

**Zeitschrift:** Museum Helveticum : schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft = Revue suisse pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique = Rivista svizzera di filologia classica

**Herausgeber:** Schweizerische Vereinigung für Altertumswissenschaft

**Band:** 49 (1992)

**Heft:** 4

**Artikel:** Augustus, Apollo, and Athens

**Autor:** Hoff, Michael C.

**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-38550>

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## Augustus, Apollo, and Athens

By Michael C. Hoff, Lincoln, Nebraska

Although the study of the monuments of Augustan Athens has rarely excited students of classical antiquity, few scholars are unfamiliar with the magnitude of Augustus' patronage of the city. The transformation of the classical Agora, the Augustan Market, and the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Akropolis offer imposing testimony of Augustus' stamp on the topography of Athens<sup>1</sup>. Yet other less substantial benefactions of the Augustan period have gone relatively unnoticed. Such is the case for a small lead token now in the Numismatic Museum in Athens.

The token (Plate 1), crudely stamped on one side only, depicts the head of a youthful male facing right<sup>2</sup>. The hair is bunched in tresses behind the head; crowning the head are slight indications of a laurel wreath. In front of the forehead is a six-rayed star. Around the head is the inscription KAI/ΣAP.

The laurel-crowned figure should be recognized as a representation of a youthful Apollo as first identified by Postolacca, and reiterated by Benndorf and Rostovtzeff<sup>3</sup>. The six-rayed star presumably represents the *Iulium sidus*,

\* The remarks of this article first found fruition as a paper read at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, held at Hamilton, Ontario (Canada), in April 1991. I would like to acknowledge with thanks colleagues and friends: Marleen Flory, Daniel J. Geagan, Fred S. Kleiner, William M. Murray, and John Pollini, who read drafts of this paper and provided helpful criticisms and welcome insights.

1 Athenian Agora: H. A. Thompson/R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*. XIV. *The Agora at Athens* (Princeton 1972); T. Leslie Shear, Jr., *Athens from City-State to Provincial Town*, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 356–377; and J. Camp, *The Athenian Agora* (London 1986) 181–214. Augustan Market: M. Hoff, *The Early History of the Roman Agora at Athens*, in: S. Walker/A. Cameron (edd.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire. Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium*. BICS Suppl. 55 (London 1989) 1–8; Roma-Augustus Temple: W. Binder, *Der Roma-Augustus Monopteros auf der Akropolis in Athen und sein typologischer Ort* (Stuttgart 1969); J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York 1971) 494–496.

2 NM 7485; D 0,017 m; provenance: said to be from Athens. I would like to thank M. Oikonomides, Director of the Greek National Numismatic Museum, for permission to publish the Augustan lead tokens in the collection. I am also grateful to I. Touratsoglou for his assistance and advice.

3 A. Postolacca, *Piombi inediti del nazionale museo numismatico di Atene*, *Annali dell'Inst. di corr. archeol.* 40 (1868) 306 no. 174; O. Benndorf, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des attischen Theaters*, *ZÖstG* 26 (1875) 605–606 no. 1; M. Rostovtzeff, *Augustus und Athen*, in: *Festschrift Otto Hirschfeld* (Berlin 1903) 306 no. 5. Rostovtzeff in the above article published five Athenian lead tokens which he identifies as belonging to the Augustan period; two are preserved in the Greek National Numismatic Museum; two were in the Berlin Münzkabinett and are now lost; one other was in a private collection (Rhussopoulos) and subsequently dispersed.

the comet or star that heralded the apotheosis of Julius Caesar and is often used in Augustan symbolic imagery to link the emperor to the new god Caesar<sup>4</sup>. The combination of the Apollo head and the *Iulium sidus* indicates that Καῖσαρ refers not to Julius Caesar but rather to Octavian who inherited Caesar's name shortly after the dictator's death in 44. The fact that Καῖσαρ is used instead of Σεβαστός, which is the Greek equivalent for Augustus, the title he received from the Senate in 27 B.C., suggests that the token most likely dates between 44 and 27<sup>5</sup>.

