

Η ΑΘΗΝΑ ΚΑΤΑ
ΤΗ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗ ΕΠΟΧΗ

Πρόσφατες ανακαλύψεις, νέες έρευνες

ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ
Σταύρος Βλίζος

ATHENS DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD
Recent Discoveries, New Evidence

EDITED BY:
Stavros Vlizon

THEODOSIA STEPHANIDOU-TIVERIOU
Tradition and romanization in the monumental
landscape of Athens

O F F P R I N T

ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟ
ΜΠΕΝΑΚΗ

4ο Παράρτημα

MOUSEIO BENAKI, 4th Supplement

ΑΘΗΝΑ 2008

ATHENS 2008

Tradition and romanization in the monumental landscape of Athens*

IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD, Athens' ancient grandeur lived on to a great degree through the admiration of its benefactors and visitors. Heracleides Criticus, who came to the city around the middle of the third century B.C.,¹ well after its embellishment by Lycurgus, made no comment about its political situation, but was interested exclusively in the intellectual cultivation which the city was able to offer abundantly through the fruits of its Classical civilization.² The city's theater and gymnasia constituted, as it appears, poles of attraction par excellence for people who arrived in Athens from all over the world. These public buildings, in contrast to its modest private residences, signally convinced them that this was "the city called Athens" (Heraclid., *Pol.* 1.1).³ But if the third-century visitor admired the dazzling image which Lycurgus' building projects in Athens projected, he would have been impressed still more a century later by the monumental form that the city had acquired with the lavish building programs endowed by Hellenistic rulers. Not only the enormous stoas of the Attalids (and likely of other kings)⁴ and the gigantic temple of Olympian Zeus, which Antiochus IV undertook to complete and which had already reached the uppermost level of the colonnade,⁵ but also opulent dedications such as the four-horse chariot monuments of benefactors in prime locations on the Acropolis and in the Agora⁶ and the smaller Attalid dedication near the Parthenon commemorating victory over the Gauls⁷ bear witness that Athens had acquired the look of a Hellenistic metropolis that could compete with the great capitals of the East.

Within its lavish Hellenistic urban setting, Athens

cultivated close relationships with the magnates of the East on the one hand and the rising power of the West on the other.⁸ Its relations with Rome, which as we know began with the mediation of Attalus I in 200 B.C.,⁹ were maintained virtually untroubled for more than a century until the war with Mithridates was declared in 88 B.C. The Athenians had shown themselves until this moment among the most trusted allies of Rome in Greece, a fact which the Roman Senate recognized in practice by restoring the city's traditional possessions, among them Delos. The decades after the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.) were indeed a period of increased prosperity, since both Athens itself and Delos became important stops on the way between Italy and the new Roman province of Asia. Taking into consideration the progressive Romanization of Athens (and Delos) in vital sectors such as the economy on the one hand¹⁰ and the presence generally of a number of Romans and Italians, mainly during the first century B.C. on the other,¹¹ we are justified in asking the questions whether and to what extent the city's art and monumental environment changed on the whole or at least adapted as new elements were being incorporated and to which individuals the initiative for this was owed.¹²

For many decades, the products of classicism, that is, of the so-called neo-Attic workshops, were at the forefront of the study of Athenian art in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods. Interest focused mainly on those products which Athens – by reason of the authority which it possessed as the preeminent city of art and culture – had to offer its patrons and admirers. Scholars thus became aware that the persistently classicizing and eclectic char-



1. Columns of the SE corner of the Olympieion, from the period of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. (J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* [1971] 408 fig.527).

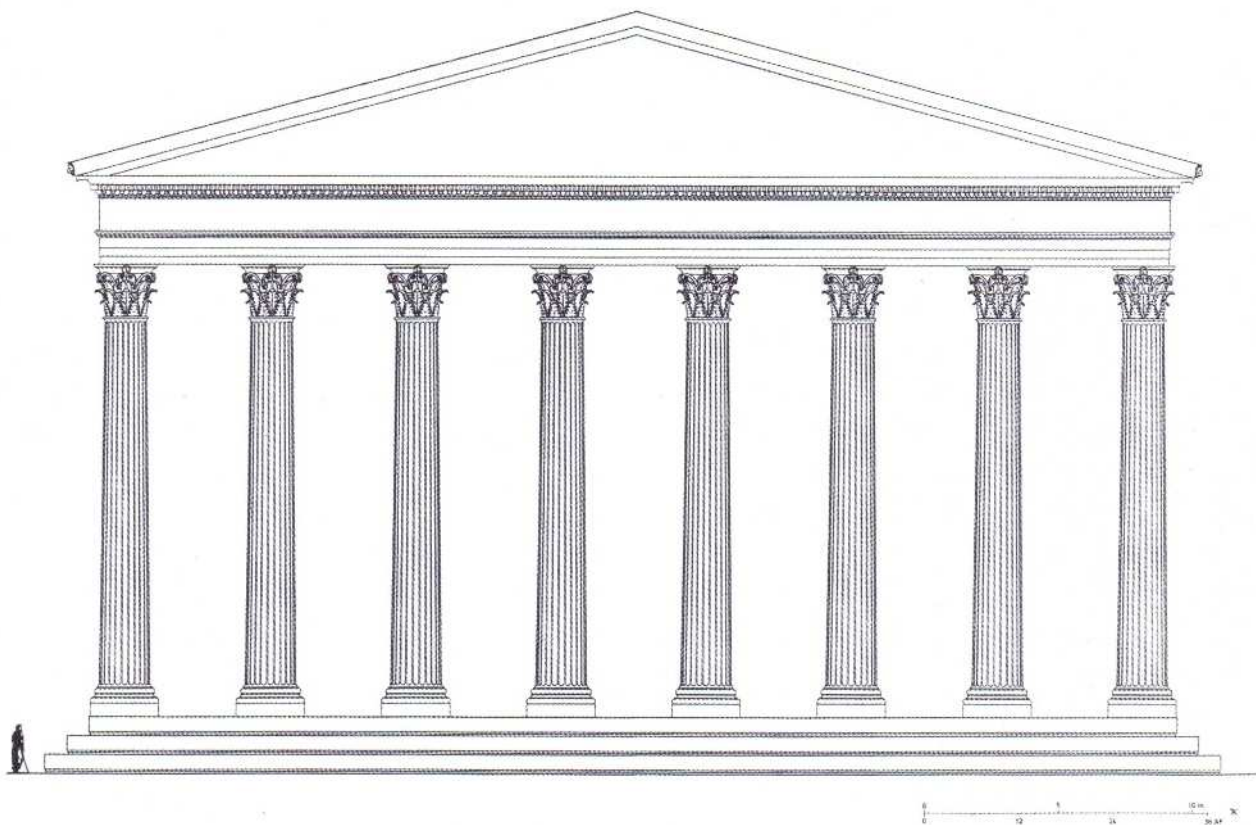
acter of Athens' artistic creations, from the second half of the second century B.C. and onward, was owed to a great degree to demand from the actual end users of the works, namely the wealthy Roman aristocracy. The finds from the Antikythera, Mahdia, and Piraeus wrecks, which comprise cargoes of ships coming from Delos and Athens, in all likelihood, with Italy as their destination, have encouraged discussion about these classicizing creations from many perspectives.¹³ They have enabled scholars to profoundly investigate issues relating not only to prototypes, centers of production, and the artists, prominent among them Athenians, who created works in the neo-Attic style, but also to the customers and their priorities.

If, however, we wish to pose questions relating to Romanization¹⁴ or, better, to the processes through which Athens adapted to Roman models in the context of its incorporation into the Roman imperial system, it is self-evident that the works just mentioned can be taken into

consideration only to the degree that they are seen to reflect the classicizing preferences of their purchasers.¹⁵ We should, therefore, turn to other monumental remains in order to trace changes in the urban form and artistic expression of Athens relative to its new patrons' wishes and preferences as well as to the ways in which the Athenians themselves adapted to the new realities. It is worth mentioning that already back in 1953, in her publication of the portrait sculpture from the Athenian Agora,¹⁶ Evelyn Harrison directed researchers' attention to provincial portraiture in the Empire and of the influence which Rome exercised on the art of Athens. Moreover, archaeological research – originating to a great degree in the excavations in the Agora – has shown increasing interest in Roman Athens which has intensified in the last twenty years, particularly in combination with concurrent historical research.¹⁷ It can be said that interest had focused mainly on two periods during which large-scale building programs radically changed the face of the city: the age of Augustus and the age of Hadrian. Within the bounds of this paper, the Romanization of Athens' monumental landscape cannot possibly be investigated completely. Accordingly, I shall not expand beyond the city of Athens or the age of Augustus. I shall content myself, perforce, with signposts that point to certain significant monuments in the political and religious center of the city which, in my opinion offer reliable information about the manner in which Athens' form changed during the long period when it went along with Rome and about the forces which set this process in motion.

Despite Athens' close relationship with Rome after 200 B.C., Romans appear as benefactors only in the 60s B.C.,¹⁸ well after the city's destruction by Sulla, so that no building until this decade can be connected with Roman patrons. In view of this situation, the presence of a Roman architect already in the first half of the second century B.C. would seem quite unlikely if it were not attested. Although, as we know, the temple of Olympian Zeus was funded by king Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.),¹⁹ it was the creation of the Roman architect Cossutius.²⁰ Antiochus' approximately ten years in Rome as a hostage²¹ and the familiarity he gained with the Roman world explain this choice, which is most probably owed to Cossutius' particular abilities as an engineer, among other factors.²² This individual, who is praised by Vitruvius (7.15) for his achievement,²³ proved himself in fact capable of

Tradition and romanization in the monumental landscape of Athens*



2. Façade of the Olympieion. (R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Das Olympieion in Athen* [1994] Plan 14).

creating a building remarkable for the Hellenistic world²⁴ and paradigmatic for later architecture overall – the first Corinthian peripteral temple, with a unique double colonnade.²⁵ This gigantic edifice combines magnificence with an ornamentality²⁶ that derives from the use of Corinthian capitals (fig.1-2). From this standpoint, what we have is a form that foreshadows the development of Roman architecture.²⁷ Despite these factors, the temple is from every viewpoint an example of Hellenistic architecture²⁸ that assimilates the forms of Classical Greek architecture without a trace of Italian influence, if we exclude the fact that the architect, following the Roman system, used a proportion equivalent to 7/12 of a foot (a *septunx*).²⁹ An inscribed base from the grounds of the Olympieion (*IG II² 4099*) informs us that Cossutius was honoured at Athens with a statue.³⁰ At the same time, Greek artists, some of them Athenian, were being called to Rome to carry out the Roman aristocracy's ambitious artistic programs.³¹

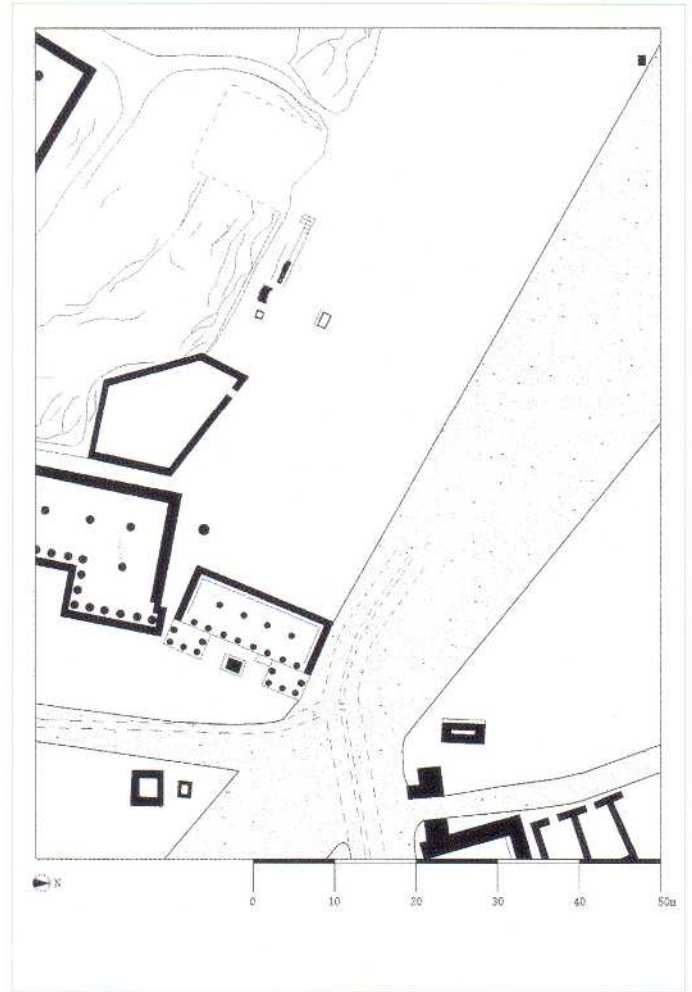
While a Roman architect was putting up the Olympieion's Corinthian columns, however, Rome was invading

Athens on the political and ideological plane. After the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.) at the latest – but perhaps even well before it – the first statues of Roma must have made their appearance, since the new goddess was received by the Athenians with cult honors and a festival, the *Rhomaia*.³² The cult of Roma was certainly established – the exact date is unknown, perhaps in the mid-second century B.C. – next to that of the Demos and the Grace (fig.3-4).³³ The shrine of the Demos and the Graces had been founded by Eurykleides immediately after 229 B.C. on the north slope of the Kolonos Agoraios hill as a symbol of the independence which Athens had just acquired.³⁴ A bitter irony is inherent in the fact that the cult, originally founded to commemorate the city's liberation from the Macedonians and the return of the democracy, was now adapted to receive into its bosom the goddess who represented the new political and military power.³⁵

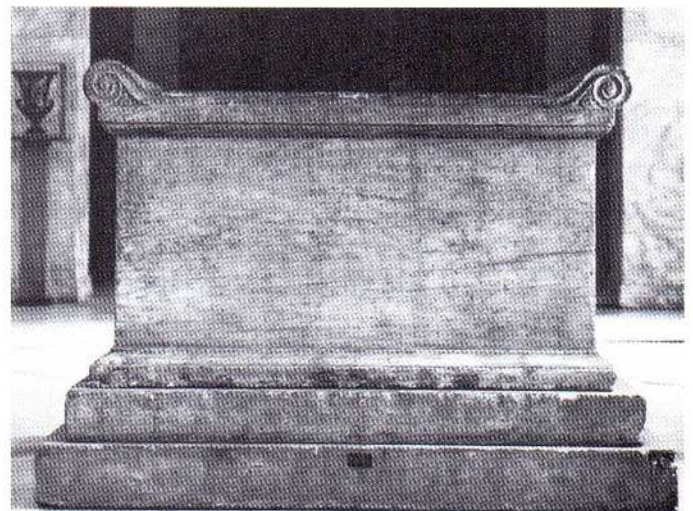
We do not know what form the incarnation of the Roman state first assumed in Athens. The famous statue of the goddess from the later second century B.C. found in

the House of the Poseidoniasts of Beirut on Delos cannot be used to fill this gap because of its unusual iconographic type,³⁶ which is probably due to the fact that the statue originally depicted a different goddess.³⁷ Nevertheless, the Athenian New Style coinage, struck right before the troubles with Mithridates when the pro-Roman party needed to reinforce its position,³⁸ may perhaps convey something of the appearance of the statues of Roma at Athens. On the silver tetradrachms of Xenokles and Ar-moxenos (90/89 B.C.)(fig.5), Roma is depicted next to the owl, seated on a shields and wearing a long garment, with a scepter and sword on her knees; on the coins of Kointos and Kleas minted immediately after (89/88 B.C.)(fig.6), the same figure is crowned by Nike.³⁹ Here, we have to do with an iconographic type which, with certain variations, appears at the same time also in the coinage of Rome itself.⁴⁰ The view that Athenian coinage reproduces some statue of Roma that had been set up at Athens seems quite plausible. The form that it adopted was not unknown to the Hellenistic world, since Athena herself appears with comparable iconographic traits on the coins of Lysimachus (297-281 B.C.). Similarly, the statue of Aetolia seated on arms that the Aetolians had dedicated at Delphi after their successful campaign against the Gauls, is echoed on the coins of the Aetolian League minted after the event (279-168 B.C.).⁴¹

A monument which is directly connected not only with the strength but also the physical presence of the Romans themselves at Athens has been very little commented upon despite its great symbolic significance. From a passage of Poseidonius transmitted by Athenaeus (5.212f), we know that in the Agora in front of the Stoa of Attalus before 88 B.C. was “the Bema ... built by (or for) the Roman generals” (τὸ βῆμα ... ὠκοδομημένον τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς).⁴² This feature has been identified by the excavators with the foundation of a large structure (5.6 m by 8.35 m) located right on the axis of the Stoa(fig.7-8).⁴³ The Bema, whether free-standing in an open space or incorporated into the steps of a temple, is closely connected with the functioning of the Roman forum. The Bema par excellence, the *rostra* in the Forum Romanum,⁴⁴ became the archetype of analogous structures in other Roman cities. In Greek cities, the presence of this type of construction has rarely been confirmed by excavations,⁴⁵ with the exception of Roman colonies. Thus, at Corinth it was one of the first structures built in the new forum of the colony



3. Sanctuary of Demos and the Graces north of Kolonos Agoraios. (C. Monaco, *Contributi allo studio di alcuni santuari ateniesi I*, *ASAtene* 79, 2001, 111 fig.6).



