

MARJETA ŠAŠEL KOS

## ANTINOUS IN UPPER MOESIA – THE INTRODUCTION OF A NEW CULT

### *The dedication to Antinous from Sočanica*

In the course of excavations at the Roman settlement near present-day Sočanica (in Albanian Soçanicë, the Leposavić district in the Ibar valley, northern Dardania) during the years 1956-1965, directed by Emil Čerškov, a large inscribed plaque came to light in the supposed forum. It was discovered in the vestibule of the excavated sanctuary (of Jupiter?), near the entrance, covered by the pavement, and can be considered as one of the most important and interesting inscriptions to date from Dardania. It is generally believed that the settlement was the *Municipium Dardanorum* (Fig. 1) (1), but it may have been (less likely) the settlement of the *coloni* working in the nearby mines (lead, gold, and in particular silver) (2).

The monument is now in the Museum of Kosovo (Muzeu i Kosovës, formerly Museum of Kosovo and Metohija) in Priština. It is a rectangular marble plaque of which only the left side is preserved, broken into ten pieces (59 x 93 x 12.5 cm). The inscription field is bordered by a moulded frame and occupies the entire front side of the plaque (Fig. 2). Based on the restitution of the second line, the plaque must have originally measured ca. 145 cm in width. The letters, which are regular and carefully carved, are almost 8 cm high (7.9-6.8 cm), the words are separated by triangular punctuation marks, consisting of three points. Two ligatures are in the fifth line: *NTE* and *TE*.

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(1) E. ČERŠKOV, *Municipium DD kod Sočanice (Municipium DD at Sočanica)* (Diss. et Monographiae 10), Priština, Beograd 1970; see now M. MIRKOVIĆ, *Moesia Superior – Eine Provinz an der mittleren Donau* (Orbis provinciarum), Mainz am Rhein 2007, pp. 62-64.

(2) S. DUŠANIĆ, *Novi Antinojev natpis i metalla Municipii Dardanorum (The Antinous inscription at Sočanica and the metalla municipii Dardanorum)*, «Iva Antika», 21 (1971), pp. 241-261.

