proliferation of the imperial cult[13]. In the early Empire, sanctuaries and shrines of the ruler cult came to dominate the most prestigious locations of *coloniae*[14].

Although Augustus was originally ill-disposed toward a cult of his person by Roman citizens, instructing them to set up temples to the goddess Roma and the *divus Julius,* by 7 BC this worship became more related to his persona when he established the cults of the *Lares Augusti* (his household gods) and the *Genius Augusti* (his spirit) in Rome and all colonies[15]. At Pisidian Antioch, the *caput viae* of the *Via Sebaste* and the main Roman colony of Anatolia, situated on the border with Pisidia, an imperial sanctuary dedicated to his cult was established in the centre of the city. It comprised a temple, porticoes and a triumphal arch which celebrated Augustus' victories and displayed a copy of the *Res gestae divi Augusti*[16].

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7 Adada: M. Büyükkolancı, Adada. Pisidia'da antik bir kent, Göltaş Kültür Dizisi 5 (1998) 34–38; Selge: A. Machatschek – M. Schwarz, Bauforschungen in Selge, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften 152 (1981) 94; Sagalassos: Talloen – Waelkens 2004, 177–180.

8 Price 1984, 88; Beard u. a. 1998, 157.

9 Olbasa: L. Duchesne – M. Collignon, BCH 1, 1877, 370; Kremna: von Aulock 1979, Nr. 1163–1166.

10 Parlais: RE Suppl. XII (1970) 1004 s. v. Parlais Nr. 7 (B. Levick); Kremna: G. H. R. Horsley – S. Mitchell (Hrsg.), The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia. Including Texts from Kremna, Ariassos, Keraia, Hyia, Panemoteichos, the Sanctuary of Apollo of the Perminoundeis, Sia, Kocaaliler and the Döşeme Boğazı (2000) 13 Nr. 4.

11 s. B. Levick, Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor (1967).

12 Komama: H. von Aulock, JNG 20, 1970, 157f. Nr. 20. 26; Kremna: von Aulock 1979, Nr. 1051f. 1091. 1121. 1154–1159.

13 Mitchell 1993, 29.

14 A. Bendlin in: H. Cancik – J. Rüpke (Hrsg.), Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion (1997) 56.

15 Ov. fast. 5, 129, 147f.; Suet. Aug. 31, 4; Beard u. a. 1998, 207.

16 S. Mitchell – M. Waelkens, Pisidian Antioch. The Site and its Monuments (1998) 146–167.

Although no monumental remains to that extent have been registered in any of the Pisidian colonies so far, the emperor Augustus, as their founder, will most probably have received a cult there. This appears to be supported by the civic coinage of the colonies. Olbasa, for instance, issued bronze coins dedicated to the divine Augustus, while coins of Kremna depict him as the divine founder of the colony, leading a span of oxes (Abb. 2)[17].

The presence of Romans outside the colonies

Augustus not only founded colonies in Pisidia supplanting existing communities, he also introduced *coloni* or Roman settlers into the constitution of cities. This was the case at Apollonia (modern Uluborlu) as convincingly demonstrated by Mitchell on the basis of the *kolonoi* mentioned as one of the constituent groups of the city in its official titles on civic bronze coins[18].

Epigraphical sources from this city along the *Via Sebaste* have indicated that an early sanctuary for the imperial cult was certainly present there. It most probably took the shape of an open-air sanctuary housing statues of the imperial family placed on top of a pedestal, which also carried the text of the *Res gestae divi Augusti* (Abb. 3)[19]. This could be deduced from an honorific inscription for a priest of the goddess Roma mentioning the erection of three equestrian statues of the emperor Tiberius, and the princes Germanicus and Drusus, in the *temenos* of the *Sebastoi*[20]. Further evidence for an early ruler cult is provided by the local celebration of an imperial festival including the *agones megales pentaeterikes hiera Kaisares* which, on the basis of their titling, can most probably be dated to the early 1st century AD[21].

