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Who Cared about Greek Identity? Athens in the First Century BCE[1]

Ethnic identities have been very much at the centre of scholarly research in recent years – and, looking at our own world, this hardly comes as a surprise. In Classics, the issue informed research especially on the so-called Second Sophistic. Many of the characteristics of Greek literature of the second century CE, especially its interest in the Greeks' great past and its anachronistic, artificial language, have been interpreted as an ostentatious expression of Greek identity boosting morale in a world dominated by Romans.[2] For quite some time, this phenomenon was regarded as primarily a literary one. More recently, however, attention has been drawn to the fact that this reference to the Greek past of the Classical age in both form and content, was not restricted to literature and oratory but rather informed the habitus of the elite in general, and had an impact on almost all fields of life, from burial customs to decoration of houses and public buildings. Cities referred to their foundation myths not only in eulogies but also in their coin images and in relief decoration of porticoes, arches, and temples. Athenian citizens styled themselves not necessarily according to common Roman fashion but according to the hairstyles of their great intellectual heroes from the classical age, and decorated their sarcophagi with the battle of Marathon.[3] It is an obvious step to try and trace these strategies back to their beginnings, and ask whether these ostentatious expressions of Hellenisms were prompted by the establishment of Roman rule in the first century BCE – possibly in a 'struggle for Greek identity'[4] under the threat of overpowering Roman presence.

1 I am grateful to the organisers, Nicolas Wiater and Thomas Schmitz, for their invitation to the conference at which this paper was first presented, and to all participants for their comments. I am also grateful to the Department of Classics and Ancient History at Durham and to Michael Scott for his invitation to the Laurence Seminar 2008 at Cambridge, and the opportunity to present another version of this paper there. Thomas Corsten kindly discussed with me some of the inscriptions mentioned below. Philip Kiernan helped with the correction of my English style and provided helpful comments on some passages of the text. Ioannis Mylonopoulos and Lynette Mitchell are especially acknowledged for their careful and critical reading of an earlier version of this paper. All errors and other deficits remain entirely my responsibility.

2 The bibliography on the subject is vast. Among the most important monographs and edited volumes are Bowersock [57]; Flinterman [172]; Swain [511]; Schmitz [472]; Goldhill [214]; Whitmarsh [586]; Konstan and Saïd [305]; the present volume, each with further bibliography.

3 E.g. contributions in Borg [49]; Cordovana and Galli [109].

4 The connection between developments in the early imperial period and the second sophistic has been made by Walker [563] 67, and Alcock [7] 51.

In this paper, I pursue this question by focussing on Athens, since the 'Greek East' was anything but a coherent entity with a unanimous reaction to Roman invasion and rule, and can hardly be reviewed in a single paper.[5] Athens may be expected to provide the most clear-cut example of a city struggling for its Greek identity – and of winning this struggle. For most of the first century BCE, Athens either took sides against Roman domination altogether – for example, when she joined forces with Mithradates –, or opposed individual Roman leaders for various reasons. Her resistance against Sulla ended only after a long siege and the sack of the city. She supported Pompey against Caesar and, after Caesar's assassination, set up statues of his murderers next to the Tyrannicides in the Agora, the quintessential symbol of Athenian freedom (Dio Cassius 47.20.4). Later, before the battle of Actium, the 'specialists in the engineering of portents,' as Daniel Geagan has aptly called them, arranged several bad omens against Marc Antony, expressing the dislike of this relatively popular Roman by at least one major group of Athenian citizens, though officially the city was on his side rather than on Octavian's. After the latter's victory, on his visit in 21 BCE, a statue of Athena on the Acropolis turned round to face west towards Rome spitting blood, much to the anger of the new ruler.[6] All this resistance has been interpreted as a struggle against Roman domination and, arguably, for Greek – or indeed Athenian[7] identity.

On the other hand, no general hostility towards the Romans has ever been recorded at Athens, quite differently from Ephesus, for instance, where the reception of Mithradates of Pontos was accompanied by a massacre of all the Romans and Italians the mob could get hold of.[8] During the first century BCE, many Athenians even named their sons after Romans, as they used to do after Hellenistic kings. Romans were admitted to the ephebate from around 125 BCE and from 60 BCE even held public offices.[9] Individual acts of resistance such as those mentioned above, were directed not against the Romans as a whole, but against individuals and their politics, and often formed part of an internal struggle for power among the elite.[10] During the civil wars, Athens managed to be on the losing side almost throughout, but was spared the most drastic consequences repeatedly. Appian (*BC*

5 So far, surprisingly little research has been done in this field from an archaeological perspective. For important general observations on changes in Roman Greece see Alcock [6]. Several works on Augustan Athens are quoted below. Historical studies of the period are more frequent, see for example Bowersock [56]; Bernhardt [37]; Geagan [201]; Böhme [48], each with bibliography.

6 Hoff [259]; Geagan [202].

7 The Greek identity at stake here was first and foremost a specifically Athenian one. During the Mithradatic Wars, however, Athens took a leading role in the Greek resistance against Rome. Since the fourth century BCE, Athenian orators modelled their idea of a common Greek identity on their ideal of (superior) Athenian citizenship, and the Romans seem to have shared the view of Athens' special status among Greek cities (if for different reasons), so that the wider concept of Greekness may well have resonated in their self-conception. Cf. Saïd [460].

8 App. *Mithr.* 21–3; cf. Rogers [444] 2–16. Other cities in Asia Minor joined in the massacre: Magie [335] 216–7 with n. 36.

9 Habicht [229]; Errington [160].

10 Geagan [202]; cf. Bowersock [55]; Bowersock [59].

2.88) famously reports Caesar's remark to the Athenian suppliants after Pharsalos in 48 BCE: 'How often will the glory of your ancestors save you from self-destruction?' The same admiration for Athens' great past is generally seen to lie behind Sulla's order not to destroy Athens altogether after his siege and final victory, as well as behind several benefits the city received. Pompey and Caesar donated 50 talents each to rebuild the city, Marc Antony took residence in Athens and even married Athena when he was in charge of the eastern Mediterranean, and Octavian decided to make Athens the eastern centre of his restoration programme.[11] From this perspective, Greek, or Athenian identity was appreciated by the Romans rather than threatened, so that there would not appear to be any immediate need to struggle for its recognition. But then again, the lack of a special need to struggle would not necessarily deter the Athenians from supporting their claim to a great heritage by material means either. It thus is still worth asking whether and how the Athenians actively played this card of their glorious past to achieve their aims with the Romans, a question touching also upon the deeper issue of Roman expectations and Athenian self-perception. Public buildings and their decoration would arguably be the most noticeable expression of Athenian identity provided it was the city's intention to advertise it publicly. Moreover, the Athenians had a long tradition of using these means to express their identity and, in fact, claim to superiority. The practice dates back to the formative period of the polis when the Acropolis and Agora were first adorned with monumental buildings.[12] It is this area, therefore, that I am going to explore.

To start with, it must be pointed out that there was very little public building activity for most of the first century BCE until the Augustan age – and the reason for this is fairly pragmatic: The economic situation was tense and funds were extremely limited.[13] Although Sulla ordered that Athens should not be destroyed completely, his victory in 86 BCE was the second greatest disaster to hit the city after the Persian Wars. Athens was thoroughly despoiled and archaeology has shown that major parts of the Agora and adjacent areas, the Pompeion, the south slope of the Acropolis and even the Erechtheion were severely damaged or even demolished (fig. 1).[14]

Large parts of Piraeus were equally destroyed. To be sure, Pompey donated 50 Talents for restorations (Plut. *Pomp.* 42.5–6), but that was only 25 years later. Much of Caesar's donation of an equal sum in 51/50 BCE was probably confiscated soon after when Athens supported his hapless enemy Pompey with three ships in spite of

11 On this see below. For a general overview of Athens' urban history during the late Republic and Augustan Age see Hoff [258] 5–26; Böhme [48] 1–54; Baldassarri [25] 3–40.

12 The bibliography on this topic is vast. For a convenient overview see e.g. Hurwit [279]; Hurwit [278]; Schneider and Höcker [474]; Camp [88].

13 For a summary of the following see Hoff [258] 5–26; Böhme [48] 22–41; von Freeden [551] 167–9; still fundamental is Day [120]. The assumption that Athens had to sell Salamis in order to cope with the situation after the sack is still repeated in recent publications although refuted on good grounds by Habicht [228].