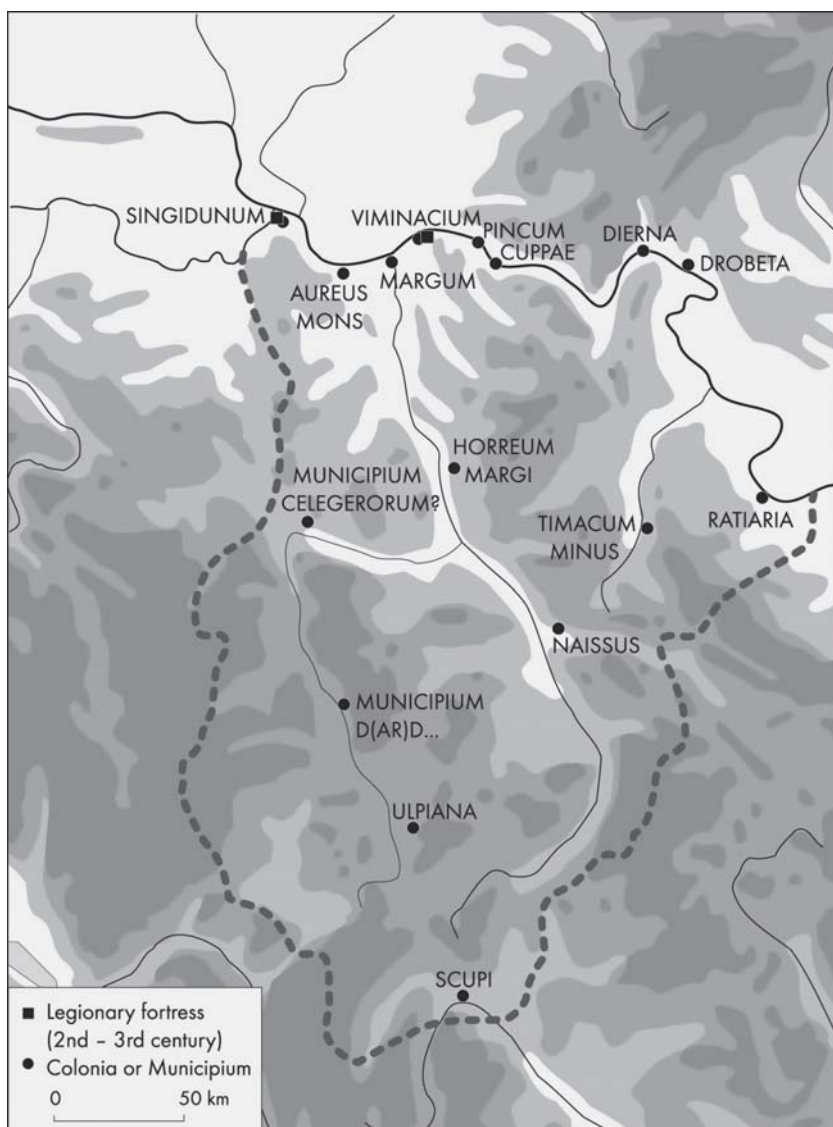


Fig. 1. Map of Upper Moesia (from: ŠAŠEL KOS, *Appian and Illyricum*, 2005, p. 515, fig. 123).

The inscription reads as follows:

*Antinoo He[roi aedem (?) iussu] / Imp(eratoris) Caesaris  
T[raiani Hadriani Aug(usti)] / et L. Aelii [Caesaris Aug(u-  
sti) f(ilii)] / coloni arg[entariarum Dardanicarum] /<sup>5</sup>*

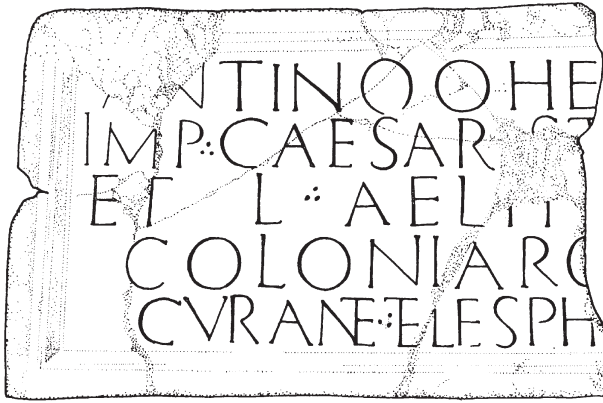


Fig. 2. Drawing of the Antinous inscription from Soëanica (from: PETROVIĆ, *Paleografija*, 1975, Pl. V, fig. 12).

*curante Telesph[oro ?proc(uratore) Aug(usti) lib(erto) fec(erunt)].*

The inscription was first published by Emil Čerškov and soon republished with a commentary by Slobodan Dušanić (3), and was later also republished by Zef Mirdita, Petar Petrović (4), and Jaro Šašel (5). It was revised by Šašel on the basis of autopsy in 1980 (6).

All the lines were supplemented by Dušanić and his restorations were accepted by Šašel. The last line has only been restored in a hypothetic way. The first line, which is very important in terms of religious history, was first restored in this manner by Dušanić. Indeed, as both editors, Dušanić and Šašel, realized (while Čerškov proposed nothing), it is not possible to know whether a statue had been erected in Antinous' honour, or a sanctuary had been constructed for him, but they rather favoured the latter restitution. The editors of the *L'année épigraphique* preferred, as a possibility, *statuam* instead of *aedem*, since in the western part of

(3) ČERŠKOV 1970 (cit. in n. 1), pp. 65-66, Pl. xiv 1; DUŠANIĆ 1971 (cit. in n. 2), p. 241 ff. (= *AEp* 1972, 500).

(4) Z. MIRDITA, *Antroponimia e Dardanisë në kohën romake (Die Anthroponymie der Dardanien zur Römerzeit)*, Prishtinë 1981, pp. 266-267, no. 331, with photo; P. PETROVIĆ, *Paleografija rimskih natpisa u Gornjoj Meziji (Paléographie des inscriptions romaines en Mésie Supérieure)*, Beograd 1975, p. 131, no. 12, with a drawing.

(5) *ILJug* 501.

(6) In his manuscript collection of the Dardanian inscriptions.

the Empire a sanctuary of Antinous has to date been unquestionably attested only in Lanuvium (7). Statues and sanctuaries were erected to Antinous after his death in AD 130, when he was immediately deified (8). Instead of *iussu* in the missing part of the first line, Čerškov proposed *et pro salute*, which is not plausible in the context of this inscription.

