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Olexandr Motsya

Ancient and Old-Russ civilization: to the reasons for the change religious systems

In the article, based on factual material, by comparing ancient and ancient civilization, it was traced the reasons for changing religious systems and the transition from paganism to Christianity. It was analyzed the evolution of religious world view and role in the process of ancient Greece and Rome. It was compared views on specific features of antiquity and change religious systems, especially regarding freedom of belief of A.Andreyev and V. Balukh.

Keywords: paganism, Christianity, Henotheism, monolatriya, antiquity, Russ.

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Oleh Petrechko
(Drohobych)

THE ROMAN IMPERIAL CULT IN GALATIA

The article defines prominent and common features of the emperor's cult observed in the Roman Galatia. We trace the organization of the imperial cult at the provincial and local levels. It has been established that the organization of the cult of the emperor in the province followed the patterns of Bithynia and Asia. The article also demonstrates the influence of the West, particularly the Italian tradition in the temple complexes of the imperial cult in Galatia.

Keywords: imperial cult, Galatia, Ankyra, Pessinus.

One of the most controversial issues in modern antiquity is the Roman Imperial cult. There is no generally accepted opinion in historiography as to the political or religious foundations of this phenomenon. For instance, Ittai Gradel believes it is difficult to trace clearly the religious or political nature of the cult of the emperor. Sources, in his opinion, do not give clear answer to the question: “Whether the emperor was really perceived to be a god, or whether the rites should be interpreted ‘politically’, as rendered him *as to* a god”? [12, p.28 – 30]. Steven J. Friesen considers irrelevant to question the perception of the emperor in the imperial cult, as to whether its nature was human or divine. In his opinion, “Questions of ontological status were not unknown in the

Roman world, but they were relatively unimportant in imperial cultic contexts” [11, p.152]. John Scheid opines that the cult of the emperor is not a religion, but kind of a “movement”; the term “imperial cult” – is not quite to the point, because current Emperor was never revered as a god [3, c.166]. Kenneth Scott, however, considers that “True religious belief in the divinity of the king or emperor is to be sought among the more ignorant lower classes, especially among barbarian peoples and in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire” [26, p.328]. Alexey Egorov is of the opinion that the cult of the emperor had two aspects: the deification of the person of the ruler and his outstanding deeds, and the deification of status and power, regardless of who it was. First, according to the researcher, can be considered as a “hero cult”, more characteristic for the Greeks, the second – “the cult of the ruler”, typical for the Eastern society [1, 278].

S. Price notes accurately that numerous books and articles devoted to the imperial cult pay attention mostly to the analysis of the attitude of the Roman elite through the study of literary texts: “Little attention has been directed to imperial ritual, particularly outside Rome itself” [25, p.6]. In provinces, especially the Greek ones, the cult of the emperor had special meaning. S. Prays correctly emphasizes that the term *θεός* significantly differs from *divus* and to use it towards the Emperor is only possible when taking into account the Greek context. At the same time, he notes that if the Greeks thought that gods had human form, it was easy to imagine the emperor to be one. To confirm his opinion S. Prays aptly cites two Greek maxims from the second century A.D. papyrus:

What is a god? The exercise of power.

What is a king? God-like.

(τ)ί θεός; τ[ὸ] κρατοῦν·

τί βασιλεύ[ς]; ἰσ[θ]όθεος) [24, p.94-95].

In our opinion, attention should be paid to the observations made by John North, who denies that the imperial cult was organized centrally in Rome. The researcher believes that it was a local initiative, whether or not supported by local authorities. In many regions it agreed with the local traditions [22, p.52 – 53, 59 – 60]. The same considerations are expressed by Glen Bowersock: to establish the cult of the emperor the “Initiative from Rome was not required, only modification and adjustment” [6, p.121]. Sharing these approaches, we believe that to understand the nature of the emperor’s cult, it is important to study its organization and functioning in the individual provinces, especially the Greek ones. The topicality of the research is defined by the insufficient study of the cult of the Roman Emperor in Galatia and the importance of this issue for understanding the mechanisms of establishing the cult of personality in contemporary political realities.

The aim of the research is to analyze the peculiarities of the Roman imperial cult in Galatia.