14 Hoff [262]; for the destruction of the Pompeion see Hoepfner [257] 139–40.

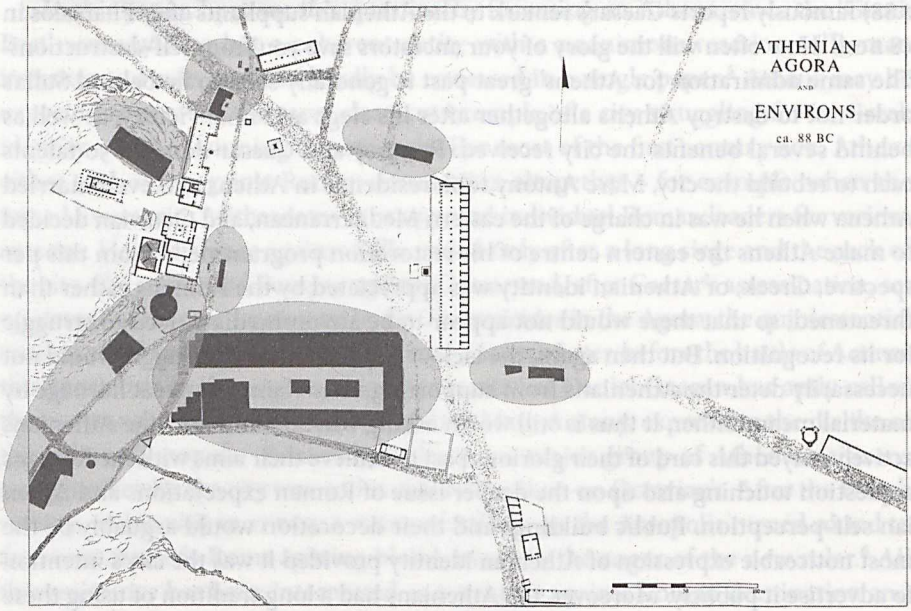

Fig. 1 The Athenian Agora with buildings (black) and areas (shaded) of archaeologically attested destruction by the sack of 88 BCE.

this generous gift.[15] What is more, though Athens was saved more severe retribution for her unfortunate political choices, she had to pay in cash and kind to support the Roman generals and their armies and was punished more than once by economic sanctions for her disobedience. Verres robbed the Parthenon of much of its gold (Cic. *Verr.* 1.17.45), L. Calpurnius Piso victimized the city as well (Cic. *Pis.* 40.96), and in 48 Q. Fufius Calenus devastated the Attic countryside, which was an essential source of income (Cass. Dio 42.14.1–2). Even Marc Antony, who favoured Athens and restored a number of islands to her, exacted at least one million drachmas from the Athenians on the occasion of his marriage to Athena.[16] On the old Agora, the civic offices seem to have been restored, though on a very modest scale and only to

15 For the amount cf. Cic. *Att.* 6.1.25. The date of the donation is disputed; for the most likely date of 51/50 and extraction of large sums of money from Greek cities which supported Pompey after Pharsalos cf. Cass. Dio 42.49.1–4 and Hoff [260] 2–3; Hoff [258] 9–10, 99–100; Baldassarri [25] 13, 107–108.

16 Seneca, *Suas.* 1.6 (with a larger amount); Cass. Dio 48.39.2; cf. Hoff [258] 12–14; for a summary of these events see Hoff [262]; Böhme [48] 22–41.

a functional state.[17] The overall appearance of the city centre was marred by large ruined areas, and according to the archaeological evidence, many of the ruins on the Agora lay exposed for many decades until they were finally restored or torn down and re-used in new buildings of the Augustan and later periods (fig. 2).

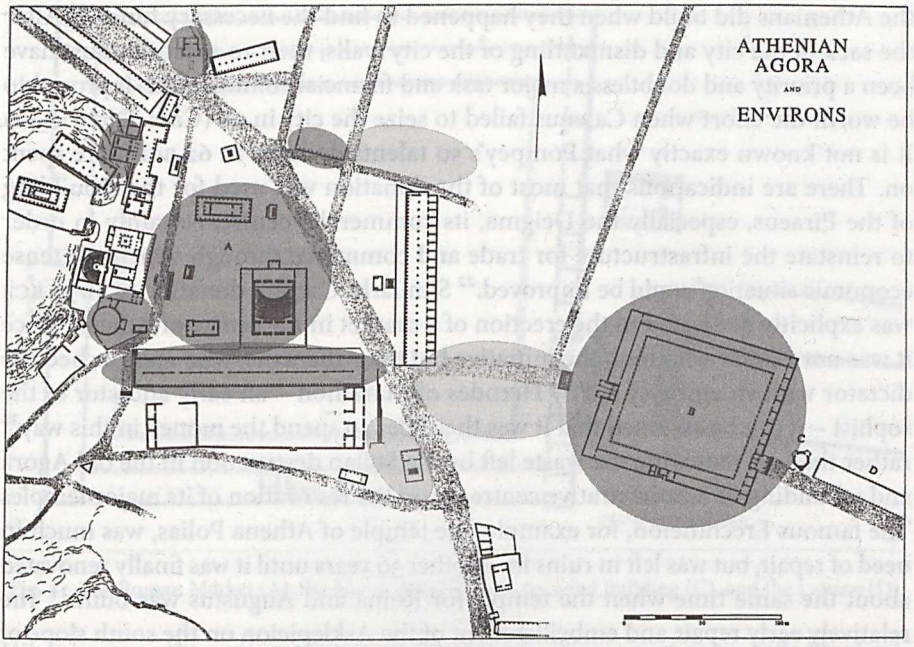

Fig. 2 The Athenian Agora in the early first century CE with areas of Augustan building activities (shaded dark grey) and graded areas (shaded light grey).

For instance, fragments of the Doric frieze from the South-Stoa were still available to be re-used for the Roman Market that was finished in the last decade BCE,[18] and the ruins of the Pompeion were left untouched, vulnerable to plundering for building material for centuries until a new building was erected 220 years later.[19] The ruins of houses south of the Stoa of Attalos next to the Panathenaic Way to the Acropolis that were burnt down by Sulla's army lay untouched until, again in connection with

17 Exact dates for pre-Augustan repairs and building activities are difficult to establish. There is evidence for restoration of the kitchen and repair of the Tholos after the sack and before the addition of a porch, probably in the Augustan period: Thompson [522] 56–7, 136. The peribolos of the monument of the Eponymous Heroes was repaired shortly after the sack: Shear [485] 201. The newly built offices leaning on the west end of the Middle Stoa have been dated before the Odeion by Thompson [524] 91, but may in fact be later than the Southwest Temple (and the Odeion) because they partly obstruct the view on the temple: Dinsmoor [144] 434.

18 Hoff [262], esp. 42–3; on this and other re-used material in the walls of the Roman Agora, some of which might have come from other Athenian buildings destroyed during the sack, see Hoff [258] 220–1, 223.

19 Hoepfner [257] 139–41.

the building of the Roman Market, the ground was at least levelled and graded, but it took another century until Pantainos built his library over them.[20] Thus, it may come as no surprise that the Athenians did not erect new public monuments boasting their Greek identity. Funds must have been extremely limited.

Yet, building activities did not cease completely, and it is interesting to see what the Athenians did build when they happened to find the necessary funds.[21] After the sack of the city and dismantling of the city walls, their re-erection must have been a priority and doubtless a major task and financial commitment. It proved to be worth the effort when Calenus failed to seize the city in 48 (Cass. Dio 42.14.1). It is not known exactly what Pompey's 50 talents donated in 62 BCE were spent on. There are indications that most of the donation was used for the rebuilding of the Piraeus, especially the Deigma, its commercial centre, certainly in order to reinstate the infrastructure for trade and commerce through which the tense economic situation could be improved.[22] Similarly, Caesar's donation of 51/50 BCE was explicitly dedicated to the erection of a market in the centre of Athens. Since it was not Caesar who took the initiative but the Athenians, who approached the dictator with an embassy led by Herodes of Marathon – an early ancestor of the sophist – it can be assumed that it was their idea to spend the money in this way[23] rather than on removing the waste left by the Sullan destruction in the old Agora and rebuilding its administrative centre, or on the restoration of its major temples. The famous Erechtheion, for example, the temple of Athena Polias, was much in need of repair, but was left in ruins for another 30 years until it was finally renovated about the same time when the temple for Roma and Augustus was built.[24] The relatively early repair and embellishment of the Asklepieion on the south slope of the Acropolis in 63/2 and 51/50 BCE was a private initiative financed by two Athenian priests of Asklepios.[25]

20 Shear [486].

21 I shall limit my overview to those building activities that are likely to have been initiated by Athenians. On building activities by foreigners see Hoff [258] 35–41 (building of inner Propylaea at Eleusis started by Appius Claudius Pulcher and finished by his nephew; re-building of Odeion of Pericles by Ariobarzanes Philopator of Cappadocia).

