

Sofia KRAVARITOU*

Imperial Cult, Greek Gods and Local Society in Demetrias (Thessaly)

Abstract: The gradual establishment of Italians and Romans in the region of Ancient Demetrias in eastern Thessaly, following the decline of the Macedonian power in the second century BC, as well as their eventual contact with the local population and its authorities, composed the new socio-political frame that also brought together for the first time Greek Gods and Roman Emperors. The aim of this paper is to shed light on the representations of the imperial power within the civic and sacred space of the city, following the honorific attitude displayed by local authorities and private individuals, as well as on its effect on shaping local political and religious identities.

Keywords: Ruler's cult; Imperial cult; Greek traditional cults; euergetism; honorific attitude; Koinon; elite.

Religious and social transformations in Roman Mainland Greece have been elucidated over the past few decades by detailed studies carried out under the auspices of the Section of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the Institute of Historical Research in the National Hellenic Research Foundation.¹ Roman Thessaly, however, has not yet received much attention. Besides Burrer's monograph and a few – yet important – studies by members of the 'Thessalian team' of Lyon, most of the evidence either remains unpublished or is known only from preliminary archaeological reports.²

As far as the Thessalian imperial cult is concerned, the issue is sporadically discussed in the seminal studies of M. Kantirea and Fr. Camia;³ the latter has also recently published a significant contribution on southern Thessaly.⁴ The authors have both stressed the complexity of the imperial cult in the Eastern provinces, mainly due to the pre-existing and still prevalent local cults bestowed upon the Greek Gods and unfamiliarity of the local societies with Hellenistic royal cults that, by contrast, were well-developed within the Hellenistic Kingdoms of Asia Minor and Egypt.⁵

The cult of the ruling powers in Demetrias: Hellenistic predecessors

Despite the undeniable validity of the last argument for the majority of Greek cities within the Macedonian Kingdom and its adjacent areas in Mainland Greece, Thessalian Demetrias is of exceptional significance because of its royal character and, most importantly, the practice of a local royal cult bestowed upon the royal founders of the city.⁶ Demetrias was founded in 293 in the inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf, the biggest natural port of Thessaly, by Demetrius Poliorketes, following a synoecism of local former Thessalian and Magnesian communities. The city soon became a Macedonian 'naval base', one of the three 'fettlers' of Greece and eventually a cosmopolitan harbour, which actually constituted a 'seat (*basileion*) of the Macedonian kingdom', founded to serve as a royal residence for the Antigonids.⁷

* Dr. Sofia Kravaritou, Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ephorate of Antiquities of Hemathia (skravaritou@gmail.com).

¹ See, for example, Rizakis 1996; Rizakis et al. 2004; Rizakis – Camia 2008; Rizakis – Lepeniotti 2010.

² Burrer 1993; Helly 1980; Helly 1983; Bouchon 2008a; Bouchon 2008b; Theocharis 1960, 81–83; Habicht 1987, 274–276.

³ Kantirea 2001; Kantirea 2007; Camia 2008; Camia 2011b; Camia – Kantirea 2010.

⁴ Camia 2011a.

⁵ Camia – Kantirea 2010, 375.

⁶ On the royal cult in Demetrias, see Kravaritou 2013; also, Kravaritou 2011a, 120–121.

⁷ Strab. 9.5; Plut., Dem. 53.3; Intzesiloglou 1996; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002; Kravaritou 2011a, 114–116.

The royal cult of its founders – Demetrios and Antigonos Gonatas –, along with heroes of the old local communities, was locally instituted during the third century BC. It should be stressed that the practice and ritual modalities of this joint cult provides the first post-classical evidence attesting to assimilation of the rulers – in this case, the Hellenistic Kings – into the local pantheon, next to pre-existing cults of local traditional divinities.⁸ Furthermore, apart from the institution of the royal cult with its evolutionary ritual context,⁹ a detailed study of the Macedonian policy regarding local cult affairs reveals a complex and nuanced reality that involved an amalgam of old and new elements, this time on a wider scale; the reappraisal of old Magnesians (e.g. old poliadic Artemis Iolkia) and Thessalian cults (e.g. Thessalian Hermes Chthonios) through aggregation processes and associated negotiation patterns, next to newly-introduced Macedonian cults (e.g. Heracles Kynagidas) and their Isiac counterparts are some of its highlights.¹⁰

In addition, Demetrias' first ruler cult demonstrates the initial public display of local post-classical negotiation patterns between local civic communities and ruling powers, through the Hellenistic diplomatic model of euergetism.¹¹ The local epigraphic evidence reveals that the royal receptors of the cult are praised in advance for their benevolent attitude towards the traditional Gods, while new benefactions are expected.¹² It is widely known that these privileged interactions between the postclassical cities and the Hellenistic Kings formed the ideological framework which designated the ruler's cult as the best mode of religious expression by the Greek communities throughout the Hellenistic period.¹³ Thus, a late third century stone base, which was discovered within the territory of the city of Demetrias, bears an inscribed private dedication to Antigonos Doso and Philip V;¹⁴ the inscription not only illustrates the ephemeral character of personalized local honours paid to royal benefactors, but also exemplifies the public display of honorific attitudes towards the next royal masters of Demetrias on behalf of private individuals. Therefore, it is evident that by the end of the third century BC the population of Demetrias had already become familiar with significant parameters of the ruler cults, long before the arrival of the Romans and the first institution of the local imperial cult in the Roman East.

Euergetism and honorific attitude in second and first century Demetrias

From the early second century B.C. onwards epigraphic evidence attests to the gradual establishment of Italians and Romans in the region of Demetrias, following the progressive decline of the Macedonian power and the abandonment of the *basileion* by its royal masters.¹⁵ Their eventual contact with the local population compose the new local socio-political frame, which put forward a renewed interest in the public display of honorific attitudes, this time first of all in favour of Roman benefactors.

It is generally known that the first outgrowth of Roman benefaction towards the Thessalian *ethne* goes back to the declaration of Greek Liberty by Flamininus in 197 BC, which led to the establishment of autonomous Leagues of the Thessalians, Perrhaebians and Magnesians.¹⁶ Flamininus also enacted constitutional laws for the Thessalians and even granted them back their rights to land and private proper-

⁸ Kravaritou 2013, 271–275.

⁹ Kravaritou 2013, 266–267 and 274–275.

¹⁰ Kravaritou 2011a, 119–122; Kravaritou forthcoming a.

¹¹ Kravaritou 2013, 270–274.

¹² Meyer 1936, 367–376 (= McDevitt 1970, 1030A and B); republished in Kravaritou 2013, 267–271.

¹³ See, for example, Chaniotis 2007, 153–171; and lately the studies in Iossif et al. 2011.

¹⁴ SEG XII 308 (Demetrias. Late third century BC): Ἐτέαρχος Πύρρου | Κρής | βασιλεὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ[ι] καὶ Φιλίππῳ.

¹⁵ Helly 1980, 37–50; Helly 1983, 355–380; cf. Kravaritou forthcoming a.