In the third century BC three Celtic (Galatian) tribes – the Trocmi, the Tolistobogii and the Tectosages – settle on a mountain plateau, in one of the central regions of Asia Minor. Subsequently, the country became known as Galatia. Celts in Anatolia adopted the Greek culture, and this is why their country is sometimes called Gallo-Graecia (Strabo XII, 5, 1). An interesting episode occurred in 53 BC, when tetrarch of Galatia Deiotaurus, whom the Roman Senate conferred the title of the king of Lesser Armenia, proclaimed himself to be the Son of God [9, p.176]. In 25 BC, after the death of Amynta, the last tetrarch of the whole Galatia, Emperor Augustus, in order to prevent power vacuum in the region, annexed the area to the Roman Empire. Galatia, like other newly acquired territories, became an imperial province. Its first governor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) became Marcus Lollius (Eutr. VII, 10, 2). Ethnic Galatia was quite colorful – the Greeks, Romans, Phrygians, but the elite of the new province was formed mostly of a warlike Celts. It does not look like a coincidence that Ankyra’s coins contain the largest number of images showing soldiers in armor. This phenomenon is not found elsewhere [16, p.106]. Since joining the Roman state, the tribal structure was replaced by the city organization [4, p.73]. The order in Pontus and Bithynia cities, that received their Civil Organization under *lex Pompeia* in 55 BC, was taken as the basis of the Galatian’s towns’ constitution [18]. In some Pontus and Bithynia cities apart from the ordinary magistrates there also were *politographoi*, that added new people to the list of citizens and *boulographoi*, that recorded new members of the city council. This practice is occasionally found

outside the Pontus and Bithynia, and is observed in Ankyra. Most likely, Pessinus and Tavium were organized according to the model of Pompey the Great as well [29, p.107].

Cities were more exposed to the influence of Romanization, which was an important element of Roman politics in provinces and happened together with the urbanization. At the same time, while in other Greek provinces of the Roman Empire the cities were rather well developed and the local elites lived their cultural life, in the Celtic Galatia city life was just developing [7, p.898]. The Romanization of Asia Minor is mostly connected with the very Galatian's cities, especially Ankyra, the center of communication on the Roman East. This can be clearly traced using the onomastics data from Ankyra, the metropolis of the province. In the inscription for Traianus 102 AD, sixty people have their own Roman names, seventeen – the names of Roman citizens (although some with the Greek cognomens) and about one hundred and twenty have the names of Greek origin, whereas there was only one name of Persian origin and one of Celtic origin [28, p.133]. Thus, there is reason to believe that the Hellenize Galatians were more apt to Romanize than the actual Greeks. The withdrawal of the Roman colony of veterans should also be viewed in the context of Romanization. There is reason to talk about thirteen such settlements in Galatia during the days of Augustus. This province apart from the historical Galatia was composed of some other land. And thus at least fifteen thousand veterans, not taking into account the families settled there [21, p.1067].

Foundation of the system of the principate had some distinctive features. One of them was the introduction of the imperial cult in the provinces. The process began in the Greek provinces, particularly in Asia and Bithynia, where the local aristocracy tried to show their loyalty to the central government as feverishly as they could. The starting point was the 29 BC, when the Greeks were allowed to consecrate shared churches to Roma and Octavian in Pergamum and Nicomedia (Dio Cass. LI, 20, 7). The fact that the Greek provinces initiated the establishment of the cult of the current Emperor was not accidental. The Greeks had had a cult of hero long before, and the Romans had not. There was the cult of the ruler in the Hellenic empires, which was not observed in the Roman Republic. As early as in the V century BC Spartan general Lysander received divine honors in Samos during his lifetime (Plut., Lys. 18). There was the intravital cult of Alexander the Great (Plut., Alex. 28), and later – of Hellenistic monarchs. Thus, the cult of the emperor in the Greek provinces, among which was also Galatia, is based upon long-lasting traditions.

Deification facilitated the Emperor's connections with the lieges [17, p.128]. We may agree that the cult of the emperor was one of the most important forms of the two-way communication between the government and polis [2, c.261]. Small emperor's altars were built in the streets of eastern cities with the same dedications, but of different designs. Most of these altars in Greek-speaking provinces were consecrated to Emperor Hadrian, more even than to Augustus. Perhaps this can be explained by a combination, of the imperial cult with the program of Panhellenism that took place during the rule of Hadrian [5, p.83].

General Assemblies were formed in the provinces to celebrate the imperial cult: *Consilia* in the West and *Koina* in the East. Members of the Assemblies were elected by the cities of the region, probably for the one year term. It is possible that the descendants of the imperial family, nobility and the rich were chosen as members of *Koina*. The assumption that members of the Meetings were appointed by the emperor, or more so by his legates [4, p.112], we consider to be unlikely. Information about the operation of the Assembly in Galatia is pretty scant. Coins with the legends of "Assembly of Galatia" (*KOINON ΓΑΛΑΤΙΑΣ*) [13, p.315. № 9193-9194] and "Assembly of the Galatians" (*KOINON ΓΑΛΑΤΩΝ*) are preserved [27, p.514. № 5174]. Perhaps the organization of the imperial cult in Galatia followed the example of worship in Bithynia and Asia, where it had been established earlier [8, p.167; 29, p.109 – 110, 116]. Probably *Koina* members were elected from the representatives of the local nobility. The Assembly that functioned at the temple of Augustus and Roma in Ankyra elected the head: *Γαλατάρχης* or *ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν* (CIG 4016) or simply *ἀρχιερεὺς* [23, p.153]. Annual celebrations and games were organized under the supervision of Galatarchas in the context of the imperial cult. The emperor's cult was also carried out at the local level, particularly in Pessinus and Tavium [28, p.135].