Sanctuaries dedicated to Antinous outside Egypt are very rare; in addition to the sanctuary in Lanuvium in Latium, a stoa with exedrae is mentioned in an inscription from Mantinea (9), and a sanctuary by Pausanias. This becomes understandable since Pausanias tells us that Antinous was worshipped in Mantinea because he was by birth from Bithynion, and the Bithynians would have allegedly originated from the Arcadians from Mantinea. Pausanias added that honours were decreed to Antinous on Hadrian's instigation (8. 9. 7). A sanctuary is mentioned in Lanuvium in an inscription erected in AD 136 by the college of the elsewhere unattested worshippers of Diana and Antinous (*[Lanuvii in] templo Antinoi...*), who, among other activities, also provided burial for their deceased members (10). A college magistrate with priestly functions, a *quinquennalis*, offered to the divinities frankincense and wine; Diana's birthday on August 13 and Antinous' birthday on November 27 were major holidays of the college, one of which was also the birthday of the patron of the city. No doubt these holidays were celebrated publicly and the cult of Antinous, favoured by the imperial house, must have been popular among the inhabitants of Lanuvium, and must have also represented a means of winning prestige in their city for the college (11). However, it has generally been considered that the cult of Antinous had not been popular in the western part of the Empire (12).

(7) CIL XIV 2112; H. MEYER, *Antinoos. Die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der hadrianisch-frühantoninischen Zeit*, München 1991, pp. 207-208; M. BEARD, J. NORTH, S. PRICE, *Religions of Rome*, I-II, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne 1998: vol. 1, pp. 272-273; vol. 2, pp. 292-294.

(8) CH. W. CLAIRMONT, *Die Bildnisse des Antinous. Ein Beitrag zur Portraetplastik unter Kaiser Hadrian* (Bibl. Helvetica Romana VI), Rom 1966, p. 15 ff.; STEIN, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 737.

(9) IG V, 2. 281 = SIG<sup>3</sup> 841 = E. M. SMALLWOOD, *Documents illustrating the principates of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian*, Cambridge 1966, no. 164.

(10) ILS 7212 = FIRA 3. 35 = SMALLWOOD 1966 (cit.), no. 165.

(11) F. M. AUSBÜTTEL, *Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen im Westen des römischen Reiches* (Frankfurter Althist. Stud. 11), Kallmünz 1982, pp. 22 ff.; 53; MEYER 1991 (cit. in n. 7), pp. 207-208.

(12) E.g. J. BEAUJEU, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire, I: La politique religieuse des Antonins*, Paris 1955, p. 253 ff.

L. Aelius Caesar was adopted by Hadrian in AD 136, in the year of his first ordinary consulship, after 19 June (13). In 137 he had his second consulship, he received *tribunicia potestas* (not before 10 December 136), and also the proconsular *imperium*; he died on 1 January 138. He governed both Pannonias in 136 and 137 (HA, *Vita Hadr.* 23. 11; *Vita Ael.* 3. 2) (14), most probably because of the danger that threatened both provinces from the raids of the Quadi and Iazyges (15). After his departure towards the end of 137, Upper Pannonia was governed by T. Haterius Nepos, who ended the war against the two tribes, and Lower Pannonia by Claudius Maximus, who had been *iuridicus* in both provinces under L. Aelius Caesar (16).

It is quite possible that L. Aelius Caesar was actively involved in introducing the cult of Antinous to the settlement near Sočanica, which should rather be regarded as Municipium Dardanorum than the settlement of the coloni of the Dardanian silver mines. Indeed, it is very probable that the cult of Antinous had even been introduced on the initiative of L. Aelius Caesar. Hadrian himself travelled for the last time in Moesia in AD 134, accompanied by Caesernius Macedo (17); earlier (from AD 95 to 97) he had served as *tribunus militum* in two Moesian legions, II Adiutrix and V Macedonica (18).

According to Dušanić, the introduction of the cult of Antinous in Sočanica should be explained by the presence of presumably Anatolian, more precisely Bithynian, miners; in his opinion the Bithynian governor C. Iulius Severus would have been at least partly involved in this initiative. As an argument for Anatolian settlers in Dardania, Dušanić cited two until then unpublished altars, one dedicated to Iuppiter Melanus (perhaps Zeus Melenós) from Prizren (19), an important site between the Dardanian mines and Lissus. The other is dedicated to Zeus Ezzaios (perhaps the

(13) STEIN, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 605.