22 Plut. *Pomp.* 42.5–6, and *IG* II^2 1035, 47, mentioning, in a fragmentary line, a 'Magnus' as builder of the Deigma. Cf. Culley [116] 164–7; Hoff [260] 2 with n. 8; Hoff [262] 43.

23 The idea may have been especially appealing to Caesar, as by donating a market in the centre of town, he could hope to outdo Pompey's new Deigma at Piraeus: Hoff [260] 2–3. It has been suggested that the influx of merchants from Delos after its sack in 69 BCE may have contributed to the decision to build a market (Hoff [258] 43–47; Baldassarri [25] 101). If this is true, it was still the Athenians who twice sent ambassadors from their most influential old families to ask for the funds and therefore must have regarded the project as their own priority as well.

24 A geison block from the Erechtheion was found in the foundations of the Monopteros (Dörpfeld [149] 166), and the details of the latter's architectural decoration are copied after those of the Erechtheion, presumably by the same workshop that repaired the classical temple: Binder [41]; Whittaker [592] 26.

25 Baldassarri [25] 64–6.

After Augustus' final reconciliation with the Athenians in 19 BCE, another embassy headed by Eukles of Marathon again asked for funds for the Roman Market, which was eventually finished and dedicated around 10 BCE (fig. 3).[26]

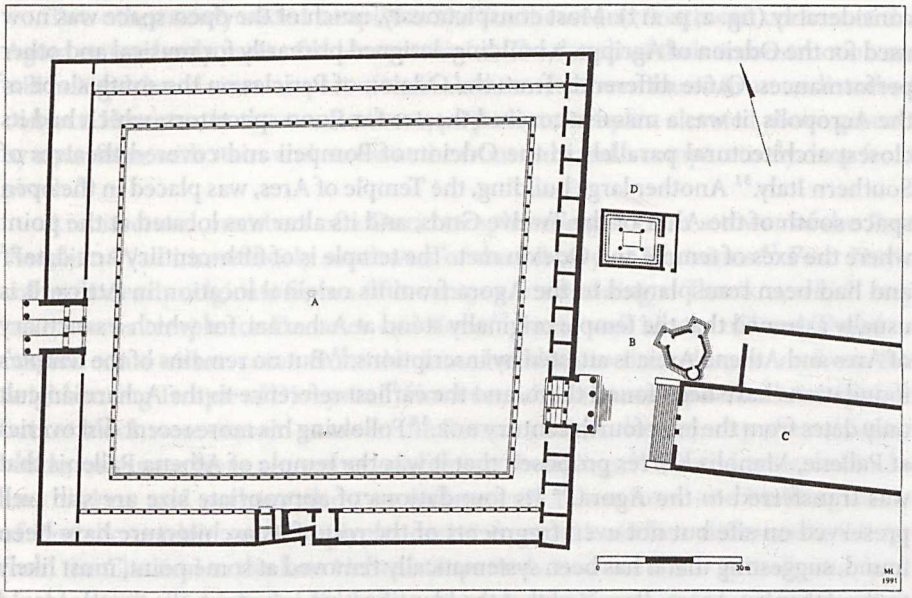

Fig. 3 The Roman Market (A), the Horologium (B), the Arcaded Building (C), and the Latrine (D).

What is more, the new market, a marble-paved square court surrounded by Ionic porticoes on all four sides and with one Ionic and one Doric entrance gate, looked unlike anything that had been built in Athens before.[27] Though the assumption that it was modelled on Caesar's Kaisareia in Alexandria and Antioch has been rejected on good grounds,[28] the building clearly did not continue any local tradition but must have appeared as a new and unusual addition, with an equestrian statue of L. Caesar dedicated by the Demos as the central acroterion of the western entrance gate reminiscent of Roman honorific arches.[29]

On the Agora, major building activities also started only under Augustus' reign, but even restorations were used to introduce major changes. For instance, when the Tholos was renewed, it obtained a propylon facing the agora. Two annex rooms were

26 Hoff [260]; Hoff [258], who argues for 19 BCE as the most likely year for the embassy and donation. For the date of its completion see Hoff [264] 594; cf. Baldassarri [25] 99–113, who seems to be unaware of Hoff [258].

27 Shear [487] 359.

28 Tuchelt [541].

29 Hoff [258] 232–58 is certainly right in tracing the peristyle-court type of market back to Hellenistic commercial agorai. But these would have been a novelty at Athens as well, and Hoff further suggests that it may have been a Roman preference to close these agorai on all four sides. Cf. Baldassarri [25] 109–12. On the gate see Hoff [264].

added to the Stoa of Zeus, and should the general assumption be correct that they served for the imperial cult, the change would almost be ironic (or cynical) since the stoa was dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios, Zeus the Liberator.[30] New buildings were added as well, aiming at a new glory and definitely transforming the site considerably (fig. 2, p. 217). Most conspicuously, much of the open space was now used for the Odeion of Agrippa, a building designed primarily for musical and other performances. Quite differently from the Odeion of Pericles on the south slope of the Acropolis, it was a massive covered theatre for 1,000 spectators, which had its closest architectural parallels in the Odeion of Pompeii and covered theatres of Southern Italy.[31] Another large building, the Temple of Ares, was placed in the open space south of the Altar of the Twelve Gods, and its altar was located at the point where the axes of temple and Odeion met. The temple is of fifth-century BCE date,[32] and had been transplanted to the Agora from its original location in Attica. It is usually assumed that the temple originally stood at Acharnai, for which a sanctuary of Ares and Athena Areia is attested by inscriptions.[33] But no remains of the temple's foundations have been found there, and the earliest reference to the Acharnian cult only dates from the later fourth century BCE.[34] Following his more recent discoveries at Pallene, Manolis Korres proposed that it was the temple of Athena Pallenis that was transferred to the Agora.[35] Its foundations of appropriate size are still well preserved on site but not even fragments of the rest of its architecture have been found, suggesting that it has been systematically removed at some point, most likely to the Athenian Agora. Provided that the identification is correct, the temple would even have changed its patron deity, from Athena Pallenis to Ares, though the fact that a statue of Athena stood beside the one of Ares, in the temple on the Agora (Paus. 1.8.4), may indicate that Athena's cult was moved to the Agora as well, if only as a subordinate one. Nonetheless, the cult of Ares could still have been transferred to Athens from Acharnai, especially since the altar in front of the temple is a re-located item from the fourth century.[36] Its date would fit the date of the stele mentioning the erection at Acharnai of an altar that had to be 'built', requiring not a stone mason

30 Tholos: Thompson [522] with fig. 47; Camp [88] 95–7; Schäfer [465] 100; Stoa Basileios: Thompson [526]; Walker [563] 69 with fig. 2

31 Thompson [523]; Meinel [352] 204–7 for typological comparisons; Baldassarri [25] 115–41. Baldassarri also argues ([25] 135–6) that the location of the Odeion within the agora was influenced by the location of temples in the imperial fora at Rome. If this is right, the planning for the Temple of Ares would need to be later and would also have counteracted this idea.

32 Dinsmoor [141]; more recently on temple and altar: Baldassarri [25] 153–72 with full bibliography.

33 Travlos [539] 1.

34 Travlos [539] 1; cf. Robert [439] 293–4 for the texts; more recently Hartswick [246] 261–7 with bibliography in n. 111.