Emperor's temples and altars were intensively built in the Greek provinces of the Roman Empire during the first two centuries AD. This process became an integral feature of the social life of cities in Galatia [14, p.50]. It should be noted that there remain more evidence of the imperial cult in Galatia than in any other region of Asia Minor [20, p.102]. The caption of year 3 BC shows that already at that time in the province there was a great number of altars devoted to Augustus (βαμοί τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ) (OGIS 532).

With the inclusion of Galatia into the Roman state, Ankyra became an autonomous Greek city and gained the status of province's metropolis: ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Γαλατίας Ἀγκυρα (CIG 5896). It is possible that right after the conversion of Galatia into the Roman province, Σεβαστεῖον – a temple for god Augustus and goddess Roma was built in Ankyra that was the center of the Tectosages [11, p.26 – 27]. However, there is no consensus on the date of the construction of this temple. Perhaps it should be dated 19/20 AD, i.e., already after the death of Augustus, although the construction began during his lifetime [15, 139]. The ruins of the Temple of Augustus and Roma today are in the public domain, in the northern part of modern Ankara, near the citadel. The images of the Temple are extant on coins: eight columns with a round ornament (patera) or a wreath on the front [30, p.14 – 15, Pl. III. 5 – 7]. There were statues of the imperial family, including Tiberius and Libya in the temple (IGRR III, 157), which, unfortunately, had not been preserved. In the inscriptions from Ankyra we read about Augustus and Libya as the gods with a common altar (ὁμοβώμιοι θεοὶ Σεβαστοὶ) (IGRR IV, 555-556). On the walls of the temple in Ankyra remains one of the most famous epigraphic monuments of antiquity, bilingual Greek-Latin inscription – *Res gestae divi Augusti*, which is sometimes called *Monumentum Ancyranum*. Two copies of the text, both from this region have been preserved as well.

After conversion of Galatia into the Roman province, autonomy was also granted to Pessinus [28, p.131], a large trade center of the region, the center of the Tolistobogii. It was best known in connection with the cult of Cybela, that was honored as “Mother of the Gods”. They called her Agdistis (Ἀγδιστις) (Strabo XII, 5, 3). According to Diodorus Siculus, famous Phrygian king Midas took part building the temple for this goddess (Diod. Sic. III, 59, 8). Cybela's image we encounter on coins of Pessinus both during the pre-Roman and Roman times, for example, such as Caracalla's age [30, p.18 – 22, Pl. III. 10, IV. 8]. At the end of the third century BC, a sacred black stone, a symbol of Cybela, was brought to Rome from Pessinus. According to the Sibylline Books, it was supposed to expel Hannibal from Italy. While transporting this shrine a “miracle” occurred: only Vestal Claudia, after prayers to the goddess, could move the ship which suddenly stopped in the middle of the Tiber (Amm. Marc. XXII, 9, 5; Aur. Vict., De vir. Ill. XLVI; Liv. XXIX, 37, 2; XXXVI, 36).

Shortly after the death of Augustus, fifteen years after the consecration of the temple in Ankyra, Σεβαστεῖον in Pessinus was consecrated. Along with the imperial cult temple, a theater, connected with it, was built. Its ruins can be seen today to the east of the modern village Balahissar. Theater in Greece was associated with the god Dionysus, who the Roman emperor is now often associated with. In the Greek provinces of Asia Minor, Emperor as most commonly identified with Zeus (26), Helios (12) and Dionysus (8) [24, p.86]. But in Pessinus the theater was built according to the model of the Italian theaters-temples of the Republic period [10, p.364]. The large staircase leads to the terrace on which the temple stood, surrounded along the perimeter with a colonnade (periptery) presumably – Σεβαστεῖον. Today only the foundation of the theatre, built of large limestone blocks, remains. The lowest spectators' seats were almost one and a half meters above the level of the lowest step. Perhaps this was securing the public from the potential threats of the show: the fight of gladiators or harassment of wild animals (*venationes*). The combination of a temple with a fully integrated theater in front of it has no parallels in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, and it was popular in the western part. Best parallels may be found in Italy and date back to the era of the late Republic. Theatre and Σεβαστεῖον, which formed single magnificent architectural complex implementing the imperial cult, were organically supplemented by the colonnade square, which was erected simultaneously with them [29, p.108, 113 – 114].