Lead tokens, or *tesserae* (σύμβολα) such as this, were usually issued on an irregular basis and, unlike coins, served a variety of purposes other than legal tender. In the Hellenistic and earlier periods certain types of Athenian *tesserae* could be used as entry tokens to political assemblies and law courts where they could be exchanged for money owed to the bearer for his public duty, and others could serve as admission tickets to theater events<sup>6</sup>. In the Roman period, however, public duty in civic affairs was no longer compensated by payment. The most common use of the tokens, therefore, was either for entry to theater events or religious festivals, or for exchange for free gifts. Tokens made for specific theater events or festivals were usually provided with an inscription or mark that designate its use, such as the name of the play or festival<sup>7</sup>. As these designations are missing on our token we may assume, unless there are other unknown usages, that a more likely role for the token was in exchange for free gifts, a benefit that was usually distributed by Roman officials and often in the form of grain<sup>8</sup>.

One such distribution of free grain occurred in 31 B.C. after Octavian's victory over Antonius at Actium. Plutarch reports that following the battle Octavian sailed to Athens where he brought together representatives of the Greek states in order to seek reconciliation with them for their participation on Antonius' side. While in Athens Octavian ordered that the remaining grain requisitioned by Antonius for his troops be distributed to the Greek cities<sup>9</sup>.

4 Suet. *Caes.* 58; Pliny *NH* 2, 94; Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 47; also see L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown 1931) 90–92, 112; S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford 1971) 370–384; P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988) 34–36.

5 But see Rostovtzeff (supra n. 3) 310–311, who assigns the date of the token to 19 without taking into consideration the significance of the inscription. On the use of formulaic nomenclature in imperial titles see M. Hammond, *Imperial Elements in the Formula of the Roman Emperors During the First Two and a Half Centuries of the Empire*, MAAR 25 (1957) 19–64.

6 For the many uses of tokens see M. Lang/M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora. X. Weights, Measures and Tokens* (Princeton 1964) 76–78.

7 Lang/Crosby (supra n. 6) 82–83.

8 M. Rostovtzeff, *Römische Bleitesserae*. *Klio* Beiheft 3 (1905) 1–131; Lang/Crosby (supra n. 6) 78. Also, see C. Nicolet, *Tessères frumentaires et tessères de vote*, in: *Mélanges J. Heurgon* 2 (Rome 1976) 695–716; and G. Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome* (Oxford 1980) 244–249.

9 Plut. *Ant.* 68, 6: Ἐκ τούτου Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπ' Αὐγούστους ἐπλευσε, καὶ διαλλαγεῖς τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὸν περίοντα σῆτον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου διένειμε ταῖς πόλεσι πραττούσαις ἀνθίως καὶ περικεκομμέναις χρημάτων.

There is no reason to believe that Athens did not also participate in the re-distribution of grain. As it is likely that the system of exchange involved the allocation of tokens, it is possible, as Graindor recognized over 60 years ago, that the Apollo-head token may have been associated with Octavian's grain distribution to the Athenians in 31<sup>10</sup>.

Further evidence that may support a date of 31 for the token is the depiction of Apollo. For students of Augustan history the image of Apollo in association with the emperor is certainly not new, as the extensive bibliography attests<sup>11</sup>. In order to demonstrate divine sanction and to add legitimacy to their rule Hellenistic monarchs often portrayed themselves as descendants of divinities – thus, Alexander from Zeus. This tendency can also be traced into the late Roman Republic with Julius Caesar's claim that his *gens Iulia* was descended from Venus<sup>12</sup>. The Iulii were also connected historically to Apollo, as one of Caesar's ancestors paid for the construction of the first temple of Apollo in Rome in 431 B.C.<sup>13</sup>. Caesar himself was born during the *ludi Apollinares* of 100<sup>14</sup>, and paid for the *ludi* of 45<sup>15</sup>. But these few known instances of Caesarian connections to Apollo cannot fully explain Augustus' later close association with the god. Another piece of evidence, however, appears crucial in this light. Dio reports that Caesar adopted his grand-nephew, the young Octavian, and declared him his heir after he heard his niece Atia proclaim that she had been visited by Apollo and had conceived Octavian by him<sup>16</sup>. Dio's anecdote may

10 See P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste* (Cairo 1927) 37–38 note 2, and 118. As in many cases concerning the study of Roman Athens, Graindor repeatedly showed himself to be remarkably prescient. His pioneering tetralogy – the other three works are *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (1931), *Athènes sous Hadrien* (1934), and *Un milliardaire antique. Hérode Atticus et sa famille* (1930) – continue to be the standard reference in the study of Roman Athens.