¹⁶ Polyb. 18,46,5: ἡ σύγκλητος ἡ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Τίτος Κοῖντιος στρατηγὸς ὑπάτος, καταπολεμήσαντες βασιλέα Φίλιππον καὶ Μακεδόνας, ἀφίᾳσιν ἐλευθέρους, ἀφρουρήτους, ἀφορολογήτους, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις, Κορινθίους, Φωκέας, Λοκρούς, Εὐβοεῖς, Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς Φθιώτας, Μάγνητας, Θετταλοὺς, Περραιβοὺς; cf. Helly 1980, 37–38.

ty, as is testified by epigraphic evidence from Chyretiai and other Thessalian *poleis*.¹⁷ Thus, in accordance to the established diplomatic model of euergetism, members of the contemporary Thessalian elite honoured him with statues. This is indicated, for example, by a private votive monument from Scotoussa; the dedicant, an ex-strategos of the neighbouring Thessalian Koinon praises Flamininus' benevolence towards him and the whole city.¹⁸

However, in Demetrias, a Roman garrison had been appointed in 197 BC in the former Macedonian *basileion*.¹⁹ In addition, the shift in political power after the contemporary creation of the first Magnesians Koinon instigated a turbulent period for a local society, which evidently suffered from internal tensions and contradictions. According to Titus Livius, the chief of the Magnetes, Eurylochos, had actually displayed profound anti-Roman behaviour during the visit of the senatorial commission at Demetrias in 192, accusing Romans of selfish policy;²⁰ at the same time Zenon and the local philo-Roman party regarded Flamininus and the Romans as 'divine' benefactors, equating their benevolence towards the Magnetes to 'that provided to them by the Gods'.²¹ This passage, where for the first time Greek Gods and Roman Emperors are brought together, perfectly demonstrates the ideological framework behind the local honorific and cultic attitude towards Imperial power for the centuries to come. This specific attitude is illustrated in the next centuries, by a series of inscribed statue bases and related architectural material dating from the first century BC to the third century AD, which honour the Roman Emperors as local 'Gods', 'saviours' and 'benefactors'.²²

During the transitional time of the second century BC, the socio-political tensions described above made it clear that the Romans were not actually welcomed by the entire population, a fact that surely enabled the return of the Macedonians to Demetrias for another 25 years after the institution of the first Magnesians Koinon by Flamininus; it was after the battle of Pydna that the Macedonians abandoned Demetrias and released permanent control to the second Magnesians Koinon and the Romans.²³

After the battle of Pydna, the Romans displayed a renewed benevolent attitude towards the city and its population; a recently published *senatus consultum*, dated soon after 168 BC, attests to the distribution of former royal land to the Magnetes along with tax exemptions.²⁴ This act of Roman euergetism took place in Demetrias almost 30 years after the original land re-distribution to the other cities of the Thessalian hinterland, which was enacted by Flamininus.²⁵

Following the reassessment of land-property, an administrative re-organisation also took place in Demetrias as well as the entire region of eastern coastal Thessaly, following the creation of the second Magnesians Koinon in 167 BC.²⁶ Second-century inscriptions mention the presence of local independent *poleis* and *demes*, indicating the replacement of the concentric geo-political model, imposed by the Macedonian synoecism, by a new one instituted by the Koinon.²⁷ Also, specifically inscribed 'Magne-

¹⁷ IG IX (2) 89, 15–19 (Narthakion. 140 BC). IG IX (2), 338, 8–10 (Chyretiai. 196–194 BC). Πρβλ. Helly 1983, 355; Graninger 2011, 30–32, 74.

¹⁸ SEG XXIII 412 (Scotoussa. 189/188 BC): [Π]ραῦλος Φοξίνου | [Τ]ίτον Τίτου Κοίνκτιον | [ἀ]ρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας | [τ]ῆς εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν. On Greek honorific attitudes towards Flamininus, see Kantirea 2007, 26–27.

¹⁹ Polyb. 18,45; cf. Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 13; Kravaritou 2011a, 123.

²⁰ Liv. 35,31,1–16.

²¹ Liv. 35,31,15–16: Magnetes non libertatem modo, sed omnia quae hominibus sancta caraque sint T. Quinctio et populo Romano debere; nihil quemquam ab diis immortalibus precari posse, quod non Magnetes ab illis haberent.

²² Theocharis 1960, 81–83 fig. 35; Habicht 1987, 274–276 pl. 22(3), 23(2), 27(1–3).

²³ Intzesiloglou 1996, 101–107; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 13–15; Kravaritou 2011a, 123.

²⁴ Batziou-Efstathiou – Pikoulas 2006, 79–80.

²⁵ IG IX (2) 89, 15–19 (Narthakion. 140 BC). IG IX (2), 338, 8–10 (Chyretiai. 196–194 BC). Πρβλ. Helly 1983, 355. Graninger 2011, 30–32, 74.

²⁶ Intzesiloglou 1996, 101–107, fig. 1–3.

²⁷ For example, IG IX (2) 1101–1103; SEG XXIII 405, 1–9; see, in detail, Kravaritou 2013, 261–262 fn. 30, 33.

sian laws' and a federal organization with common archons originating from all the poleis of the Koinon – Demetrias and the formerly-synocized communities – and appointed by a common assembly and a *synedrion* were also instituted.²⁸

Besides the revival of independent communities, there is also important evidence for the revival of local traditional poliadic cults (Artemis Pagasitis, Artemis Neleia), suggesting the contemporary need for displaying continuity of traditional civic identities.²⁹ For example, Artemis Iolkia, the poliadic divinity of the classical city of Iolkos was associated, according to legend, with the famous Argonautic expedition. After the establishment of the synocism, Iolkos was synocized to Demetrias and Artemis Iolkia became chief deity of the Macedonian royal city and symbol of its naval power along with the mythical Argo-ship. In the second century BC, the deity was declared tutelary divinity of the Magnesians Koinon, next to the traditional *extra-urban* Zeus Akraios of the Pelion summit and the oracular Apollo Koropaios;³⁰ their cult places were visited by yearly public processions, symbolically demarcating the power of the Koinon over the biggest Thessalian port.³¹ They are also depicted on the Koinon's coins, next to the famous Argo-ship and two healing divinities, the local Centaur Chiron and Asclepios.³² In addition, the Isiac cults, which had originally been introduced into royal Demetrias by Egyptian individuals, now gained an official cult seat, the Serapieion, and a civic priest.³³ Last but not least, the cults of Demetrias and the other communities of the Koinon continued to be regulated by the calendar of Macedonian Demetrias originally used for royal foundations;³⁴ it seems that its theophoric month names could be easily applied to a federal organisation and therefore this exclusively Macedonian element was kept by the Koinon down to the Late Empire.³⁵

This second century reorganisation of the religious life of Demetrias would surely have needed material support. Contemporary epigraphic evidence puts forward prominent members of the local society, pursuing euergetic behaviour towards cult matters. For example, the official priest of Sarapis, Kriton son of Kriton, was honoured by the local group of the *hypostoloi* for making 'large and extended expenses' for the cult activities of the local Isiac deities;³⁶ Kriton had been also appointed *strategos* of the Magnesians Koinon.³⁷ Likewise, during the second half of the second century, many of the Koinon's decrees pay

²⁸ IG IX (2) 1100b, 10–11 (Demetrias. Second century BC): [- - - - -]ιαιος ἀπηλευθε|[ρώθη - - - - -] κατὰ τοὺς Μαγ|νήτων νόμους, ...; IG IX (2) 1101, 3–8 (Demetrias. Second century BC): ... προνοη|θήναι δὲ ὅπως συντελεσθῆ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα τοὺς κοινοὺς | ἄρχοντας, τὸ δὲ ἐσόμενον εἰς ταῦτα ἀνήλωμα δοῦναι | τοὺς ταμίας, γράψα[ι] δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τὸ ἀντίγραφον | τοῦ ψηφίσματος Σίμων τὸν γραμματεά. ἔδοξεν τοῖς | συνέδροις. ἔδοξεν καὶ τῆι ἐκκλησίαι (underlining is ours); cf. Intzesiloglou 1996, 102–103.

²⁹ IG IX (2) 1123 (Demetrias. Late second century BC): Δυνατῆς Μελανθίου | Ἀρτέμιδι Παγασίτιδι | νεβούσα[σα]. IG IX (2) 1125 (Demetrias. Second century BC): Ἀντιφάντα | Πόλκου(?) | ἱερητεύσασα | Ἀφροδίτηι Νηλείαι; cf. Kravaritou 2011a, 123.

³⁰ On the classical cult of Artemis Iolkia, Liampi 2005; on the Hellenistic temple of Iolkia in Demetrias, see Marzollf 1976, 47–58; IG IX (2) 1125; IG IX (2) 1123; IG IX (2) 1109, B54–56; priestess of Artemis Iolkia: IG IX (2) 1122 (Demetrias. Late second century BC): Διογένης [- - - - -] | τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γ[υ]ναῖκα [- - -] | Μενάνδρου ἱε[ρη]τεύσασαν | Ἀρτέμιδι Ἰ[ω]λκίαι; second-century poliadic deities of the Magnesians Koinon: IG IX (2) 1125; IG IX (2) 1123; IG IX (2) 1109, B54–56 (Demetrias. End of second century BC): . . . | ὀμνύω Δία Ἀκραῖον καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω[να] | τὸν Κοροπαῖον καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Ἰωλκίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλ[λου]ς θε[ο]ὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας, . . .

