THE DIVINIZATION OF CAESAR AND AUGUSTUS

This book examines the new institution of divinization that emerged as a political phenomenon at the end of the Roman Republic with the deification of Julius Caesar. Michael Koortbojian addresses the myriad problems related to Caesar’s, and subsequently Augustus’, divinization, in a sequence of studies devoted to the complex character of the new imperial system. These investigations focus on the broad spectrum of forms – monumental, epigraphic, numismatic, and those of social ritual – used to represent the most novel imperial institutions: divinization, a monarchical princeps, and a hereditary dynasty. Throughout, political and religious iconography is enlisted to serve in the study of these new Roman institutions, from their slow emergence to their gradual evolution and eventual conventionalization.

Michael Koortbojian is Professor of Roman Art and Archaeology at Princeton University. He is the author of numerous articles on Roman art and Renaissance antiquarianism, and his book Myth, Meaning, and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi was published in 1995. He has been a Fellow of the Warburg Institute, Kings College Cambridge, and the American Academy in Rome.
THE DIVINIZATION OF CAESAR AND AUGUSTUS

Precedents, Consequences, Implications

Michael Koortbojian

Princeton University

Cambridge University Press
R.B.
M.H.C.
T.H.
CONTENTS

List of Illustrations  xi
Preface         xvii
Abbreviations   xxi

I Making Men Gods

  Divine Honors for Caesar?  4
  Deus and Divus             7
  Three Claims               9
  Four Assumptions           10
  Prospectus                 13

II The Question of Caesar’s Divinity and the Problem of His Cult Statue

  The Problem of Cult Statues  17
  Making Divus Julius         21
  Mors Honoresque Caesaris    24
  Sidus Iulium                27
  Cicero’s Evidence           29
  Cicero’s Challenge to Antony 31
  The Simulacrum of Philippics II 36
  The Aedes Divi Iulii and Its Statue 39
  Two Visions of the Divus    45
III AUGURAL IMAGES: OLD TRADITIONS, NEW INSTITUTIONS

The Augurs and Their Competences

The Memory of Attus Navius and the Power of His Priesthood

Augurs in the Public Eye

Imagines Augurales

The Lituus and Its Symbolism

An Image of the Auspices?

IV ROMULUS, QUIRINUS, GENIUS, DIVUS

Romulus, Quirinus, and the Statue of Caesar

Invictus Quirinus?

A Change of Costume

V CAESAR’S PORTRAIT

The Statues and Their Imagery

The Portraits

Other “Caesars”

Typologies and Inconsistencies

Some Other Multiply Attested Portraits

Historical Circumstances and the Transformation of Types

Caesar’s Crown

From Republic to Empire

VI AUSPICIOUS, PROPITIOUS, VICTORIOUS

Worshipping the New Divus

Proteros Kaisar

The Bringer of Victory

Propitius Divus

Under the Emperor’s Auspices

VII REPRESENTATION IN AN ERA OF DIVINIZATION

Numen Violatum

Public versus Private Cult

The Differing Character of Private Honors in the Public Sphere

Cult Honors and the Dedication of Sacra Privata

Augustan Numen and Numen Augusti

The Status and Form of the Shrines

The Longevity of Honors

viii
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Status of Statues</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Monument of the <em>Aenatores</em></td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VIII</strong> <em>Ad Urbem et ex Urbe</em>: The Imagery of the <em>Divus</em> and its Fate</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public and Private Honors <em>ad Urbem</em></td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Super Ceteros Mortales</em></td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nude Statues, in Public and in Private</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nudity at Rome, Nudity Outside of Rome</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Image of Divus Augustus</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Look Like a <em>Divus</em></td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IX</strong> Coda: Reverberations in the East</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works Cited</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of Ancient Authors</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of Inscriptions</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of Coins</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of Works of Art</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Index</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ILLUSTRATIONS