11 See especially P. Lambrechts, *La politique apollinienne d'Auguste et le culte impérial*, Nouv. Clio 5 (1953) 65–82; J. Gagé, *Apollon romain* (BEFAR 182, Paris 1955) 570–581; E. Simon, *Die Portlandvase* (Mainz 1957) 30–44; A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeeräume des Augustus* (Bonn 1973) 50–54; Gagé, *Apollon impérial*, ANRW II 17, 2 (Berlin 1981) 562–580; D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the West* 1, 1 (Leiden 1987) 80–82; and Zanker (supra n. 4) 47–71. Also, see F. Kleiner, *The Arch of C. Octavius and the Fathers of Augustus*, Historia 37 (1988) 356 note 35.

12 Serv. *Aen.* 10, 316; Cass. Dio 43, 43, 3. Weinstock (supra n. 4) 15–18. For further discussion of emperors' claims of divine descendency see P. Riewald, *De Imperatorum cum certis dis et comparatione et aequatione* (Halle 1912).

13 Cn. Iulius, as consul of 431, dedicated the temple; see Livy 4, 29, 7. The Iulii considered themselves under the special patronage of Apollo because, as the god of medicine, he protected the life of Sex. Iulius Caesar when he was born by Caesarian section; see Serv. *Aen.* 10, 316. On the connection of the Iulii and Apollo, see Weinstock (supra n. 4) 12–15, and J. F. Hall, *The 'Saeculum Novum' of Augustus*, ANRW II 16, 3 (Berlin 1985) 2584–2586.

14 Cass. Dio 47, 18, 6.

15 Cass. Dio 43, 48, 3.

16 Cass. Dio 45, 1, 2–3. The story is repeated in an expanded version by Suetonius, *Aug.* 94, 4, who also names Asklepiades of Mende as his source, FGrHist 617 F 2; also, see Kleiner (supra n. 11) 353–356.

reflect what Augustus himself said in his lost memoirs<sup>17</sup>, and it receives corroborative support in the form of an epigram preserved in the *Epigrammata Bobiensia* written before 31 that refers to Augustus' divine ancestry<sup>18</sup>. It has been suggested that Caesar created these rumors to provide his chosen heir with divine legitimacy separate from his own<sup>19</sup>. But it is equally likely, however, that the story of Octavian's divine conception was circulated after Caesar's death by Octavian himself expressly to counter Antonius' claim of identification with the god Dionysos<sup>20</sup>.

Although the propaganda campaigns of Octavian and Antonius are well-covered ground, nevertheless the chronological sequence of events in the adoption of their respective gods appears to be significant and bears further scrutiny. Already by 41 B.C. when Antonius entered Ephesos, his procession was preceded by men and women dressed as satyrs and maenads, and all the citizens hailed him as Dionysos<sup>21</sup>. And later, when Antonius met Cleopatra at Tarsus, rumors were spread that Aphrodite had come to join Dionysos<sup>22</sup>. The choice of Dionysos as Antonius' divine alter ego was perhaps made not only because of his penchant for the pleasures of life<sup>23</sup>, but also because he was following a long-standing tradition of Hellenistic monarchs who linked themselves to Dionysos' cult which provides the participant a means for salvation and a hope for a happy future<sup>24</sup>. By assuming the characteristics of the Oriental Dionysos as a political gesture, Antonius was aligning his policies, and his allegiances, with the Greek East instead of with Italy.

The Athenians also participated in Antonius' Dionysiac program, although an argument can be made that it was not to their benefit. While he was residing in Athens during the winters 39/38 and 38/37, Antonius declared that

17 *Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti de vita sua*, in: H. Peter, HRR 2 (Leipzig 1906) 54–64; H. Malcovati, *Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti Operum Fragmenta*<sup>5</sup> (Turin 1969) 84–97; F. Blumenthal, *Die Autobiographie des Augustus*, WS 35 (1913) 122–123; H. Hahn, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Autobiographie des Kaisers Augustus*, NouvClio 10–12 (1958–1962) 137–148; H. Bengtson, *Kaiser Augustus* (Munich 1981) 177–178; Kleiner (supra n. 11) 354.