³¹ Cult processions to the extra-urban sanctuary of Apollo Koropaios: IG IX (2) 1109.

³² Rogers 1932 nos 324–355.

³³ On the third-century Egyptian priest of Isis at Demetrias, Stamatopoulou 2008 (=RICIS 112/0701) (Demetrias. ca. 250 BC). On the second-century Serapeion in Demetrias and the contemporary civic priest: IG IX (2) 1107b, 3–5 (= RICIS 102/0703) (Demetrias. 117 BC); cf. Kravaritou forthcoming b.

³⁴ On the calendar months of royal foundations, see Trümper 1997, 266–267; cf. Kravaritou 2011a, 121–122.

³⁵ For example, IG IX (2) 1105II (Demetrias. Second century BC).

³⁶ IG IX (2) 1107b. Cf. Kravaritou, forthcoming b.

³⁷ IG IX (2) 1105II, 1–2; IG IX (2) 1132, 1–4. Kravaritou, forthcoming b.

honours to high officials of the Koinon for their benevolence towards to city,³⁸ some of whom had been appointed both to political and religious offices and they obviously belonged to the local political and economic elite.³⁹

Large scale euergetism procedures must surely have taken place within the significant reorganization of the urban and sacred landscape of Demetrias that took place from the last quarter of the second century onwards. Archaeological evidence indicates a major destruction of Demetrias' urban tissue around 120 BC, ascribed to natural causes; this occasioned the abandonment of the whole area adjacent to the ex-Macedonian royal residence, along with the 'sacred agora', as well as the eventual shift of habitation towards the northern sector, close to the harbour (Fig. 1).⁴⁰ Modest and luxurious houses and public baths excavated in that area reveal the current trends in private and public architecture, e.g. including Roman masonry which made extensive re-use of older stone material.⁴¹ Traces of Roman habitation north of Demetrias were also identified in the neighbouring site of Palaia/Kastro Volou (classical Iolkos?).⁴² Obviously, this reorganisation of urban space eventually led to the redefinition of local sacred space, including the relocation of older cults; for example, Artemis Iolkia abandoned its seat in the Hellenistic 'sacred agora' and was relocated elsewhere in Demetrias, and probably at a later time at Palaia/Kastro Volou.⁴³

Later on, a decree by the Koinon instructing the restoration of Apollo Koropaios' oracle points to cult renovation in relation to the local socio-political texture.⁴⁴ The decree is dated at the beginning of the first century BC and it could therefore slightly postdate the Mithridatic wars, which also provoked a troublesome period for the public monuments of Demetrias, including dismantlement of funeral monuments in order to reinforce the wall-towers.⁴⁵ The preamble states the reasons for the desired *eukosmia* (the piety of the polis towards the divinity, the venerable age of the oracle which was itself held in high esteem by the polis' ancestors and also the great number of its foreign visitors, *xenoi*) confirming both the continuous respect for ancestral heritage and the adaptation of sacred space to present needs. Prohibition against violation of sacred property is prescribed for the citizens, *politai*, other residents, *metoikountes*, and passing foreigners, *endemountes xenoi*, which illustrates the wide and diversified range of visitors. Among them we should also consider the individuals with Greek names originating from Italy and the Roman officials, soldiers and private individuals who were added to the socio-political frame of Thessaly already from the second century BC.⁴⁶

Some of these foreign individuals would surely also have contributed to the development of Demetrias' new urban and sacred space and then become subjects of local honorific attitude. For example, towards the end of the second century BC, the Magnesian Koinon honours a Roman individual for benevolent attitude towards the city.⁴⁷

³⁸ For example, IG IX (2) 1103 (Demetrias. 130–126 BC): Μάγνητες Ἐρμογένην Ἀδύμου | Δημητριῆ τὸν γραμματέα [τῶν] | συνέδρων ἀρετῆς ἔνεκ[εν καὶ] | εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτούς.

³⁹ In IG IX (2) 1111 (Demetrias. Ca. 130–126 BC), for example, Lysias, son of Epiteles, had been appointed *strategos* of the Magnesian Koinon; in addition, in IG IX (2) 1108 (Demetrias. Ca. 130–126 BC), Lysias, as priest of Zeus Akraios – one of the three tutelary deities of the Koinon –, held also the eponymous archonship in Demetrias. See, in detail, Kravaritou, forthcoming b.

⁴⁰ Marzloff 1996, 58, 62 and pl. 1; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 15, 36–40.

⁴¹ See lately, Triantafyllopoulou 2012; cf. Stamatopoulou 2011–2012, 80–82.

⁴² See lately, Skafida 2012; cf. Stamatopoulou 2011–2012, 79–80.

⁴³ Skafida 2012.

⁴⁴ IG IX (2) 1109, 1–94 (Region of Demetrias. End of second century BC).

⁴⁵ Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 15, 17–19.

⁴⁶ Helly 1983, 361; cf. Kravaritou forthcoming a.

⁴⁷ IG IX (2) 1105III (Demetrias. End of second century BC).

During the first century BC, Roman officials were also honoured as benefactors in Demetrias, an initiative generally attributed to the local Greek elites.⁴⁸ A stone base, which was found out of context, belongs to the honorific statue of Gnaeus Pompeius (probably erected on his passage during the war against the pirates);⁴⁹ another stone base, which comes from the northern sector of Demetrias, belongs to the bronze statue erected for C. Caelius Rufus, identified as a political senatorial adversary of Julius Caesar.⁵⁰ On top of voting public honours, the Magnesians – along with the Thessalians – also provided support to the Roman expeditions and civil wars.⁵¹ Magnesian support, Roman benefaction and Magnesian payment of honours illustrate the dynamic development and the display of local contemporary trends in the late Hellenistic *euergetism* model.⁵²

Imperial cult and Greek Gods in Demetrias

In the Imperial period the honorific statues erected for the new Roman benefactors in Demetrias bear imperial faces and the old ones are soon forgotten.⁵³ Caelius' bronze statue was in fact removed and its base was reemployed for a marble statue erected in honour of Julius Caesar, proclaimed 'Imperator' and 'God'.⁵⁴ The base was found in second use, in an Early-Christian basilica in the northern sector of Demetrias, and thus its original character remains unclear. A large series of contemporary honorific statues of Caesar known from many Greek cities and dated after the battle of Pharsalos has been attributed to an initiative of the Delphic Amphictiony and thus rejects the cultic character of the statue;⁵⁵ also, there is no other evidence that could point to a potential introduction of Caesar into the local pantheon. Elements suggestive of a cult of Julius Caesar are only attested in the Roman colony of Corinth.⁵⁶ Therefore, the epithet 'God' – which is also attested in Carthaia of Ceos⁵⁷ – has been attributed to the honorific vocabulary of the philo-Roman local elite of Demetrias, as a way to ensure privileges in advance.⁵⁸ In fact, after the battle of Pharsalos, Caesar had obviously assigned the privilege of freedom to the Magnetes, as well as to all of his Thessalian allies.⁵⁹

Meanwhile, from the time of Caesar to the beginning of the Imperial period, the coins issued by the Magnesian Koinon continue to illustrate local traditional divinities (e.g. Artemis Iolkia, Zeus Akraios, Chiron, Apollo), which demonstrate the continuity of the Koinon's traditional pantheon.⁶⁰ Also, new cults of Greek Gods are attested during this period, such as that of Athena.⁶¹ Finally, there was a signif-

⁴⁸ See, Kantirea 2007, 27–32.

⁴⁹ IG IX (2) 1134 (Demetrias. 66–62 BC): [ὁ δῆμος(?) | Γναί]ον Πομπήϊον Γναί[ο]υ υἱὸν | τὸ τρίτον αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρα | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργ[έ]την]. On Greek honorific attitude towards Gnaeus Pompeius, see Kantirea 2007, 32.