(14) B. E. THOMASSON, *Laterculi praesidium* 1, Göteborg 1984, pp. 104 no. 31; 112 no. 7.

(15) A. MÓCSY, *Pannonia*, in "RE Suppl." IX (1962), c. 554 f.; ID., *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London, Boston 1974, p. 102 f.; I. PISO, *Zur Tätigkeit des L. Aelius Caesar in Pannonien*, «Carnuntum Jahrbuch», 1993/94, pp. 198-200.

(16) THOMASSON 1984 (cit. in n. 14), c. 104 nos. 31; 32; c. 112 no. 9; J. FITZ, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit* II, Budapest 1993, pp. 475-477 no. 283 (L. Aelius Caesar); pp. 478-479 no. 284 (T. Haterius Nepos); pp. 483-485 no. 287 (Claudius Maximus).

(17) *AEp* 1957, 135: *per Orientem et Illyricum*.

(18) R. SYME, *Hadrian in Moesia*, «Arheološki vestnik», 19 (1968), pp. 101-109.

(19) DUŠANIĆ 1971 (cit. in n. 2), pp. 255-256 = *AEp* 1972, 501 = *ILJug* 531 A.

god from Aizanoi in Phrygia) from the Dardanian mining centre at Ulpiana (20). Clearly, this is only a hypothesis that cannot be proven on the basis of the extant evidence.

The *coloni* mentioned in the Antinous inscription are also mentioned in another inscription from Sočanica, where a member of the Moesian municipal upper class was honoured in a public place given by the *coloni* (21). Telesphorus was procurator rather than *vilicus*, as was supposed by Šašel. An *augustalis* named Telesphorus is known from Viminacium; he was the father of a decurio and pontifex of the *municipium Aelium Viminacium*, [-]atus Res-titutus (22). However, there seems to be no connection between the two Telesphori.

An important new find throws interesting light on the Antinous inscription from Sočanica. A fragmentary inscribed architrave has been discovered in Carnuntum, at the cult area on the Pfaffenberg hill (23), and was recently restored by Ioan Piso. The inscription almost certainly mentions Antinous, since the letters [---]noo in connection with L. Aelius Caesar could hardly be supplemented in a different way, although the letter N is not entirely certain (Fig. 3) (24). L. Aelius Caesar must have often stayed in Carnuntum as the governor of both Pannonias. The architrave belonged to one of the three sanctuaries on Pfaffenberg, temple I, which may have been constructed for the deified Antinous (25). If the presence of the worship of Antinous in Carnuntum could be proven beyond doubt, this would make the hypothesis of Bythinian miners having had any major role in introducing his cult at Sočanica less likely. The introduction of the worship of Antinous should be linked exclusively to the policy of Hadrian, implemented by L. Aelius Caesar.

(20) DUŠANIĆ 1971 (cit.), pp. 257-259 = *AEp* 1972, 502 = *ILJug* 524 (the name of the god is transcribed as *Ezzanos* by Šašel).

(21) *ILJug* 1380: -] / *ornatus or/namentis dec(urionalibus) / col(oniae) Fl(aviae) Scupi-no/rum et mun(icipi) spl(endidissimi) / Ulp(ianorum) filio pii(ssimo) / l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) co(lo-norum)*. See also *IMS* I no. 168 and p. 103 ff.

(22) *IMS* II, 76.

(23) See M. KANDLER et al., Carnuntum, in *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia. Pannonia II*, eds. M. ŠAŠEL KOS, P. SCHERRER et al. (Situla 42), Ljubljana 2004, pp. 53-55, for a short description of Pfaffenberg.

(24) I. PISO, *Das Heiligtum des Jupiter Optimus Maximus auf dem Pfaffenberg/Carnuntum. Die Inschriften* (Der römische Limes in Österreich 41), Wien 2003, pp. 19-20 no. 4.

(25) PISO 1993/94 (cit. in n. 15).