II.1. Libertas. *RRC* 433/1, obv., ca. 54 B.C., 16
II.2. Capitoline Triad. *RRC* 296/1, rev., ca. 112–11 B.C., 18
II.5. Victory crowns triumphator. *RRC* 367, rev., ca. 82, 23
II.6. Ferculum with statues in triumphal procession (from Amiternum). Limestone relief. Chieti, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Abruzzo, Claudian, 33
II.7. Caesar’s *sella* and *corona*. *RRC* 497/2d, rev., 42 B.C., 35
II.8. Apotheosis scene from the Belvedere Altar. Marble. Vatican Museums. 12–2 B.C., 41
II.9. View of *Aedes Divi Iulii* in Forum, 43
II.10. Cult statue of Jupiter and Libertas. *RRC* 391/2, rev., 75 B.C., 45
II.15. Reconstruction of the *Aedes Divi Iulii* and its cult statue, 48
III.2. Augustus with *lituus*. *RIC* II, 61, no. 275a = BMCRE, I, 106, no. 650, obv., ca. 31–28 B.C., 58
III.3. Tiberius with *lituus*. *RPC* 83, A.D. 14–37, 58

III.5. Minucius Monument. RRC 242/1, rev., 135 B.C., 62

III.6. Numa sacrificing. RRC 334/1, rev., ca. 97 B.C., 62

III.7. Cornificius augur, crowned. RRC 509/2, rev., 42 B.C., 63

III.8. Equestrian Octavian with lituus. RRC 497/1, rev., 42 B.C., 63

III.9. Sulla coin with lituus. RRC 359/1, rev., ca. 84/83 B.C., 65

III.10. Augural implements and trophy. RRC 460/3, rev., 47–6 B.C., 66

III.11. Augustal implements. RRC 374/2, rev., 81 B.C., 66

III.12. Genius populi Romani. RRC 428/3, obv., 55 B.C., 68

III.13. Jupiter’s eagle with thunderbolt, lituus, and jug. RRC 428/3, rev., 55 B.C., 68


III.16. Sulla coin with lituus. RRC 359/1, rev., ca. 84/83 B.C., 70

III.17. Venus. RRC 359/1, obv., ca. 84/83 B.C., 70

III.18. Victory crowns triumphator. RRC 367, rev., ca. 82 B.C., 71

III.19. Roma. RRC 367, obv., ca. 82 B.C., 71

III.20. Antonius as augur. RRC 533/2, obv., 38 B.C., 73


IV.3. Sorrento Base (Romulus?). Marble. Sorrento, Museo Correale. Late Augustan, 81


IV.6. Romulus trophaiphoros from Pompeii (IX,13,5). Fresco (watercolor copy). 90

IV.7. Genius populi Romani, standing. RRC 329/1, rev., 100 B.C., 92

IV.8. Genius populi Romani, seated. RRC 397, rev., 74 B.C., 92


V.2. Via Cassia terracotta relief. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme / Palazzo Massimo, Trumviral (?), 97

V.3. Villa Casali relief. Engraving from Piranesi, Vasi, II, taf. 75, 97


V.5. Temple of Clementia Caesaris. RRC 480/21, obv., 44 B.C., 99


V.7. Caesar. RRC 480/6, obv., 44 B.C., 102

ILLUSTRATIONS

V.12. Tusculum Caesar, profile. Marble. Turin. Augustan, 103
V.23. Diagram of Pisa/Chiaramonti variants, 110
V.28. Tivoli “General” (detail), frontal. Marble. Rome, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Museo Nazionale Romano, 114
V.29. Tivoli “General” portrait head, frontal. Marble. Vatican Museums, 114
V.31. Apollonia (Tirana) replica of the Palazzo Barberini “General”: head, frontal. Marble. Tirana, Archeological Museum, 115
V.33. Caesar divi filius. RRC 535/1, obv., ca. 38 B.C., 116
V.34. Divus Julius. RRC 535/1, rev., ca. 38 B.C., 116
V.37. The comet of Divus Julius. RIC I, 84, no. 253 = RIC² I, 44, no. 37b, rev., ca. 20 B.C. (?), 122
V.38. Divus Julius with star atop crown. RIC I, 73, no. 141 = RIC² I, 66, no. 340, rev., ca. 17 B.C., 122
V.40. Juba II, profile. Marble. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, 124
V.42. Divus Julius and Caesar divi filius. RPC 517, obv., ca. 36 B.C. (?), 125
V.61. Divus Julius with star. RRC 480/5b, obv., ca. 44 B.C., 132