18 *Epig. Bobiensia* 39: *Domitii Marsi de Atia matre Augusti: / ante omnes alias felix tamen hoc ego dicor / sive hominem peperi femina sive deum*. F. Munari, *Epigrammata Bobiensia* 2 (Rome 1955) 28. 97–98; H. Dahlmann, *Gymnasium* 63 (1956) 561–562; A. Barigazzi, *Su due epigrammi di Domizio Marso*, *Athenaeum* 42 (1964) 261–265; Weinstock (supra n. 4) 14; Kleiner (supra n. 11) 355. Alföldi (supra n. 11) 51 note 204, believes that the epigram dates after 43, the year in which Atia died.

19 Weinstock (supra n. 4) 14; cf. Simon (supra n. 11) 32–33.

20 Cf. Alföldi (supra n. 11) 51 note 204.

21 Plut. *Ant.* 24, 4. For recent discussion see C. B. R. Pelling (ed.), *Plutarch: Life of Antony* (Cambridge 1988) 179–180.

22 Plut. *Ant.* 26, 5. Also Velleius (2, 82, 4) describes Antonius' entry into Alexandria in full Dionysiac regalia.

23 Plut. *Ant.* 60, 5.

24 See K. Scott, *Octavian's Propaganda and Antony's 'De Sua Ebrietate'*, CP 24 (1929) 133–134; also see Zanker (supra n. 4) 46–47.

he was to be addressed as Νέος Θεὸς Διόνυσος<sup>25</sup>. He then arranged a sacred “marriage” between himself as Dionysos and the city’s patron goddess Athena which may have been celebrated with the same festive pageantry as when he entered Ephesos in epiphany<sup>26</sup>. This marriage evidently cost the city a million drachmas or more as “dowry”<sup>27</sup>. Perhaps the supposed renaming of Athens’ major festival as the Antonian Panathenaia may be connected to this link between Antonius/Dionysos and Athena<sup>28</sup>. Athenian bronze coins struck in this period which include issues depicting Dionysos should most likely be associated with these events<sup>29</sup>.

As for Octavian, there appears to be no evidence to indicate that Octavian’s association with Apollo antedates Antonius’ bacchanalian entry into Ephesos in 41. One could argue that Brutus’ prophecy that he would be killed by the “hand of Leto’s son”, which he made on Samos in 42, points to an early Apolline association<sup>30</sup>. Yet the anecdotal nature of the prediction makes it seem likely that the story was an afterthought generated by Octavian’s propaganda machine. “Apollo” was also used as the password at Antonius’ and Octavian’s camp at Philippi<sup>31</sup>. Although the use of Apollo in this instance is sometimes suggested as a reference to Octavian’s early association with the god<sup>32</sup>, it is more likely that the password was a propagandistic response on the part of the triumvirs to the symbolic imagery program of Brutus and Cassius in which Apollo and his attributes appear on their coins issued in Greece<sup>33</sup>.

25 Cass. Dio 48, 39, 2; cf. 50, 5, 3. Also, see Sen. *Suas.* 1, 6. Plut. *Ant.* 33, 4; IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1043 lines 22–23; L. Cerfau/J. Tondriaud, *Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine* (Tournai 1957) 300–301; D. J. Geagan, *Roman Athens: Some Aspects of Life and Culture*. I. 86 B.C.–A.D. 267, ANRW II 7, 1 (Berlin 1979) 377; Hoff, *Civil Disobedience and Unrest in Augustan Athens*, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 273.

26 Sen. *Suas.* 1, 6–7. A. E. Raubitschek, *Octavia’s Deification at Athens*, TAPA 77 (1946) 146–150, suggests that the problem of “bigamy” (Antonius was already married to Octavia at the time of his “marriage” to Athena) was not an issue because Octavia was also identified as Athena Polias.

27 Hoff (supra n. 25) 273. Concerning the marriage and the exorbitant dowry, Seneca, *Suas.* 1, 6–7, records a graffito inscribed on a statue of Antonius in Athens that parodies the legal divorce formula between Octavia and Athena against Antonius: Ὁκταονία καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀντωνίῳ· *res tuas tibi habe*. On the Roman divorce formula, preserved by Gaius, see *Dig.* 24, 2, 2, 1.

28 IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1043 lines 22–23: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἀντωνιήοις τοῖς Πανα[θηναϊκοῖς] Ἀντωνίου νέου Διονύσοι[ν] ...