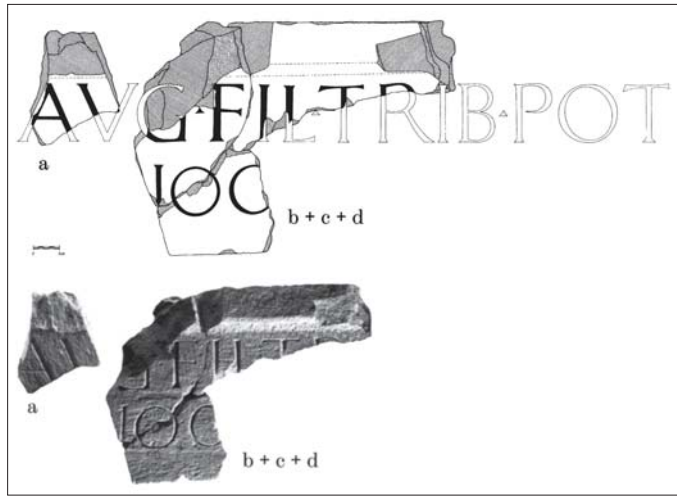


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the Antinous (?) inscription from *Pfaffenberg/ Carnuntum* (from: PISO, *Die Inschriften*, 2003, pp. 19-20, no. 4).

### *Antinous and his cult*

As is well known, Antinous was a beautiful youth, born in Bithynion-Claudiopolis in the province of Bithynia, beloved by the emperor Hadrian whom he accompanied on his various journeys. In the autumn of AD 130, before 30 October, he was drowned in the Nile during Hadrian's journey in Egypt, in circumstances eluding an exact reconstruction (CASS. DIO, 69. 11. 2; *HA v. Hadr.* 14. 5 f.). Hadrian had a town built at the place of Antinous' death, named Antinoopolis after the youth (PAUS. 8. 9. 7). Antinous was proclaimed *heros* and worshipped as a god, sanctuaries were built to him and games were instituted in his honour (e.g. *ILS* 7212), although he did not receive official deification in Rome (26).

The death of Antinous inflicted great pain on Hadrian and in a certain way signified the beginning of his own end. His last years were difficult, as Anthony Birley summed them up: "... the bitter and long drawn out end – Antinous' death, the catastrophe in Judaea, the suspicion, intrigue, hatred, that preceded his slow and

(26) BEARD, NORTH, PRICE 1998 (cit. in n. 7), vol. 2, p. 294 n. 1; M. CLAUSS, *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich*, Stuttgart, Leipzig 1999, pp. 140-141.

painful death” (27). Hadrian, in his autobiography, described Antinous’ death as an accident – or so is reported by Cassius Dio (69. 11. 2). Dio actually says: “*In Egypt also he (Hadrian) rebuilt the city named henceforth for Antinous. Antinous was from Bithynium, a city of Bithynia, which we also call Claudiopolis; he had been a favourite of the emperor and had died in Egypt, either by falling into the Nile, as Hadrian writes, or, as the truth is, by being offered in sacrifice. For Hadrian, as I have stated, was always very curious and employed divinations and incantations of all kinds. Accordingly, he honoured Antinous, either because of his love for him or because the youth had voluntarily undertaken to die (it being necessary that a life should be surrendered freely for the accomplishment of the ends Hadrian had in view), by building a city on the spot where he had suffered this fate and naming it after him; and he also set up statues, or rather sacred images of him, practically all over the world. Finally, he declared that he had seen a star which he took to be that of Antinous, and gladly lent an ear to the fictitious tales woven by his associates to the effect that the star had really come into being from the spirit of Antinous and had then appeared for the first time (ibid., 2-4).*”

The text in the *Vita Hadriani*, which may have been influenced by Dio’s account, is similar, adding that the Greeks consecrated Antinous upon Hadrian’s wish. In his divine guise Antinous was giving oracular responses, which had allegedly been composed by Hadrian (14. 5-7). The circumstances of the death of Antinous remain unexplained, although it is not impossible to suppose that Antinous would have regarded his death by drowning as a *devotio*, a sacrifice for Hadrian’s sake, fearing the imminent end of their relationship once he would have been past his adolescence (28). The emperor took great care in conferring posthumous honours on Antinous. He was buried at Antinoopolis (29), not in Tibur at Hadrian’s Villa, and an obelisk was designed to stand in the new city, in which he was equated with Osiris; it is now in Rome, on the Pincio (30). In Egypt Antinous was widely worshipped.