4. Altar of Aphrodite Hegemone, Demos and the Graces. Athens, National Museum 1495. (J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* [1971] 81 fig.103).

Tradition and romanization in the monumental landscape of Athens*

and occupying a central location in front of the South Stoa,⁴⁶ while at Philippi its presence was ascertained in the first building phase of the forum.⁴⁷ In the agora of a “free” Greek city such as Athens, however, it was an unheard-of element. I think it undoubtedly acquired a particular symbolism independent of whether it was used constantly or only occasionally.⁴⁸ Hence, the fact that on the eve of the rupture with Rome in 88 B.C. it constituted a focal point for the events that occurred is not at all fortuitous. To it ascended the philosopher Athenion who, a little while earlier, had led a delegation to Mithridates. After he reported on the king’s successes against the Romans, advising the Athenians no longer to endure the *anarchia* which the Roman Senate had provoked in the city,⁴⁹ the crowd rushed to the principal meeting place for the citizens of Athens in that period, the Theater of Dionysus, and elected him hoplite general. It was perhaps one of the last times when the people of Athens assembled in the open square of the Agora before it was taken over by the massive Odeion of Agrippa a few decades later.

From one viewpoint, we can regard Athens’ Roman period in its fullest sense as beginning after the destruction caused by Sulla. This is not only because the Athenians had tasted the negative side of Roman power for the first time, but also because after the period of economic depression following the destruction,⁵⁰ it was principally Roman generals who undertook the new major building projects in Athens, if we except certain rulers of lesser kingdoms. The Romans presented themselves as its benefactors, offering the city great gifts in the fashion of Hellenistic monarchs. Pompey was the first. In 62 B.C., having already won the affection of the Athenians and been honored by them, he gave the city the sum of 50 talents for restoration work (Plut. *Pomp.* 42.5-6).⁵¹ We are better informed about the gift of equal value Julius Caesar made to the Athenians on the eve of his clash with Pompey at Pharsalus.

Before I turn to the new market, however, the building complex that began with Caesar’s gift,⁵² I think it is appropriate to make a brief mention of one of the few examples of building programs in this period,⁵³ namely the rebuilding of the Odeion of Pericles on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis (fig.14). The building had been burned down as ordered by the tyrant Aristion when Sulla’s troops were overrunning the city (App. *Mith.* 38). King Ariobarzanes II of Cappadocia (65-52 B.C.), who

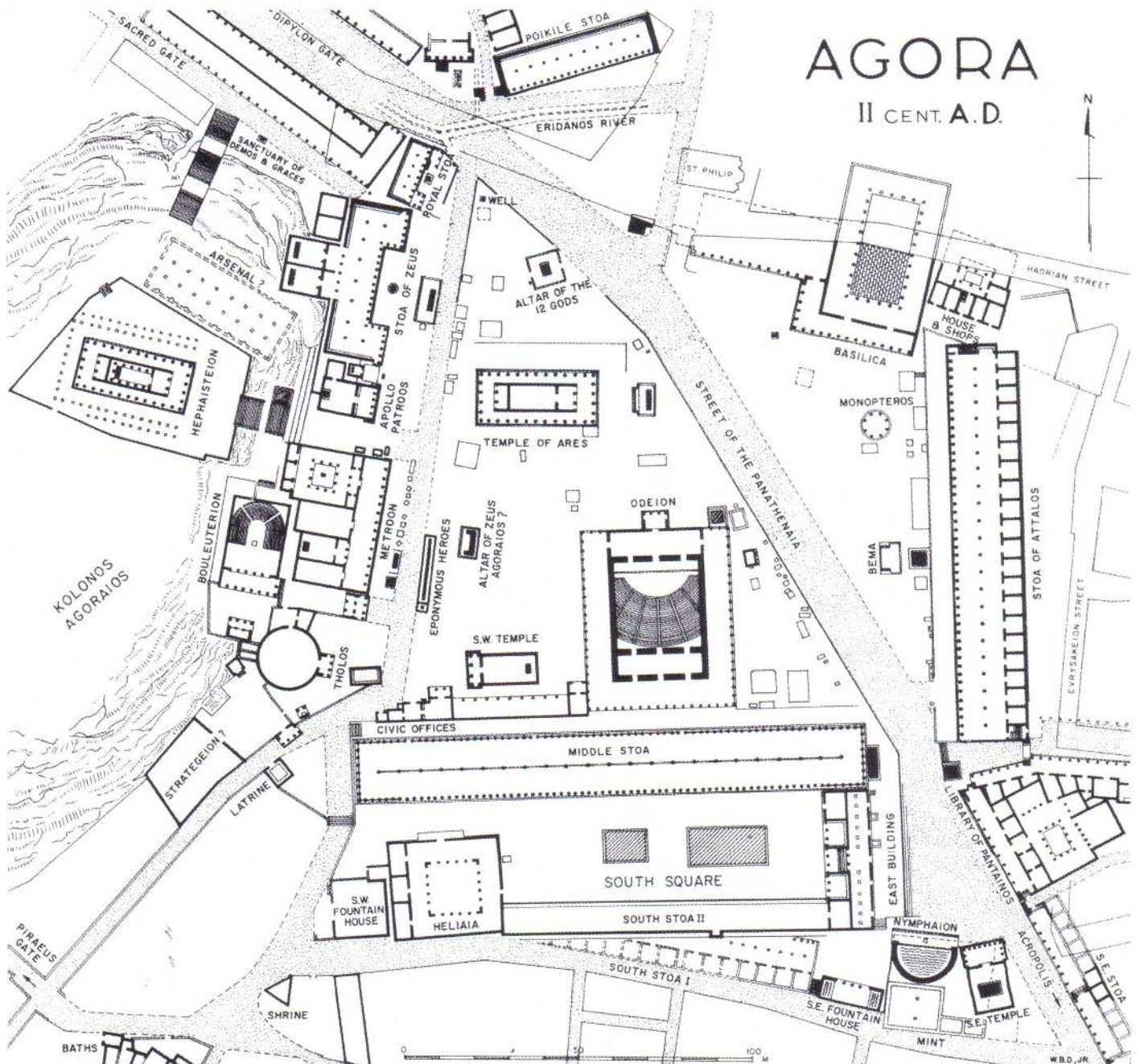


5. Silver tetradrachm of Xenokles and Harmoxenos with Roma, 90/89 B.C. (M. Thompson, *The new Style Silver Coinage of Athens* [1961] pl. 123 [1120]).

6. Silver tetradrachm of Kointos and Kleas with Roma and Nike, 89/88 B.C. (M. Thompson, *The new Style Silver Coinage of Athens* [1961] pl. 124 [1125]).

had been a student at Athens, saw to the restoration of this ancient edifice and was honored by the *demos* with a portrait statue in the Theater of Dionysus adjacent to the Odeion (*IG II²* 3427).⁵⁴ Three architects undertook the work – two Roman brothers, Gaius and Marius Stalilius by name, and Melanippus, a Greek.⁵⁵ The information, supplied by Vitruvius, that the architects rebuilt the Odeion in accordance with its ancient plan, as a hypostyle hall, is especially significant since it is also corroborated by what remains of the building.⁵⁶ This is remarkable, given that in Italy the architectural form of the Roman concert hall with inscribed *cavea* had already been devised, as we will mention later on in connection with the Odeion of Agrippa.⁵⁷ It is obvious that the Periclean edifice was perceived as a venerable monument of Athens’ ancient civilization⁵⁸ that did not admit of innovative interventions; the patron was obliged to preserve its form and with it the symbolism which the building exuded. The same thing happened a few decades later with the restoration of the Erechtheion on the Acropolis, as well as with other monuments of Athens.⁵⁹ We can thus affirm that at least as far as the restoration of old buildings was concerned, the primacy of tradition was absolute and conscious not only on the Athenians’ part but also on their patrons.

The Market of Caesar and Augustus⁶⁰ (fig.9-10) constitutes, in contrast to the aforementioned instance, a new building program most likely intended to restore Athens’ commercial economy, which had been severely curtailed by the Sullan destruction.⁶¹ The complex was funded in



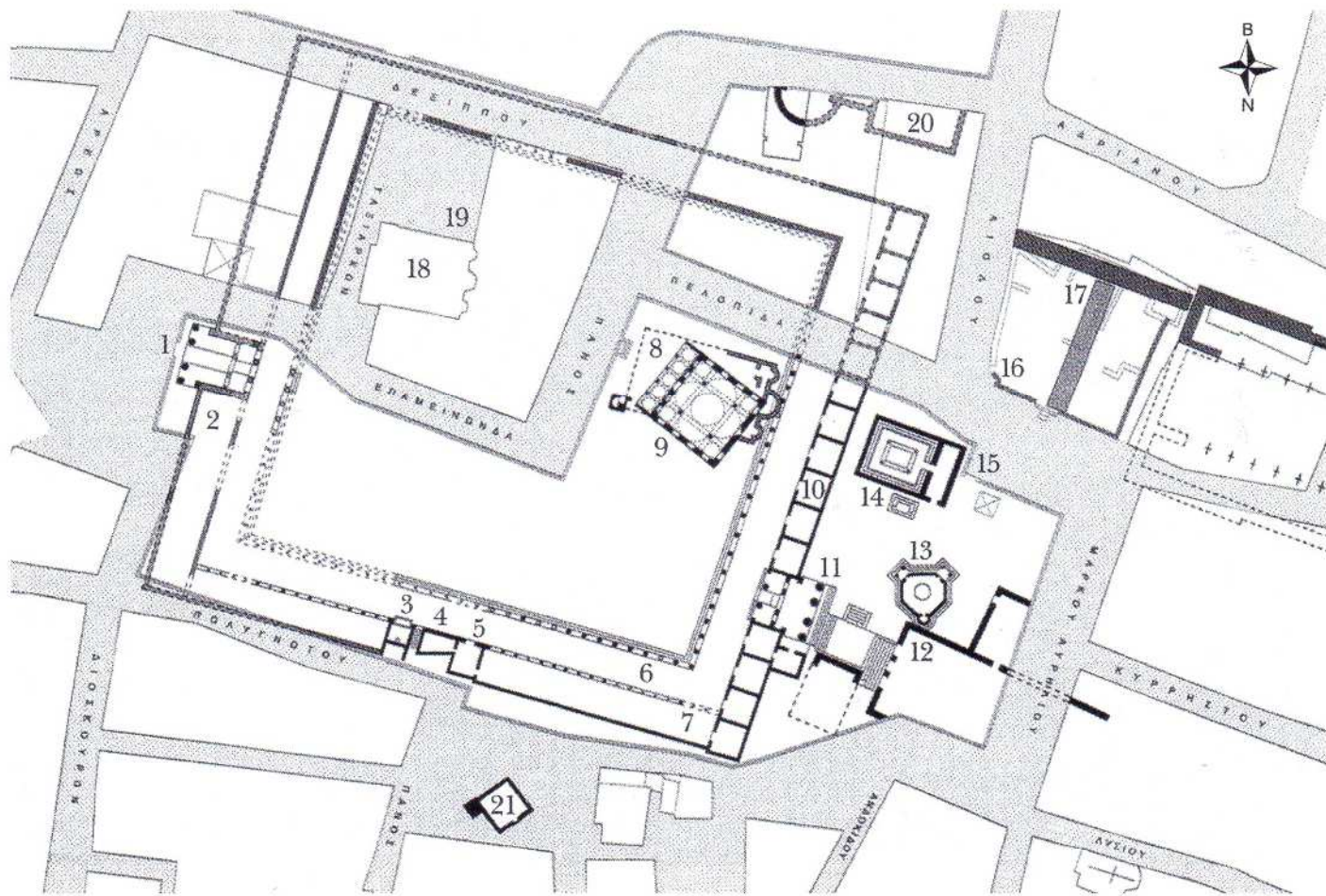
7. Agora of Athens in about 150 A.D. (J. M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora* [1986] 182 fig.153).



8. Bema of the Roman generals in front of the Attalos Stoa. Author's photograph.

two phases, according to the inscription on the propylon of Athena Archegetis and the supplementary details we can extract from Cicero's writings. Herodes of Marathon, who had served as Athens' eponymous archon (60/59 B.C.), secured 50 talents from Caesar for the city's account. The funds were given in 51 B.C.,⁶² but we can assume that the plan for the market had already been envisaged and even worked out by the Athenians at the moment when their request for funding was submitted.⁶³

Tradition and romanization in the monumental landscape of Athens*



9. Market of Caesar and Augustus. (*Ρωμαϊκή Αγορά – Βιβλιοθήκη Αδριανού. Σύντομο ιστορικό και περιήγηση* [2004] 3 fig.1 with permission of the Α' ΕΡΚΑ).

In any case, the complex, for which preliminary work had likely begun before the battle of Pharsalus,⁶⁴ constitutes a made-in-Athens program and should be recognized as such. A commercial market complex was signally lacking at Athens, in contrast to what was happening in other cities of the Greek East, including Piraeus and Delos,⁶⁵ and the generally accepted commercial character of this market is confirmed by epigraphical testimonia.⁶⁶ The notion that the final destruction of Delos in 69 B.C., which forced many merchants to take refuge in Athens, constituted valid grounds for undertaking the program under discussion thus becomes very plausible.⁶⁷

The plan for the complex is easily grasped: it follows that of the completely enclosed peristyle marketplace, which makes its first appearance at the beginning of the Hellenistic age and subsequently becomes widespread, particularly in the second century B.C.⁶⁸ It is worth noting that this scheme is adopted very early on for agoras of

a specifically commercial nature as well.⁶⁹ Accordingly, there is no reason for us to trace the market form mentioned back to Roman models;⁷⁰ in contrast, it constitutes another example within the series of comparable Hellenistic agoras.