⁵⁰ Arvanitopoulos 1929, 201 no. 424a fig. 26–27 (Demetrias. 52/51 BC): Δημητρίεις Γάιον Καίλιον Γάϊου υἱὸν Ῥούφον, πρεσβευτῆν καὶ ἀνπιστράτηγον, ἀποδεδειγμένον δὲ καὶ δήμαρχον· τὸν ἑατῶν εὐεργέτην· ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν | τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς.

⁵¹ Helly 1980, 48.

⁵² Cf. Kantirea 2007, 25.

⁵³ For the honours bestowed upon the Roman emperors by the Magnesian Koinon, cf. Kravaritou in press.

⁵⁴ Arvanitopoulos 1929, 203, no. 424 (= SEG XIV 474) (Demetrias. 48 BC): Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καίσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ | θεός.

⁵⁵ Raubitschek 1954, 65–75. Πρβλ. Kantirea 2007, 32–36.

⁵⁶ See, in detail, Kantirea 2007, 35–36.

⁵⁷ IG XII (5) 557 (Carthaia. 45/44 BC): ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καρθαιέων | τὸν θεὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα | καὶ σωτήρα τῆς οἰκουμένης | Γάιον Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα Γάϊου | Καίσαρος υἱὸν ἀνέθηκεν.

⁵⁸ Kantirea 2007, 35.

⁵⁹ Plut. Caes. 48,1: Καίσαρ δὲ τῷ Θετταλῶν ἔθνεϊ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀναθείς νικητήριον εἰδωκε Πομπήϊον.

⁶⁰ Rogers 1932, 106–113 fig. 163–181.

⁶¹ Habicht 1987, 273 no 5 pl. XXIII(1) (=SEG XXXVIII 461) (Demetrias. Late Hellenistic): Παρμένηα Ἀντιγόνου εἰ[ρ]ητεύσασα Ἀθηνῶν; cf. Kravaritou 2011a, 129.

icant change in popular belief: Hermes Chthonios, related to classical Thessalian eschatological beliefs, which had been adopted in the Macedonian multi-cultural Demetrias, begins to gradually disappear;⁶² in addition, funerary *stelai* of both Greeks and Italians buried in Demetrias gradually become more modest.⁶³

Following the death of Caesar in 44 BC and the receipt of the title ‘Augustus’ by his stepson Octavius in 27 BC, the latter is honoured as ‘son of God’ and later as ‘God’⁶⁴ on a panhellenic level. In Demetrias, from 27 BC onwards, the legendary figure of the Centaur Chiron is joined on the Koinon’s coins by Augustus, the ‘Sebastos of the Magnetes’;⁶⁵ it should be noted that no traces of further local cultic honours are preserved.

On the contrary, in the neighbouring Thessalian Koinon, Augustus, who is depicted on federal coins as ‘God, Caesar of the Thessalians’, seems to have received cultic honours in the capital of the Koinon, Larisa, as well as in other Thessalian cities (*stelai*, bases and, foremost, altars calling him ‘God’ and ‘Saviour’).⁶⁶ Livia, the new ‘Hera Ioulia’, also received an official cult with a female priest in Larisa.⁶⁷ Their introduction into the local and federal pantheon is confirmed by further depictions of Augustus on federal coins, along with Athena Itonia, the old tutelary divinity of the Thessalian Koinon, to whom Augustus had been appointed eponymous *strategos*.⁶⁸ Finally, the celebration of Kaisareia in Larisa introduced the imperial worship into federal calendaric time, while federal linear time was equally modified by the adoption of a new chronological era, the ‘*etos sebaston*’.⁶⁹ Helly and Bouchon have already argued that the exaltation of Thessalian honours paid to Augustus coincide with the allocation of privileges to the Thessalian Koinon (geographical expansion including the absorption of southern perioikoi and appropriation of their votes before the Delphic Amphictiony and the appellation ‘Sebasteoi’ attributed to the Thessalians).⁷⁰

Consequently, the lack of Magnesian honours in Demetrias and its region towards Augustus should not be merely attributed to lack of evidence; instead we should probably also consider the inefficiency of Augustus’ energetic attitude at a local level: his Thessalian politics favoured the Magnetes with autonomy but deprived them of their Amphictionic votes.

During the next centuries, similar personalized and therefore ephemeral honours were bestowed upon many Emperors on behalf of the authorities of the Magnesian Koinon. Similarly, in the first century

⁶² On Thessalian Hermes Chthonios, see Avagianou 2002; painted Hermes on the painted funeral *stelai* of Demetrias, in Arvanitopoulos 1928; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 43 fig. 54–55; Kravaritou 2011a, 119; in detail, Stamatopoulou 1999, 153–162.

⁶³ Helly 1983, 366–367.

⁶⁴ See, in detail, Kantirea 2007, 41–53.

⁶⁵ Rogers 1932, 113 fig. 182.

⁶⁶ Coins: Burre 1994, 309. Obverse: Head of Augustus and legend ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΘΕΣΣΑΛ | ΙΤΑ; reverse: Head of Livia and legend ΗΡΑ ΛΕΙΟΥΙΑ. Stone bases, *stelai*, altars: IG IX (2) 604 (Larisa): [θεοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ | [Καίσαρο]ς Σωτήρος; cf. also IG IX (2) 93 (Echinos); IG IX (2) 424 (Pherai); IG IX (2) 425 (Pherai); IG IX (2) 612 (Larisa); IG IX (2) 677 (Atrax); IG IX (2) 730 (Phalanna); IG IX (2) 1288 (Halos); SEG XLIII 241 (Atrax); IG IX (2) 51 (Trikke); IG IX (2) 677 (Trikke); IG IX (2) 730 (Larisa). Πρβλ. Benjamin – Raubitschek 1959, 69. Kantirea 2007, 51–52. Bouchon 2008b, 436–437.

⁶⁷ IG IX (2) 333 (Larisa. Early first century AD): ὁ δῆμος ὁ Λαρείσιαιων [- - - - -] | Δεξιππου, γυναίκα δὲ Φιλίσκου τοῦ Ἀρι[σ]το[βού]λου υἱοῦ, ἱερετε[ύ]σαν Ἰουλίαις Ἴρας Σεβαστῆς.

⁶⁸ Rogers 1932, 30 fig. 18. Obverse: head of Augustus and legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΩΝ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ. Reverse: figure of Athena Itonia.

⁶⁹ IG IX (2) 614b, 4–5 (Larisa. First century AD): ἄλλα Καισάρηα ἀνδρ[ας] | σταδίων καὶ ἀποβατ[ικῶν]; on the calendar of the Thessalian Koinon, see Graninger 2008, 343–344; Kravaritou 2011b, 116–125; on the ‘*etos sebaston*’: Bouchon 2008b, 430–436, 445–463.

⁷⁰ Helly 1980, 43–44; Bouchon 2008b, 438–439; cf. Kantirea 2007, 52.

AD, Tiberius is related to the renovation of Demetrias' public monuments. His name was inscribed on the *scaene frons* of Demetrias' theatre, presumably accompanying his honorific statue.⁷¹ It is important that the monument, a victim of the late second century devastation of Demetrias, was actually renovated and reused during the first century AD, while it became a meeting place for the Magnesians Koinon.⁷²

Later on, the Emperor Claudius was depicted with the local Centaur Chiron on the coins issued by the Magnesians Koinon. He was also proclaimed eponymous archon, *strategos*, of the Koinon;⁷³ this was most probably an honour attributed *in absentia*, as it happened with Augustus in the case of the Thessalian Koinon.⁷⁴ Claudius in Delphi was also symbolically supervising manumission procedures and juridical affairs.⁷⁵

During the Flavian Dynasty, the Magnesians Koinon honoured Emperor Titus, as 'God, son of God' and 'New Apollo, benefactor', with a statue that was probably erected in the theatre;⁷⁶ this is most probably a sign of his introduction into the local pantheon (association with Apollo Koropaios?).