35 Korres [307]; followed by Goette [209] 27 n. 135 and Alcock [7] 55. Still without any knowledge of the temple at Pallene, Hartswick [246] 258–67 had already cast serious doubt on the proposed origin of the Ares Temple from Acharnai, stressing, among other things, that evidence is not only lacking for a temple of Ares at Acharnai but in fact for any temple of Ares from the fifth century.

36 Hartswick [246] 262; Alcock [7] 55; Baldassarri [25] 166–70, who is still unaware of Korres' findings at Pallene.

or sculptor, but an architect (line 13), thus referring to the same type as the one in the Agora.[37] This idea is supported by the omission of the Ares cult in Pausanias' list of cults at Acharnai (Paus. 1.31.6)[38] and possibly by another inscription from the site gratefully acknowledging Ares and Augustus.[39]

Two other newly added temples in the Southeast and Southwest corners of the Agora re-used only parts of older sanctuaries. The details of their reconstruction are still being debated since no part of their elevation has been found in an undisturbed context. However, both were Roman type podium temples, elevated above ground by a platform with stairs and access at the front only and a comparatively deep front porch.[40]

Architectural members of a Doric temple emerged from a tower of the Post-Herulian Wall immediately southwest of the Library of Pantainos.[41] Four Doric columns clearly originate from a fifth-century BCE building at Thorikos, which may have been a temple for Demeter and Kore.[42] Some wall blocks of local Thorikos marble could either come from the same building as the columns, or from the neighbouring Temple of Dionysus.[43] However, while an anta capital and one epistyle backer block were custom-made in the Roman period, the majority of entablature blocks originate from a number of different buildings.[44] Several epistyle blocks and backers and perhaps also two metopes are taken from one building made of Pentelic marble, seven triglyphs derive from at least four different buildings from the Classical to the Late Hellenistic periods made of either Pentelic or Island marble. With the triglyphs displaying a variety of different styles and proportions, the assemblage must have resulted in a somewhat odd aesthetic appearance. This eclecticism could at least partly be traced back to the fact that the temple (?) at Thorikos had never been completed. The fluting of the columns was only executed at the bottom and top, as was commonly done before the columns were erected, and had to be finished by the Roman builders once the columns were in place.

37 Cf. n. 34 p. 220 above. In fact, the inscription refers to at least two altars which were being built, probably one for Ares and one for Athena Areia, so that the re-location of one of them would not necessarily have rendered the sanctuary defunct altogether.

38 Baldassarri [25] 169–70.

39 On *IG* II² 2953 see Robert [439] 295; there is no indication in the text for a "rescue operation" as suggested by Hartswick [246] 262; cf. Baldassarri [25] 167–8 n. 64.

40 Marc Waelkens [559] has argued that the podium temple would not originate in Italy but in Hellenistic Pergamum. This idea was rejected on good grounds by Pohl [418] 104–10 and Rumscheid [451].

41 Dinsmoor [144].

42 On the identification of the columns see Dinsmoor [144] 415–18. The character of the Thorikos building is disputed. For its interpretation as a temple for Demeter and Kore, based primarily on a border stone reading ὅρος τεμένους τοῖν Θεοῖν from its vicinity, see Osanna [393] with further bibliography.

43 Dinsmoor [144] 418 thinks that the building never had a cella and attributes the wall blocks to the Temple of Dionysus. Osanna [393] 108 maintains that the inner part of the building was never excavated so that there would be no reason to assume that it did not have a cella; ditto Baldassarri [25] 203–4 n. 6.

44 Dinsmoor [144] 411–14, 418.

The unfinished surface of the one surviving capital at Thorikos suggests that an entablature was never installed there.[45] Assuming, with the majority of scholars, that the architectural members from Thorikos were used in the Southeast Temple near the tower, four more columns would have been needed to complete the façade. They could have been taken from yet another location, or have been custom-made in the Roman Period. Scholars have also assumed that the cult of Demeter and Kore had travelled with the four columns from Thorikos to the new location near the old City Eleusinion, a view which may or may not be supported by a passage in Pausanias (depending on its interpretation) and by fragments of a classical statue of Demeter type.[46]

Another series of columns and other architectural members, this time of Ionic style and deriving from the Temple of Athena at Sounion, was found in the wall adjacent to the tower and as stray finds in late fills between this wall and the Southeast Temple. This series is usually thought to have been re-used for the Southwest Temple, opening up the possibility that not only the building material but also the cult were transferred to the Agora from Sounion.[47]

All of these assumptions and inferences, however, have been seriously challenged by Dinsmoor, first and foremost from an architectural point of view. He pointed out that the recovered remains of the original Ionic building belong to at least eight columns, of which only six could be accommodated on the foundations of the Southwest Temple.[48] In the case of the Doric temple, it would be difficult to explain why the architects did not bring eight columns from Thorikos straight away if they intended to re-locate the cult together with (part of) the architecture. Reversing the traditional allocation of the Doric and Ionic series, however, resolves these contradictions and results in a far more satisfactory design. The Doric temple would no longer need any additional columns and the Southeast temple, which had such a prominent position on the Panathenaic way, would have received a coherent façade pleasing to the eye of the passer-by.[49] Dinsmoor's reconstructions thus suggest a far more organised approach to their task on the part of the ancient architects, and more attention to aesthetic aspects of their work as well.[50] By implication, the

45 Dinsmoor [144] 416 nn. 9–10.

46 The argument is presented most fully by Osanna [393] passim, esp. 114 (with further bibliography). On the statue see Harrison [244] 371–3; cf. Paus. 1.14.1.

47 This view was argued most extensively by Osanna [393], esp. 107–8, 115.

48 Dinsmoor [144] 425, 429–31; his reconstruction is accepted by Baldassarri [25] 204–5.

49 Dinsmoor [144] 429–30 with further detail of how well the Ionic members and their measures would fit the size of the temple. For a reconstruction of the Doric members in the Southeast Temple see Dinsmoor [144] 421–5.

50 The difference between the rather make-shift construction of the Southwest Temple and the more pleasing construction of the Southeast Temple may well reflect, among other things, a difference in date. The mason's marks on the two temples are markedly different from one another as well (Dinsmoor [144] 434 n. 42). It is usually assumed that the Southwest Temple is of about the same date as the Odeion of Agrippa because of its topographic relation to it whereas the Southeast Temple would be dated to the first century CE. Dinsmoor [144] 431–3, has pointed out that the pottery collected from the foundations and packing of the latter is not conclusive and has suggested a

question of cult would be open again,[51] and the re-use of building material would appear to result primarily from pragmatic considerations.

The new Northeast temple was erected in the old sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania.[52] In this case, the cult was an old one but the temple entirely modern. It was facing the Agora rather than in the traditional eastern direction, and thus completely changed the layout of the sanctuary by turning it around 90°. Moreover, it was again a Roman style temple, of greater width than depth with steps at the front only. No re-used material was employed in the superstructure. The Ionic elements of the pronaos were newly carved with highest craftsmanship, imitating the north porch of the Erechtheion in its proportions, and the east porch's architectural decoration.[53]

date after the paving of the Panathenaic Way in the first half of the second century because the *euthynteria* course lies approximately on the same level as the paving. This argument does not, however, seem to be conclusive either, since the *euthynteria* lies 1.5 cm below the paving, not above as one would expect. Moreover, the practice of transferring temples and re-using entire temple fronts seems to be a feature of the early imperial period and is unattested so far for the Hadrianic period.

51 Osanna's suggestion of an Athena cult in the Southwest Temple loses any support it might have had when the Ionic series was re-used in the Southeast Temple (Osanna [393], esp. 107–8, 115). But even had it been re-used in the Southwest Temple, it would remain unclear why the cult should have moved to this temple rather than to the other site(s) at which the rest of the Athena Temple was re-used. Thompson and Wycherley [527] 165–6, followed by the majority of scholars, suggest a connection with the imperial cult though the nearby statue base for Livia on which this assumption is largely based was not found *in situ* and is of later date than the temple.
The possibility that the Southeast Temple was dedicated to Demeter and Kore cannot be excluded. The fragmented statue of late fifth century BCE date (Harrison [244] 371–3) must have been brought to the Agora from elsewhere, and though there is no way to prove this, it may have been brought from Thorikos. With its head inserted, however, it could also have been re-used for an imperial portrait, and it is not even clear that it stood on the monumental base in the Southwest Temple. As often, Pausanias (1.14.1) is of little help here; cf. the different conclusions arrived at by Osanna [393] 112–14, Dinsmoor [144] 434–7, and Baldassarri [25] 211–4, who considers a transfer of the cult of Athena Sounias to the Southeast Temple (215). As stated above, however, there is no need to assume that the cult must have travelled with this part of the temple, cf. n. 73 p. 227 below.