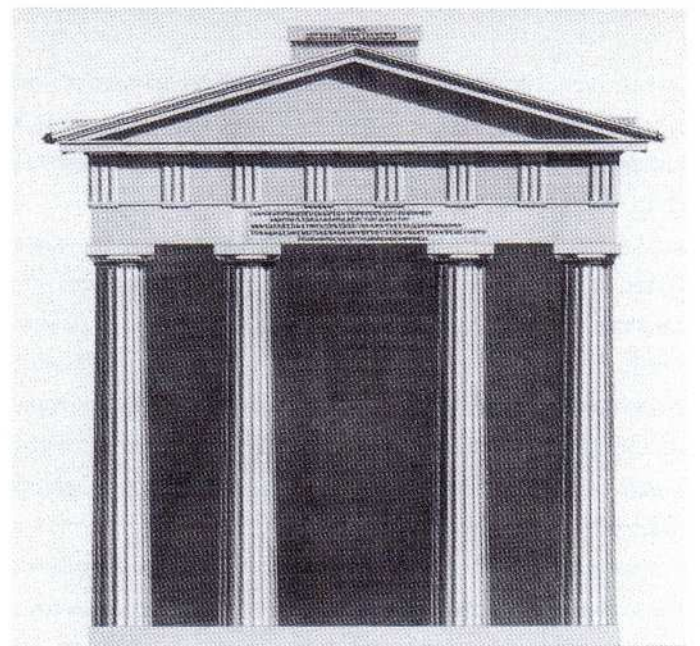
Despite this, the idea that the plan for this agora is connected with the Caesarea which appears in the East from the first century B.C., as well as with the Forum of Caesar (Forum Iulium) at Rome, has resonated strongly among scholars.⁷¹ This theory originates in the fact that a few months before his visit to Athens, as we know from literary sources, Julius Caesar⁷² inaugurated one Caesareum at Antioch and another at Alexandria, both appointed for his cult,⁷³ while in 46 B.C. he inaugurated the Forum Iulium at Rome, the great colonnaded complex that encloses the temple of Venus Genetrix.⁷⁴ If, however, we take into account the fact that, besides appearing in marketplaces, the closed peristyle complex plan was also employed very wide-



10. View of the Agora of Caesar and Augustus from the east. Author's photograph.

ly in the sanctuaries of the Hellenistic world, indeed with the temple frequently incorporated into its interior,⁷⁵ then mentioning the Caesarea seems completely superfluous, all the more since the complex in Athens lacks a temple.⁷⁶ Finally, since the idea for the market's plan originated in the period before the battle of Pharsalus, historical reasons make it impossible to link it with the Caesarea.

Connected with the theory mentioned above is the view that the Market of Caesar and Augustus, while functioning as a commercial facility, became the foremost center of the Imperial cult in the time of Augustus, given that several small monolithic altars dedicated to Augustus were found in the area.⁷⁷ The peristyle is understood in this interpretation as a “magnificent forecourt” to the temple of the emperors, which has been identified with the long arcuated building at its east end, the so-called Agoranomeion (fig.9no.12;fig.13).⁷⁸ Nevertheless, no element – not even the inscription on the epistyle that bears a dedication to the *theoi Sebastoi* (and to Athena Arche-



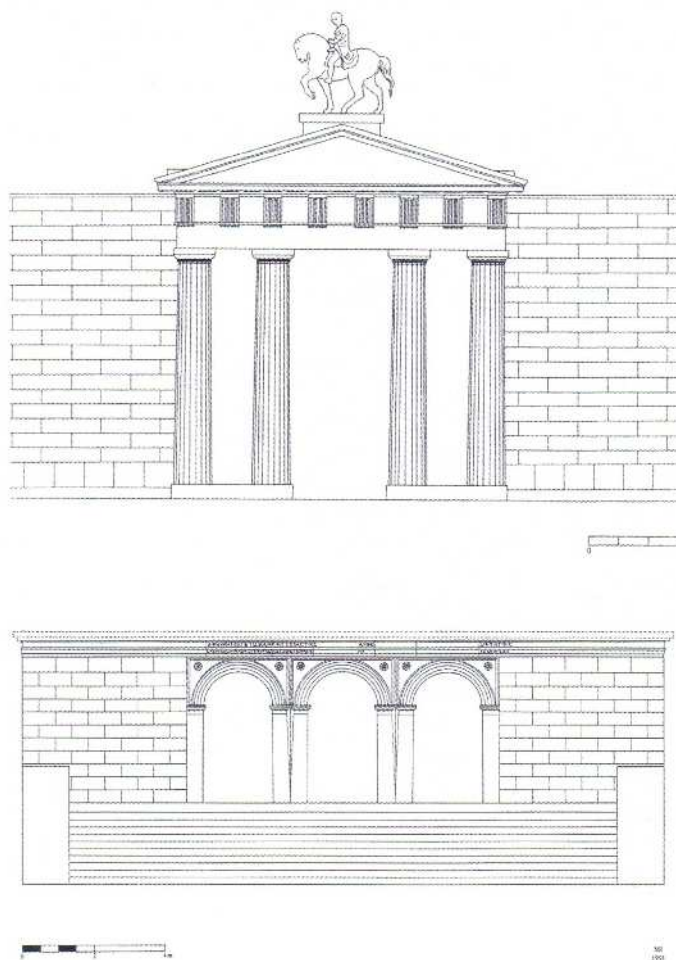
11. Gate of Athena Archegetis, engraving J. Stuart – N. Revett. (M.C. Hoff, *An Equestrian Statue of Lucius Caesar in Athens Reconsidered*, AA 2001), 585 fig. 3).

Tradition and romanization in the monumental landscape of Athens*

getis) – offers evidence to support such a proposition, still less the fact that this building, whose function remains problematic, belongs to the period of Claudius or Nero precisely because of the inscription.⁷⁹ Consequently, we should recognize that the plan and the Roman Agora – to put it more correctly, the commercial Agora of Athens – was a program of the Athenian *demos* that can reliably be situated within Hellenistic tradition, whereas nothing in the form or function of this complex constitutes evidence for the introduction of innovative elements.⁸⁰

At this point, I think it is relevant to cite the findings of Christian Habicht. After examining the presence of Romans at Athens down to the battle of Actium, he reached the conclusion that “there was very little ‘Romanization’ of Athens. The city was and basically remained Greek.”⁸¹ Despite this, it would not be correct to assert that down to the end of the first century B.C., having restored its ancient monuments, Athens succeeded in maintaining its character as a Hellenistic city, and that before the age of Augustus there was practically nothing in its public spaces to remind anyone of Rome. The opposite view is supported, in the first place, by the presence of those same Romans, who were in the city either as part of state missions or in search of intellectual cultivation in the philosophical schools there or, again, because they had chosen Athens as their permanent residence, such as Cicero’s friend T. Pomponius Atticus.⁸²

As well, the first statues of Roman officials had already made their appearance on the Acropolis probably from the late second/early first century, when Sextus and Gnaeus Pompeius were honored (120 and 92 B.C.), the grandfather and father of Pompey the Great.⁸³ Such statues certainly proliferated in the interval from Sulla to Antony.⁸⁴ We should imagine these honorific statues were for the most part cuirassed, a type that was familiar in the Hellenistic world; we have examples of it from Delos for this period.⁸⁵ For certain of the honorands to be depicted wearing togas seems rather incredible, considering that togate statues do not appear among the types current in Greece before the age of Augustus, while at Eleusis the type is scarcely attested in the age of Caligula or Claudius.⁸⁶ In the treatment of the heads, elements of ‘realistic’ portraiture would originally have been adopted in accordance with the prevailing tendencies throughout the Hellenistic world (including Rome), mainly in the late Hellenistic/Republican period.⁸⁷ Around the first half of the first cen-

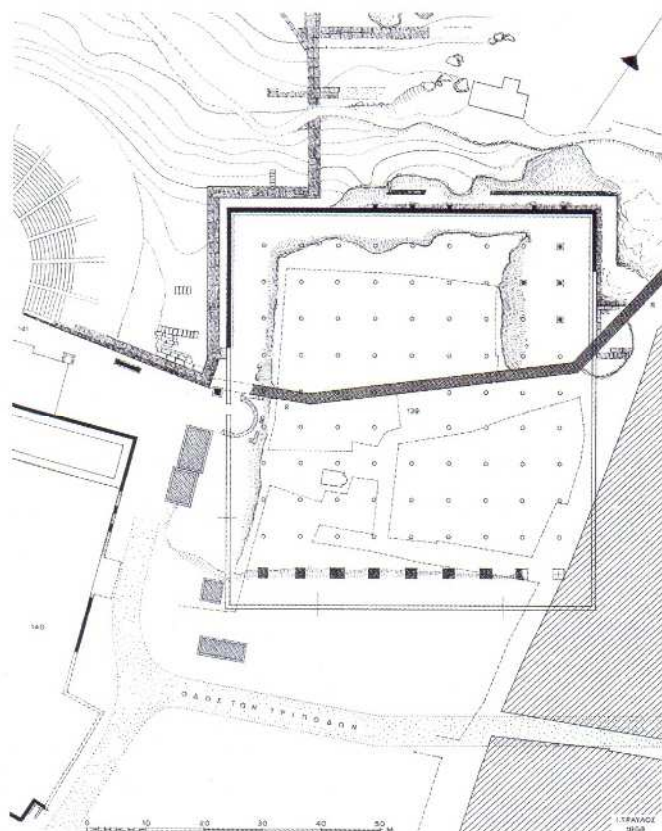


12. Reconstruction drawing of the Gate of Athena Archegetis. (M. C. Hoff, *An Equestrian Statue of Lucius Caesar in Athens Reconsidered*, *AA* 2001, 592 fig.13).

13. Elevation of the west façade of the so-called Agoranomeion. (M. C. Hoff, *The politics and architecture of the Athenian imperial cult*, in: *Subject and Ruler. Papers presented at a conference held in the University of Alberta on April 13-15, 1994* [= *JRA Suppl.* 17, 1996] 199 fig.8).

tury B.C. at Rome, the large group of so-called realistic Republican portraits appears, strikingly aloof from the emotion-filled types traditional in Hellenistic sculpture, and goes on to develop a considerable variety of forms.⁸⁸

In what manner portraiture develops in Greek space during the same period – should we accept the fact of Roman influence and ask how it operated – is a question that needs to be investigated even more systematically. If we keep to Evelyn Harrison’s view, we would have to agree that the first portraits of this group appear in Athens under the influence of Rome immediately after



14. Remains of the Odeion of Perikles. (J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* [1971] 389 fig.502).

the middle of the first century B.C.⁸⁹ One of the most beautiful examples of this style is the head S 333 from the Athenian Agora,⁹⁰ which does in fact seem to follow Roman models⁹¹. Recently, an incompletely preserved head in the Acropolis Museum has been dated earlier, to the age of Sulla, and in fact suggested to be a portrait of Sulla himself. Nevertheless, the Acropolis head's relationship to the portrait types of Julius Caesar should be examined. At any rate, leading personalities who had pretensions to prominence and made great artistic demands, such as Julius Caesar or the new tyrannicides Brutus and Cassius, would adopt this manner of depiction for their statues at Athens as well.⁹²

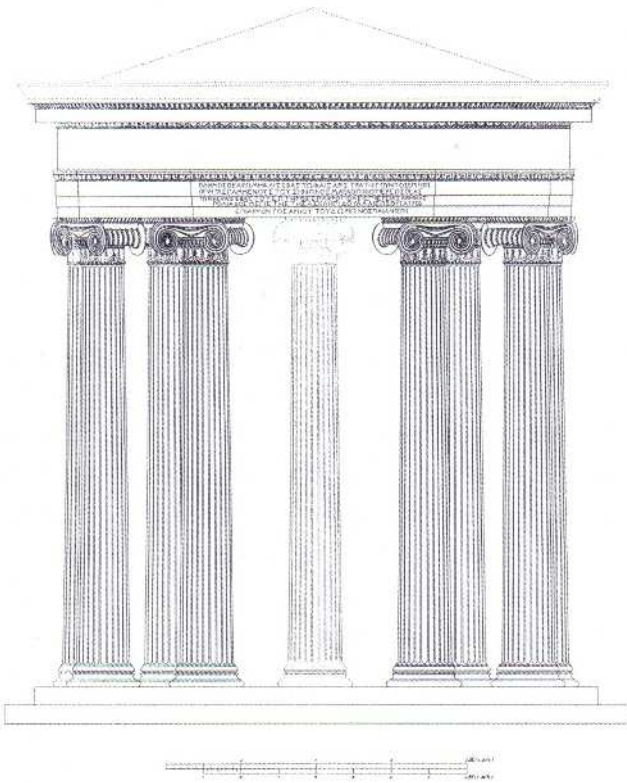
For the time being, it is unknown to what extent the new style gained acceptance in Athens and whether it had to do only with depictions of Romans or also affected the portraits of members of the Athenian elite, who would consciously have followed the new Roman models, as would happen a little while later with Imperial portraiture. Nevertheless, the grave stelai of the period,⁹³ whose

production increased during the first century B.C.⁹⁴ after being absent or, let us say, sparsely represented for nearly two centuries, preserved the old traditions to a high degree.⁹⁵ The small size and mediocre artistic quality of these works did not facilitate the successful adoption and reproduction of the new styles that had arrived from Rome.

In the age of Augustus, Athens experienced a new building boom⁹⁶ comparable to those of the age of Lycurgus and the second century B.C. Despite Octavian's displeasure at the position taken by the Athenians in the war against Antony and despite the unfavorable atmosphere between the emperor and the Athenians for a certain length of time,⁹⁷ Athens found itself at the epicenter of Augustan politics by reason of its great cultural authority, which made it a crucial instrument of the ruler's propaganda vis-à-vis the cities of the Greek East.⁹⁸ Augustus himself visited the city three times and was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries in 31 and in 19 B.C.⁹⁹ Understood to lie beneath these circumstances, are the large-scale building programs which the Imperial house undertook on its own with Agrippa as the prime mover. Nevertheless, initiatives also came from the Athenians, primarily from the *demos*, even if, at least in certain cases, they were once again realized with government funding. An embassy led by Eucles, son of Herodes of Marathon, likely in 19 B.C., ensured money for the continuation of work on the commercial Agora that had been somewhat interrupted, perhaps immediately after Pharsalus.¹⁰⁰

Some scholars believe that the construction of the complex belongs mainly to this second (Augustan) period (fig.9-10);¹⁰¹ according to the inscription on its Doric propylon (fig.9no.1; fig.11), it was inaugurated in the archonship of Nikias, around 10 B.C.¹⁰² Even if the separate phases of its construction – supposing they exist – require further documentation,¹⁰³ its classicizing characteristics are readily apparent. For the Doric propylon, the architect used the Propylaia of Mnesikles as his model; for the elongated proportions of the columns, however, he was influenced by contemporary buildings of the Augustan age, as comparison with the Caesareum of Cyrene shows.¹⁰⁴ This Agora, with its traditional layout (as we have already seen), the austere appearance of its architectural style, and economical construction,¹⁰⁵ is a work of the Athenian *demos* both in its conception and its execution; it is Roman only as far as the source of the financial means is concerned.¹⁰⁶

Tradition and romanization in the monumental landscape of Athens*



15. Reconstructed elevation of the Acropolis monopteros. (M. Bruskari, *Ta μνημεία της Ακρόπολης* [1996] 160 fig.109).



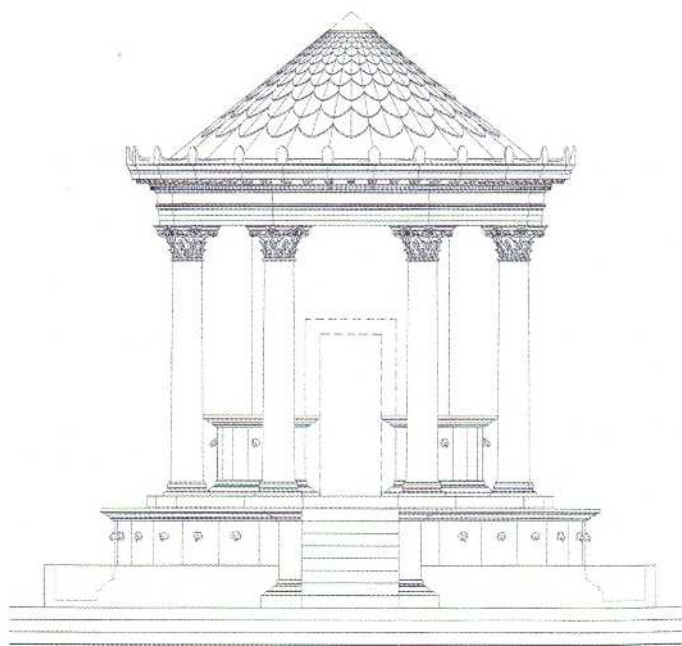
16. Cistophorus, Pergamum, 19 B.C. (P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* [1987] 190 fig.145a).