Beside colonists, there were also other communities of Roman settlers in Pisidia, namely the associations of traders or *negotiatores,* as attested at Kormasa. The latter city, again situated along the *Via Sebaste,* was the location of the second early sanctuary of the imperial cult in Pisidia[22]. There, in 5/4 BC, the people of the Milyas, an ancient region encompassing the border area of Pisidia and Lycia, in concert with the Romans who did business among them and the Thracian inhabitants of the region, erected a large altar or monument to the goddess Roma and the divine Augustus, which, judging by the later imperial dedications found there, was part of an imperial sanctuary. They did so at a site close to the line of the *Via Sebaste.* The topographical relation and contemporaneousness of the *Sebasteion* with the imperial highway is striking. The construction of this road may therefore have prompted the foundation of the sanctuary, again illustrating the integration of the region into the Empire.

A point of interest in both these cases is the presence of prominent communities of Roman citizens. This ›coincidence‹ suggests that they may well have been at the root of the relatively early presence of the imperial cult at Apollonia and Kormasa, compared to other Pisidian cities. Together with the cult of the goddess Roma, equally practised in both cities, the worship of the emperor will have provided the settlers a means to establish their corporate identity within a predominantly Greek environment[23]. In the East, where Roman citizenship was relatively rare in the early Empire, special religious affirmation of identity on the part of Roman citizens could take the form of a Roman cult[24].

Also elsewhere in Galatia, the cult of Augustus and Roma during the early Principate could be linked to Roman presence. At Ancyra, the capital of the province and the seat of the Roman administration, a temple dedicated to the goddess and the emperor was constructed to serve the provincial imperial cult organised by the Galatian *koinon*[25].

17 Olbasa: H. von Aulock, JNG 21, 1971, 20 Nr. 12. Kremna: von Aulock 1979, Nr. 1051f. 1091. 1121. 1154–1159.

18 S. Mitchell in: E. Akurgal (Hrsg.), The Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Ankara – Izmir 23–30 XI 1973 (1978) 311–317; ders., Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor I. The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule (1993) 91.

19 Buckler 1933, 49 Nr. 143.

20 Buckler 1933, 48 Nr. 142.

21 Buckler 1933, 59 Nr. 152.

22 Hall 1986, 137–140.

23 Mitchell 1993, 103; Beard u. a. 1998, 336.

24 Beard u. a. 1998, 215.

25 Mitchell 1993, 103–105.

Other early centres of the imperial cult outside Galatia display a similar relation with official communities of Roman residents. A temple for Roma and Augustus was already established in 29 BC in the capital of the Roman province of Asia, Pergamon, which was equally the seat of the provincial cult[26]. At Ephesos, the large Italian presence embodied in the *conventus civium Romanorum* was reflected in the foundation of a sanctuary of the *divus Julius* and *dea Roma* authorized by Augustus for the use of the Roman citizens of Asia, which has tentatively been identified with the temple on the so-called Staatsmarkt[27]. The emperor himself received a *Sebasteion,* which has not yet been located, though the *temenos* between the *prytaneion* and the *bouleuterion* seems a likely candidate[28].

We may therefore contend that the cult of Augustus, like that of the goddess Roma, was undoubtedly used by the new Roman settlers in the area, both colonists and *negotiatores,* to underline their Roman origins in a foreign environment. The late Alan Hall even argued that the cult of Roma and Augustus at Kormasa was created by and for the Roman tradesmen[29]. Although the latter can hardly be considered a major population group in the area, they are likely to have been socially and economically dominant and their presence will therefore have been decisive for the establishment of the sanctuary at Kormasa[30]. Moreover, as a group whose interests doubtless spread beyond the immediate bounds of the cities where they were established, the *negotiatores* performed as agents of cultural diffusion across a far broader geographical base and far more effectively than the colonists were able to do[31]. The imperial cult made its entry in Pisidia partly through them and for them[32].

That said, although the incentive was most probably provided by the Roman enclaves present in those cities, the actual establishment of the imperial cult as a civic cult cannot have been their doing. Rather, as the example of Apollonia will demonstrate, this appears to have been the result of enterprises by the local nobility.