52 Osanna has challenged this identification and suggested that the temple was for Hermes Agoraios while the one for Aphrodite Ourania was on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios (Osanna [391]; id. [392]). He is followed by Baldassarri [25] 180–97 who points out that the archaeological evidence from the fill around the archaic altar is indeed far from being conclusive. At the alternative site of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania, there is hardly anything among the archaeological remains that would support its attribution to the goddess (admitted by Baldassarri [25] 190–4). Moreover, the date range of these remains – from the second century BCE to the Sullan destruction – is incompatible with the antiquity of her cult. Since the fill within the archaic altar was contaminated, the few pig bones found in it cannot be held against its old attribution (Reese [430] on the faunal remains). Pausanias (1.14.7) mentions a ἱερόν and statue of Aphrodite but a herm only of Hermes (1.15.1). Though his disregard of Roman buildings is well known, it is hard to imagine that Pausanias would have ignored the magnificent temple completely had it been the one of Hermes Agoraios. His acknowledgement of the existence of the temple by using the term ἱερόν and commenting on the image of the goddess by Phidias would fit the situation better. Still, any debate based on Pausanias is notoriously difficult. For my argument, it is much less important to which of the two deities the sanctuary was dedicated than the fact that the cult site was a very old one.

53 Shear [488].

It is not easy to establish who was responsible for these building activities, except for the Odeion of Agrippa, but there can be no doubt that all these major innovations in the Agora were not just the result of a general economic recovery in the Augustan era, but were initiated and financed by Romans or, perhaps, imperial freedmen. This is clear for the three Roman-style temples from comparison with better documented parallels, and it is highly likely that the re-location of the Ares Temple and its altar equally had a Roman patron because of its position in relation to the Odeion and the choice of cult.[54] Thus, the renovation and embellishment of Athens' Old Agora very much seems to have been a Roman project.

Shear and others have argued that filling up major parts of the open space of the Agora used for public assemblies and political activities of the free polis in earlier centuries would be 'as clear a statement of the new order in the world as can be made through the medium of architecture. A conquered city had little need for democratic assemblies and a subject citizen little voice in the determination of his destiny.'[55] However, it may be questioned to what extent the Agora had been used for political assemblies after the establishment of the meeting place on the Pnyx, and Hans-Joachim Schalles has pointed out that the face of the Agora had long ago started to change. Among other things, the Middle Stoa cut off a large portion at its southern edge in the second quarter of the second century, and the Attalos Stoa even built over the former law courts and cut off at least part of the commercial market. Both buildings had a major impact on the ways the old Agora could be used and would have been perceived. Further changes under Augustus would therefore not necessarily be regarded as an imperialist act, but could appear as a continuation of an already existing trend.[56] Equally, the introduction of the imperial cult, so often seen as an indication of Romanisation,[57] was a continuation from Hellenistic ruler cult and from hero cult for prominent individuals,[58] though on a larger scale and in a more systematic way. Traditional cults in the Agora were continued and each of the new temples made some kind of reference to the physical appearances of traditional Greek temples.

Based on these continuations and links to the past, scholars have also related the first-century building activities to Augustus' programme of religious renewal and restoration of old temples and shrines at Rome. They have assumed a similar programme for the Greek East (including Athens) and some have suggested a further link with a famous edict on the restoration of sanctuaries and *temene* of gods and

54 See below, p. 226 n. 65.

55 Shear [487], quote on 361; Hoff [258] 48–9 for a similar view.

56 Schalles [466]. Mario Torelli [537] makes a similar point and even argues that the complex of Middle- and South-Stoa had been a gymnasium. The Odeion would thus appear as a continuation of Hellenistic developments. Unfortunately, due to the lack of evidence, this identification is far from being conclusive.

57 E.g. Shear [487] 363; Hoff [261] 220.

58 On the roots of the imperial cult in the East see Habicht [227]; Price [424]; Gradel [220]; on hero cult see Hughes [273]. Roma received a cult at Athens – as at other places – from the early second century BCE: Mellor [355] 101–5; Hoff [261] 189.

heroes in and around Athens (*IG* II² 1035).[59] It is certainly true that the end result of what happened at Athens involved the reinforcement of the Agora's religious character and the firm establishment of the imperial cult,[60] and so far the process could be compared with the strengthening of the religious quality of the fora in Rome. Both programmes included strong references to Augustus, but it is worth looking at details.

At Rome, Augustus had the sacred sites rebuilt (or newly built) not in the old Romano-Etruscan style but in new material – marble – and in a style that combined both Greek and Roman ideas.[61] His programme was not so much one of conservation, but of restoration and renewal. By introducing highly innovative means he created a contemporary kind of splendour intended to honour and revive tradition by adapting it to the present era. This is quite similar to what happened at Athens, if on a much more modest scale. The new buildings were built and oriented according to Roman ideas. They were placed in pre-defined axial systems or directed towards the main lines of traffic, and the temples had podia and front access only, thus changing the overall appearance of the site considerably. Even the use of spolia and re-location of (parts of) classical buildings did not result from a desire to preserve the past and its architectural achievements, but was rather due to convenience and cost-efficiency.[62] Of course, it would have been easy to achieve an appearance more faithful to the original monuments and to use the reclaimed material to produce traditional temple types rather than Roman podium temples. That funds made all the difference when it came to the decision of either re-using existing building material or else building a temple from scratch can be demonstrated most clearly by a comparison between the Temple of Aphrodite Ourania and the Southwest Temple. Both are Roman type temples with some reference to traditional Greek architecture, but here similarities end. While the builders of the Temple of Aphrodite deliberately chose one of the most admired classical temples as their model, not copying it slavishly but imitating its design and spirit with greatest skills, the builders of the Southwest Temple assembled material from a minimum of six different buildings

59 Shear [487] 365–6; Zanker [610] 261; Osanna [393] 110; Böhme [48] 61, 71–5; Walker [563] 67–73, 78; Schäfer [465] 92–103; Alcock [7] 51–73.

60 On the large number of dedications to Augustus on the two agorai see Benjamin and Raubitschek [35]. On (potential) cult sites cf. Trummer [540] 53–76; Böhme [48] 55–7; Hoff [261]. The common assumption that many if not most of the new buildings or annex rooms on the Agora were connected with the imperial cult or even were realised in order to accommodate it, has been shown by Spawforth [497] to rest mostly on assumptions rather than evidence.

61 Zanker [610]; Favro [166].

62 This is contrary to the most common assumption that the re-use of architectural members from classical temples was originally meant as an act of preservation and antiquarianism, but is in agreement with the Agora excavators' interpretation throughout. Pragmatic reasons are generally accepted in the case of the Roman Market (cf. n. 18 p. 217 above). It seems to me that there is a marked difference between the re-use of parts of buildings as building material in completely different settings and the re-use and change of patron of entire buildings and monuments, which would remain largely unaltered. The Attalid monument in front of the Propylaia re-used for Agrippa or the annexation of shrines like the Metroon of Olympia to the imperial cult are examples of the latter.

from the Classical down to the Hellenistic period. The temple (?) at Thorikos just happens to be the only one we can still identify as a source of that material but there is no indication that its unfinished columns were chosen for any other reason than their easy availability. The Temple of Aphrodite pays homage to a very old goddess and her cult at its original site[63] by introducing an entirely new layout of the sanctuary and a foreign temple type. The perfect imitation of the Erechtheion's architectural decoration appears like a quote from Homer in an otherwise Roman piece of literature. The Southwest Temple introduces both a new cult and a new temple type. If anyone still viewed the result with some romantic feelings, these must have been rather vague and clearly a side-effect rather than the primary intention.[64]