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(27) A. BIRLEY, *Hadrian’s Farewell to Life*, in *Tod, Bestattung und Jenseits in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, eds. H.-J. DREXHAGE, J. SÜNSKES THOMPSON (Laverna 5), 1994, p. 192.

(28) BIRLEY 1994 (cit.), pp. 194-195.

(29) M. ZÄHRNT, *Antinoopolis in Ägypten: Die hadrianische Gründung und ihre Privilegien in der neueren Forschung*, in *ANRW*, II, 10.1, 1988, pp. 669-706.

(30) MEYER 1991 (cit. in n. 7), p. 175 ff.



His portrait was also depicted on coins. It seems that he must have been the object of worship for a long time, since even in the fourth century games in his name were still celebrated (ATHAN., *Contra gentes* 9. 39). Celsus compared Antinous with Christ, which Origenes sought to refute (*Contra Celsum* 3. 36–38); the cult of Antinous must have still flourished in the third century AD, and in the eyes of Christian writers it must have represented a threat to the Christian faith. It is thus not surprising that the portrait of Antinous appears on contorniates of the fourth century AD, used by the pagan aristocracy of Rome as a means of propaganda in their struggle against the Christian Empire (31). It may indeed be regarded as remarkable “that this most recent among the pagan gods played such a role in Christian writings from Tertullian well into the fourth century” (32).

According to Dio, very many statues and busts were erected to commemorate him, and – in view of his popularity and the favourable public opinion – many more should most probably be added to the extant corpus, were it possible to identify them correctly. This, however, is a problem, since it is not at all easy to elucidate the right criteria of distinction and correct attribution due to so many imitations. Some of the portraits, hitherto acknowledged as Antinoi, should perhaps be discarded, such as, for example, the colossal head from Tarragona (33), identified as Antinous most of all on the basis of its hairstyle with typical locks (34).

Antinous was equated with several gods, in particular those whose cult was associated with woods and nature in general, as well as bringing health, among others with Apollo, Silvanus, Vertumnus, Dionysus/Bacchus, and Hermes (35), and – according to an epigram on an inscription from Tivoli (Tibur) – also with Belenus (36), which has a particular significance for Aquileia, where Belenus was widely worshipped as a patron of the city and

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(31) E. ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM, *Hadrian and Antinous on the contorniates and in the Vita Hadriani*, in *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Parisinum*, eds. G. BONAMENTE, N. DUVAL, Macerata 1991, pp. 11-18.

(32) ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM 1991 (cit.), p. 15.

(33) J. GALDÓN, *Antinous o la història circular*, Barcelona 2006.

(34) C. VOUT, *Antinous, Archaeology and History*, JRS, 95 (2005), p. 91.

(35) J.-L. VOISIN, *Antinoüs Varius, Multiplex, Multiformis*, in *L'Afrique, la Gaule, la Religion à l'époque romaine. Mélanges à la mémoire de Marcel Le Glay*, ed. Y. LE BOHEC (Collection Latomus 226), Bruxelles 1994, pp. 730-741; VOUT 2005 (cit. in n. 34), pp. 80-96.

(36) CIL XIV 3535 = *Ins. It.* 4/1. 35.

would have been regarded as a civic god (37). Perhaps the person mentioned in the inscription, Q. Sicilius, originated from Aquileia; the gentilicium is indeed attested in the city (38). Well in accordance with the public opinion, encouraged in the time of Hadrian, it was asked in the epigram, why Antinous could not be regarded as a hypostasis, the essence, of Belenus.

Three tear-shaped ceramic plaques on which the head of Antinous was depicted were found in Aquileia, as well as a marble bust. The head of Antinous on the plaques is reproduced from a bronze coin from Bithynium-Claudiopolis, and it is surrounded by the legend: Η ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ (“the fatherland [pays honour] to the god Antinous”). On the obverse of this coin, which served as the prototype for the plaques, Antinous is depicted as Hermes (Fig. 4) (39). The use of the plaques is not certain, but they may have been votive objects, more likely than the (symbolic) pieces belonging to a wooden sarcophagus (40). The mentioned bust was made of Greek marble and was originally a



Fig. 4. Tear-shaped ceramic plaques with the head of Antinous from Aquileia (from: MEYER, *Antinoos*, 1991, Pl. 122).