xiii
ILLUSTRATIONS

VI.3. Augustus crowned by Divus Julius. RPC 1650. (Augustan) Claudian reissue, 138
VI.4. Silver Victoriatus. RRC 53/1, rev., ca. 211 B.C., 140
VI.5. Venus proffering the victoriola. RRC 480/3, rev., 44 B.C., 140
VI.6. Victory atop the globe. RIC I, 62, no. 27 = RIC II no. 254b., ca. 31–29 B.C., 141
VI.7. Octavian proffering the victoriola. RIC I, 60, no. 270, rev., ca. 31–29 B.C., 141
VI.8. Octavian portrait with Jupiter’s thunderbolt. RIC I, 60, no. 270, obv., ca. 31–29 B.C., 141
VI.9. Octavian atop rostral column. RIC I, 60, no. 271, rev., ca. 35 B.C., 142
VI.10. Augustus restores rights and laws. Aureus, ca. 29 B.C., 143
VI.11. Augustus as world ruler. Silver cup from Boscoreale. Paris, Musée du Louvre. 9 B.C. (?), 143
VI.13. Cult statue of DEO AUGUSTO. RPC nos. 221–3, obv. A.D. 22, 150
VII.2. Tivoli site (plan). After NSc 1925. Drawing, 165
VII.3. Ara Pacis, 13–9 B.C. (view), 166
VII.5. Sacro-idyllic painting with shrine from Boscoreale. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Augustan, 178
VII.11. Aenatores’ monument: four-stage reconstruction drawing, 187
VIII.4. Capua “Navarca” statue. Marble. Capua, Museo Provinciale Campano di Capua, 197
ILLUSTRATIONS

VIII.7. Via Salaria funerary relief (now lost). Marble, 199


VIII.11. C. Cartilius Poplicola. Marble. Ostia, Museo Archeologico. Late republican (Triumviral period), 203


VIII.16. Genius/paterfamilias (from the house of Vettii, Pompeii), 210


VIII.18. Seated Divus Augustus statue from the Theater of Marcellus. RIC I, 106, no. 20 = BMCRE I, 130, no. 74, rev., A.D. 22–23, 211

VIII.19. Arles Augustus (reconstruction: Boschung). Marble, 212

VIII.20. Arles Apollo relief (from the theater, Arles). Arles, Museum, 213


VIII.24. Hipmanted Tiberius from Nemi. Marble. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 216


VIII.27. Dedicant (?) and Antonia the younger (mother of Germanicus). Round altar. Marble. Abellinum, Museo Irpino, 218


VIII.29. Pompeian portrait: Doryphoros model. Naples, Museo Nazionale, 221

VIII.30. Nude citizen from the theater at Venafro. Venafro, Museo Archeologico, 222

VIII.31. Nude citizen from the theater at Venafro. Venafro, Museo Archeologico, 222

VIII.32. Nude young man ("Formia III"). Marble. Formia, Museo Archeologico, 224

VIII.33. Nude man ("Formia II"). Marble. Formia, Museo Archeologico, 224

VIII.34. Nude man ("Formia I"). Marble. Formia, Museo Archeologico, 225
ILLUSTRATIONS