17. Denarius, Spain, 19/18 B.C. (P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* [1987] 115 fig.89b).

A little later, nevertheless, this Doric propylon acquired the appearance of a Roman monument. On the initiative of the *demos*, a statue, probably equestrian, of Lucius Caesar¹⁰⁷ was installed as its central acroterion (fig.12), as we learn from its inscribed base, now lost.¹⁰⁸ The gate of Athena Archegetis was thus transformed into a monument in honor of the young grandson and heir of Augustus; the honorific arch at Pisa, which was intended to support posthumous statues of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, offers a parallel.¹⁰⁹ The present case is most probably not a matter of posthumous honors;¹¹⁰ for this reason, the most likely date for the statue's erection seems to be 1 B.C., the date of Gaius Caesar's visit to Athens, according to Halfmann.¹¹¹ Gaius himself, who as we know was then called the 'New Ares,'¹¹² would at that time have been honored with some monument in a location still more important and conspicuous than his younger brother, most likely in the Ancient Agora.¹¹³

Another initiative of the Athenian *demos* is represented by the little monopteros on the Acropolis (fig.15),¹¹⁴ which was dedicated to Augustus and Roma, most likely in 20/19 or 19/18 B.C.,¹¹⁵ at a very important moment for Athens' relations with Imperial Rome.¹¹⁶ Here we are dealing with the earliest temple of the Imperial cult in Athens and one of the earliest in the East.¹¹⁷ The efforts of contemporary scholarship, which with a certain overstated insistence looks everywhere for evidence of Romanization searching for elements that reflect Roman forms and models at Athens,¹¹⁸ have led them to propose interpretations that lack adequate proof. In this context, the monopteros has recently been hypothesized to have housed the cult of Hestia, which is epigraphically attested on the Acropolis, together with the cult of Augustus and Roma. This would mean we have an edifice corresponding to the circular temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum,¹¹⁹ despite the fact that the latter is a temple with a closed cella, essential for keeping a fire alight.¹²⁰

For the most part, however, scholarship has been dominated by the view that the prototype for the building in Athens was the almost contemporary temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitolium in Rome which, according to Cassius Dio (54.8.2-3), was intended to house the standards (*signa*) which Crassus had lost in 53 B.C. and which the Parthians returned to the Romans after successful diplomatic maneuvering by Augustus (20 B.C.).¹²¹ In other words, the monopteros at Athens was a twin of the Ro-



18. Monopteros in the Agora of Argos. (P. Marchetti, K. Kolokotsas, C. Abadie-Reynal, *Le nymphée de l'Agora d'Argos. Fouille, étude architecturale et historique*, [= *Études péloponnésiennes*, XI, 1995] Plan 9).

man edifice, which during Augustus' stay in Athens in 19 B.C. would have housed the *signa*. Accordingly, it was in essence a victory monument through which Rome's success against the Parthians was paralleled by the victories of the Greeks against the Persians.¹²² The actual dedicatory inscription, however, is by no means conducive to such beliefs.

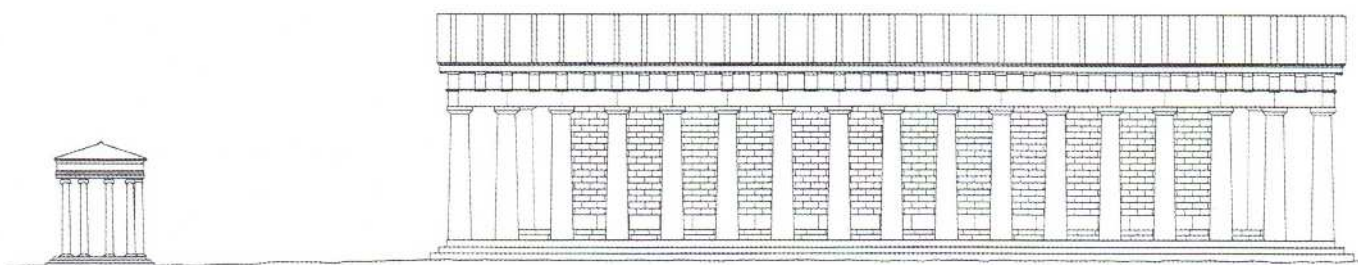
As I see it, the very architecture of the Athens monopteros constitutes the key issue as far as understanding this edifice is concerned. Not one of its elements supports, even in an indirect manner, the notion that it alludes to the Temple of Mars in Rome.¹²³ The existence of that edifice – which according to the most recent scholarly opinions was designed but never built, since it was finally decided to build the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus¹²⁴ – is known to us only from coins of cities in Asia Minor and Spain that were issued in the year 19/18 B.C.(fig.16-17).¹²⁵ What these coins show is a circular construction on an elevated *crepis* with a domed or conical roof and a Corinthian tetrastyle pteron whose lateral intercolumniations in certain depictions appear to be closed. The restoration of its form is disputed; in any

case bears only a very general resemblance to the monopteros of the Acropolis.¹²⁶ Besides, the Athenian edifice can be simply interpreted in the context of the Greek architectural tradition. The monopteros type, as currently understood by scholars, is a Greek architectural creation that continues into the Roman imperial period as well in Greece.¹²⁷ The monopteros is a member of the large class of circular buildings (*tholoi*) and, according to Florian Seiler, it can be claimed that, after a fashion, it represents a continuation of the circular peripteral edifices that become exceptionally rare in the Hellenistic period.¹²⁸

Furthermore, the edifice on the Acropolis, with an open pteron rising above a simple *crepis* and most likely with some sort of conical roof,¹²⁹ retains the character of a work of Classical Greek architecture,¹³⁰ in contrast to other monopteroi of the period even on Greek soil, which usually rest on a high podium with steps leading up to the cella, according to Vitruvius' precepts (4.8.1)(fig.18), or even crown some other more complex construction.¹³¹ Besides, the dependence of its architectural members on fifth-century models is indisputable, despite the fact that their proportions underwent further development.¹³² I find extreme the recently expressed view that Athens' classicizing preferences are due to the influence exerted by Rome – which, as we know, used Classical models very widely during the age of Augustus, especially the Erechtheion – and that Classicism consequently constitutes an indication of Romanization.¹³³ In the case at hand, it is evident that the Erechtheion's extensive restoration program,¹³⁴ which was carried out at the same time that the small monopteros was built, and perhaps even by the same architect, influenced more than just this little Ionic building's architectural style.¹³⁵ The monopteros' close relationship with the Erechtheion also determined its symbolism through the connections to which it laid claim visually. The new edifice, even if it was much smaller than and inferior in quality to the Erechtheion,¹³⁶ alluded to that venerable fifth-century monument and appropriated something of its sacredness.

Accordingly, there is no reason that leads us to associate this building with Roman models as regards architectural form. In addition, as far as its function is concerned, the monopteros stands in the tradition of circular buildings (*tholoi* and *monopteroi*) in Greek areas, which are connected in a fair number of cases with cults, usually hero-cults;¹³⁷ in certain cases, however, it seems they housed

Tradition and romanization in the monumental landscape of Athens*



19. Elevation of the Temple of Roma and Augustus and the Parthenon. (M. C. Hoff, *The politics and architecture of the Athenian imperial cult*, in: *Subject and Ruler. Papers presented at a conference held in the University of Alberta on April 13-15, 1994* [= *JRA Suppl.* 17, 1996] 187 fig.3).

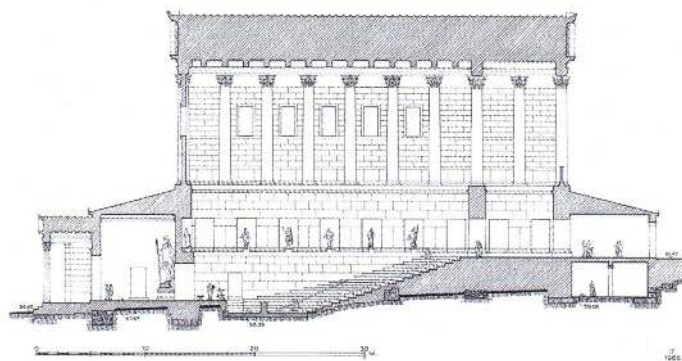
the emperor cult as well. Thus, for example, in the Agora of Elis there was, according to Pausanias (6.24.10),¹³⁸ “an old temple surrounded by columns; ... it is dedicated to the Roman emperors” (ναὸς ἀρχαῖος στοαῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περίστυλος ... βασιλεῦσι δὲ ἀνεῖται Ῥωμαίους).¹³⁹ Keeping the building’s actual dedicatory inscription in mind, I think we need not doubt about the fact that the monopteros on the Acropolis was intended to welcome the cult and, in consequence, the statues of Augustus and Roma.¹⁴⁰ Despite its diminutive dimensions (diameter of stylobate 7.354 m), it could have accommodated two larger than life-size statues with great ease.¹⁴¹

In the end, however, the fact that the monopteros was intended for the cult of the emperor at the municipal (not provincial) level is also important for understanding the structure. This means that the initiative for the temple’s location, size, and form would most likely have been within the exclusive jurisdiction of the *demos*, which would have had the freedom to make decisions based on its own criteria, as happened in such cases.¹⁴² Thus, it is not so strange that it adopted a Greek style of architecture and that the new divinities were placed on a level clearly inferior to that of the city’s ancient gods; on the other hand, the choice of a monopteros enabled the work to be contracted out in a cost-effective way, which moreover affirms the Athenians’ intention not to overstep the bounds in granting honors to the Emperor, and at the same time afforded the potential for immediate viewing of the statues. It is nevertheless important to state that the monopteros was the only new building added to the rock of the Acropolis

since the time of the great construction projects,¹⁴³ and that according to the *opinio communis* it was placed in a key location in front of the eastern façade of the Parthenon, directly aligned with that edifice (fig.19).¹⁴⁴

While the image of the Acropolis remained virtually unchanged, evidently as a mark of respect for the sacredness of the place, the opposite happened in the ancient Agora (fig.7), the political center of Athens. At this location, a highly ambitious building program was implemented that was due to the initiative not of the *demos* but obviously of the central authority itself. From the extensive discussions in reference to the edifices of this era, which radically changed the face of the Agora, I would like to extract certain conclusions that would serve my purposes here.

There should be no doubt that the centerpiece of the wider remodeling of the monumental landscape of the Agora is the Odeion of Agrippa (fig.7,20),¹⁴⁵ the magnificent roofed theater that was probably inaugurated between 16 and 14 B.C.¹⁴⁶ This building, with its covered *auditorium*, adopted the type of the Hellenistic bouleterion (*theatrum tectum*) in its most highly developed form, without internal supports and with the lateral sections of the *cavea* trimmed away.¹⁴⁷ The erection of a stage transformed it into an odeion (concert hall).¹⁴⁸ These attributes, however, already appear in the small roofed theater of Pompeii, which was built a short time after the foundation of the colony in 80 B.C. and acquired a stage when it was renovated in the time of Augustus.¹⁴⁹ The similarities between the Pompeii building and the one in Athens, as it



20. The Odeion of Agrippa, restored longitudinal section. (J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* [1971] 369 fig.473).

has frequently been noted, are very close concerning their plans. It has been therefore assumed that the architect who worked at Athens knew the theater at Pompeii and perhaps even used its design.¹⁵⁰ Besides, its simultaneous incorporation of not only contemporary Roman architectural forms but also those of the East and of Athens itself,¹⁵¹ its lavish construction¹⁵² and, on a technical level, the exceptionally daring solution it offers to the roofing of the large interior space (25 m wide)¹⁵³ render this building an outstanding example of Augustan architecture.¹⁵⁴

To these features we should also add the Odeion's carefully considered setting in the landscape: it is aligned with the north-south axis of the Agora and occupies a central position, in front of the façade of the pre-existing Middle Stoa (fig.21-22), creating a strikingly theatrical setting. Indeed, if we bear in mind that during the same period the last opening onto the north side of the square was closed by the erection of a stoa-type construction in the Ionic order, likewise lavish,¹⁵⁵ we can regard the Odeion as the central edifice in a closed square.¹⁵⁶ We can thus appreciate the immense significance the new building acquired, and the symbolism it would have broadcast to the contemporary viewer.¹⁵⁷ In its bulk and consequence, the gift of Agrippa had outclassed all of the previous gifts to Athens.¹⁵⁸ It is moreover virtually self-evident that the contemporary viewer would have compared it with the ancient Odeion. The Odeion of Pericles, as we have mentioned, had been restored some decades before, which made the luxury of erecting a new building for

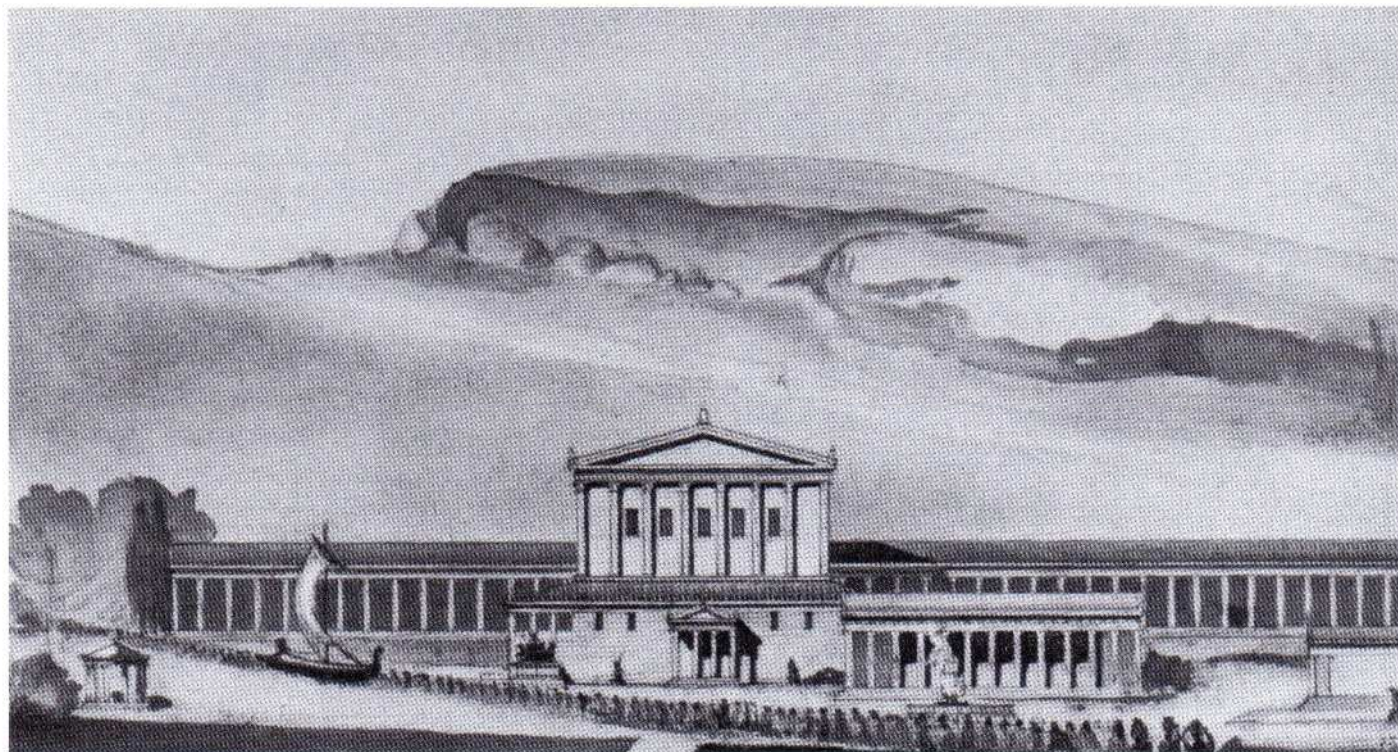
the same purpose unnecessary.¹⁵⁹ The ways in which the new Odeion paralleled the fifth-century building would thus have been quite inescapable at that period; still more perhaps the parallel between the modern general and the fifth-century one.