In the aftermath of the second century AD, the Magnesians Koinon erected a statue in honour of *megistos* and *theiotatos* Septimius Severus.⁷⁷ The Emperor is also depicted on coins of the Koinon, along with the tutelary Zeus Akraios;⁷⁸ it has been argued that the assimilation of the Emperors with Zeus is influenced by imperial ideology, since Juppiter had been perfectly assimilated to the image of the Emperor as *pater patriae*, the victorious saviour of the world.⁷⁹ Finally, an altar made of local marble, which was dedicated to the same Emperor and to the Olympian Gods by a Greek, displays similar honorific behaviour on a private level⁸⁰. The dedicant, Secundus son of Menadros, was most likely a prominent member of the local society, as he was appointed Councillor of the Hadrianic Panhellenion at Athens; Chr. Habicht has argued that he could be the father of Philemon son of Secundus, an eponymous archon of the Magnesians Koinon.⁸¹ On the contrary, it has also been argued that he was not among the wealthy citizens of Demetrias, since he was not in possession of Roman citizenship and, therefore, was identified as an individual seeking to take advantage of his renowned office, in order to achieve a distinguished political career; his father's name attests to his Greek origin, while his name illustrates his philoroman attitude.⁸²

According to the inscription, Secundus performed sacrifices seeking good omens, regarding the salvation and victory of the Emperor; this had probably occurred on the occasion of one of his military

⁷¹ SEG XXIII 449 (Demetrias. 1–50 AD): [- - - - - Σεβασ]τῶ Τιβερίῳ [- - - - -].

⁷² Intzesiloglou 2011, 33–47, especially 40.

⁷³ Rogers 1932, 115, 362 fig. 184 (41–54 AD). IG IX (2) 1115, 1 (Demetrias): [στρατη]γούντος Καίσαρος Τ[ιβηρίου Κλαυδίου(?), προστα]τεύοντος Λονγίνου παρὰ Μάρκου Τεττίου | [- - - - -]του τοῦ Κηφισο[- - - - -].

⁷⁴ Bouchon 2008b.

⁷⁵ Bouchon 2008b.

⁷⁶ Theocharis 1960, 81 no. 3, fig. 35. Habicht 1987 pl. XXVII(3) (= SEG XXIII 450) (Demetrias. 79–81 AD): Μάγνητες θεὸν θεοῦ υἱὸν | Τίτον Καίσαρα νέον Ἄπ<ό>λλωνα εὐεργέτην. For the assimilation of Emperors with Greek Gods on local level, see in detail, Kantirea 2007, 37–38, 95–157.

⁷⁷ IG IX (2) 1137, 1–9 (Demetrias. 193–211 AD): τὸν μέγιστον καὶ | θειότατον Αὐτοκρά|τορα Καίσαρα Λούκιον Σεπτίμιον Σευ|βήρον Περτίνακα Σε|βαστὸν τὸ κοινὸν | τῶν Μαγνήτων καὶ | οἱ σύνεδροι | τὸν εὐεργέτην.

⁷⁸ Rogers 1932, 118 fig. 189.

⁷⁹ Kantirea 2007, 15.

⁸⁰ Habicht 1987, 290 pl. XXVII(1) (= SEG XXV 680, 1–14) (Demetrias. Late second century AD): ἀγαθὴ τύχη | Θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις | καὶ τῶ μεγίστῳ | σωτήρι Αὐτοκρά|τορι Λουκίῳ Σε|πτιμίῳ Σεουήρῳ | Περτίνακι Εὐσε|βεῖ Εὐτυχῇ Σε|κοῦνδος Μενάν|δρου ὁ Πανέλλην | θύσας καὶ καλλιε|ρήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς | σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ | καὶ νείκης.

⁸¹ Habicht 1987, 290. On the role played by the local elites in the Imperial cult, see Kantirea 2007, 159–189; cf. the studies in Rizakis – Camia 2008.

⁸² For similar attitudes in the Roman East, see the studies in Rizakis 1996 and Rizakis et al. 2004.

campaigns. These are presumably sacrifices to the Gods, the second type of sacrifices related to the Emperors.⁸³ The location of the altar in the theatre of Demetrias – in the Koinon's meeting place⁸⁴ – illustrates the diplomatic aspect of socio-political and religious behaviour among distinguished individuals, local authorities and Roman power; it also indicates that Demetrias/the Koinon had by this time become a member of the Panhellenion.⁸⁵ Finally, the altar offers important evidence for the existence of an imperial cult in Demetrias at the beginning of the third century AD.

Later on, in 282 AD, Carus was proclaimed *kyrios* of the Koinon, a fact that probably implies the rise of a renewed imperial civic patronage, including *euergesies* – mostly material support – on behalf of the Master and obligations of the local community;⁸⁶ however, no signs of a potential cult paid to him have been preserved.

Moreover, another third-century fragmentary inscription confirms the presence of a local imperial cult. The text refers to a 'high priest of the Sebastoi' – probably the high priest of the Magnesian Koinon – and to the organization of *agonothesia*, local public games in honour of the Emperors;⁸⁷ in Demetrias, gladiators are also attested by the epigraphic evidence.⁸⁸ The presence of Thessalian imperial high priests, who were members of the local political and economic elites, is also confirmed at Larisa, Metropolis, Echinus and especially at southern Hypata;⁸⁹ based on that observation, F. Camia has recently argued that Thessaly possessed more than one centres of imperial cult.⁹⁰ Thessalian high priests were also operating on a provincial level, as *agonothetai* of the Delphic Pythia and were honored by the Amphiktyons for their extended benefactions;⁹¹ this indicates the direct involvement of Thessalians in the politics abroad, sanctioned by current trends in cult activity and euergetic behavior.⁹² Although the inscription conveys no further information on Demetrias' imperial high-priest, it confirms the presence of a third-century local imperial cult and of wealthy individuals engaged in its promotion.⁹³

As far as all the other earlier statue bases honouring the Emperors as 'Gods' are concerned, these do not constitute on their own certain proof of the presence of a local imperial cult in Demetrias during the early empire, especially given the absence of secure information regarding their original context.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, as M. Kantirea has recently argued, the regular public display of imperial statues and dedications on public monuments illustrate the domination of Emperors over the civic space of almost all Greek cities.⁹⁵

⁸³ For the Greek ritual practices involved in the Imperial cult, see Price 1980, 28–43; Kantirea 2007, 181–184, especially 182. Camia – Kantirea 2010, 381.

⁸⁴ Intzesiloglou 2011, 40.

⁸⁵ Ferrary 2001, 17–35.

⁸⁶ IG IX (2) 1138, 1–6 (Demetrias. 282 AD): [τὸν] μέγιστον καὶ | [θειό]τατον κύριον ἢ[[μῶν] Καίσαρα Μ(ᾶρκον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Κᾶ[[ρον τ]ὸν Σεβαστ[ὸ]ν τὸ | [κοινὸ]ν τῶν Μαγνήτων | [κ]αὶ οἱ σύ[v]εδροι ; Habicht 1987 pl. 27(2). For the title κύριος, see Eilers 2002.

⁸⁷ Habicht 1987, 275, pl. XXIII(2) and fig. 52(9) (=SEG XXXVII 463) (Demetrias. Late Imperial times): [τὸν δεινα]α Ἥγησι[ου ὁ ἀγωνοθέ]της καὶ ἀρχιερ[εὺς τῶν Σε]βαστῶν ἐπὶ τῷ [. . . ὁ δεινα | Συ]ντρόφου, θέσει δὲ [τοῦ δεῖ]νος] . Y, τῆς ἀγωνοθ[εσίας ὑπό | μνημα(?)].

⁸⁸ Adrymi-Sismani 2004, 126, no cat. 28.

⁸⁹ For the role of Greek Imperial priesthood, see Kantirea 2007, 172–190; Camia 2008, 23–41; Camia 2011b, 133–188. For Imperial priesthood in Thessaly, βλ. Camia 2011a; Camia 2011b, 154–162.

⁹⁰ Camia 2011a.

⁹¹ For example, IG IX (2) 44, 5–8 (Hypata).

⁹² Camia 2011a, 147–148.

⁹³ Cf. Camia 2011a, 146.

⁹⁴ Cf. Hojte 2005.

⁹⁵ Kantirea 2007, 89–158.