29 I would like to thank John Kroll for allowing me to read the section on Antonius in his unpublished manuscript on the coins of the Athenian Agora. Kroll no longer believes that the Antonian issues had been debased in relation to the previous series as he reported in *Two Hoards of Athenian Bronze Coins*, ArchDelt 27, B’ 1 (1972) 86–120.

30 App. *BC* 4, 134, 564; cf. Kienast 193. Brutus’ quote is from Homer, *Il.* 16, 849: ἀλλά με μοῦρ’ ὀλοὴ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν νιός.

31 Val. *Max.* 1, 5, 7.

32 E.g., Taylor (supra n. 4) 118–119; Weinstock (supra n. 4) 15.

33 See E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London 1952); head of Apollo: nos. 1293–1296; lyre and laurel: no. 1287.

Besides the reference to Octavian's divine conception in the *Epigrammata Bobiensia* dated before 31<sup>34</sup>, the earliest known reference to Octavian's association with Apollo occurred no earlier than 40, and probably in 38, when Octavian was reported by Suetonius to have hosted a private banquet (*cena δωδεκάυθεος*) in which the participants came dressed as the twelve Olympian gods and he as Apollo<sup>35</sup>. By 36, with the avowal to erect the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the close association with the god is already complete<sup>36</sup>.

It appears then that Octavian's connection with Apollo at this early date is most likely a response to Antonius' identification as Dionysos. Octavian recognized in his rival's orientalizing behavior an opportunity to exploit anti-Antonian feelings among the Italian Roman citizens. If Antonius could be revealed as reveling in foreign decadence, his acts would be construed as un-Roman and thus traitorous. Symbolically, Apollo/Octavian offers a stark contrast to Dionysos/Antonius: Italian vs. Oriental, order and virtue vs. chaos, and reason vs. irrationality<sup>37</sup>.

The victory of Octavian over Antonius at Actium also served symbolically as a victory of Apollo over Dionysos. Coincidentally there was a cult to Apollo on the promontory of Actium and, as can be imagined, the nearby presence of Apollo provided an extraordinary propaganda boon to Octavian<sup>38</sup>. The image of Apollo on the token certainly could allude to Actian Apollo and the divine

34 Supra note 18.

35 Suet. *Aug.* 70. Suetonius' admitted source for the anecdote was a letter circulated by Antonius which was meant to hold Octavian in ridicule for his role-playing as Apollo. The letter was perhaps meant as a countercharge to Octavian's denouncements of his assimilation as Dionysos; see Scott, *The Political Propaganda of 44–30 B.C.*, MAAR 11 (1933) 30–32; see also Scott (supra n. 24) 140–141; Taylor (supra n. 4) 119; Gagé, *Apollon romain* (supra n. 11) 485–488; Simon (supra n. 11) 33–34; Kleiner (supra n. 11) 356. T. M. Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus* (Bristol 1982) 191, suggests the winter of 39/8 for the occurrence of the *cena*. M. Flory, *Abducta Neroni Uxor: The Historiographical Tradition on the Marriage of Octavian and Livia*, TAPA 118 (1988) 357, is correct in asserting that the *cena* hardly represents a serious identification of Octavian with Apollo as it was a private party and not meant for public consumption. The historicity of this dinner-party has been questioned recently by Pollini who believes it more likely to have been a piece of Antonian fiction; see J. Pollini, *Man or God: Divine Assimilation and Imitation in the Late Republic and Early Principate*, in: K. A. Raaflaub/M. Toher (edd.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate* (Berkeley 1990) 345. Whether the dinner-party actually occurred is irrelevant. If it is indeed fiction created by Antonius, an association between Octavian and Apollo nevertheless must have been known to Antonius or else he would not have characterized Octavian as portraying the god in his propaganda campaign.

36 Suet. *Aug.* 29, 3: Cass. Dio 49, 15, 5; Vell. 2, 81, 3. Platner-Ashby 16–19, s.v. *Apollo Palatinus, Aedes*.

37 For more discussion see D. Mannsperger, *Apollon gegen Dionysos*, Gymnasium 80 (1973) 381–404.

38 Prop. 4, 6; Suet. *Aug.* 18, 2; cf. Murray/Petsas (infra n. 39) 11 note 8. On the sanctuary of Apollo Aktios see W. M. Murray, *The Coastal Sites of Western Akarnia: A Topographical-Historical Survey* (Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania 1982) 266–271.

aid provided to the war's victor<sup>39</sup>. There is also the reference in the *Iulium sidus* to Octavian's newly divine father, Julius Caesar, who, as reported by Propertius, watched the battle of Actium from his place among the stars<sup>40</sup>.