The Temple of Ares and its altar are another case again. The cult is not only new to the Agora, but also refers to a god traditionally worshipped outside of cities, if at all. Its establishment in the Agora was neither a rescue action saving a cult from decay in an otherwise deserted countryside, nor did it respond to any local Athenian needs. The choice of divinity was rather due to a Roman desire for an equivalent to the temple of Mars Ultor in Rome, which was a novelty there as well. It was closely connected with Augustus and the imperial family, as it was at Athens where Caius Caesar was worshipped as the New Ares.[65] The Temple and altar not only took up a lot of space – the temple was slightly larger than the Hephaisteion overlooking it – but were also located in a prominent position between the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the Odeion. The Altar was placed where the axes of Temple and Odeion meet, thus linking the two buildings topographically. To this extent, the sanctuary of Ares is probably the most Roman and potentially most offensive addition to the old Agora. It may be exactly this notion that explains best why a fifth-century temple and a fourth-century altar were considered suitable. It is not impossible that both re-locations included the transfer of the original cults connected with these buildings as well,[66] but it seems obvious that the temple was not moved as a result of the re-location of its own cult, but in order to provide another cult, that of Ares, with an appropriate temple. The choice had the advantage of both being relatively economical and masking the radical novelties of the cult establishment. The same is true for the altar. It is highly likely that it was indeed moved with its cult, but again the reason was not primarily to save an old cult from neglect[67] but to render it more acceptable, and to legitimise the establishment of an

63 The patron of the building project may still have chosen the sanctuary of Aphrodite for refurbishment because of the importance of Venus to the Romans and the imperial family (Rosenzweig [448] 61–2).

64 The Southeast Temple is somewhere in between the two cases just described. As a Roman type temple, it again self-consciously introduces a foreign element but the Ionic architectural members were well chosen to create a satisfactory whole with strong and possibly even deliberate reference to the architecture of the Classical age.

65 Cf. Bowersock [58] 171–3; Schäfer [465] 92–103 with bibliography; Spawforth [497] 186–8, who points out that, contrary to common assumption, according to epigraphic evidence the temple was not dedicated to the imperial cult but to Ares alone.

66 Cf. nn. 35–36, p. 220 above.

Ares cult in the centre of Athens by reference to its antiquity. The re-use of building material and even the re-location of entire buildings and altars did not result from an interest in the despoiled sanctuaries and buildings themselves; it was not an act of deliberate preservation. Rather, it combined two advantages, of cost-efficiency, and of providing a reference to the past.

So far, the strategies employed during the Roman building activities in the Agora very much resemble those at Rome, and even more so than scholars would usually allow. One major difference, however, is the impact that these building activities had on the countryside. In the Athenian *chora*, the Roman activities caused considerable destruction. The Romans not only transferred building material from unfinished buildings, like the one at Thorikos, or salvaged material from already ruined buildings, like the material from the South Stoa that was re-used in the Roman Agora,[68] but they also trans-located perfectly functional and intact temples like that of Ares.[69] The countryside was not entirely deserted, and concern for sanctuaries in the *chora* is clearly documented elsewhere.[70] At Sounion, fragments of a Roman statue of Athena demonstrate that the sanctuary was still in use in the Roman period, and the construction of large cisterns at the north flank of the Poseidon Temple only make sense if the roof feeding them was still intact.[71] Already in 173 BCE, when Q. Fulvius Flaccus wanted a marble roof for his new Temple of Fortuna Equestris in Rome, he removed tiles from the Temple of Juno Lacinia at Bruttium. To be sure, he had to return the tiles after an intervention by the Senate,[72] and one would not expect such an act to be officially sanctioned at Athens either. But when the original cult could be accommodated elsewhere – as it probably was in the case of Sounion,[73] Pallene, and Acharnai – the situation looked different. After all, the re-location not only of people but also of sanctuaries for reasons of

67 The continued occupation of Acharnai is attested by both Paus. 1.31.6 and the inscription mentioned above (n. 39 p. 221) honouring Ares and Augustus at Acharnai.

68 Hoff [258] 220–1, 223, who also describes a large number of architectural members from dozens of different buildings re-used in the Roman Market. This and the existence of further, un-attributable material found in various places in the Agora and the late walls (Thompson [525] 351–6; Thompson and Wycherley [527] 166) suggest the idea that a proper depot of re-claimed building material may have existed. This material could have derived as much from buildings in the *chora* as from those in the Agora which have been destroyed during the Sullan sack.

69 Dinsmoor [141]. The same was probably true for the Temple of Athena at Sounion. Its members re-used in the Athenian Agora were well preserved, and since nothing is left on site it is highly likely that the rest of the temple was taken to yet another site to be re-used: Dinsmoor [143]; Goette [209] 41 n. 229; on Sounion see Salliora-Oikonomakou [461].

70 Cf. Alcock [6], esp. 194.

71 For a discussion and fuller presentation of the evidence cf. Goette [209] 30–1, who further challenges a suggestion made by Dinsmoor [142], that the sima of the Ares Temple was taken from the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion. On the statue Despinis [126]. For a balanced account of the rural sacred landscape of Greece and Attica see Alcock [6] 200–14; for a different view Lohmann [330].

72 Livy 42.3.1–11; cf. Dinsmoor [142] 44.

73 The Athena cult of Sounion was probably moved to the Temple of Poseidon, which Pausanias (1.1.1) must have seen and identified not entirely incorrectly as the temple of Athena Sounias: Goette [209] 30–1, 40–1.

political convenience is well attested at other places like Patrai or Nikopolis,[74] and even Augustus did not always shy away from violating the property of sanctuaries.[75]

The edict *IG* II² 1035, on the other hand, suggests a rather different context. First, it is worth noting that its primary or possibly only concern was not about the physical restoration, repair or embellishment of shrines and other structures, but about their return to their original purpose and into the property of their legitimate owners.[76] Sanctuaries that had been desecrated should be cleansed by expiatory sacrifices and their leasing to private individuals properly organised. The intention of this large measure was twofold, it was an act of piety and it secured an income for the state as well as for the sanctuaries. Secondly, the edict concerns existing sanctuaries and cults at their original place. There is no indication whatsoever of either re-location or any other building activity. Thirdly, the majority of sanctuaries mentioned are located in the Athenian *chora* (ca. 13), in Piraeus (ca. 17), and on Salamis (ca. 10), and only 12 in the city of Athens. Moreover, the cults all have particular relevance for a local identity, like a number of hero cults, a shrine founded by Themistocles before the battle of Salamis (line 45), various shrines for the most Athenian of heroes Theseus (line 48), or a precinct of Athena at Lamptrai, the 'so-called Dorykleion' (line 51). Not a single 'major' sanctuary or temple is mentioned.

All three aspects contrast markedly with the Roman building activities described above. If the edict was part of a wider Augustan restoration programme,[77] this

74 Alcock [6] 180–99 identifies the centralisation of cults as a general feature of the Roman period. The same point is made by Osanna [393] (esp. 110) who explicitly compares the activities at Athens with those at Patrai, where, in an enforced *synoikismos*, not only people but also rural sanctuaries were re-located into the city. This seems to go too far. His suggestion of an Augustan programme of re-locating entire cults with their architecture from the Athenian *chora* to the centre of Athens faces major problems concerning, among other things, his attribution of the Southwest and Southeast Temple. Yet, the potential transfer of the altar and cult of Zeus Agoraios from the Pnyx to the Agora (Baldassarri [25] 173–9) and the transfer of cults to Athens from its *chora* as a side effect or necessary consequence of different primary goals would still fit the general trend. On Patrai see Osanna [394]; Lafond [315]; Pirenne-Delforge [417]; on Nikopolis Isager [283] and esp. Houby-Nielsen [272].

75 E.g. in the sanctuary of Athana Alea at Tegea: Paus. 8.46.1–5, who also states that Augustus was not the first to behave like this. See Dignas [128] 120–1 with further evidence; Alcock [6] 178–9.