Two members of a leading local family, who both held the priesthood of Roma at Apollonia, had been involved in embassies to members of the imperial household. Demetrios had travelled twice to Rome to visit Augustus himself, while his brother Apollonios had undertaken an embassy to Germanicus, doubtless when the latter was in the East in AD 18 or 19[33]. There is every likelihood that the embassies in both cases were connected with the establishment or development of the imperial cult, resulting by AD 19 in an imperial sanctuary which carried the text of the *Res gestae* and where Apollonios erected the three equestrian statues of the emperor Tiberius and the princes Germanicus and Drusus mentioned before.

This example illustrates how the initiative for the institution of the imperial cult came from below and was not imposed on the cities. It was officially established on the initiative of members of the local elite, in consultation with the imperial authorities[34].

The general reaction of the Pisidian cities

The question now arises how cities without such established Roman communities reacted to the incorporation into the Empire. We already mentioned that, judging by the 2nd century construction date of the sanctuaries dedicated to the worship of the emperors, the imperial cult seems to

26 Cass. Dio 51, 20, 6 f; H. Hänlein-Schäfer, Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers (1985) 166–168.

27 P. Scherrer in: H. Thür (Hrsg.), »… und verschönerte die Stadt …« Ein ephesischer Priester des Kaiserkultes in seinem Umfeld, SoSchrÖAI 27 (1997) 97.

28 Scherrer a. O. 97f.

29 Hall 1986, 153.

30 Mitchell 1993, 103.

31 F. Yegül in: E. Fentress (Hrsg.), Romanization and the City. Creation, Transformations and Failures. Proceedings of a Conference Held at the American Academy in Rome to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Excavations at Cosa, 14–16 May, 1998, JRA Suppl. 38 (2000) 135.

32 A similar connection between the early introduction of the imperial cult and the presence of Romans has been suggested for the west, s. Woolf in: Metzler u. a. 1995, 13.

33 Demetrios: J. G. C. Anderson, JHS 18, 1898, 97 Nr. 37; Apollonios: Buckler 1933, 48 Nr. 142.

34 For the association of the imperial cult with diplomatic approaches to the emperor s. Price 1984, 243.

have made a rather late appearance in most of the Pisidian cities. Yet, when considering the numerous monuments erected for members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty at cities such as Baris, Prostanna, Seleukeia, Sagalassos and Termessos[35], it seems highly unlikely that the Pisidian *poleis* would not have responded to the presence of a new ruler but resisted the phenomenon of imperial veneration for more than a century before initiating an imperial cult, especially when the loyalty to the new order was already illustrated as early as the 1st century BC when the *demos* of Sagalassos honoured the first governor of Galatia, Marcus Lollius (25–22 BC), as its *patronus,* and when the people of Termessos erected a statue of Augustus in the local theatre[36]. It would therefore appear that, from the very onset of imperial rule in the region, the cities were very much involved.

Consequently, we suggest that, rather than establishing an imperial cult ›out of the blue‹, many cities opted for a more gradual introduction of the cult. The most obvious way to achieve this was through the association with one of their ancestral deities.

The imperial cult was often attached to the most prestigious cult of the city. In her study of patron deities, Ursula Brackertz argued that cities tended to associate their success with a particular deity and used that god to represent their identity[37]. It is generally that same deity who was associated with the emperors. The most common relation was that between the emperor and the head of the pantheon, Zeus, yet others might be prompted by the high position of that deity in the local pantheon[38].

This association manifested itself in two important elements of worship, namely the sanctuaries and the religious festivals.

By annexing his cult to pre-existing shrines the emperor was thought to share the temple with the traditional god as a *synnaos theos* or a ›temple-sharing‹ god, and thus to partake in the honours rendered to the deity[39]. Such ›ritual reuse‹ was not simple economizing as argued by some[40]. As monuments are durable objects, gathering over time new layers of meaning without erasing the original message, the rededication of monuments harnessed the power of the past to the purposes of the present[41].

The traditional sanctuaries came to include the emperor in two ways. Either separate imperial buildings might be put up within the sanctuary, or the emperor could be honoured in the temple itself with dedicatory inscriptions and honorific statues.