The token, if it indeed dates to 31, possibly marks the first use of Actian Apollo in Octavian's propaganda program. The most prominent use of such imagery is the sanctuary of Apollo on the Palatine which Augustus dedicated in 28. In front of the Temple the statue of Actian Apollo stood on a pedestal adorned with ships' prows from Antonius' fleet<sup>41</sup>. As depicted on coins of the Augustan period, Actian Apollo is represented as holding a lyre and pouring a libation. This representation portrays the god, and by analogy Octavian, as a bringer of peace not vengeance. Surely peace and reconciliation are the themes alluded to in the depiction of Actian Apollo on the Athenian token. As Plutarch implied, Octavian's chief concern following Actium was the reconciliation of the Greek states for their participation in the Civil War on the side of Antonius. Octavian chose Athens as the site for his rapprochement with the Greeks because he recognized that Athens was the preeminent city in the Greek East, and thus required special patronage<sup>42</sup>. In addition to the gift of grain, Octavian tarried in Athens in order to be initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries<sup>43</sup>. His initiation underscores his respect for, and patronage of, Athenian festivals, and also emphasizes his role as *frugifer deus* who, like Triptolemos, provides for the welfare of the city through the allocation of grain.

The final question left to be resolved, if possible, concerns the nature of the representation of Apollo on the token. On one level, the image may be interpreted as representing Actian Apollo who came to the aid of the victorious Octavian, or it may simply refer to Apollo's general patronage of the new emperor. Yet the KAΙΣΑΡ legend, without other notations, also presents to the viewer an ambiguous relationship in which the emperor may be equated with

39 The bibliography on the Actian War is quite extensive; see now W. M. Murray/Ph. M. Petsas, *Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War*, TAPS 79, 4 (Philadelphia 1989).

40 Prop. 4, 6, 59.

41 H. Jucker, *Apollo Palatinus und Apollo Actius auf augusteischen Münzen*, Mus. Helv. 39 (1982) 82–100; P. Zanker, *Der Apollon auf dem Palatin*, in: Città e Architettura nella Roma imperiale, AnalRom Suppl. 10 (1983) 21–36; B. Kellum, *Sculptural Programs and Propaganda in Augustan Rome: The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine*, in: R. Winkes (ed.), *The Age of Augustus* (Providence 1986) 169–176; Zanker (supra n. 4) 85–86.

42 Hoff, *The Roman Agora at Athens* (Diss. Boston University 1988) 16. Octavian is following a well established Hellenistic practice of patronizing Athens; see J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York 1942) 37–46, esp. 41–42.

43 Cass. Dio 51, 4, 1. Augustus was initiated a second time in 19 (Cass. Dio 54, 9, 10); see Hoff (supra n. 1) 4 note 21; R. Bernhardt, *Athen, Augustus, und die Eleusinischen Mysterien*, AM 90 (1975) 233–237; and K. Clinton, *The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors, Second Century B.C. to A.D. 267*, ANRW II 18, 2 (Berlin/New York 1989) 1507–1509.

the god<sup>44</sup>. This assimilation becomes even more conceivable, at least in Athens, because of an undated Athenian inscription from a statue base to Augustus, which has been recently re-edited, that seemingly refers to the emperor as the “New Apollo”<sup>45</sup>. As the editor states, the statue probably portrayed Augustus with Apolline characteristics<sup>46</sup>. The irony of the “New Apollo” supplanting the “New Dionysos” would presumably not have been lost to the Athenians.

Probably associated with the statue of Augustus is a fragmentary decree which provides for the celebration of Augustus’ *dies natalis* which falls on 12 Boedromion and joins that celebration with the birthday of Apollo originally celebrated on 7 Boedromion<sup>47</sup>. A reference is also made to Pythian Apollo although in what context is not known. The latest editor dates the inscription circa 21 B.C. in association with Athenian efforts to placate Augustus following demonstrations of civil unrest<sup>48</sup>.