76 While historians have often treated the edict as a 'Pachturkunde', archaeologists usually take it as a document referring to the repair of sanctuaries (e.g. von Freeden [551] 152–6 with n. 33). Von Freeden believes that the term used most often, ἀποκαθίστημι, means both repair and return to original function and owner. This does not seem to be covered by the text. The only mentioning of any repairs (ἐπισκευή) appears in the text before the list of locations concerned begins, in line 22 with reference to Eleusis. The meaning of this passage is entirely obscure; cf. Culley [116] 82. The votive statues of King Attalos mentioned in line 25 were certainly not to be leased (von Freeden [551] 153) but would not necessarily have been repaired either. They could have been restored to the sanctuary – e.g. after having been taken away to adorn a different, possibly even private place. Or else they might have been re-used for a different individual – like the colossal statues of Eumenes II and Attalos II re-named after Marc Antony (Plut. *Antony* 60.3) – and the original inscription was then restored. In any case, since they are not part of the list, the sense of the passage is as unclear as the preceding one on Eleusis. We should not exclude though that repair may at times have been involved as well in the decree's implementation. On the edict see Culley [116]; von Freeden [551] 6–16, 145–83; Dignas [128] 127–8, each with bibliography.

programme would indeed have been highly contradictory in itself. Admittedly, the view that the edict and its measures were somehow related to Augustus is not entirely unsupported. In an inscription from Kyme in Asia Minor of 27 BCE,[78] the governor of Asia orders that a Temple of Dionysus should be restored to its proper owner. He refers explicitly to a ruling by the consuls Augustus and Agrippa that any public or sacred property appropriated or bought by private persons should be returned, and that such appropriation should be prevented in the future. The ruling is copied above the governor's letter and called a *iussum Augusti*, probably because it was initiated by the emperor. It is obvious that edict *IG* II^2 1035 would be in accordance with this *iussum* but far from certain that they were in fact connected in any way. From the Kyme inscription, it is not clear whether the ruling referred to a district only, the entire province of Asia, or all provinces.[79] Moreover, the restoration of sanctuaries and their properties to their rightful owners after their seizure is attested in earlier periods.[80] The date of edict *IG* II^2 1035 is not entirely clear. It is now generally agreed that it must belong to some time between the Sullan sack and the end of Augustus' reign.[81] A date as early as possible within this range is suggested by the use of the old-fashioned acrophonic numbering system for the description of the result of the vote about the programme (line 6) and by the mentioning of the office of ταμίας τῆς ἱερᾶς διατάχεως, the latest attested occurrence of which elsewhere is a single case from 30 BCE.[82] A *terminus post quem* is suggested by line 54 of the decree referring to the so-called Tower of the Winds, a monumental water clock near the Roman Market.[83] This *horologium* is mentioned by Vitruvius (*de arch.* 1.6.4) and Varro (*de re rustica* 3.5.17) dating the building before 31 and 37 BCE respectively. For mainly economic reasons, the late 60s or 50s, i.e. after Pompey's donation and before Pharsalus, are the most likely period of its construction by the famous Andronicus of Kyrrhos, especially since it was not a private donation but state funded.[84] It is doubtful whether the water clock could have been built and appropriated by some

77 This view is expressed by e.g. Culley [116] 226–7; Böhme [48] 74.

78 *IKyme*, no. 17 (Merkelbach); cf. the most recent discussion of the inscription by Dignas [128] 121–6.

79 See the discussion in Dignas [128] 126 with n. 82.

80 Culley [116] X-XIV; Corsaro [110]; Nenci and Thür [381]; on the danger of sacred property being appropriated by privates or even the polis see Dignas [128].

81 The later date proposed by Shear [487] 366–7 rests on the assumption that Salamis was not in the possession of Athens until restored to it by Iulius Nicanor in the Claudian period; Habicht [228] demonstrated, however, that Salamis belonged to Athens all the time during the first century BCE. For a list of scholars' suggestions cf. Dignas [128] 127 with n. 85.

82 Habicht [228], who tentatively suggests 31/30 BCE for the decree.

83 Von Freeden [551].

84 On the building's identification and the ancient sources von Freeden [551] 1–16. Von Freeden [551] 145–80 dates the building between 74/3 and 65/4, a date consistent with his date for the decree. Baldassarri [25] 100 n. 6 believes that Varro must have seen the 'Tower' on his visit in 85–82. However, as Robinson [442] 298–9 had pointed out already, Varro paid another visit to Greece in 47, and there is no need to assume that he has actually seen the *Horologium* at all. Most scholars date the Tower to the middle of the first century, cf. Robinson [443] and von Hesberg [553] 81–2 with valid methodological criticism of von Freeden and good stylistic parallels from the first century.

private individual within this same short period,[85] so a date shortly after Actium seems more likely for the decree. But it is still not clear whether or not the edict should be dated before or after 27 BCE, the date of the *iussum Augusti*.

In any case, for our purposes it suffices to note that nothing in the decree provides a hint at Augustus or any empire-wide programme of restoration.[86] In the Kyme inscription, not only is the *iussum* mentioned in the governor's letter but the full ruling is quoted above it.[87] In another inscription from Messene, the repair of temples and other public buildings funded through private donations collected by the secretary of the *synhedrion* is explicitly called an obligation towards the Roman people and the emperor.[88] In *IG* II² 1035, however, no mention was made of the emperor or any other Roman.[89] The programme was approved by vote in the people's assembly – with the vast majority of 3461 against 155 – and the four most important state officials were involved in its implementation.[90] Two inscriptions were to be set up recording the decree, one on the Acropolis at the temple of Athena Polias and one in the sanctuary of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira in Piraeus,[91] linking the initiative further to the polis and its traditional main cults and deities. By contrast, at Kyme the city is urged to record the temple's restoration in an inscription reading 'Imperator, Caesar, son of the deified Iulius, Augustus restored it',[92] and at Messene the inscription recording the fundraising was to be set up παρὰ τὸ Σεβάστειον (line 39). What links the three documents is a previous state of general disorder, when powerful private individuals encroached upon the land and other property of sanctuaries and the polis, and the decision to deal with this problem.[93] The newly established order after the end of the civil wars may well have provided the background for, and encouraged all these measures. What sets the Athenian decree off from the other documents is the fact that the Athenians felt entirely capable of reversing the deplorable situation and solving the problems

85 There is no mentioning of any repairs in line 54 and the explicit statement that the water clock was for the people may further support the view that there was an issue of ownership rather than of the state of preservation. The usual argument requires a span of time between the building and the decree on the assumption that the former must first have fallen into disrepair before it would need any refurbishment.

86 Dignas [128] 127–8.

87 Lines 1–11, 15–6.

88 Lines 3–4 and 36–7; *SEG* 23, 207; Migeotte [357].

89 The inscription is very fragmentary but this fact still seems clear enough from the passages preserved; cf. Dignas [128] 127.

90 Culley [116] XVI.

91 Line 17; Culley [116] 72–3. *IG* II² 1035 has been found in a Turkish dry wall on the Acropolis: Culley [116] IX.

92 Lines 19–20 and in the lost part of the Greek translation; Dignas [128] 122.

93 Sanctuaries were always at risk of having their funds encroached upon by individuals or even the city administration. The situation appears to have been particularly bad, however, during the upheavals of the first century BCE, when cities were forced to sell sacred property in order to pay their tribute to the Romans or powerful individuals, including the *publicani*, would feel free to appropriate sacred land. For details see Dignas [128] passim.

themselves. They felt no obligation to refer to any imperial ruling – even if one should have been given at the time.

To conclude, if there was any major activity related to more traditional ideas of what Athenian identity was all about, it was the restoration programme documented in *IG* II^2 1035, focussing on ancient local cults and their customary organisation for the economic benefit of their owners. The program was initiated, approved, and carried out by the Athenian *demos* and its highest officials. The list of places selected for restoration reveals an entirely local interest. Revenue from the lease of sacred property usually seems to have secured sufficient funds for the upkeep of cult activities, so that the choice of cults for the restoration programme testifies to the continued interest in these local cults.[94] A similar interest is apparent in the few cases of non-sacred sites listed, for example the Old Bouleuterion (line 43), a palaestra, or the Horologium (both line 54). Like the sanctuaries, they were regarded as πάτρια νόμιμα and as such they were treated in the same way. It is hard to tell whether and to what extent the programme boosted Athenian identity, but there is no indication that it was intended to impress the Romans. Moreover, with its primary concern for economic issues, it fits well into the general trend in Athenian building policy as outlined above. In a period when not Athenian identity as Greeks and as the leading people of culture was threatened, but their material well-being and even survival, they first opted for the restoration of their infrastructure as needed for trade and commerce rather than for the restoration of their more symbolic treasures. It is no coincidence that the Athenians left the repair of the Erechtheion until the second last decade BCE when they decided to appease and honour Augustus (and Roma) with a small temple on the Acropolis nearby.[95]

The only instance at which the Athenians did boast about their achievements during the period in question was when they hired the famous Macedonian engineer Andronicus of Kyrrhos to build their Water Clock (fig. 4).[96]

The Horologium was an impressive document of engineering skills and technical superiority, but without much practical function.[97] Thus, in the rare case when the Athenians decided to splash out on a predominantly symbolic monument, they chose to boast of their scientific achievements and technical skills.