Such a process of incorporation can be discerned at Selge where the imperial cult was originally housed in the city's main sanctuary, that of Zeus Kesbelios. This can be deduced from a building inscription dedicated to the *theoi Sebastoi* and the emperor Claudius or Nero that was found among the ruins of the temple of Zeus Kesbelios, which suggests that the sanctuary was rededicated around the middle of the 1st century AD to house the imperial cult as well[42]. The presence of the emperors in that sacred precinct is furthermore corroborated by a statue recorded there, which was dedicated to them and the goddess Artemis by one of her priests[43].

At another leading Pisidian city, Termessos, we know the emperor Hadrian to be connected with the goddess Artemis in her sanctuary outside the city, where a propylon was dedicated to him[44]. Yet, the local cult of the emperors, attested by a priesthood of the god Augustus from the mid-1st century AD onwards, was most probably also topographically associated with that of the city's main god, Zeus Solymeus, since a building block found among the remains of his temple

35 s. Talloen – Waelkens 2004, 181–183. 192.

36 Sagalassos: H. Devijver, AncSoc 27, 1996, 106; Termessos: TAM III 36.

37 U. Brackertz, Zum Problem der Schutzgottheiten griechischer Städte (1976) 156f.

38 S. R. F. Price, JHS 104, 1984, 86.

39 s. A. D. Nock, HarvStClPhil 41, 1930, 1–62.

40 s. for instance R. Mellor, Athenaeum 80, 1992, 390 who considers this merger of cults »an obvious way of honouring the monarch while minimizing any increase in public expenditure«.

41 S. E. Alcock, Graecia Capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece (1993) 196–198.

42 IK 37, 11.

43 IK 37, 1.

44 TAM III 10.

carries a dedication to the emperor Hadrian[45]. The imperial involvement in the reconstruction of the temple after an earthquake in the mid-2nd century may offer a further indication to that extent[46].

For the establishment of the ruler cult in existing sanctuaries elsewhere in Asia Minor during the early imperial period, one can mention the sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene which was rededicated to house the cult of the emperor Augustus, and where statues of the divine Augustus and his successors were allegedly placed in the temple, making the emperors *synnaoi* of the goddess[47].

Another way in which the emperor was brought into the life of the community through the association with the traditional gods, beside temple-sharing, was by adapting an existing religious festival in honour of the chief local deity, the most popular aspect of any given civic cult[48]. Consequently, these festivals had an imperial title added to them, like *Sebasteia, Kaisareia* or *Augusteia.* These double titles represented joint cults that demonstrated piety to both god and emperor.

Similarly at Selge, the *agon pentaeterikos oikoumenikos Kaisareios Kesbelios* combined the cult of Zeus Kesbelios with that of the divine emperors, while the *agones Sebasteioi Solymeioi* at Termessos were equally held as part of a religious festival in honour of the emperor and Zeus Solymeus[49].

The examples of Selge and Termessos clearly illustrate how the introduction of the imperial cult occurred through its association with the leading civic deities, both in sanctuaries and festivals.

The special case of Sagalassos

One Pisidian city, namely Sagalassos, apparently took this special relation between the leading civic deity and the emperor to a higher level. Rather than the more traditional link with Zeus, the association of the emperor with Apollo will have been instrumental in the introduction of the imperial cult in the city, based on the special connection that existed between Augustus and that deity[50].

It has been argued elsewhere that the far-reaching identification of Augustus and Apollo probably prompted the people of Sagalassos to worship the emperor through his divine protector, who was at the same time one of their ancestral deities, rather than to establish a separate cult[51]. The possible enlargement or construction of a temple for the already existing cult of Apollo during the reign of Augustus[52] may then have taken place as a result of the imperial promotion of the cult, and possibly constituted a first step towards the integration of Roman ruler cult in the religious life of the city (Abb. 4).

The existence of such a veiled cult seems to be corroborated by the fact that the first imperial priest of the city only took office during the Flavian dynasty, in spite of a century of imperial veneration, manifest in numerous monuments throughout the city[53].

Sagalassos was certainly not the only city in the East that formulated a local response to the Augustan Apollonic propaganda[54]. A similar worship of the emperor through the figure of Apol-

45 İplikçioğlu 1991, 9 Nr. 1.