44 On several coin types minted by Octavian which show Apollo without legend on the obverse, and which may have been purposely designed to foster this ambiguity on the Apollo-Octavian association, see Alföldi (*supra* n. 11) 51, pl. 28, 1–4.

45 D. Peppas-Delmosou, *A Statue Base for Augustus* *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3262 + *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4725, *AJP* 100 (1979) 125–132. The text, as restored by Peppas-Delmosou, reads: [Σεβαστὸν] Καίσ[αρα] Νέον Ἀ]πόλλωνα / Ποσ[ειδώνι]ος Δημη[τρίου] Φλυεὺς / ἀγωνοθέτης ἐν ἐφήβ[οι]ς αὐτοῦ / γενόμενος. A similar example to this formula is seen on an inscribed statue base (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3250) in which Gaius Caesar, the son of Agrippa and adopted son of Augustus, was honored as the “New Ares”; see M. and E. Levensohn, *Inscriptions on the South Slope of the Acropolis*, *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 68–69. For two Athenian altars of Nero, in which the emperor is also provided with the epithet “New Apollo”, see *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3278; and E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 3 (1970) 426–427; cf. *SEG* (1982) 252. As a natural pendant to the Augustus/“New Apollo” statue, Livia apparently was identified with Artemis Boulaia on a statue base from the Athenian Agora that dates to the reign of Tiberius; see J. H. Oliver, *Livia as Artemis Boulaia at Athens*, *CP* 60 (1965) 179.

46 Peppas-Delmosou (*supra* n. 45) 128. A statue of Augustus placed within the porticoes of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine showed the emperor *habitu ac statu Apollinis*; see Pseudo-Acron ad Horace, *Ep.* 1, 3, 17; also, Servius, ad Vergil, *Ecl.* 4, 10, mentions a statue of Augustus *cum Apollinis cunctis insignibus*. On the function and meaning of divine assimilation in Augustan art, see Pollini (*supra* n. 35) 334–357.

47 *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1071; see Graindor, *Auguste et Athènes*, *RBPhil* 2 (1922) 434–440; Graindor (*supra* n. 10) 25–31; G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 260–265 (full bibliography on pages 261–262); A. Benjamin/A. E. Raubitschek, *Arae Augusti*, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 74–75. Graindor suggests that the 7 Boedromion was also the anniversary of Augustus’ arrival in Athens from Actium. This is indeed possible as the battle occurred on September 2 and 7 Boedromion fell on September 25; three weeks would have been sufficient time for mopping up operations in Macedonia and Central Greece (Cass. Dio 51, 1, 4) before arriving in Athens; cf. Murray (*supra* n. 39) 125.

48 Stamires (*supra* n. 47) 263. Literary and epigraphical evidence suggest that there were public displays of dissatisfaction with Roman authorities which eventually led to economic sanction upon the city levied by Augustus. I argue elsewhere that in the subsequent reconciliation Augustus may have donated funds for the construction of the Roman Market; see Hoff (*supra* n. 25) 267–276, and idem (*supra* n. 1) 4–6; also, cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford 1965) 106.

Both the statue and the birthday decree demonstrate the Athenians' desire to exploit obsequiously Augustus' self-identification as Apollo. It is perhaps within this context that the Athenians renewed their sacred embassies to Delphi. Prior to the middle of the first century B.C. lavish embassies called *Pythai-des* were periodically dispatched to demonstrate Athenian piety to Apollo<sup>49</sup>. But the toll of the civil wars and the weakened state of the Athenian economy, combined with a general malaise towards old institutions, led to an abandonment of the costly procession. The last recorded *Pythais* occurred in 58/7 and was, relative to past embassies, quite modest<sup>50</sup>. Under Augustus, however, the Athenians re-instituted the embassy, although in a more moderate form and renamed it the *Dodekais*<sup>51</sup>. There were five known *Dodekai-des* dispatched during the principate of Augustus, and the cost was apparently borne by the wealthiest members of the Athenian elite.

It is significant to note that the *Dodekais* was headed by the Athenian priest of Apollo Pythios, who during the five Augustan-period *Dodekai-des* was Eukles of Marathon, the ancestor of the second-century A.C. philanthropist Herodes Atticus<sup>52</sup>. Eukles was a well known and important figure in Augustan Athens. It was due to his efforts that Augustus donated the funds necessary to complete the Roman Market, perhaps shortly after 21, as the dedicatory inscription of the Roman Market indicates<sup>53</sup>. His office of priest of Apollo must surely have placed him in an advantageous position to approach the emperor to request the building funds.