The restoration and embellishment of more traditionally symbolic and conspicuous spaces like the Agora was left to the Romans, who interpreted this task in their

94 Cf. Dignas [128], where the interest in the cults themselves is somewhat underrated.

95 On the monopteros for Roma and Augustus see Snijder [494]; on its potential ideology and connection with the Mars Ultor temple on the Roman Capitoline see Schäfer [465]; for a different view see Whittaker [592]; Baldassarri [25] 45–63; for its date and connection with the imperial cult in general see also Hoff [261]. The Capitoline monopteros, however, may have been decreed by the Roman senate only after Augustus' return in 19 BCE and possibly was never built: Spannagel [496] 62–5.

96 Cf. n. 84 at p. 229.

97 Kienast [298].

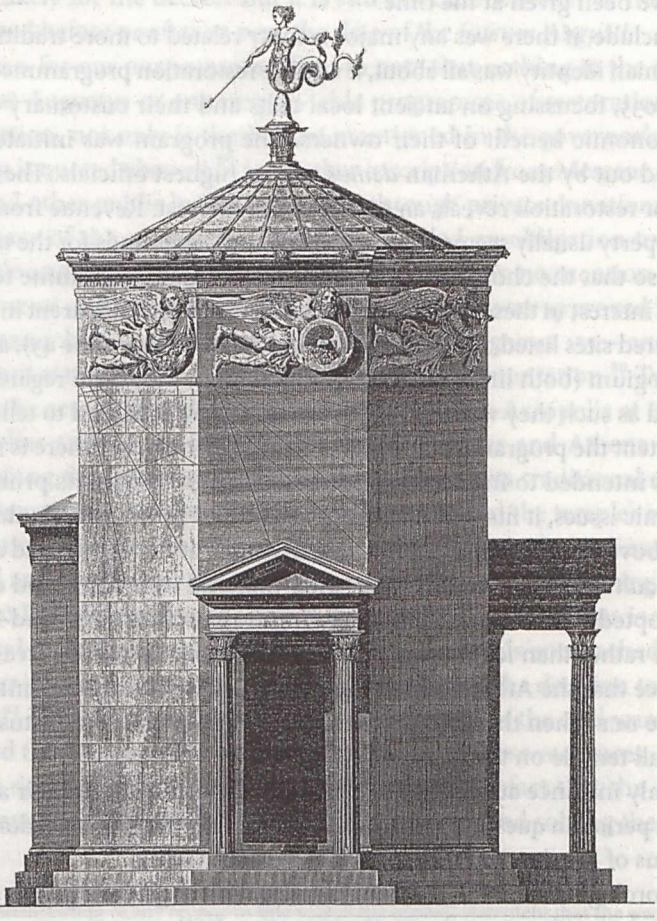

Fig. 4 The Horologium near the Roman market.

own way.[98] Their building activities, intended to restore and beautify one of the most central and, at the same time, most desperately ruined public spaces in Athens, paid honour to the city's great past exactly by changing its physical appearance and character completely,[99] and by referring to the past only through occasional 'quotes'

98 In this study, I have passed over the minor repairs and adornment of buildings at the west side of the Agora, which are of a very modest kind. They may well have been carried out by the Athenians themselves. For most of these, exact dates are notoriously difficult to establish and often it is even unknown what their superstructures would have looked like. For a convenient list with bibliography see Schäfer [465] 101–2; Baldassarri [25] 223–41. In any case, they would not change the overall trends in which I am interested here.

99 Schäfer's final assessment of the Augustan Agora seems somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, he acknowledges that the project was not historicizing and backward looking ([465] 107 following Hölscher) but on the other hand he agrees with Shear in calling the Agora a museum assembling

from classical buildings. This was what happened again when Hadrian made the city the centre of his new Panhellenion and initiated a second round of major public building. The large complex next to the Roman Agora contained lecture halls and two libraries and was modelled on the Roman imperial fora, resembling the Templum Pacis in particular.[100] The Olympieion originally was a building project started by the Peisistratid tyrants and left unfinished after the introduction of democracy. It was completed by Hadrian with a huge effort, and turned into a gigantic centre for the imperial cult, again using tradition to license innovation and upgrade the present.[101]

We have no direct evidence for the local population's reaction to either the early imperial or the Hadrianic building activities, and the decision making processes involved in these activities would merit further investigation by historians and epigraphists. As mentioned above, it was not at all new that foreign admirers of Athens made expensive as well as expansive donations that transformed the city considerably. There is no indication that the Athenians objected to the drastic changes caused by the donations of Hellenistic kings, and I cannot see any reason to believe that they did in the case of the Roman ones. The Romans were well in line with the Hellenistic kings in that their interest in the *preservation* of Athens' achievements was mainly directed at philosophy, poetry, literature, and oratory. In their building activities, they paid homage to the great city by providing Athens with a modern and up-to-date outlook showing, at times, little respect for the institutions of the democratic city.[102] But the Hellenistic kings focussed on profane buildings of practical use – much like the Athenians did themselves during the first century BCE when they had the chance to do so.[103] In contrast, the Romans provided tradition with an almost anachronistic sacred aura by focussing their building activities on temples. But they were also keen to provide an adequate space at an appropriate location for the much admired 'intellectual' activities and performances, which they considered to be the lasting Athenian achievements and worth emulating and rehearsing. From the last decades of the first century BCE onwards, the Agora was

monuments and buildings of Athens' great past ([465] 102; cf. Alcock [7] 68 for a similar view). The discontinuities are acknowledged and stressed by Osanna [393] 110. Baldassarri's conclusions, though detailed and balanced, presuppose 'un programma politico-propagandistico propugnato dal *princeps* e dal suo *entourage*' (253; cf. Hoff [258] 27). I hope to have shown that the building activities in the Augustan period are too incoherent to support the assumption of such an organised and consistent agenda (Alcock [7] 66 for a similar view).

100 Shear [487] 372–7.

101 On the archaeology of the Panhellenion project cf. Willers [599].

102 In the case of the Stoa of Attalos, the law courts overbuilt by it seem to have gone out of use before, so that the Athenians themselves no longer felt any need for them; cf. Townsend [538], esp. 103–4. This was quite different from the Lycurgan programme at the end of the fourth century BCE which was restorative in essence rather than innovative: Hintzen-Bohlen [254]; Knell [302].

103 For the relatively small percentage of temples among the donations of Hellenistic benefactors see Bringmann and von Steuben [75].

dominated by the Odeion,[104] and the temples surrounded it almost like a chorus. In the long run, the most sincere legacy of this was that the Greeks themselves changed their idea of what their identity was all about, moving away from political and civic concepts of freedom, honour, and prosperity, and accepting the Roman definition of Greekness which focussed on cultural accomplishments, art, learnedness, rhetoric, literature, and philosophy.[105] Only after realising that political independence and freedom were no longer an option, the Greeks seem to have wholeheartedly accepted the new definition of Greekness and exploited it to their benefit. The fact that, at a later stage, they even advertised this identity through their material culture may be a particularly strong indication of this change. Athens had seen herself as the centre of and model for Hellenism since the fourth century[106] and was certainly perceived as such by many Romans, including Augustus and Hadrian.[107] As a whole, she had a lot to gain from this strategy.

104 This interpretation would not necessarily contradict a suggestion first put forward by Böhme who reminds us that the Odeion on the south slope of the Acropolis is usually related to Pericles, but, according to Vitruvius (5.9.1), was erected by Themistocles after his victory at Salamis. Böhme interprets Agrippa's Odeion as another victory monument after Actium; cf. Schäfer [465] 99–100.

105 Suzanne Saïd comes to the same conclusion in her study of Greek rhetoric: Saïd [460]; cf. the discussions in Whitmarsh (p. 199–201), Wiater (p. 87), and Schmitz (p. 240) (this volume).

106 Saïd [460].

107 Lamberton [316].