Obviously, Σεβαστεῖον in Pessinus was connected with the temple of Augustus and Roma in the Galatian metropolis. This conclusion is based on the epigraphic material. In particular, the inscription on the left pilaster of Ankyra temple lists high priests of the cult of Augustus and Roma in Galatia and their virtues. In AD 31/32 one of them, out of whose name only the last four letters – αἶος have been preserved, gave a public banquet (δημοθoinία) in Pessinus and organized performances of twenty-five pairs of gladiators in Ankyra and of ten in Pessinus. He also held the distribution of oil to the residents and erected statue in Pessinus (ἄγαλμα ἐν Πεσσινοῦντι ἀνέθηκεν) (OGIS 533). The inscription does not state the name of the god, who the statue was dedicated to. We can assume that it was a statue of Augustus or current Emperor Tiberius. Among other things this assumption is supported by the context: gladiatorial games were almost always held in connection with the cult of the Emperor [22, p.89].

The inscription in honor of Tiberius Claudius Hera shows that he was Emperor's priest six times (τε Σεβαστῶν ἑξάκις), was the high priest of the provincial cult of the emperor in Galatia (ἀρχιερέα τοῦ κοινοῦ Σεβαστηνῶν Γαλατῶν) and a priest of the lower level (σεβαστοφάντης) of the emperor's cult in Pessinus (σεβαστοφάντην τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Πεσσινοῦντι ἱερασάμενον πρῶτον) (IGRR III, 230; OGIS 540). We cannot be sure whether the cult of the emperor was honored at the provincial level or at the local one in the Pessinus's temple. But in any case there are sufficient grounds to speak about the connection of Pessinus's temple with the temple of Augustus and Roma in Ankyra.

We have already emphasized the particular popularity of the imperial cult in Galatia. This popularity sometimes took on rather original forms. Three Galatian tribes and their urban centers adopted during the reign of Augustus the names Σεβαστηνοὶ Σεβαστή, which are equivalent to the Latin *Augustae* and *Augusta*. The Tolistobogii of Pessinus were called Σεβαστηνοὶ Τολιστοβῳγιοί, the Tectosages of Ankyra – Σεβαστηνοὶ Τεκτόσαγες, the Trocmi of Tavium – Σεβαστηνοὶ Τρόκμοι (CIG 4085). Coins were minted with the legend "ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΝ ΤΕΚΤΟΣΑΓΩΝ", "ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΝ ΤΡΟΚΜΩΝ" [27, p.514, number 5175 – 5176]. There was a famous huge bronze statue of Zeus (Διὸς κολοσσός) in Taurus. Strabo speaks of it (Strabo XII, 5, 2). Its images we can see on the coin of Emperor Caracalla [30, p.27, Pl. V. 12]. Tavium, as well as Ankyra and Pessinus, shortly after converting Galatia into the Roman province, transformed into a Greek polis.

There was a bitter struggle between the cities for the right to build a temple to the emperor. In particular, Smyrna competed for this honor with ten other cities of Asia. Regarding Hellenize cities of the East, which had the temple for the provincial cult of the Roman emperor, the term "νεωκόροι", from "νεωκόρος" – caretaker of the temple, was used. But this practice established only at the end of the first century AD. This privilege was carefully protected and was the element of competition between the cities. Pessinus had never been called νεωκόρος, neither in inscriptions nor on coins. Ankyra did not use the title until the middle of the third century AD, when the city received a second neokorate from Emperor Valerian [29, p.120 – 121]. Since then, inscriptions said that Ankyra – Galatian metropolis, double νεωκόρος "ἡ μητρ (ὀπολις) τῆς Γαλατίας β νεωκ (όρος) Ἀγκυρα" (IGRR III, 237). There is a suggestion that Ankyra could get the second neokorate during Caracalla's rule (211 – 217 years). He allowed to build the second temple of the provincial cult of the emperor [8, p.172 – 173]. In our view, this is unlikely. It also should be said that as a result of continued competition between the Greek cities of Asia, term νεωκόρος in the second century AD was adopted by the cities that had no imperial temple – Sardis, Cyzicus etc. [19, p.339].

Hence, the imperial cult in Galatia was organized both on the provincial and local levels. The organization of the cult of the emperor in the province followed the example of Bithynia and Asia. But we observe strong western influence as well, especially of the Italian tradition in the temple complexes of the imperial cult in Galatia. This can be explained by a greater propensity to Romanization of Hellenize Galatians than that of the real Greeks.

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Олег Петречко

Культ імператора в Галатії

У статті з'ясовано особливості культу імператора у Римській Галатії. Простежено організацію імператорського культу на провінційному та місцевому рівнях. Встановлено, що організація культу імператора у цій провінції відбувалася за зразком Віфінії та Азії. Показано вплив західної, зокрема італійської традиції у храмових комплексах імператорського культу Галатії.

Ключові слова: культ імператора, Галатія, Анкіра, Песінунт.

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