It is thus a fact, that with the Odeion Athens acquired its first structure built 'to modern specifications,' indeed the first Roman building in its history, which was moreover planned on the basis of prevailing Roman architectural conceptions regarding the organization of monumental space. This modern construction nevertheless rose in the heart of the Agora together with an ancient and venerable building, a Classical temple in the Doric order (fig.7,22,24)¹⁶⁰ that had been moved from some Attic sanctuary and been installed there. I wish to indicate that I side with those scholars who agree that this represents a unified program of the age of Augustus, primarily since the Odeion and the temple are on the same axis,¹⁶¹ even if the projects were not executed at absolutely the same time.¹⁶² We now know that the temple was moved from Pallene. The foundations of the peripteral building that were discovered recently at Stavros in Agia Paraskevi (fig.23),¹⁶³ in an area which belonged to the ancient *deme* of Pallene, have been identified as the temple of Athena Pallenis,¹⁶⁴ while studying them has led Manolis Korres¹⁶⁵ to argue that we are dealing with the temple which was moved to the Agora and which, relying on the well known reference in Pausanias (1.8.4), we agree housed the cult of Ares.

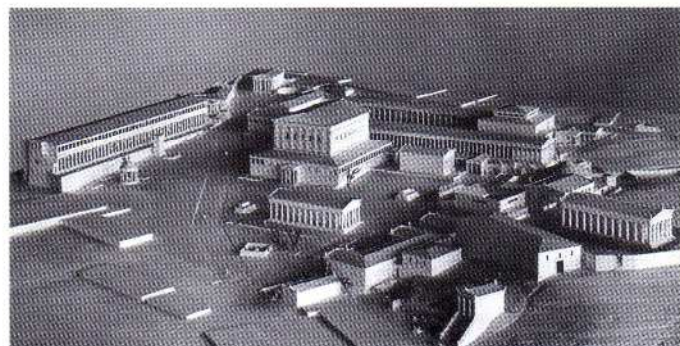
The questions which we are now called upon to answer are two. (1) Why was the temple in question moved to the Athenian Agora, since in the context of Agrippa's sumptuous building program a new one could have been built, indeed one designed in accordance with Roman models, i.e. as a podium temple? (2) Did its transplantation have any correlation with the goddess worshipped in it (Athena Pallenis) or was this old temple regarded as suitable to be moved only by virtue of its architectural style and form in order to receive a new cult (that of Ares) without regard to its original occupant? These two questions are not completely independent of each other and will thus need to be answered concurrently.

In the first place, it is important to emphasize something that has often been said, that the establishment of the cult of Ares in the center of Athens is due to the importance which this god had acquired in the age of Augustus

Tradition and romanization in the monumental landscape of Athens*



21. North façade of the Odeion of Agrippa and Middle Stoa, restored. (J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* [1971] 366 fig.469).



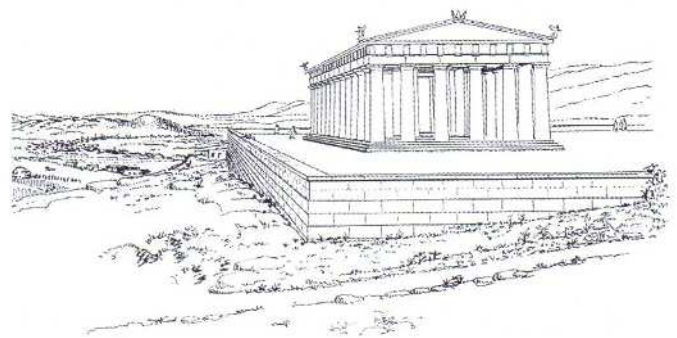
22. Model of the Agora from NW (H. A. Thompson – R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens* [= *Agora 14*, 1972] pl.11).

by virtue of his correlation with the Roman Mars. Mars is the god who ensures Ares a place in the city's central square.¹⁶⁶ As it now appears in the light of new information, however, the cult of Ares should not be unequivocally construed as a direct equivalent of the cult of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus at Rome,¹⁶⁷ but its establishment did occur under particular conditions – to be specific, accompanied by the cult of other gods, but primarily of Athena. The presence of a statue of the goddess

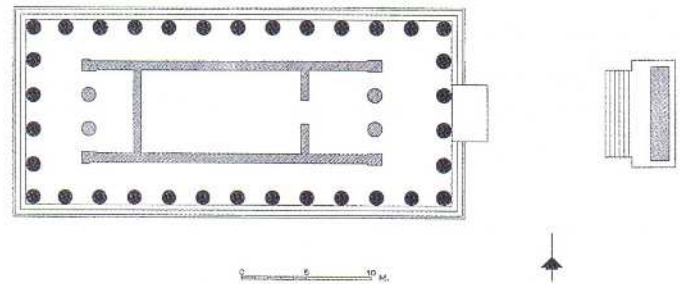
Athena next to that of Ares, following what Pausanias says (1.8.4), which agrees with our newly-acquired knowledge that the temple in the Agora is identical with that of Athena at Pallene, enables us to formulate a firmly founded opinion in favor of a joint cult of Ares and Athena, seconding Evelyn Harrison's view.¹⁶⁸ It is relevant to recall that this has to do with a temple associated with an important state cult which goes back at least as far as the seventh century B.C.¹⁶⁹ and in which the Archon Basileus himself participated.¹⁷⁰ In the first place, the transplantation of this venerable edifice would have conferred authority on the building program, contributing to the creation of a monumental space with allusions to the city's Classical past.¹⁷¹ It would thus have offered the new cult a potentially smoother reception than the erection of a new temple could have. However, the transplantation of the Classical temple should in all probability be mainly regarded as signifying that the old cult that it had housed until then was now transplanted to the Agora. This interpretation is consonant with the prevailing mood of the age of Augustus regarding the restoration of ancient temples. More particularly, it is probably connected with the care for the shrines of Attica attested in the famous decree referring to

the restoration of the Attic shrines (*IG II² 1035*)¹⁷², which according to the established view can be dated to the age of Augustus (10/9-3/2 B.C.).¹⁷³ With its move, the old cult acquired new importance due to from its new location. Besides, the cult of Athena at Pallene was anything but irrelevant to the worship of Ares and Athena Areia, whose premier shrine in Attica – all the more without a temple – was known to be located in Acharnai.¹⁷⁴ The epigraphically attested cultic relationship of Athena Pallenis with the *deme* of Acharnai, which is known to have belonged to the cultic community centered on the temple of Athena at Pallene¹⁷⁵ shows that the temple of this goddess had been chosen intentionally to welcome the cult of Ares together with that of its old occupant.

On the basis of the foregoing considerations, the very widespread view that the temple in the Agora was transplanted there to house the Imperial cult, actually motivated by Gaius Caesar's visit to Athens (1 B.C.),¹⁷⁶ has been shown to be unsubstantiated. Even before the discovery at Pallene became common knowledge, Antony Spawforth regarded this view as altogether speculative.¹⁷⁷ There is no indication that the honors granted by the Athenians to Augustus' adopted son and heir, who was called the "new Ares," were connected with the temple in the Agora. Besides, the aforementioned hypothesis entails so late a date for the moving of the temple that it would mean that it was a program independent from the Odeion, which is not at all plausible.¹⁷⁸ Finally, we have no indication that statues of the Imperial family were present in this temple.¹⁷⁹ On the contrary, we may conclude that statues of the Imperial family which were clearly cultic in nature were most probable housed in the double cella at the rear of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (fig.7),¹⁸⁰ since the existence of a base has been confirmed in the south room (cella) whose inscription, fragmentarily preserved, indicates that the *demos* was the dedicant.¹⁸¹ Homer Thompson regarded this double cella, forming an annex that he dated to the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D.,¹⁸² as the main center of the Imperial cult in the Agora, where it was linked to the old cult of Zeus Eleutherios, which also had a political meaning.¹⁸³ There is no unanimity concerning the form of the Imperial cult housed here, a situation due largely to the lack of a precise date for the annex's construction; nonetheless, a fair number of scholars link it to the adopted sons of Augustus.¹⁸⁴ What I would like to emphasize here is that,



23. Reconstruction drawing of the temple of Athena in Pallene. (M. Korres, in: C. Bouras et al. (eds), *Αθήναι. Από την Κλασική εποχή έως σήμερα (5^{ος} αι. π.Χ. – 2000 μ.Χ.)* [2000] 21 fig.20).



24. Temple of Ares and Altar. (H. A. Thompson – R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens [= Agora 14, 1972] 102 fig.39*).

as also on the Acropolis, the cultic space which the *demos* decided to allocate for the cult of the emperors,¹⁸⁵ albeit after informing the central authority, was carefully chosen to maintain a fitting proportion in relation to the temples of the gods.

Accordingly, all of the present arguments converge in the view that the great temple in the square was dedicated to Ares. The appearance of his cult was nevertheless accompanied by a corresponding increase in the importance of Athena in the area of the Agora. In this context, the fact that two other structures of the early Imperial period were connected with Athena should not pass without comment. The propylon of Athena Archegetis already mentioned (fig.11), as well as the still-unexplained structure built a few decades later at the east of the Market of Caesar and Augustus (fig.9no.12; fig.13), which was also dedicated to Athena Archegetis and the *theoi Sebastoi*; it

is worth mentioning that the dedicants were from Gargettos, a *deme* confirmed to have participated in the cultic community of Athena Pallenis.¹⁸⁶ Finally, Michael Hoff's observation deserves notice, that the goddess shared this hitherto rare epithet of hers with Augustus himself, according to a now-lost inscription from the area of the Market of Caesar and Augustus.¹⁸⁷

This brief survey of the monuments of Athens from the mid-Hellenistic period to the early Roman Empire, with the endeavor to integrate them into Hellenistic tradition on one hand and to understand them in the light of the new Roman perspective on the other has, I hope, certain conclusions to offer. For a long interval until the end of the Hellenistic age and the battle of Actium, Roman penetration seems to have proceeded with timid, cautious steps in terms of visual impressiveness.¹⁸⁸ The goddess Roma, who was moreover a Greek-inspired goddess, appeared in a form familiar to Greeks and was established next to preexisting divinities. As well, in the building programs undertaken as gifts either by rulers of the East or by Roman generals, the preservation of tradition was the predominant element, even when Roman architects were involved in their execution. Athens conserved and presented its ancient heritage, for it was the means by which the city attracted the attention of the powerful of the age, while its new patrons, for their part, revered Athenian tradition and responded to this stimulus by using the city's prestige in pursuit of their own ends. The Bema in front of the Stoa of Attalus represent the clearest expression of Roman presence and Roman might.

Beyond any doubt, the age of Augustus began a new chapter in the city's Romanization in terms of urban planning and architecture, since Athens received special treatment from the Imperial house despite the fact that the policies the city had repeatedly pursued in the past did not justify anything of the sort. The building programs that were undertaken should be divided into two categories: those planned and carried out by the city (even if in certain cases they had Roman funding) or by members of the Athenian elite,¹⁸⁹ and those owed to the involvement of the central authority.

The first category should include, for example, the commercial agora (Market of Caesar and Augustus), the monopteros on the Acropolis, probably in combination with the repairs to the Erechtheion, and the double cella at the rear of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, as well as

other edifices such as the elongated stoas along the Panathenaic Way in the northwest part of the Agora (which reused building material from structures that had been destroyed),¹⁹⁰ as well as building work on the Tholos in the Agora¹⁹¹ and the Asklepieion.¹⁹² These constructions, though relatively low-cost and of limited opulence, are distinguished by the clear, direct allusions they make to the Classical architectural tradition. The new cult of the emperors quickly gained acceptance on the Acropolis and in the Agora, but was established in small edifices that did not compete with the temples of the gods in any event. Athens' relatively peaceful adjustment to the new reality accords with the conclusion at which Spawforth arrived, based on the epigraphical evidence, namely that during these years the Athenians were reluctant to "create conspicuous architecture" for the Imperial cult.¹⁹³ Only in the age of Claudius and Nero would this cult be reorganized and, with its integration into the city's great religious festivals, gain particular prominence in Athens, signaling a great divide in the process of its Romanization.¹⁹⁴

The second category of building programs – those undertaken by the Imperial house, and specifically by Agrippa – is the one that put its stamp on the urban landscape, especially on its political center. In this instance, the scale, the opulence, and the prominent location of the buildings corresponded to the central authority's capacity for expenditures, which far surpassed the city's own, be it for new constructions such as the Odeion and the Ionic stoa on the Agora's northeast side, or for the transport of entire buildings stone by stone like the temple and altar of Ares. In addition, the occupation of the central square of the Agora, in the first place by the bulk of the Odeion and secondarily by that of the Doric temple, was indicative of the role of the central authority even with regard to a "free" Greek city, since this space had for centuries remained free of structures. Through their form and their function, these very buildings alluded more or less directly to Athens' Classical past.¹⁹⁵ Nonetheless, by virtue of their deliberately planned arrangement, they introduced prevailing Roman conceptions of spatial organization and with extreme clarity proclaimed the power of the city's donor and new benefactor. Within the Classical temple, Ares-Mars was now worshipped as a god who represented Roman *imperium* (perhaps together with Aphrodite-Venus, the goddess of the *gens Iulia*), but in all probability also with Athena, the city's own great goddess.

In conclusion, we should acknowledge that in the early Roman imperial period Romanization actually became perceptible in the political heart of Athens, both from the perspective of visual impressiveness as well as more generally from the perspective of accommodating elements of Roman culture. It nonetheless appeared in a relatively mild fashion or, to put it another way, was concealed to a certain degree by the use of Classical features for, I believe, two reasons. Allusions to the Classical past were, on one hand, consonant with the pursuits of the Athenians, who had for centuries drawn upon it and continued, even at this point with the new state of affairs, to persevere vigorously in preserving and promoting it.¹⁹⁶ On the other hand, however, Athens' ancient traditions and preference for the Classical models associated with them were integrated into the program of the central authority itself. In

Augustus' policy relative to the Greek East, Athens occupied, as it has been said, a prominent position; in consequence, the ruler was very careful in his dealings with it.¹⁹⁷ To what degree, indeed, this city functioned as his model by virtue of its ancient authority and worth, the classicizing and in many respects Athenocentric art of Augustan Rome makes evident, for it was the art of Athens that Augustus drew upon in order to project his political program authoritatively onto the state monuments of his own capital.¹⁹⁸

Prof. Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki,
Department of Archaeology
Thessaloniki 54 124
e-mail: valeria@hist.auth.gr

ABBREVIATIONS

Baldassarri 1998: P. Baldassarri, *Σεβαστώι Σωτήρι. Edilizia monumentale ad Atene durante il saeculum Augustum* (1998).

Burden 1999: J. C. Burden, *Athens Remade in the Age of Augustus: A Study of the Architects and Craftsmen at Work* (1999).

Habicht 1995: G. Habicht, *Athen. Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit* (1995).

Romanization 1997: M. C. Hoff, S. I. Rotroff (eds.), *The Romanization of Athens. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)* (1997).

Hoff 1989: M. Hoff, The Early History of the Roman Agora at Athens, in: S. Walker, A. Cameron (eds.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, Bulletin Suppl. 55 (1989) 1-8.