VIII.35. “Augustus Versospi.” Marble. Vatican Museums, 225
IX.1. Roma crowns Augustus. Pergamene cistophoros. *BMCRE* I, 196, no. 228 = *RIC* I, 131, no. 120 = *RPC* 2221. Claudian, 230
IX.5. Emperor crowned by Fortuna (?). Pergamene cistophoros. *BMC* Mysia, 142, no. 263. Trajanic, 233
IX.7. Greek imperial funerary monument with hipmantled figure. Marble. Verona, 235
This is a book that has been long in the making. An early exposition of the basic arguments expounded in Chapters I–III and VIII was presented as a lecture at the American Academy in Rome in 1999, and a more concise version in Toronto later that same year. More recently, part of Chapter IV was given as a lecture at the University of Pennsylvania (2010); some aspects of Chapter V at the University of Iowa (2010); portions of Chapter VII at the Columbia University Seminar in Classics (2010); and a version of Chapter VIII at the Roman Art Seminar in London (2011). I am indebted to the audiences on all of these occasions for their stimulating responses. In addition, material related to Chapter VI appeared in “Crossing the Pomerium: The Armed Ruler at Rome,” in The Emperor and Rome, ed. B. C. Ewald and C. Noreña (Cambridge, 2010), and a large portion of Chapter VI was included in an essay entitled “The Bringer of Victory” in Representations of War in Ancient Rome, ed. S. Dillon and K. Welch (Cambridge, 2006).

The book’s different chapters constitute relatively independent essays devoted to a sequence of interrelated historical problems. I have endeavored to make plain those interrelationships, with as little repetition as seemed feasible—although a fair amount of redundancy has proven inevitable, in order that each chapter might have some sense of self-sufficiency.

In these essays I have tried to offer a wide-ranging investigation of several specific historical phenomena, and in so doing have been compelled to enter fields that are hardly my own. The writings of several scholars have provided much-needed direction, and the exemplary works of four of them—Duncan Fishwick, Jerzy Linderski, John Scheid, and, above all, Stefan Weinstock—deserve special mention, for my debt is profound; indeed, their names might well have appeared more frequently amid the notes than they already do.
Preface

Turning to my own field, I have relied extensively, as shall be clear, particularly in Chapters VII and VIII, on the comprehensive works of Dietrich Boschung, Christopher Hallett, and Brian Rose; it is my hope that they will regard what I have attempted to do as both a compliment and a complement.

The bibliography, long enough as it is, makes no pretension to be comprehensive; to have cited it all would have more than doubled the size of a list already unwieldy, which is constantly expanded by new publications that address the topics treated here, and I have tried to take account of as many of these contributions as was possible – some of which reach similar, some dissimilar, conclusions to my own. And many scholars might have been referred to with even more regularity, but I have refrained in order not to further overburden the already abundant citations, with which I have tried not only to acknowledge those to whom I have been directly indebted for specific information or whose ideas I have depended on explicitly, but to signal those contributions that have played an important if only implicit role in the formation of my own views. Citations of work published after 2010, when the manuscript was submitted, are highly selective.

My translations of the Latin authors owe much to those of the Loeb Classical Library, and at times – as is the case with all those of the Greek authors – borrow directly; translations of the epigraphic materials are my own.

This leaves only the great pleasure of thanking all of those individuals and institutions whose generosity has made the writing of this book possible.

For research funds I am grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for three years of support, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for a fellowship at the American Academy in Rome, and both The Johns Hopkins University and Princeton University.

No scholarly work can be accomplished without libraries. I am much indebted to the following and their staffs: the Library of the American Academy in Rome, the Robarts Library of the University of Toronto, the Sheridan Library of The Johns Hopkins University, the library of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, and the Marquand and Firestone Libraries of Princeton University.

Many friends and colleagues have over the years provided advice, criticisms, and assistance of varying kinds, and I should like to thank in particular Yelena Baraz, Tim Barnes, Seth Bernard, Dietrich Boschung, Christer Bruun, Matteo Cadario, Ted Chadpin, Christina Corsiglia, Werner Eck, Jonathan Edmondson, Lisa Fentress, Harriet Flower, Michael Flower, Nicholas Horsfall, Brad Inwood, Barbara Kellum, Ann Kuttner, Daria Lanzuolo, W.-R. Megow, Tim Moore, Josiah Osgood, Clementina Panella, Michael Putnam, Matt Roller, Thomas Schäfer, Susan Walker, and Paul Zanker.