To sum up, in Roman times, the emotional bewilderment of Greek reality in the face of new political powers reflects on the religious attitude of the Magnesians, wavering between traditional deities and divinized Emperors.⁹⁶ The accumulation of imperial representations and references to imperial names and titles, within the renovated urban and sacred space of Roman Demetrias, away from the Macedonian ex-royal sector and its public monuments that expressed royal ideology, perfectly illustrates the domination of Imperial power and ideology over Demetrias' civic space, as well as its coexistence with the traditional Greek Gods, both promoted by the Magnesians. At the same time, the coexistence in the city's civic space of honorific monuments dedicated to both Roman and Greek local benefactors illustrates the transformation of the local society and the need of the powerful elites for public display of themselves and their masters, from the Late Hellenistic times onwards. All these gradually led to Demetrias' transformation from a Hellenistic royal residence to an Imperial city.

However, the extensive excavations of the last century, which shed considerable light on the impressive ruins of the Hellenistic royal city of Demetrias, along with Strabo's citation on Demetrias' shrinkage during Roman times, led modern research to promote the image of Roman Demetrias, as a city in total decline.⁹⁷ The presence of officials of the imperial administration in Demetrias had for long been an embarrassing problem.⁹⁸ Recent rescue excavations in the northern sector of the city have begun to challenge that view of Roman Demetrias (Fig. 1). Alongside modest Roman houses, impressive habitation units with rich mosaic decoration, a Roman tavern and extensive bath installations have been unearthed.⁹⁹ In addition, the existence of a Roman agora in the same area has been proposed, since a pair of equestrian statues was located there, along with large marble blocks, coming from a large votive *exedra* bearing extensive manumission records dated to the late Hellenistic and to the Imperial period (second century BC to third century AD); these inscriptions also attest to the flourishing local presence of Greeks bearing Roman names as a result of the extended attribution of the Roman *civitas* from second century AD.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, it is not a surprise that all manifestations of imperial power are actually located in that area – most of them being reused as building material in a later basilica –, as well as in the renovated theatre of Demetrias, where the Koinon's assemblies and public spectacles conjointly took place.

Although, no numismatic evidence on a local *neokoreia* and no traces of a local Sebasteion have been discovered to-date, the concentration of relevant finds in the northern sector of Demetrias indicates that *locus* or *loci* of imperial cult should be sought in that area, either incorporated in other(s) prominent cult-seat(s) and public buildings (porticoes) or in the form of free standing monuments.¹⁰¹ Away from the sector of the *ex-basileion*, Roman emperors were honoured along with traditional deities and members of the local elite – e.g. civic priests, eponymous archons of the Koinon, foreign benefactors – within a newly formed urban, political, sacred and eventually social landscape, which subtly balanced between local expectations, Roman imperialism and also parallel interventions;¹⁰² a private monument most probably attesting the intermarriage of a Graeco-Roman couple that con-

⁹⁶ cf. Kravaritou 2011a, 123–124.

⁹⁷ Strab. 9,5,19. Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 15.

⁹⁸ IG IX (2) 1124 (Demetrias. Imperial times): Ἀσκλη[ηπιῶ] | καὶ Ὑγ[είαι] | Φιλόλ[- - - - -] | Σεβασ[τοῦ(?)] {Σεβασ[τῶν](?)} | οἰκον[ό]μο[σ] (underlining is ours).

⁹⁹ Triantafyllopoulou 2012, with detailed bibliography; cf. for the expansion of the Roman habitation towards the northern neighbouring site of Palia, see Skafida 2012.

¹⁰⁰ On the alleged place of the Roman agora in Demetrias, see Marzollf 1996, 56; also, Batziou-Efstathiou – Pikoulas 2004–2009, 453. On the equestrian statues and the *exedra* with the manumission records, Marzollf 1996, 56; in detail, Habicht 1987, 277–287 pl. XXIV–XXVI; also, Marzollf 1987b, 49–61, fig. 9, pl. 9–18.

¹⁰¹ On the topography and architecture of the imperial cult, see Price 1984, 133–169; Kantirea 2007, 89–158; Evangelidis 2008.

¹⁰² IG IX (2) 1128 (Demetrias. Imperial period): Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) | Τειμασίθεος | Κενταύριος ὁ ἱερ[ε]ὺς τῶ Ἀκραίῳ Δι[ί].

secrates their son to the imported Hellenistic Sarapis and Isis after divine ordinance (*prostagma*) – a concurrent dogmatic trend in Isiac cults – highlights the dynamic evolution of local socio-religious patterns beyond cultural Romanisation or Hellenization.¹⁰³

Abbreviated Literatur

- Adrymi-Sismani 2004 V. Adrymi-Sismani (ed.), *Αγώνες και αθλήματα στη Θεσσαλία. Κατάλογος περιοδικής έκθεσης Μουσείου Βόλου*, Athens 2004.
- Arvanitopoulos 1928 A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Γραπτά στήλαι Δημητριάδος-Παγασών*, Athens 1928.
- Arvanitopoulos 1929 A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Ανδριάντες Γαΐου Καλίου Ρούφου και Γαΐου Ιουλίου Καίσαρος εν Δημητριάδι*, *Polemon* 1, 1929, 201–206.
- Avagianou 2002 A. Avagianou, *ΕΡΜΗ ΧΘΟΝΙΩΙ*, in: A. Avagianou (ed.), *Λατρείες στην Περιφέρεια του Αρχαίου Ελληνικού κόσμου*, Athens 2002, 65–111.
- Batziou-Efstathiou 2002 A. Batziou-Efstathiou, *Demetrias*, Athens (TAPA) 2002.
- Batziou-Efstathiou – Pikoulas 2006 Batziou-Efstathiou – Y. Pikoulas, *A Senatus Consultum from Demetrias*, in: Y. Pikoulas (ed.), *Inscriptions and History of Thessaly. New Evidence. Proceedings of the International Symposium in honour of Professor Christian Habicht*, Volos 2006, 79–89.
- Batziou-Efstathiou – Pikoulas 2004–2009 A. Batziou-Efstathiou – Y. Pikoulas, *Απελευθερωτική επιγραφή από τη Δημητριάδα*, *Horos* 17–21, 2004–2009, 449–454.
- Benjamin – Raubitschek 1959 A. S. Benjamin – A. E. Raubitschek, *Arae Augusti*, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, 65–85.
- Bouchon 2008a R. Bouchon, *L'empereur Auguste, Tibère et les Thessaliens: Intégration de la Thessalie dans le imperium Romanum*, in: L. Glegle (ed.), *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on History and Culture of Thessaly*. Larisa, 9-11 November 2006, Larisa 2008, 184–193.
- Bouchon 2008b R. Bouchon, *L'ère auguste: ébauche d'une histoire politique de la Thessalie sous Auguste*, *BCH* 132, 2008, 427–471.
- Burrer 1993 Fr. Burrer, *Münzprägung und Geschichte des Thessalischen Bundes in der römischen Kaiserzeit bis auf Hadrian (31 v. Chr. – 138 n. Chr.)*, *Saarbrücken 1993 (Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und Alten Geschichte, Band 7)*.
- Burrer 1994 Fr. Burrer, *Vorarbeiten zu einem Corpus der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung des Koinon der Thessaler*, in: *La Thessalie. Quinze années de recherche archéologique, 1975–1990. Bilans et Perspectives. Colloque International*, Lyon, 17–22 Avril 1990, Volume II, Athènes 1994, 307–314.
- Camia 2008 Fr. Camia, *Imperial Priests in Second Century Greece: a Socio-political Analysis*, in: A. D. Rizakis – F. Camia (edd.), *Pathways to Power. Civic Elites in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire*, Athens 2008, 23–41 (*Tripedes* 6).
- Camia 2011a Fr. Camia, *Lykos, son of Hermolaos, hierus heptaeterikos of the Sebastoi. Emperor Worship and Traditional Cults at Thessalian Hypata (SEG 54 556)*, *ZPE* 179, 2011, 145–154.
- Camia 2011b Fr. Camia, *Theoi Sebastoi. Il Culto degli Imperatori Romani in Grecia (Provincia Achaia) nel secondo secolo D.C.*, Athens 2011 (*Meletemata* 65).
- Camia – Kantirea 2010 Fr. Camia – M. Kantirea, *The imperial cult in the Peloponnese*, in: *Roman Peloponnese III. Society, Economy and Culture under the Roman Empire: Continuity and Innovation*, Athens 2010, 375–406.
- Chaniotis 2007 A. Chaniotis, *La divinité mortelle d'Antiochos III à Téos*, *Kernos* 20, 2007, 153–171.
- Eilers 2002 C. Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, Oxford 2002.