Schäfer 1998: T. Schäfer, *Spolia et signa: Baupolitik und Reichskultur nach dem Parthererfolg des Augustus, NAG* (1998) 45-123.

Schmalz 1994: G. C. R. Schmalz, *Public Building and Civic Identity in Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens* (1994).

Shear 1981: T. L. Shear, Jr., Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town, *Hesperia* 50, 1981, 358-377.

NOTES

* I thank Dr. Stefanie Kennell for translating this text into English. Thanks are also due to the director of the A' EPKA Alexandros Mantis for permission to reproduce the plan of fig.9.

1. See Habicht 1995, 173 and n. 83.

2. See K. Fittschen, Eine Stadt für Schaulustige und Müßig-

gänger: Athen im 3. und 2. Jh. v.Chr., in: M. Wörle, P. Zanker (eds.), *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus, Kolloquium, München, 24. bis 26. Juni 1993* (1995) 55-77 esp. 69.

3. F. Pfister, Die Reisebilder des Herakleides, *SBWien* 227.2, 1951, I, 1.

Tradition and romanization in the monumental landscape of Athens*

4. See K. Bringmann, H. von Steuben (eds.), *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer I. Zeugnisse und Kommentare* (1995) 62-66 nos.28-29; 80-81 no.35; see also recently, L. Mercuri, Programmi pergameni ad Atene: La *Stoa* di Eumene, *ASAtene* 82, 2004, 61-79; P. Marchetti, Rapport de synthèse. Édifices et complexes monumentaux, in: J.-Y. Marc, J.-C. Moretti (eds.), *Constructions publiques et programmes éditaires en Grèce entre le IIe siècle av. J.-C. et le Ier siècle ap. J.-C.*, Actes du colloque, Athènes 14-17 Mai 1995, BCH Suppl.39 (2001) 144-145.

5. R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Das Olympieion in Athen* (1994) 146; see infra 19.

6. For this type of monument at Athens and Delphi, see most recently, M. Korres, Αναθηματικά και τιμητικά τέθριππα στην Αθήνα και τους Δελφούς, in: A. Jacquemin (ed.), *Delphes. Cent ans après la grande fouille. Essai de bilan. Actes du colloque international, Athènes – Delphes, 17-20 septembre 1992*, BCH Suppl.36 (2000) 293-329; P. Schollmeyer, Antike Gespandenkmal (2001) 107-110.

7. Bringmann, von Steuben (n. 4) 66-68 no.30. For a reconstruction of the base of this dedication, see M. Korres, The Pedestals and the Akropolis South Wall, in: A. Stewart, *Attalos, Athens, and the Akropolis* (2004) 242-285.

8. For Athens' political situation during this period, see Habicht 1995; C. Habicht, *Athen in hellenistischer Zeit. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (1994).

9. In addition, 200 B.C. is when the process of Greece's incorporation into the Roman Empire begins.

10. See S. E. Alcock, The Problem of Romanization, the Power of Athens, in: *Romanization* 1997, 4.

11. Habicht 1995, 340-347; C. Habicht, Roman Citizens in Athens (228-31 B.C.), in: *Romanization* 1997, 9-17; S. Follet, Les Italiens à Athènes (IIe siècle av. J.-C. – Ier siècle ap. J.-C.), in: C. Müller, C. Hasenohr (eds.), *Les Italiens dans le monde Grec IIe siècle av. J.-C. – Ier siècle ap. J.-C.*, Actes de la Table Ronde Paris 14-16 Mai 1998, BCH Suppl. 41 (2002) 79-88.

12. Various lines of enquiry into these questions, for example in the contributions to *Romanization* 1997, deserve to be developed further.

13. Antikythera: P. C. Bol, *Die Skulpturen des Schiffsfundes von Antikythera* (=AM-BH 2, 1972). Mahdia: G. Hellenkemper Salies, H.-H. von Prittwitz und Gaffron, G. Bauchhenß (eds.), *Das Wrack. Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia 1-2* (1994); Vol. 2 contains contributions about Neo-Attic workshops and the reception of Hellenistic art by the Romans. Piraeus: Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Νεοαττικά. Οι ανάγλυφοι πινάκες από το λιμάνι του Πειραιά* (1979).

14. In connection with the history and criticism of the term

'Romanization,' which has been used in reference to the study of the Roman provinces, especially in the West, in contemporary scholarship, see recently, J. Webster, Creolizing the Roman Provinces, *AJA* 105, 2001, 209-225. Still more problematic is the use of the term in reference to the eastern part of the Empire by reason of its high level of culture; see, for example, Alcock (n. 10) 1-17, especially for the question that it relates to Athens. For relevant discussion from the historians' side and for specific sectors of material culture through which Romanization can be traced in the provinces, especially in Greece, see J. Bergemann, *Die römische Kolonie von Butrint und die Romanisierung Griechenlands* (1998) 117-123.

15. But the classicizing and eclectic character of the so-called neo-Attic works is a broader phenomenon in Hellenistic art that is not tied exclusively to Roman patrons (for the relevant subjects, see H.-U. Cain, O. Dräger, Die sogenannten neuattischen Werkstätten, in: Hellenkemper Salies et al. 2 [n. 13] 809-829) and in any case precedes the Sullan destruction at Athens. In contrast, Palagia in: *Romanization* 81, sees Romanization and eclecticism after 86 B.C.: "It is only then, after Sulla's sack, that we begin to detect a process of Romanization in the art of Athens. We shall see that this generated a form of eclecticism..."

16. E. B. Harrison, *Portrait Sculpture*, Agora 1 (1953).

17. See, for example, G. Schörner, review of Baldassarri 1998, in: *JRA* 14, 2001, 621. For the relevant literature, see the following references.

18. Habicht 1995, 330-331.

19. For the Hellenistic Olympieion, see Tölle-Kastenbein (n. 5) 142-152. For the gift of Antiochus IV, see Bringmann, von Steuben (n. 4) 54-57 KNr.24 [L] (K. Bringmann) and KNr.24 [A] (B. Schmidt-Dounas); B. Schmidt-Dounas, *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft* (2000) 10-16. For the Olympieion, see also Baldassarri 1998, 75-97.

20. For Cossutius and the relationship of the Olympieion to Rome, see H. Abramson, The Olympieion in Athens and its Connections with Rome, *CASCA Antiquity* 7, 1974, 1-25; C. Habicht, Athen und die Seleukiden, *Chiron* 19, 1989, 19 and n. 63; Tölle-Kastenbein (n. 5) 118-119 T15-16, 31-33; 144-145; Habicht, in: *Romanization* 1997 (n. 11) 12 and n. 16; R. Schenk, *Der korinthische Tempel bis zum Ende des Prinzipats des Augustus* (1997) 23 n. 161; J.C.Anderson, jr., *Architecture and Society* (1997) 19-23.

21. See P. F. Mittag, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes. Eine politische Biographie*, Klio-BH 11 (2006) 37-40.

22. H. A. Thompson, The Impact of Roman Architects and Architecture on Athens: 170 B.C. – A.D. 170, in: S. Macready, F. H. Thompson (eds.), *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (1987) 2-3. For his skills as an architect, see Tölle-Kastenbein (n. 5) 145, 215 n.781.

23. Abramson (n. 20) 3; Tölle-Kastenbein (n. 5); Bringmann, von Steuben (n. 4) 55.
24. See Schenk (n. 20) 21-24.
25. Tölle-Kastenbein (n. 5) 148, 169; Schmidt-Dounas, Geschenke (n. 19) 13 and n. 48.
26. G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen* (1986⁴) 233; mainly Schenk (n. 20) 23-24, 41-47, who finds that the edifice's splendor corresponds with the magnificence of the royal donor.
27. On the paradigmatic significance of the Olympieion for subsequent Corinthian architecture at Rome, see Gruben (n. 26) 232; Tölle-Kastenbein (n. 5) 155-156, 169-170. Also worthy of note is Thompson's remark (Thompson [n. 22] 7) that the octastyle Corinthian façade of the Odeion of Agrippa was likely created as a reaction to the Olympieion. In Italy the Corinthian order was already in evidence in the first half of the second century B.C., according to current data, so Schenk (n. 20) 50, 173.
28. Tölle-Kastenbein (n. 5) 151-152, 215 n.781, observes that without the testimony of the literary tradition the temple would have been attributed to a Greek architect. See also Gruben (n. 26) 258; Anderson (n.20) 22. According to Schenk (n. 20) 24 and n. 170-171, it was an architect who had learned his craft in Asia Minor.
29. Tölle-Kastenbein (n. 5) 57, 169-170.
30. Tölle-Kastenbein (n. 5) 119 T 33, 145. Another inscription, from the Kerameikos (IG II ² 10154), attests to the presence of yet another member of his family in the city, Tölle-Kastenbein (n. 5) 215 n. 781.
31. See, for example, T. Hölscher, *Hellenistische Kunst und römische Aristokratie*, in: *Hellenkemper Salies et al.* (n. 13) 880 and n. 57-60; see also Palagia (n. 15) 81-82 with references.
32. R. Mellor, *Θεά Ρώμη. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*, *Hypomnemata* 42 (1975) 101-105; C. Fayer, *Il culto della dea Roma. Origine e diffusione nell'Impero* (1976) 61-64; C. Monaco, *Contributi allo studio di alcuni santuari ateniesi I*, *ASAtene* 79, 2001, 130-132.
33. Mellor (n. 32), 102-103 and n. 479, 481 places the establishment of the cult of Roma in the shrine of the Demos and the Graces between 167 and 90 B.C.; Fayer (n. 32) 61-63 also accepts an early dating; cf. R. Mellor, in: *ANRW* 2,17,2 (1981) 959; see also C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (1997) 181. As the motive for this event, Monaco (n. 32) 130-132 proposes the visit of Aemilius Paullus to Athens after the events of 168 B.C., assuming that this particular cult was the one through which the cult of Roma appeared at Athens.
34. See C. Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit*, *Hypomnemata* 73 (1982) 84-85; Habicht (n. 33) 180-181, and recently, Monaco (n. 32) 103-149 who discusses the topographical question of the shrine outside the northwest entrance to the Agora at length, locating the altar of Aphrodite Hegemone, the Demos and the Graces (IG II ² 2798) slightly farther north than Travlos did; for the cult of Roma *ead.* (*op. cit.*) 130-132. Completely speculative is the attempt to connect a Hellenistic stoa in the vicinity of the Tower of the Winds with the inscription IG II ² 958 (29), which mentions a "stoa of the Roman" (ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου). Also hypothetical is the interpretation of this stoa as a shrine of Roma; on the problem see H. von Hesberg, *Konsolengeisa des Hellenismus und der frühen Kaiserzeit*, *RM-EH* 24 (1980) 28-29. I thank G. Despinis for directing me to the relevant discussion.
35. Mellor (n. 32) 103.
36. E. G. Gounari, *Η εικονογραφία της Ρώμης στην αρχαία τέχνη* (2003) 27-29.
37. For the relevant discussion see P. Bruneau, *Les cultes de l'établissements des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos à Délos*, in: *Hommages à Marten J. Vermaseren* (1978) 175-186 and recently, D. Damaskos, *Untersuchungen zu hellenistischen Kultbildern* (1999) 89-97; cf. Gounari (n. 36) 27-29.
38. H. Herzog, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung von Statuen auf Athener Silbermünzen des Neuen Stils* (1996) 81. It is believed that Athens' dependence on Rome was already reflected in the city's bronze coinage shortly after 200 B.C. To be precise, J. H. Kroll, *The Greek Coins*, *Agora* 26 (1993) 51, 63 nos.78-80 sees the type of the winged helmet that is depicted on these coins as a sort of borrowing from the Roman denarii that were struck from 212 or 211 and would have reached Attica with the Roman armies after 200. He thinks that this represents a kind of compliment to Rome, the new defender of Athenian independence, and consequently dates this series to 196-190 B.C.
39. Herzog (n. 38) 79-81 nos. 24-25.
40. Herzog (n. 38) 80-81 and nn. 546-547; Gounari (n. 36) 31 pl. 58 (type 2.B28).
41. Gounari (n. 36) 31-32 and nn. 93-95.
42. Posidon., *FHG* 87, F 36.50; Habicht, in: *Romanisation* 1997 (n. 11) 11 and n. 3.
43. T. Leslie-Shear, *The Campaign of 1937*, *Hesperia* 7, 1938, 324 (Dimensions: 8,50 x 5,95 m.); H. A. Thompson, R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens*, *Agora* 14 (1972) 51-52 and nn. 156-157 pl.7.
44. See L. Richardson, jr. (ed.), *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1992) 334-335 *s.v.* Rostra (L. Richardson), 335-336 *s.v.* Rostra Augusti (P. Verduchi); E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, *P-*

S (1999) 212-218 *s.v.* Rostra (età repubblicana) (F. Coarelli), *s.v.* Rostra Augusti (P. Verduchi), *s.v.* Rostra Diocletiani (P. Verduchi).

45. W. A. McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (1943) H84 n.156 thinks it likely that in the Hellenistic and Roman period "perhaps there was a bema in the agora in most Greek cities of this time, although they are seldom specifically mentioned in literature. They rarely appear in the excavated agoras...".

46. R. L. Scranton, *Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple*, Corinth I, III (1951) 91 pls 38, 1-2; 39, 1-2; Plans F-G. See also M. E. H. Walbank, The Foundation and Planning of Early Roman Corinth, *JRA* 10, 1997, 120-122: «The *rostra* was build ... very shortly after the foundation of the colony in 44 B.C.».

47. P. Collart, *Philippes: ville de Macédoine* (1937) 332 pl.XLVI,1; M. Sève, L'œuvre de l'École Française d'Athènes à Philippes pendant la décennie 1987-1996, *A'ErgoMak* 10B, 1996, 715.

48. Thompson, Wycherley (n. 43) 52. McDonald (n. 45) 60 thinks that the area of the Agora in front of the Bema would have been in constant use for mass gatherings; nevertheless, at that period the theater was the meeting place for the popular assembly of the *demoi*.

49. For the break with Rome and the events which ensued, see Habicht 1995, 297-313.

50. For Sulla's invasion and its consequences, see Habicht 1995, 303-313. For this, and for the bad physical and economic state of Athens between the Sullan destruction and the Augustan period, see recently, M. C. Hoff, Laceratae Athenae: Sulla's siege of Athens in 87/6 B.C. and its aftermath, in: *Romanization* 1997, 33-51. For the scholarship relating to Athens and Sulla, see O. Palagia, in: *Romanization* 1997 (n. 15) 92 n. 1.

51. It is thought that perhaps part of the gift was allocated for repairs to the port of Piraeus: see also Hoff 1989, 2 and n.8; *id.*, in: *Romanization* 1997 (*op.cit.*) 43. For Athens' good relations with Pompey and his visits to the city, see Ch. Böhme, *Princeps und Polis. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftsform des Augustus über bedeutende Orte in Griechenland* (1995) 27-30.

52. See *infra* 53.

53. The period from 146 B.C. to the battle of Actium was not favorable for building programs in Greek cities, see Marchetti (n. 4) 146-148.

54. Habicht 1995, 333 and n. 89.

55. *Vitruvius* 5,9,1; *IG II*² 3426 (honorific inscription in which the architects honor the monarch); J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1971) 387-391; Thompson (n. 22) 4, attributes the participation of Roman architects to the

amicable relations of the Cappadocian royal family with Rome on one hand and Athens on the other, but it was also likely due to the Roman architects' experience in roofing large buildings; see also Hoff, in: *Romanization* 1997 (n. 50) 49-50 n. 63.

56. See R. Meinel, *Das Odeion. Untersuchungen an überdachten antiken Theatergebäuden* (1980) 135-136, n. 14-17.

57. See *infra* 58.

58. Cf. Burden 1999, 19-20, who points out "the importance of the theater to the city and its patron."

59. See *infra* 60.

60. See Travlos (n. 55) 28-36; Hoff, in: *Romanization* 1997 (n. 50) 43; M. Hoff, *The Roman Agora at Athens* (1988); Hoff 1989, 1-8; Burden 1999, 169-209 (cat.11); Schmalz 1994, 201 no.17; Baldassarri 1998, 99-113.