46 İplikçioğlu 1991, 10 Nr. 2.

47 F. Rumscheid, Priene. A Guide to the »Pompeii of Asia Minor« (1998) 132.

48 Price 1984, 103.

49 For the *agon pentaeterikos oikoumenikos Kaisareios Kesbelios* at Selge s. IK 37, 55; for the *agones Sebasteioi Solymeioi* at Termessos s. TAM III 161. 164; İplikçioğlu 1991, 11 Nr. 3.

50 On the relationship of Augustus and Apollo s. P. Zanker, Augustus und die Macht der Bilder (1987) 57–61; K. Galinsky, Augustan Culture. An Interpretive Introduction (1996) 213–224.

51 P. Talloen – M. Waelkens, AncSoc 35 (forthcoming).

52 Talloen – Waelkens 2004, 175–177.

53 Talloen – Waelkens 2004, 181–183; P. Talloen – M. Waelkens, AncSoc 35 (forthcoming).

54 Similarly in the west, at Pompeii, the temple of Apollo underwent extensive renovation in the Augustan period as part of the implementation of imperial ideology, s. P. Zanker, Pompeii. Public and Private Life (1998) 78–80.

lo seems to have taken place at Corinth where a temple for Apollo Augustus was erected and at Alabanda in Caria where the cult of Apollo Eleutherios Sebastos is attested, while on Delos the sanctuary of Apollo was also used to honour the first emperor and his family[55].

The construction of the temple of Apollo Klarios can thus probably be seen as a local response to the construction of imperial shrines elsewhere in the region, and would then have been intended to serve the first form of imperial worship at Sagalassos. It was to be followed by a rededication of the temple to both Apollo and the emperors in the second half of the 1st century AD, after the imperial cult had been introduced by Titus Flavius Neon during the Flavian dynasty, most probably during the reign of Vespasian[56]. At that time the veiled worship of the emperor made possible by the close identification of Augustus with Apollo was substituted for a *synnaos* cult with the emperor as temple-sharing deity of Apollo.

So far, no festival explicitly dedicated to the imperial cult has been recorded at Sagalassos. Several indications, however, suggest that the prominent Klareian games, founded around the middle of the 1st century AD and based on the local cult of Apollo Klarios, were also held in honour of the emperors. Firstly, they were founded by Tiberius Claudius Piso, a Roman military officer, who later became priest of the imperial cult, and not of Apollo. Moreover, of the other two known *agonothetai* of these games, only one was priest of Apollo, while the other was again a high priest of the imperial cult. Furthermore, there is the fact that these games were dedicated to the deity whose sanctuary also came to house the cult of the emperors. This, combined with the fact that statue bases for victors in these games were also erected within the later imperial sanctuary of the deified Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, strongly suggests the presence of an imperial element in the festival[57]. The absence of an imperial title also fits the veiled character of the cult outlined above.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we may contend that the establishment of the imperial cult in Pisidia as a full-grown cult was the subject of an evolution which took place over a century, as, except for two instances probably due to Roman presence, it is characterised by a rather late appearance. Whether we should go as far as to say that this late appearance of Roman ruler cult can be seen as a form of cultural resistance is questionable – this view might be somewhat exaggerated. Yet, it is a fact that the introduction of the cult was not as swift and instantaneous as claimed by some scholars.

The overview presented here has demonstrated that there was no massive and coherent religious response to the incorporation of Pisidia into the Empire, but a piecemeal bricolage of new and traditional elements, with radically different approaches, even by neighbouring cities. The response to annexation was the result of many local factors, and was thus highly variable across space. Contemporary views of the imperial cult as a monolithic institution reaching far across different times and places hinders discovery of its complexities. The imperial cult, like any other institutional phenomenon, was not only materially diverse but also meant different things to different participants and observers. The contrasts within the region of Pisidia alone clearly indicate the risks run by generalizations even at a regional level[58].

Although the presented evidence suggests that the colonists, who used the display of religious allegiance to the emperor to mark their difference from members of the local populace, certainly influenced the early dissemination of the cult, the case of Apollonia demonstrates that they themselves cannot be held responsible for the official introduction of emperor worship in Pisidia.