¹⁰³ Robert 1940, 66 no 1 (Demetrias. Imperial period): [Σα]ράπιδι καὶ <sup>I>σ[ιδι | Ζ]ήνων καὶ ΣΑΡΙΣ[-----] | Ἑρμοκράτην | [τ]ὸν υἱὸν κατὰ *vacat* | [π]ρόσταγμα.

- Evangelidis 2008 V. Evangelidis, The Architecture of the Imperial Cult in the Agoras of the Greek cities, *Egnatia* 12, 2008, 125–144.
- Ferrary 2001 J. L. Ferrary, Rome et la géographie de l'hellénisme: réflexions sur 'hellènes' et 'panhellènes' dans les inscriptions d'époque romain, in: O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context. Proceedings of a colloquium organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, 21–22 May 1999*, Helsinki 2001, 19–35.
- Graninger 2008 D. Graninger, Whither Ethnos Religion? The case of Thessaly, in: L. Glegle (ed.), *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on History and Culture of Thessaly. Larisa, 9–11 November 2006*, Larisa 2008, 341–347.
- Graninger 2011 D. Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly*, Leiden–Boston 2011.
- Habicht 1987 Chr. Habicht, Neue Inschriften aus Demetrias, in: S. C. Bakhuizen – Fr. Gschnitzer – Chr. Habicht – P. Marzollf (edd.), *Demetrias V. Die Deutsche Archäologische Forschungen in Thessalien*, Bonn 1987, 269–285.
- Helly 1980 Br. Helly, La Thessalie à l'époque romaine, in: J. Cazeau et al. (edd.), *Mémoires du Centre Jean Palerne II, Université de Saint-Étienne* 1980, 37–50.
- Helly 1983 Br. Helly, Les Italiens en Thessalie au IIe et au Ier s. av. J.-C., in: *Les bourgeoisies municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C.*, Paris 1983, 355–380.
- Hojte 2005 J. M. Hojte, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases from Augustus to Commodus*, Aarhus 2005.
- Intzesiloglou 1996 B. Intzesiloglou, Ο συνοικισμός και η πολιτική οργάνωση της Δημητριάδας και του Κοινού των Μαγνήτων κατά την Ελληνιστική περίοδο, in: E. Kontaxi (ed.), *Αρχαία Δημητριάδα. Η διαδρομή της στο χρόνο. Πρακτικά ημερίδας 9 Νοεμβρίου 1994*, Volos 1996, 91–109.
- Intzesiloglou 2011 B. Intzesiloglou, Το αρχαίο Θέατρο Δημητριάδος, in: V. Adrymi-Sismani (ed.), *Αρχαία Θέατρα στη Θεσσαλία*, Volos 2011, 33–47.
- Iossif et al. 2011 P. P. Iossif – A. S. Chankowski – C. C. Lorber, More than Men, less than Gods: Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Organized by the Belgian School at Athens, November 1–2, 2007, Leuven 2011 (*Studia Hellenistica* 51).
- Kantirea 2001 M. Kantirea, Remarques sur le culte de la *domus Augusta* en Achaïe de la mort d'Auguste à Néron, in: O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context. Proceedings of a Colloquium organized by the Finnish Institute at Athens, 21–22 May 1999*, Helsinki 2001, 51–60.
- Kantirea 2007 M. Kantirea, Les dieux et les dieux augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens. Études épigraphiques et archéologiques, Athènes 2007 (*Meletemata* 50).
- Kravaritou 2011a S. Kravaritou, Synoecism and religious interface in Demetrias (Thessaly), *Kernos* 24, 2011, 111–135.
- Kravaritou 2011b S. Kravaritou, Ημερολόγια της Αρχαίας Θεσσαλίας, *Θεσσαλικά Μελετήματα* 1, 2011, 113–128.
- Kravaritou 2013 S. Kravaritou, Thessalian perceptions of the ruler cult: 'archegetai and ktistai' from Demetrias", in: P. Martzavou – N. Papazarkadas (edd.), *The Epigraphy of the Post-classical polis. Fourth Century BC to Second Century AD. Papers from the Oxford Epigraphy Workshop*, Oxford 2013, 255–275.
- Kravaritou in press S. Kravaritou, 'Κοινόν' και 'Αυτοκράτωρ θεός' στην Ανατολική Θεσσαλία, in: A. Mazarakis-Ainian (ed.), *Proceedings of the fourth Archaeological Wok in Thessaly and Central Greece, 16.–18.3.2012*, Volos, Volos in press, 271–279.
- Kravaritou forthcoming a S. Kravaritou, Sacred Space and the Politics of Multiculturalism in Demetrias, in: O. Bobou – M. Melfi (edd.), *Rethinking the Gods: Post-Classical Approaches to Sacred Space. Proceedings of the International Conference held at Oxford, 21–23 September 2010*, Oxford (forthcoming).

- Kravaritou forthcoming b S. Kravaritou, Isiac cults, civic priesthood and social elite in Hellenistic Demetrias (Thessaly): Notes on RICIS 112/0703 and beyond, *Tekmeria* 2013 (forthcoming).
- Liampi 2005 K. Liampi, Iolkos and Pagasai: Two new Thessalian Mints, *NC* 165, 2005, 23–40.
- Marzolff 1976 P. Marzolff, Untersuchungen auf der ‘Heiligen Agora’, in: V. Milojcic – D. Theocharis (edd.), *Demetrias I. Die deutschen archäologischen Forschungen in Thessalien*, Bonn 1976, 47–58.
- Marzolff 1987a P. Marzolff, Die Bauten auf Höhe 84 (‘Heroon’- Höhe) in: S. C. Bakhuizen – Fr. Gschnitzer – Chr. Habicht – P. Marzollf (edd.), *Demetrias, V. Die deutschen archäologischen Forschungen in Thessalien*, Bonn 1987, 1–47.
P. Marzolff, Eine verschwundene Monumentgruppe, in: S. C. Bakhuizen – Fr. Gschnitzer – Chr. Habicht – P. Marzollf (edd.), *Demetrias, V. Die deutschen archäologischen Forschungen in Thessalien*, Bonn 1987, 49–61.
- Marzolff 1987b P. Marzolff, Η πολιορκητική εξέλιξη και τα κυριότερα αρχιτεκτονικά έργα της περιοχής της Δημητριάδας, in: E. Kontaxi (ed.), *Αρχαία Δημητριάδα. Η διαδρομή της στο χρόνο. Πρακτικά ημερίδας 9 Νοεμβρίου 1994*, Volos 1996, 47–72.
- Marzolff 1996 P. Marzolff, Η πολιορκητική εξέλιξη και τα κυριότερα αρχιτεκτονικά έργα της περιοχής της Δημητριάδας, in: E. Kontaxi (ed.), *Αρχαία Δημητριάδα. Η διαδρομή της στο χρόνο. Πρακτικά ημερίδας 9 Νοεμβρίου 1994*, Volos 1996, 47–72.
- McDevitt 1970 A. S. McDevitt, *Inscriptions of Thessaly. An analytical Handlist and Bibliography*, Hildesheim – New York 1970.
- Meyer 1936 E. Meyer, Eine Inschrift von Iolkos, *RhM* 1936, 367–376.
- Price 1980 S. R. F. Price, Between Man and God: Sacrifice in the Roman imperial cult, *JRS* 70, 1980, 28–43.
- Price 1984 S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984.
- Raubitschek 1954 A. E. Raubitschek, Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar, *JRS* 44, 1954, 65–75.
- Rizakis 1996 A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics. Athens, 7–9 September 1993*, Athens 1996 (Meletemata 21).
- Rizakis – Camia 2008 A. D. Rizakis – Fr. Camia (edd.), *Pathways to Power. Civic Elites in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Athens, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene 19 December 2005*, Athens 2008.
- Rizakis et al. 2004 A. D. Rizakis – S. Zoumbaki – Cl. E. Lepenioti (edd.), *Roman Peloponnese II. Roman personal names in their social context*, Athens 2004 (Meletemata 36).
- Rizakis – Lepenioti 2010 A. D. Rizakis – Cl. E. Lepenioti (edd.), *Roman Peloponnese III. Society, Economy and Culture under the Roman Empire: Continuity and Innovation*, Athens 2010.
- Robert 1940 L. Robert, *Hellenica. Recueil d’épigraphie, de numismatique et d’antiquités grecques. Vol. I*, Paris 1940.
- Rogers 1932 E. Rogers, *The Copper Coinage of Thessaly*, London 1932.
- Skafida 2012 E. Skafida, Το Κάστρο-Παλαιά Βόλου κατά τους Ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους, in: A. Mazarakis-Ainian (ed.), *Proceedings of the third Archaeological Work in Thessaly and Central Greece*, Volos 12.3–15.3.2009, Volos 2012, 149–158.
- Stamatopoulou 1999 M. Stamatopoulou, *Burial Customs in Thessaly in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods*, Oxford 1999 (DPhil).
- Stamatopoulou 2008 M. Stamatopoulou, Ouaphres Horou, an Egyptian priest of Isis from Demetrias, in: D. Kurtz et al. (edd.), *Essays in Classical Archaeology for Eleni Chatzivassiliou 1977–2007*, Oxford 2008, 249–257.
- Stamatopoulou 2011–2012 M. Stamatopoulou, Thessaly (Prehistoric to Roman), *AR* 58, 2011–2012, 75–95.