61. See Hoff, in: *Romanization* 1997 (n. 50) esp. 44; cf. Böhme (n. 51) 31-32, 69.

62. For a more exhaustive study of the question, see Hoff 1989, 1-3.

63. Hoff 1989, 2-3.

64. See Hoff 1989, 3, who supposes that the money Caesar gave the city was confiscated in 47 B.C. In contrast, Shear 1981, 358 supposes that the construction of the Agora began in 47 B.C. when Caesar visited Athens; cf. Böhme (n. 51) 32 n. 1, esp. 68.

65. See C. De Ruyt, *Macellum, Marché alimentaire des Romains* (1983) 278-280.

66. The commercial character of the Roman Agora is generally acknowledged, see Shear 1981, 358-359. In addition to the decree on the propylon of Athena Archegetis from the Hadrianic period, Hoff 1989, 7 and n. 42, see also the dedication of the agoranomoi to Livia, Shear 1981, 360 (*IG II*² 3238). Also, the commercial character of the area is corroborated by the presence of the Horologion of Andronikos (Tower of the Winds), Hoff 1989, 1.

67. Hoff 1989, 7.

68. R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (1951) 503-541; J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (1976) 173-176; cf. Hoff (n. 60) 232-258. The corresponding Roman-type market, known as a *macellum*, takes the same form: De Ruyt (n. 65) esp. 275-280; Hoff (n. 60) 251-257.

69. De Ruyt (n. 65) 275-280 and for Athens' commercial marketplace, *op.cit.* 278-279. M. Waalkens, Hellenistic and Roman Influence in the Imperial Architecture of Asia Minor, in: S. Walker, A. Cameron (eds.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, Bulletin Suppl. 55 (1989) 81 and n. 43,

rightly observes that distinction between political and commercial agora is not always very convincing.

70. See also M. Waelkens (*op.cit.*) 81.

71. See Shear 1981, 359-360, who claims that there is a close relationship as regards the plan between the Market of Athens and the Forum of Caesar at Rome; indeed, he thinks that its relationship with the Forum of Caesar is so close that he attributes it to the same architect, *op.cit.* 359, 368; cf. Böhme (n. 51) 68-69; S. Walker, Athens under Augustus, in: *Romanization 1997*, 73-74.

72. The visit likely took place in 47 B.C.: Böhme (n. 51) 31 and n. 7.

73. E. Sjöqvist, Kaisareion. A study in Architectural Iconography, *OpRomana* 1, 1954, 86-108. For the Caesareum of Alexandria, see most recently P. Ruggendorfer, Zum Kaisareion von Alexandria, in: F. Blakolmer, K. R. Krierer, F. Krininger (eds.), *Fremde Zeiten. Festschrift für Jürgen Borchhardt zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1996* (1996) 213-223.

74. Shear 1981, 359 n. 16. For this building complex, see recently Steinby, *Lexicon* (n. 44) D-G (1995) 299-306 s.v. Forum Iulium (C. Morselli).

75. See Martin (n. 68) 526-528 fig.76-77; Coulton (n. 68) 169-173.

76. Shear 1981, 360 points out this fact, emphasizing nevertheless that only half of the great peristyle has been excavated.

77. M. Torelli, L'immagine dell'ideologia augustea nell'Agora di Atene, *Ostraka* 4, 1995, 18-19.

78. Hoff (n. 60) 259-277; M. C. Hoff, The politics and architecture of the Athenian Imperial cult, in: *Subject and Ruler. Papers presented at a conference held in the University of Alberta on April 13-15, 1994*, JRA Suppl. 17 (1996) 194-200.

79. M. C. Hoff, The So-Called Agoranomion and the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Athens, *AA* 1994, esp. 116-117. For criticism of this proposition, see Böhme (n. 51) 69-70.

80. This does not rule out the possibility that some of the rooms in the Market could have housed the Imperial cult. See Hoff (*op.cit.*) 112, who discusses a likely earlier use of the space of the spring house in the south stoa as a cult place. Also, Baldassari (1998) 103 and n. 15, 257-258 thinks it likely that the Imperial cult was housed in the Market; cf. Baldassari (2001) 410.

81. Habicht, in: *Romanization 1997* (n. 11) 15; as well, cf. the more general observation of F. Millar, Introduction, in: Macready, Thompson (n. 22) X, that for someone visiting a normal Greek city in 50 or 40 B.C. the presence of Rome need not have been intensely felt, as can be assumed from the archaeological remains and the coins.

82. Shear 1981, 357. For Roman citizens in Athens, see

Habicht, in: *Romanization 1997* (n. 11); see also Follet (n. 11) 79-88.

83. Habicht, in: *Romanization 1997* (n. 11) 12 and n. 10, also concerning the view that the statues were set up later, in the 60s, when Pompey visited Athens.

84. Habicht, in: *Romanization 1997* (n. 11) 12 and n. 13.

85. Cuirassed statues in the Hellenistic period: M. Cadario, *La corazza di Alessandro. Loricati di tipo ellenistico dal IV sec. a. C. al II d.C.* (2004) 43-107, also for examples of this statue type from Delos: 74-77, pl.IX-X 1.

86. F. Havé-Nikolaus, *Untersuchungen zu den kaiserzeitlichen Togastatuen griechischer Provenienz* (1998) 185-186. For togate statues at Eleusis, see H. R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (1990) 38-39, who thinks that the earliest example with Claudius' head, *op.cit.* pl. 11,2, was originally a statue of Caligula. Recently G. S. Dontas, *Les portraits attiques au Musée de l'Acropole*, CSIR I,1 (2004) 39 no.1, speculates that a portrait head from the Acropolis perhaps belonged to a figure wearing a toga *capite velato*.

87. See, for example, P. Zanker, Zur Rezeption des hellenistischen Individualporträts in Rom und in den Italischen Städten, in: P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien, Kolloquium in Göttingen vom 5. bis 9. Juni 1974*, 2 (1976) 581-605. The relationship of late Republican to Hellenistic portraiture: R. R. R. Smith, Greeks, Foreigners, and Roma Republican Portraits, *JRS* 71, 1981, 24-38; P. Zanker, Individuum und Typus, *AA* 1995, 473 n. 3 (with bibliography). The most recent study of the portraiture of the late Republican period is W.-R. Megow, *Republikanische Bildnis-Typen* (2005).

88. See Megow (*op.cit.*) esp. 150-152.

89. See Harrison (n. 16) 12-16 no. 3-4 and 84-86, who refers to the reception of the Roman realistic style at Athens, where she believes that it did not appear before the 40s, and then only in a moderate form. We should nevertheless note that at Rome tendencies to more 'realistic' or more 'generic' features are also in evidence: Megow (n. 87) 152.

90. Harrison (n. 16) 12-14 no. 3, 84-86. A view of the Agora head's realism that diverges from Harrison's was expressed by A. Stewart, *Attika. Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (1979) 80 and n. 75 fig.24, who thinks that it is in the tradition of the portraits from Delos. For the most recent bibliography on Agora S 333, see J.-Fr. Croz, *Les portraits sculptés de Romains en Grèce et en Italie de Cynoscéphales à Actium, 197-31 av. J.-C.* (2002) 101 G6, 134; E. S. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (1992) 159-160 and n. 125 pl. 8.

91. The head from the Athenian Agora S 333 can be compared, for example, with copies of the Copenhagen-Florence type, see Megow (n. 87) 99-107 (Typus XI), pls 47c-d - 56.

92. Bronze statues of Brutus and Cassius: R. E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Agora 3 (1957) 208 no.262; Schäfer 1998, 94 n. 198; Torelli (n. 77) 19 and nn. 62-63; Croz (n. 90) 132 and n. 27. Statues of Julius Caesar: *IG II²* 3222; cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar*, *JRS* 44, 1954, 68-69. (P) pl. 3; Hoff 1989, 2 n. 10.

93. See the recent monograph by D. W. von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit* (1998).

94. For the reappearance of Attic stelai in the late Hellenistic period, see I. Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Das Grabrelief der Apollonia im J. Paul Getty Museum*, in: *Roman Funerary Monuments in the J. Paul Getty Museum 1*, *OPA6* (1990) 5-14 (end of the second or first half of the first century B.C.); von Moock (*op.cit.*) 52 (beginning of the first century), 86 and n. 1015 (first examples from the end of the second century); cf. J. B. Grossmann, *Hellenistic Funerary Monuments from the Athenian Agora*, in: O. Palagia, W. Coulson (eds.), *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Athens, March 15-17, 1996* (1998) 75-82, esp. 80, who nevertheless thinks that the production of small reliefs continued throughout the Hellenistic period.

95. For the classicizing appearance of these grave stelai, see J. Bergemann, *Klassizismus im kaiserzeitlichen Griechenland*, in: P. Noelke (ed.), *Romanisation und Resistenz, Akten des VII. Internationalen Colloquiums über Probleme des provincialrömischen Kunstschaffens Köln 2. bis 6. Mai 2001* (2003) 559-562. We don't find figures wearing a toga on these stelai: Havé-Nikolaus (n. 86) 36; cf. J. Bergemann, review of Havé-Nikolaus (n. 86), *Gnomon* 74, 2002, 375 and n. 4.

96. See, for example, Marchetti (n. 4) 148-153, who also discusses Agrippa's role in reorganizing the province of Achaëa.

97. On the debated subject of Augustus' relations with Athens, see recently, G. C. R. Schmalz, *Athens, Augustus and the Settlement of 21 B.C.*, *GRBS* 37, 1996, 381-398 and n.2 (with bibliography). See also Böhme (n. 51) 42-54; Schäfer 1998, 48 and n. 11-12.

98. See, for example, Böhme (n. 51)

99. See, for example, Böhme (n. 51) 49-52.

100. Hoff 1989, 2-3; cf. Burden 1999, 174.

101. Hoff (n. 60) 229; Hoff 1989, 8.

102. Hoff (n. 60) 109-110 and n. 60 (11/10 or 10/9 B.C.); Hoff 1989, 6, 8.

103. According to Burden 1999, 169-277, esp. 193-196, 204-209, the Augustan phase of the complex began to be constructed in the form of a Doric peristyle of Pentelic marble with its main entrance on the west, where the Doric propylon was erected; the Ionic peristyle of Hymettan marble, into which the Doric stoa on the south side was incorporated as an inter-

nal colonnade, as well as the eastern propylon belong to a more recent phase, along with the so-called Agoranomeion to the east of the Market, with a plausible dating in the time of Claudius. An older view held that the Ionic peristyle and the Ionic propylon, along with the paving, belong to the second century A.D., probably after 126/127: M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the cities of the Roman Empire* (2000) 170. As Demetrios Sourlas has informed me (pers. comm. Nov. 2006), the recent investigations of the A' EPKA in the Market do not support the attribution of the Ionic peristyle to a phase subsequent to that of the Doric propylon.

104. Burden 1999, 200-201 figs 99-100.

105. For the low quality of the construction and the widespread reuse of building materials, see Hoff (n. 60) 228-229.

106. Cf. Burden 1999, 28.

107. M. C. Hoff, *An Equestrian Statue of Lucius Caesar in Athens Reconsidered*, *AA* 2001, 583-599.

108. I think that the way in which the statue was installed, atop an added plinth that was secured on a base integrated with the geison of the acroterion, (Hoff [*op.cit.*] 587-589 figs 8-12) indicates that the installation of a statue had not originally been foreseen. Hoff (*op.cit.*) 587 also accepts that the statue of Lucius was not originally installed on the propylon but curiously hypothesizes that the apex block of the geison bearing the integrated base of the statue may belong to a later period.

109. See S. De Maria, *Gli archi onorari di Roma e dell'Italia Romana* (1988) 250-251 no.32; see also M. Roehmer, *Der Bo-gen als Staatsmonument. Zur politischen Bedeutung der römischen Ehrenbögen des 1. Jhs.n. Chr.* (1997) 109-110; cf. Hoff (*op.cit.*) 595.

110. Hoff (n. 107) 595 thinks that the inscription provides no indication that the statue was set up after Lucius' death.

111. H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (1986) 166. Following the older dating of the visit to 2 B.C., Hoff (n. 107) links the honors to Gaius with the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome and points out that in that year Lucius, who reached his fifteenth birthday, received the *toga virilis* and was named *princeps iuventutis*.

112. For the inscribed base of unknown provenance *IG II²* 3250, which constituted the pretext for associating the epithet Νέος Ἄρης with the temple of Ares in the Agora, see Hoff (n. 107) 596 and n. 48. See *infra*, 113.

113. According to one point of view, we should suppose that the statue of Gaius Caesar would have been installed on the eastern propylon of the Market of Caesar and Augustus, see Baldassarri 1998, 257 and n. 12; P. Baldassarri, *Lo specchio del potere: programmi edilizi ad Atene in età augustea*, in: *Col-*

loque 2001, 410. This is however unlikely, since the western propylon is undoubtedly the most important of the two.

114. W. Binder, *Der Roma-Augustus Monopteros auf der Akropolis in Athen und sein typologischer Ort* (1969); Travlos (n. 55) 494-497; H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (1985) 57, 96-97, 156-159 (A 20); Schmalz 1994, 12-42; Hoff, *The politics* (n. 78) 185-194; Baldassarri 1998, 45-63; Schäfer 1998, 46-48 and n. 3; Burden 1999, 62-75 (cat.10); Baldassarri, *Lo specchio (op.cit.)* 405-407 and n. 11, 418.

115. The inscription (*IG II² 3173*) and the date of the building: Hänlein-Schäfer (*op.cit.*) 157, 159; Schäfer 1998, 47. For further details, some concerning the historical conjunction of events that led to the building's foundation, see Schmalz 1994, 19-25, 32-35; see also Burden 1999, 62-69 (cat.10).

116. Schmalz 1994, 26, 41.

117. Hänlein-Schäfer (n. 114) 6, 17.

118. See the comments by Schörner (n. 17) 624 relating to the book by Baldassari 1988; cf. Baldassarri, *Lo specchio* (n. 113) esp. 418-419 which returns emphatically to this subject.

119. This view was prompted by the inscription *IG II² 5096* on a seat in the Theater of Dionysus, according to which this goddess was worshipped on the Acropolis of Athens together with Livia and Julia, see Schmalz 1994, 68 and esp. M. Kajava, Vesta and Athens, in: O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context. Proceedings of a Colloquium organized by the Finnish Institute at Athens, May 21 and 22, 1999* (2001) 71-94, who thinks that the monopteros in front of the Parthenon housed the cult of Hestia together with that of Augustus and Roma, but only after March of 12 B.C., *op.cit.* 83-85.

120. See S. Rambaldi, *Monopteros. Le edicole circolari nell'architettura dell'Italia romana* (2002) 33. Nevertheless, Kajava (*op.cit.*) 85 agrees that there would have been a movable lamp, as in the Erechtheion.

121. For this view, see Schmalz 1994, 32-35, who accepts the relationship with the temple at Rome for other reason and because the temple and the monopteros of the Acropolis are nearly contemporary, *op.cit.* 33; see also P. Baldassarri, *Augusto Soter. Ipotesi sul monopteros dell'Acropoli ateniese, Ostraka* 4, 1995, 69-84, esp. 80-83; Baldassarri 1998, 58-61; Baldassarri, *Lo specchio* (n. 113) 405-407; Monaco (n. 32) 130. Kajava (n. 119) 81-83 also accepts the monopteros' relationship with the temple of Mars Ultor and the standards recovered from the Parthians. Criticism of this view: Schörner (n. 17) 622; Bergemann (n. 95) 562.