55 Corinth: CIL III 534; Alabanda: CIG Add. Nr. 2903; Delos: T. Mavrojannis, Ostraka 4, 1995, 92–94.

56 s. M. Waelkens, IstMitt 52, 2002, 346.

57 This evidence is presented in Talloen – Waelkens 2004, 200–205.

58 In an article on Romanization, N. Terrenato, JRS 88, 1998, 94 underlined the need to consider each area individually.

It confirms the cult as the result of the dialogue of Greek cities with their overlord, something already argued by Simon Price[59].

The incorporation into the Roman Empire involved complex and long negotiations between the elite and the central power, and the gradual introduction of the imperial cult should be seen as a part of that process. While the elites emulated Roman fashions and complied with new government, they clung strongly to their traditional cultural and religious patrimony which they shared with the other classes.

The evidence for the imperial cult is such that we have no idea what the ordinary Pisidians thought about it. The fact, however, that the imperial cult is nowhere in the region represented in any of the material manifestations of popular cult such as terracotta figurines and votive reliefs suggests it to be the result of official dealings[60]. The link with the traditional religion made by the elite in associating the emperor with the city's patron deity who acted as a catalyst will therefore have been essential in keeping open a communication channel with the lower classes and winning them for this cult. Grafted on an existing religious core the imperial cult thus worked itself into the religious system of the cities.

After this formative period during the 1st century AD, the imperial cult came to play an increasingly important role in the religious landscape of Pisidia from the early 2nd century onwards. Once the worship of the emperors was firmly rooted in the religious life of the city, the next step in the evolution of the cult could take place, that is, its establishment as a separate cult in a separate sanctuary and with own ceremonies. The temples of the civic deities harbouring the imperial cult were now matched by new temples dedicated to the emperors alone, while celebrations were now also held in sole honour of the divine ruler. Yet, the connection with the traditional deities would never be severed.

The process of Romanization, for this topic at least, displays a heterogeneous and dialectic character[61]. We hope to have clarified that the imperial cult in Pisidia was by no means a ready package established within its cities, but rather a product of gradual introduction and negotiation, subjected to the local context.

Abbildungsnachweis

Abb. 1. nach: E. Mahy – P. Talloen

Abb. 2. nach: SNG von Aulock Nr. 5115

Abb. 3. nach: Buckler 1933, Abb. 17

Abb. 4. © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project

59 Price 1984.

60 P. Talloen, Cult in Pisidia. Religious Practice in Southwestern Asia Minor from the Hellenistic until the Early Byzantine Period, SEMA (forthcoming).