- Theocharis 1960 D. Theocharis, Έρευναί εν Δημητριάδι I, Θεσσαλικά Γ' 1960, 57–85.
- Triantafyllopoulou 2012 P. Triantafyllopoulou, Η Δημητριάδα και η ευρύτερη περιοχή της κατά τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους, in: A. Mazarakis-Ainian (ed.), Proceedings of the third Archaeological Work in Thessaly and Central Greece, Volos 12.3–15.3-2009, Volos 2012, 341–349.
- Trümpy 1997 C. Trümpy, Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen, Heidelberg 1997 (Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften, Neue Folge 2. Reihe, Bd. 98).

Özet

Demetrias Kenti'nde İmparator Kültü, Yunan Tanrılar ve Toplumsal Yapı

Antigonid Hanedanlığının önemli kraliyet merkezlerinden biri olan Demetrias kentinde iktidar kültürünün belirgin unsurları İ.Ö. 3. yüzyılda oluşmuştur. Bölgenin İ.Ö. 2. yüzyılın başından itibaren Roma etkisi altına girmesiyle birlikte T. Quinctius Flamininus gibi Romanın önde gelen yöneticileri de bu iktidar kültüne dahil edilmiştir. Sonraki dönemlerde başka güçlü Romalılar «Tanrı», «Kurtarıcı» ve «Hayırhah» olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Pydna Savaşı'ndan sonra Makedon etkisinin bölgeden tamamen kaybolmasıyla birlikte otonomilerini kazanan Thessalia kentleri Magnesia Koinonu'nun himayesinde şekillenmiştir. Bununla birlikte Koinon merkezi olan Demetrias ve diğer kentlerde eski kültürlerin tekrar canlandığına tanık olmaktayız. Koinon'da söz sahibi olan bazı soylular bu tanrıların rahipliğini üstlenmiş ve kentlere çeşitli destek sağlamışlardır. 2. yüzyılın sonlarında Demetrias'ın mimari dokusunda bir Romalılaştırma yaşandığı tespit edilmiştir.

Augustus ile birlikte oluşan İmparator kültürünün izleri Magnesia Koinonu'nun başlıca merkezi olarak konumunu sürdüren Demetrias'ta beklenilenden çok daha azdır. Augustus ve ardıllarının birlik ve kent çapında tanrı olarak tapınım gördüklerine dair herhangi bir delil yoktur. Bunun başlıca sebeplerinden biri Augustus'un Amfiktiyonu'de Magnesia Birliği'nin oyunu iptal etmesi olabilir. Flaviuslar Dönemi'nde İmparator Titus Birlik tarafından «Tanrı oğlu Tanrı» ve «Yeni Apollon, Euergetes» olarak onurlandırılmıştır. İmparatorların yerel *pantheon*'a dahil edilmeleri Septimius Severus için de tespit edilebilmektedir. Bir imparator rahibi ancak 3. yüzyılda belgelenmiştir. Demetrias'ta Neokorluk ve İmparator tapınağına dair herhangi bir veri henüz ele geçmemiştir. Ancak kentin mimari dokusu ve Roma isimlerinin kullanımının çoğalması Demetrias'ın da bir Romalılaştırma süreci yaşadığını kanıtlamaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: İktidar kültürü; İmparator kültürü; Geleneksel Yunan kültürleri; Euergetizm; Onurlandırma geleneği; Magnesia Birliği; soylu sınıfı.

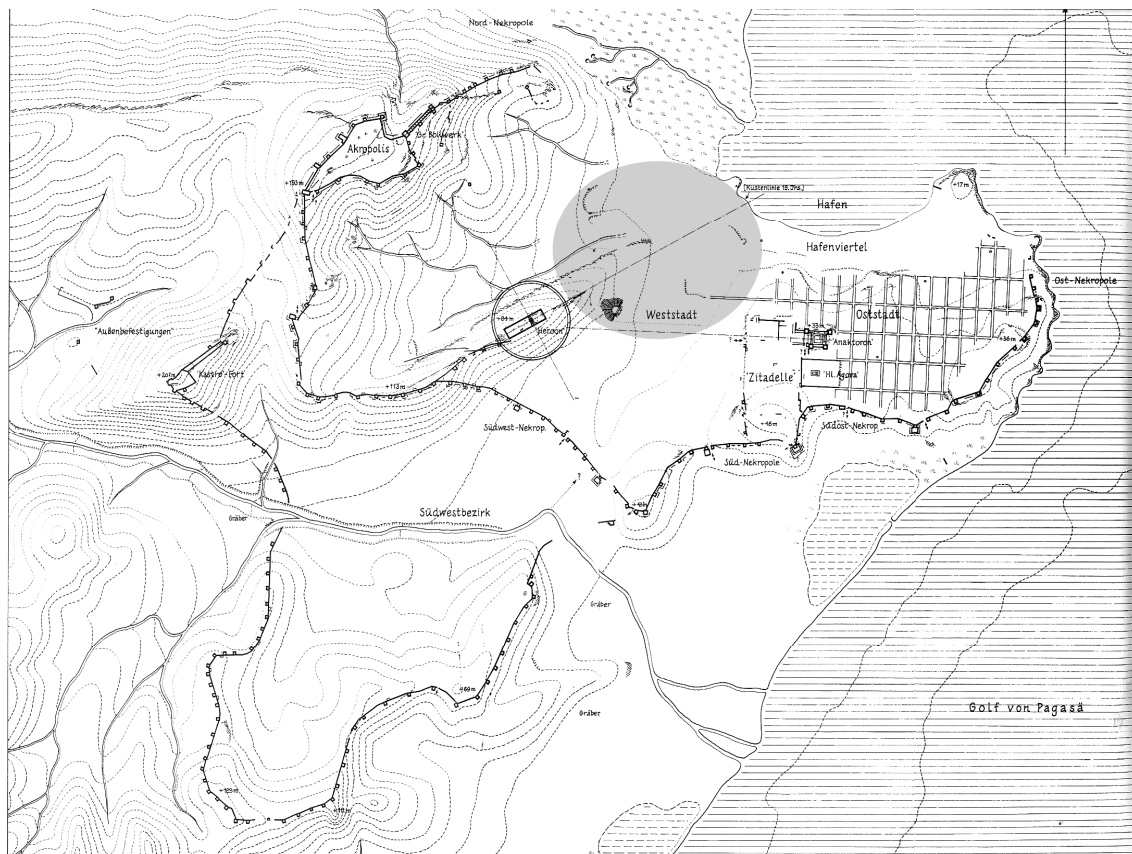


Fig. 1. Plan of Demeris adapted from Marzolff 1987a, plan 1, with indication (in shadow) of the northern post-hellenistic sector.