Around the same time of the construction of the Roman Market, the small monopteral temple of Roma and Augustus was erected on the Akropolis<sup>54</sup>. From the surviving dedicatory inscription, one may infer that Pammenes of Marathon, who is named as hoplite general and priest of Roma and Augustus Soter, was instrumental in the construction of the temple<sup>55</sup>. While Apollo does

49 See A. Boethius, *Die Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi* (Uppsala 1918); see now S. V. Tracy, *I.G. II<sup>2</sup> 2336. Contributors of First Fruits for the Pythaïs*. Beitr. z. Klass. Phil. 139 (Meisenheim am Glan 1982) esp. 150–153.

50 FdD III 2, no. 56; Boethius (supra n. 49) 125; Day (supra n. 42) 175.

51 For the *Dodekais* see G. Colin, *Le culte d'Apollon pythien à Athènes* (Paris 1905) 146–147; Graindor (supra n. 10) 139–147, esp. 141; Day (supra n. 42) 175. The re-institution of sacred embassies to Delphi signals the renewal of ties between Athens and Apollo's sanctuary. A possible reason, in addition to Athenian patronage of Augustus/Apollo, may relate to the revival and reorganization of the Amphiktyonic Council under Augustus; see Paus. 10, 8, 3; also, RE 4 (1901) 2578, s.v. *Delphoi* (H. Pomtow). But see J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Exponents of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore 1950) 52, for more traditional reasons other than special patronage of Augustus' god.

52 On Eukles see KirchPA n. 5726; also, see Graindor (supra n. 10) 142–143; Hoff (supra n. 1) 3.

53 Julius Caesar provided initial funding for the Market's construction around 50 B.C., but the project apparently was halted as a result of the civil war against Pompey; see Hoff (supra n. 1) 3–5. Dedicatory inscription on the Market's West Gate: IG II<sup>2</sup>, 3175.

54 On the Temple of Roma and Augustus see supra note 1.

55 IG II<sup>2</sup>, 3173. On Pammenes see KirchPA n. 11520; J. Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica* (Helsinki 1910) 85 and 140; and RE 18 (1949) 299–303, s.v. *Pammenes* (Treves).

not figure directly with the circumstances surrounding the construction of the Temple, it is known that Pammenes was also a priest of Delian Apollo, an office which he held throughout the greater part of Augustus' principate<sup>56</sup>. It seems likely that given the importance of Apollo's priesthoods in Athens on account of the emperor's special association with the god, there is a connection between the construction of the buildings and the priesthoods of Eukles and Pammenes.

Augustus' patronage of Athens, seen in the new constructions referred to above and in the transformation of the Agora, may have been the reason behind the dedication by the Athenians of statues to him at Apollo's sanctuaries of Delphi and Delos in which the emperor is honored as θεός<sup>57</sup>.

The above references serve to demonstrate the scope of Augustus' association with Apollo at Athens. At first, in the period immediately following Octavian's victory at Actium, Apolline symbolism, as on the token, was designed to counter Antonius' self-identification as Dionysos and to promote Octavian's reputation as benefactor. In the years that followed honors, such as the "New Apollo" statue base and the decree providing birthday celebrations for the emperor in association with those for Apollo, were meant to demonstrate Athenian patronage of the well-established relationship and to acknowledge the assimilation between the emperor and the god<sup>58</sup>. As in Rome, where Augustan propaganda was directed towards the themes of a new "Golden Age", Apollo imagery in Athens symbolized a restoration of order and the establishment of the Augustan peace.

56 IDélos nos. 1592–1594. 1605. 1626. 2515–2519.

57 J. Bousquet, *Athènes et Auguste*, BCH 85 (1961) 88–90; 78 (1963) 196–197; Delos: IDélos 1591.

58 See E. J. Dwyer, *Augustus and the Capricorn*, RM 80 (1973) 59–67, on the use of the Capricorn in Augustan symbolism in which it is first applied as a specific counter symbol to Antony/ Dionysos, and later as a more general propagandistic theme referring to the *potestas* of Augustus.



Plate 1  
Athenian lead token, Greek Nat. Numis. Mus., No. 7485 (photo: Author)

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