Finally, three individuals have, for nearly thirty years, in their very different ways, provided the examples that have shaped all of my scholarly endeavors.
Preface

They are acknowledged by the dedication with profound gratitude for the inspiring intelligence of their scholarship, their enduring friendship, their constant encouragement, and last, but surely not least, their unflagging criticisms. It is no exaggeration to say that I am indebted to them for much if not most of what may be of value in the pages that follow. The flaws are all mine.

Princeton, 2013
ABBREVIATIONS

AA
Archäologischer Anzeiger
ActaAAArtHist
Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia
ActaCLDebrec
Acta classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis
AE
L’Année épigraphique
AJA
American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH
American Journal of Ancient History
AJN
American Journal of Numismatics
AJP
American Journal of Philology
AnalRom
Analecta Romana Institutii Danici
ANRW
Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ANSMN
American Numismatic Society Museum Notes
AntCl
L’Antiquité Classique
ArchCl
Archeologia classica: rivista della Scuola naz. di Archeologia, pubbl. a cura degli Ist. di Archeologia e Storia dell’arte greca e romana
ARG
Archiv für Religionsgeschichte
ArtB
The Art Bulletin
BA
Bollettino di Archeologia
BCH
Bulletin de correspondence hellénique
BdA
Bollettino d’arte
BÉFAR
Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome
BICS
Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
BJb
Bonner Jahrbücher des rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande
BMC
Catalog of Greek Coins. British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, 1873ff.
BMCRE
BMCRR
BSFN
Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique
BullCom
Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica comunale di Roma
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAH</td>
<td>Cambridge Ancient History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCA</td>
<td>Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque, ed. M. J. Vermaseren. Leiden, 1900–.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCG</td>
<td>Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIL</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Berlin, 1862–.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>Classical Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIant</td>
<td>Classical Antiquity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Classical Philology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CQ</td>
<td>Classical Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFG</td>
<td>Deutsches Forschungs Gemeinschaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DialArch</td>
<td>Dialoghi di Archeologia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EchCl</td>
<td>Echos du monde classique / Classical Views</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GaR</td>
<td>Greece and Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GGA</td>
<td>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSCP</td>
<td>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HTR</td>
<td>Harvard Theological Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG</td>
<td>Inscriptiones Graecae. Berlin, 1873–.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JDI</td>
<td>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRA</td>
<td>Journal of Roman Archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBGZM</td>
<td>Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRS</td>
<td>Journal of Roman Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIMC</td>
<td>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAAR</td>
<td>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDAI(I)</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Instanbul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDAI(M)</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Madrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDAI(R)</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Rom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEFR</td>
<td>Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’ école Française de Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEFRA</td>
<td>Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’ école Française de Rome, Antiquité</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MemLinc</td>
<td>Atti dell’Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Memorie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGR</td>
<td>Miscellanea greca e romana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MH</td>
<td>Museum Helveticum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MonPiot</td>
<td>Monuments et mémories. Fondation E. Piot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRSH</td>
<td>Maison de la Recherche en Sciences Humaines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>Numismatic Chronicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSc</td>
<td>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBSR</td>
<td>Papers of the British School at Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCPhS</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Revue Archéologique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REA</td>
<td>Revue des Études Anciennes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>Revue des Études Latines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RendIstLomb</td>
<td>Rendiconti. Classe di lettere e scienze moralì e storiche, Istituto lombardo, Accademia di scienze e lettere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RendPontAc</td>
<td>Rendiconti. Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RivFil</td>
<td>Rivista di filologia e d’istruzione classica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RN</td>
<td>Revue Numismatique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCI</td>
<td>Scripta Classica Israelica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDHI</td>
<td>Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEG</td>
<td>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum (1923–)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMSR</td>
<td>Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNG</td>
<td>Sylloge nummorum graecorum (Denmark)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>StMisc</td>
<td>Studi miscellanei. Seminario di archeologia e storia dell’arte greca e romana dell’Università di Roma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SymbOslo</td>
<td>Symbolae Osloenses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAPA</td>
<td>Transactions of the American Philological Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WJA</td>
<td>Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAKMIRA</td>
<td>Zentrum für die antiken Kulturen des Mittelmeerraumes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZPE</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>