(37) C. ZACCARIA, *Alla ricerca di divinità »celtiche« nell'Italia settentrionale in età romana. Revisione della documentazione per le regiones IX, X, XI, «Veleia»*, 18-19 (2001-2002), p. 129 ff. (= *Die Kelten und Ihre Religion im Spiegel der epigraphischen Quellen*, Akten des 3. F.E.R.C.AN.-Workshops, eds. J. GORROCHATAGUI, P. DE BERNARDO STEMPER (Anejos de Veleia 11), Vitoria-Gasteiz 2004, p. 129 ff.).

(38) *InAq* 1487; 2482.

(39) P. GUIDA, *Piastrelle votive del Museo di Aquileia. Spunti sul culto di Antinoo*, «Aquileia Nostra», 36 (1965), cc. 37-44; cfr. C. ZACCARIA, *Piastrella votiva*, in *Instrumenta Inscripta Latina. Sezione aquileiese (Catalogo mostra Aquileia 1992)*, Gorizia 1992, pp. 46-47 no. 70.

(40) MEYER 1991 (cit. in n. 7), p. 159.



Fig. 5. Bust of Antinous from Aquileia (from: MEYER, *Antinoos*, 1991, Pl. 3).

statue – most probably of local production – representing Antinous as Hermes, which is indicated, among other signs, by the remains of a short mantle (Fig. 5) (41). In any case it is clear that in one way or another he was worshipped in the city (42). To what extent the cult of Antinous should reflect the presence of Greeks in Aquileia remains uncertain (43). In any case, it is not plausible to postulate some connection – due supposedly to administration of the mines – between the worship of Antinous in Aquileia and his cult in Dardania (44).

The statues, busts and portraits of Antinous are regarded as the last great creative achievement of ideal sculpture in classical art (45). Numerous Dionysi and other gods, too, were transformed into Antinoi. One of the most beautiful Antinous statues is that in Delphi, where he is equated with Apollo, the main Delphic divinity; his image must have been perfectly known all over the eastern

(41) MEYER 1991 (cit.), pp. 26-27.

(42) A. GIOVANNINI, *Spunti di riflessione su alcuni aspetti del culto di Beleno e di Antinoos*, in *Religija i mit kao poticaj rimskej provincijlnoj plastici / Religion and Myth as an Impetus for the Roman Provincial Sculpture* (Akti VIII. međunarod. kolokvija o problemima rimskog provincijalnog umjet. stvaralaštva / The Proceedings of the 8<sup>th</sup> Intern. Colloquium on Problems of Roman Provincial Art, Zagreb 2003), eds. M. SANADER, A. RENDIĆ MIOČEVIĆ, Zagreb 2005, pp. 157-174.

(43) L. BOFFO, *Epigrafia e "cultura" greca in Aquileia romana*, in ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ. *Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini*, ed. G. PACI, Roma 2000, pp. 117-133.

(44) MEYER 1991 (cit. in n. 7), pp. 196-197.

(45) MEYER 1991 (cit.), p. 23.

part of the Empire. Interestingly, young, male portrait types increased in popularity in the second century AD, and occasionally – as has recently been proposed – his popularity was even used in a subtle way as a means of promoting other individuals. Such may have been the case, for example, of Polydeuces, one of the three foster-sons (*trophimoi*) of the sophist and millionaire Herodes Atticus, a younger contemporary of Hadrian. Polydeuces, too, was honoured as a ‘hero’ and games were established in his honour by Herodes; his portraits have sometimes been identified as those of Antinous by modern interpreters. Their similarity may not have been casual, and the first association of those who contemplated them in antiquity may have perhaps also been directed to Antinous (46).

Antinous was less popular in the western part of the Empire than in the East, but no doubt more than has recently been conjectured. This is indicated both by the dedication in the sanctuary at Pfaffenberg, Carnuntum, and by the fact that in Rome contorniates bearing his portrait were minted in the fourth century AD. His story must have appealed to most classes of the population, revealing single features similar to those of the several gods with whom he was equated, and in one way or another he would have also occasionally evoked Adonis, Ganymede, Alexander the Great, and other mythical and heroic personalities. In terms of public opinion, his cult must have won general favour in the Roman Empire, particularly in the East, but also in Italy and in some of the western provinces.

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(46) VOUT 2005 (cit. in n. 34), p. 91 ff.