61 For a similar assessment of Romanization in the west see Terrenato a. O.

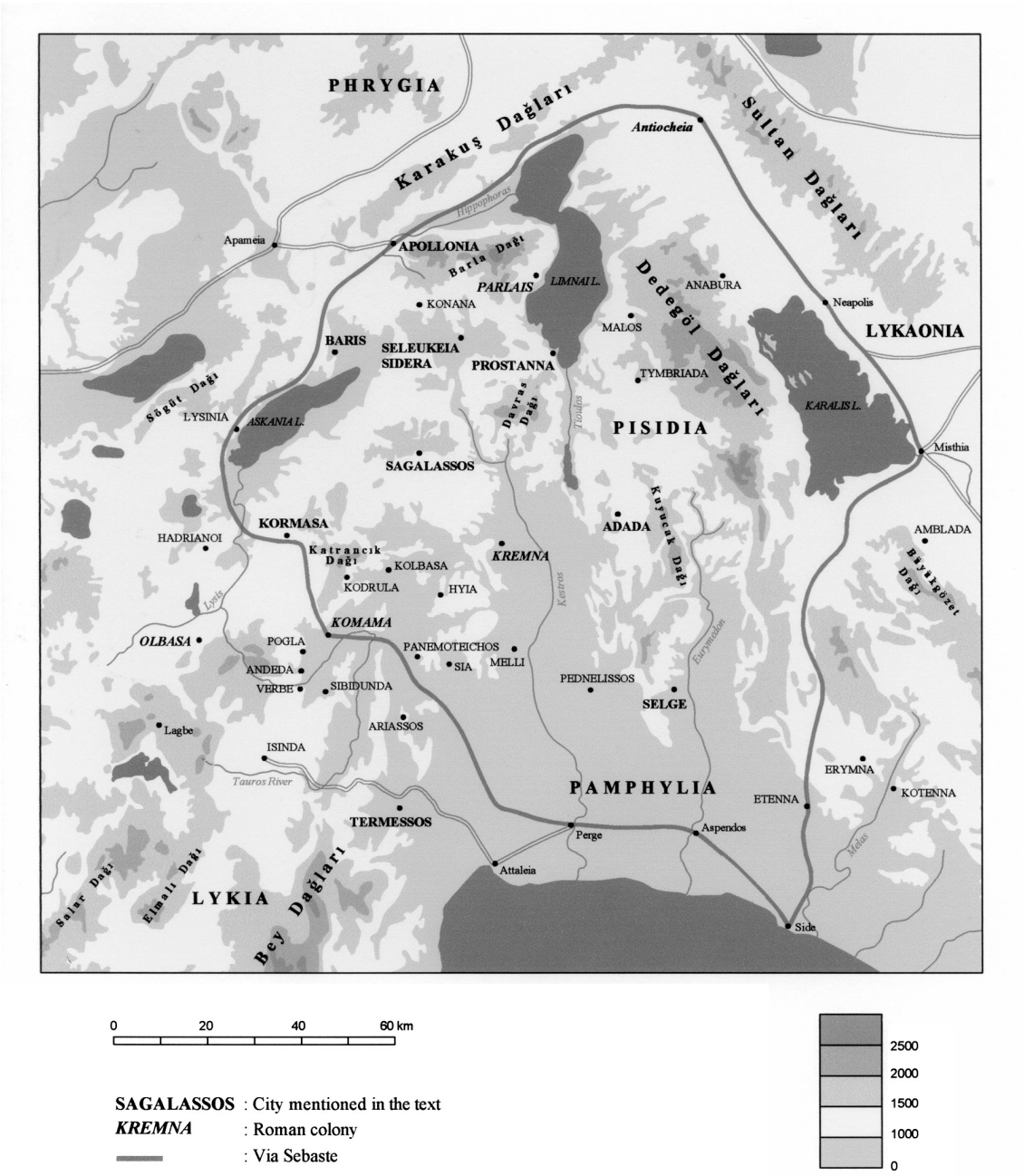

Abb. 1: Map of Pisidia

Abb. 2: Divus Augustus as founder of the colony of Kremna

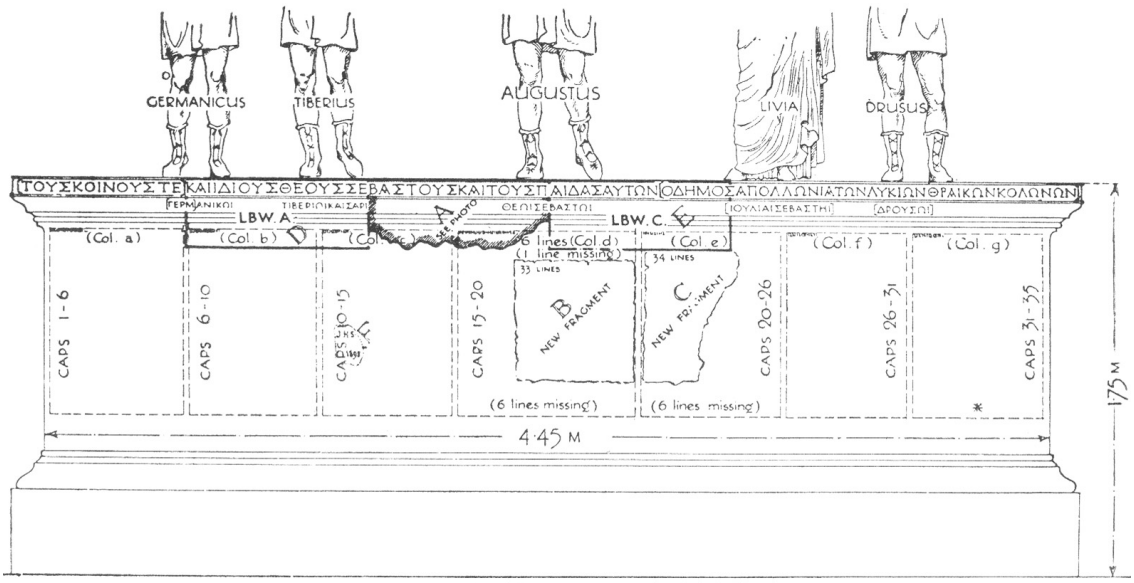

Abb. 3: The temenos of the Sebastoi at Apollonia

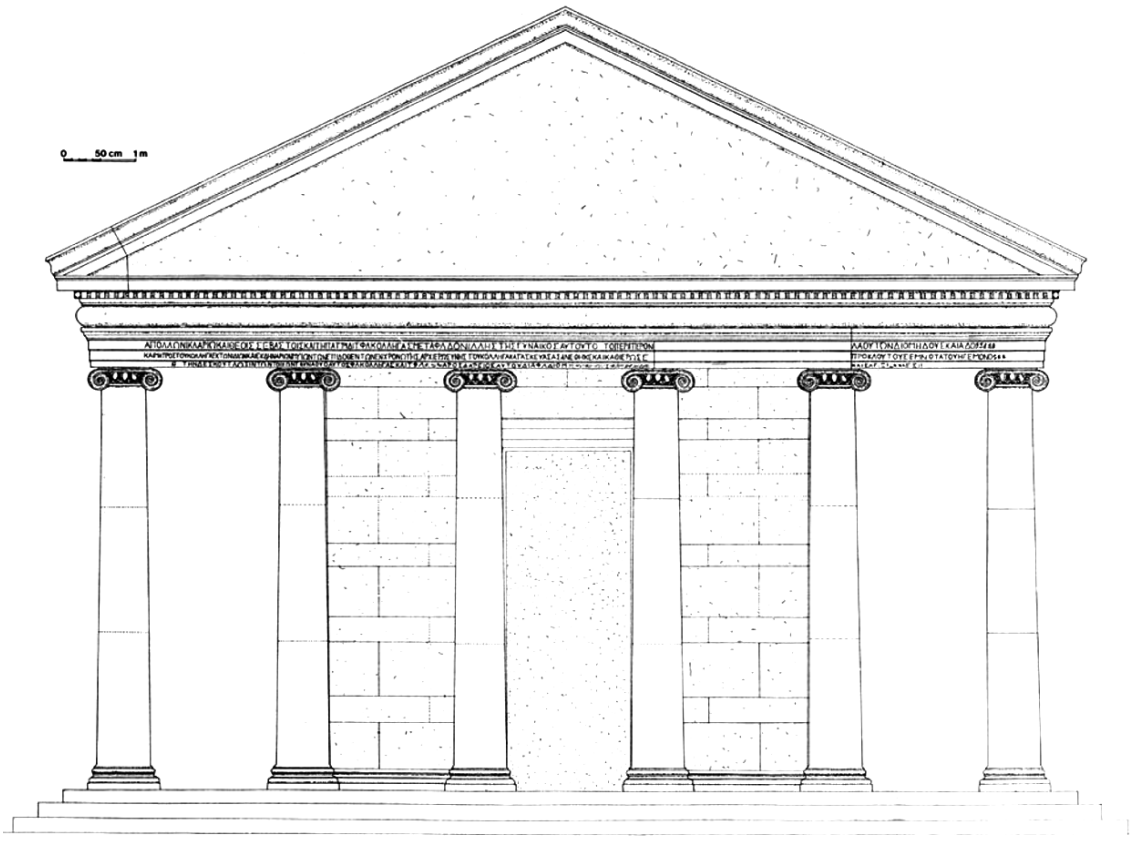

Abb. 4: The temple of Apollo Klarios at Sagalassos

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