122. Schäfer 1998, 48, 56-59, 63-67. For a similar interpretation, see also Hoff, *The politics* (n. 78) 193-194.

123. Burden 1999, 62, although admitting Roman influence

on the structure's architecture, questions whether the Athenians saw the monopteros as a monument of Roman victory.

124. See Kajava (n. 119) 83 n. 56 for the literature on this subject.

125. See Baldassarri, *Lo specchio* (n. 113) 407 n. 14; see also Steinby, *Lexicon* (n. 44) *H-O* (1996) 230-231 s.v. Mars Ultor (Capitolium) (Ch. Reusser); Schäfer 1998, 49-55. For the temple, comments on the coins that depict it, and the controversies about the temple, see the recent exhaustive treatment in M. Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis. Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Ausstattung des Augustusforums* (1999) 60-78.

126. See H. von Hesberg, Ein Rundbau für Herakles am Tiber, in: X. Lafon, G. Sauron (eds.), *Théorie et pratique de l'architecture romaine. Études offertes à Pierre Gros* (2005) 105 and n. 33. Also, Schäfer 1998, 52 fig.7, commenting on the appearance of the temple on the cistophori coinage of Pergamon, observes that it looks like a cella is being rendered and asks if the coins on the whole render the building's actual form. He nevertheless thinks it likely that it was a monopteros, against F. Cassola, who assumes that it would have had a cella to hold the *signa*, *op.cit.* 52 esp. 54-55.

127. On the monopteros type, see Binder (n. 114) 89-123; W. Koenigs, W. Radt, Ein kaiserzeitlicher Rundbau (Monopteros) in Pergamon, *IstMitt* 29, 1979, 348-352; F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung, Typologie und Funktion kunstmäßiger Rundbauten* (1986) 135-147; M. Weber, *Baldachine und Statuenschreine* (1990) 105, 123, 127; Rambaldi (n. 120) 15-36. This architectural type continues to appear in the Greek world, even in Athens; for the monopteros of the second century A.D. in the Agora, see W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., The monopteros in the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia* 43, 1974, 412-427; cf. Thompson, Wycherley (n. 43) 203. *The Athenian Agora. A guide to the excavation and Museum* (1990¹) 124.

128. Seiler (n. 127) 135-138.

129. Binder (n. 114) 91-92, 100-101; Baldassarri 1998, 46 and n. 7.

130. Cf. Binder (n. 114) 101; Rambaldi (n. 120) 33, 101 n.2, who also emphasizes the edifice's autonomy in accord with Greek architectural tradition, in contrast to what happens in the Roman period, when the monopteros is incorporated into larger architectural compositions, see von Hesberg (n. 126) 104-107.

131. For these distinct types of monopteros, see Binder (n. 114) 115. The type as described by Vitruvius was used for the Nymphaeum at Argos (fig.18): P. Marchetti, K. Kolokotsas, C. Abadie-Reynal, *Le nymphée de l'Agora d'Argos. Fouille, étude architecturale et historique, Études péloponnésienes*, XI (1995) esp. 182-185. The monopteros and its function (also

in Italian territory): Rambaldi (n. 120) 37-48; von Hesberg (n. 126).

132. For the proportion of the building's diameter to its height (1:1), see Binder (n. 114) 74, and for the changes in the proportions of the different elements (columns and entablature) in relation to the Erechtheum in order to fit them into general proportions, see Burden 1999, 65-67. Nevertheless, Burden's view, *op.cit.* 1999, esp. 67-68, that the monopteros was "a hybrid piece of architecture" which combined a Roman type of structure with elements of Greek architecture, fails to persuade.

133. Bergemann, Klassizismus (n. 95) 562.

134. J. M. Paton (ed.), *The Erechtheum* (1927) 66-76, 223-224; Burden 1999, 32-62 (cat.7).

135. Binder (n. 114) 43-44, 76-77. Regarding the view that all the building projects on the Acropolis in this period are attributable to a single architect, see Hänlein-Schäfer (n. 114) 96-97, who also reviews the earlier scholarship; cf. Schmalz 1994, 16 and n. 36.

136. The quality of its components is inferior, compared to that of the Roman repairs to the Erechtheion: Burden 1999, 66, 69 και 217 discusses its hurried construction in view of Augustus' impending visit. The architectural elements were produced in haste: Schäfer 1998, 59 and n. 57.

137. Circular buildings in Greece and various interpretations of their function: Kajava (n. 119) 78 n. 38. Tholoi: Seiler (n. 127) 152, who also discusses monopteroi, *op.cit.* 146-147 and thinks that they are not connected purely to cultic functions but also include dedications of private individuals and associations. The small four-columned monopteros in the Agora of the Competialists was previously known as a dedication to Hermes and Maia, but see now C. Hasenohr, Les sanctuaires italiens sur l'agora des compétialistes à Délos, *RA* 2000, 198-202, who asserts that it was set up by the Competialists to the Lares Compitales and housed the statues of these divinities. Monopteral edifices were nonetheless connected with hero cults: P. Marchetti, Le nymphée d'Argos, le Palémonion de l'Isthme et l'Agora de Corinthe, in: A. Pariente, G. Touchais (eds.), *Άργος και Αργολίδα. Τοπογραφία και πολεοδομία, Πρακτικά διεθνούς Συνεδρίου, Αθήνα-Άργος 28/4-1/5/1990* (1998) 357-372.

138. Pausanias (10.8.6) refers to statues of emperors in the third temple of Pronaia that he saw on his visit to Delphi, but it is not certain whether he is referring to the Tholos or not.

139. Both this Pausanias reference and the cultic tradition of circular buildings contradict the view that the monopteros on the Acropolis was the only instance of that type being used to house the Imperial cult: Schäfer 1998, 48 and n. 14. Thus, for example, Weber (n. 127) 113 thinks that the monopteros of

Augustus and Roma allows connections to be made with the Philippeion at Olympia as regards its function.

140. Weber (n. 127) 114; Kajava (n. 119) 85 accepts that after 12 B.C. the statue of Hestia was placed with the statues of Livia and Julia. It is moreover certain that this type of building was very frequently used to accommodate statues: Koenigs, Radt (n. 127) 351-352; Seiler (n. 127) 146-147.

141. In contrast, Burden 1999, 69 expresses doubts about its capacity for this very reason; cf. Spawforth's view that the monopteros accommodated an altar, A. J. S. Spawforth, *The Early Reception of the Imperial Cult in Athens: Problems and Ambiguities*, in: *Romanization* 1997, 184 and n. 11.

142. Regarding the process of establishing the Imperial cult on the civic level, see C. Habicht, *Die augusteische Zeit und das erste Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt*, in: W. den Boer (ed.), *Le culte des souverains dans l'empire Romain. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, Vandœuvre-Genève 28 Août - 2 Septembre 1972* (1973), 45-50, who points out that the varied forms of the cult in cities exist precisely by reason of the cities' freedom of choice. See also R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (1984) 66. For the emperor-cult on the civic level, see recently I. Gradel, in: *ThesCRA II* (2004) 192-193 *s.v.* Heroisierung und Apotheose. The fact that it was a cult of the city does not rule out the possibility that the Acropolis monopteros was funded by Augustus himself, but even in this case it is not obligatory for us to assume that Augustus would have dictated the choice of plan, which furthermore did not happen in the case of the Market of Caesar and Augustus. Schäfer 1998, 58 and n. 55 takes a different view of the matter; cf. Kajava (n. 119) 81 and n. 49.

143. The remaining interventions on the rock of the Acropolis were concerned with the restoration of ancient monuments like the Erechtheion and the statue of Athena Promachos, Travlos (n. 55) 55; Burden 1999, 32-62 (cat.7), 69-76 (cat.6).

144. Schmalz 1994, 17-19. Scholars up to now have almost unanimously held to the view that the monopteros rose above the foundation which is found east of and on an axis with the Parthenon, Baldassarri 1998, 48-50; Schäfer 1998, 46 and n. 4-5; Weber (n. 127) 113 and n. 602; Rambaldi (n. 127) 33 and n. 113. On the other hand, Binder (n. 114) 45-47, 125 alone proposes that its location was in front of the eastern porch of the Erechtheion; cf. Hänlein-Schäfer (n. 114) 157-158.

145. H. A. Thompson, *The Odeion in the Athenian Agora, Hesperia* 19, 1950, 31-141; Meinel (n. 56) 44 -59 and for the architectural type, *op.cit.* 204-207; Schmalz 1994, 86-91; Baldassarri 1998, 115-141; Schäfer 1998, 98 n. 215 (with bibliography); Burden 1999, 76-115 (cat.2); Baldassarri, *Lo specchio* (n. 113) 412-416 and n.39 (with bibliography).

146. Thompson (*op.cit.*) 89 and n. 1; Thompson (n. 22) 6-9; Meinel (n. 56) 58; Baldassarri, *Lo specchio* (n. 113) 411, 412.

For Agrippa's relations with the Greek world, see J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, BEFAR 263 (1984) 421-450 and for the Odeion, *op.cit.* 435-439. A visit by Agrippa to Athens is not explicitly attested, in contrast to what happens in Corinth and Sparta, where he probably passed the spring/summer of 16 B.C. on his way to the East, see Halfmann (n. 111) 163-166.

147. Thompson (n. 145) 90; Meinel (n. 56) 340; Burden 1999, 77-79.

148. Meinel (n. 56) 35, 339. The open-air Roman theater and the roofed theater/odeion were derived from the Hellenistic bouleterion (*theatrum tectum*): Meinel (n. 56) 188-192; Baldassarri, *Lo specchio* (n. 113) 412-413 and n. 41.

149. Meinel (n. 56) 36-44, 180-183, 339.

150. Thompson (n. 145) 90-94. Similarities between the two buildings: Meinel (n. 56) 35, 340. Baldassarri 1998, 133-134, 267-268, although not excluding the possibility that the architect may be an Athenian familiar with architectural developments in Italy, thinks it equally likely that he had come from Italy (Campania) in Agrippa's entourage; cf. Baldassarri, *Lo specchio* (n. 113) 413 n. 41; Burden 1999, 79, 113 holds similar views.

151. Classicizing features of the building's architectural elements: Thompson (n. 145) 84-89; cf. Meinel (n. 56) 58; see also Shear 1981, 361, who thinks that this is a Roman type of building but that the architectural details are classicizing in nature; cf. Burden 1999, 112-115.

152. As regards lavishness and particularly the use of multi-colored marbles, (Thompson [n. 145] 60, 64-68, 140; Thompson [n. 22] 7) another building of the Augustan period that can be compared to the Odeion is the Ionic Stoa (the so-called Northeast Complex) of the Agora, see *infra* n.155.

153. According to Thompson (n. 145) 93-94, the technical skill of Romans in the engineering, as in roofing of great spans, led to their selection for significant architectural programs in the East. For the technical achievement of the roofing of the Odeion, see G. C. Izenour, *Roofed Theaters of Classical Antiquity* (1992), 84; Burden 1999, 102-106.

154. Burden 1999, 114-115.

155. For the Ionic stoa (Northeast Complex), which was incorporated into a basilica in the second century A.D., see T. L. Shear, Jr., *The Athenian Agora. Excavations of 1970*, *Hesperia* 40, 1971, 261-265; as well, see Schmalz 1994, 73-79, 198 no. 7, who thinks that the edifice was either an Imperial gift or a gift by some other foreign leader, probably Herod, king of Judaea. Burden 1999, 137-142 (cat.8) esp. 140-142 asserts that the stoa, "along with the pre-existing Odeion framed the sanctuary of Ares scenographically as one stood in the center of the Agora", forming part of an architectural plan comparable to that of the Forum Augusteum at Rome.

156. Cf. Thompson (n. 145) 96-97, who sees parallels between the spatial organization here and in Roman *fora*; Thompson (n. 22) 7-9; cf. Burden 1999, 80, 141 n. 355. For scenographic planning in the Forum Iulium and other architectural complexes, see V. M. Strocka, *Das Fassaden-Motiv des Venus Genetrix-Tempels in Rom: Bedeutung und Nachwirkung*, in: S. T. A. M. Mols, E. M. Moormann (eds.), *Omni pede stare. Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Jos de Waele* (2005) 153-167, esp. 155.

157. Regarding the debate over whether the Odeion or the Temple of Ares formed the focus of the Augustan-period Agora, see Torelli (n. 77) 26; Burden 1999, 141-142. I think that the two edifices should be regarded as a unity, but that the imposition of the Odeion (see below) must have been a catalyst; cf. Shear 1981, 361-362, who characterizes the Odeion as "the centerpiece of the Agora."

158. The building's dominating bulk vis-à-vis the Stoa of Attalos, the next largest structure in the Agora: Burden 1999, 80.

159. See Baldassarri 1998, 258 and n. 19; Baldassarri, *Lo specchio* (n. 113) 413 hypothesizes, since the Odeion of Pericles had recently been restored, that the new building would also be used for political gatherings (cf. J. Tobin, review of Baldassarri 1998, in: *AJA* 105, 2001, 132). Burden 1999, 77 also points out that there would not have been a great need for yet another theater in the city, while a lecture hall was desirable.

160. For the literature on this Doric temple, see Schäfer 1998, 93 n. 194.

161. See Shear 1981, 362; cf. recently, S. E. Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past. Landscape, Monuments and Memories* (2003) 55; E. B. Harrison, *Athena at Pallene and in the Agora of Athens*, in: J. M. Barringer, J. M. Hurwit (eds.), *Periklean Athens and its Legacy* (2005) 119 and n. 3.

162. Torelli (n. 77) 1995, 26-27 sees the two buildings as products of two different construction programs that were initiated by Agrippa and the Athenian *demos* respectively; cf. Baldassarri 1998, 170-171, 260-261; Baldassarri, *Lo specchio* (n. 113) 411, 417 who assigns the Odeion of Agrippa and the Temple of Ares to two different building phases, with the temple linked to Gaius Caesar's presence in Athens in 2 B.C. See also Burden 1999, 115, 120.

163. The excavations at Stavros: Platonos-Giota, *ArchDelt* 49, 1994, Chron. B1, 71-73; *ead.*, *ArchDelt* 52, 1997 Chron. B1, 90-91; *ead.*, *Το ιερό της Αθηνάς Παλληνίδος, Αρχαιολογία* 65, 1997, 92-97. For the excavations in the *deme* of Pallene, including a plan with the location of the temple, see G. Steinhauer, *Μεσογαία. Ιστορία και πολιτισμός των Μεσογαίων της Αττικής* (2001) 83-84, plan on p. 84.

164. See the preceding note; see also H. R. Goette, *Ο Δήμος*

Tradition and romanization in the monumental landscape of Athens*

της Παλλήνης, *Horos* 10-12, 1992-98, 105-118, esp. 111-115; *id.*, Athena Pallenis und ihre Beziehungen zur Akropolis von Athen, in: W. Hoepfner (ed.), *Kult und Kultbauten auf der Akropolis. Internationales Symposium vom 7. bis 9. Juli 1995 in Berlin* (1997) 123-124.

165. M. Korres, Από τον Σταυρό στην αρχαία Αγορά, *Horos* 10-12, 1992/98, 83-104.

166. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (1985) 121; cf. Spawforth (n. 141) 187 and n. 25. See also G. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965) 95.

167. See Thompson (n. 22) 9; cf. Schäfer 1998, 94 and n. 200.

168. Harrison (n. 161) 119-131 understands the principal deities worshipped in this temple to have been Ares and Athena, while the statues of Aphrodite and Enyo perhaps simply echo the relationship of Mars and Venus.

169. R. Schlaifer, The cult of Athena Pallenis, *HSPb* 54, 1943, 35-67, esp. 46 and 60.

170. S. Solders, *Die Ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* (1931) 115; Goette, Athena (n. 164) 125.

171. The historical dimension of the phenomenon of the so-called “transplanted monuments” in the Athenian Agora, namely the intent to emphasize the city’s Classical past: S. E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta* (1993) 195; *ead.*, in: *Romanization* 1997 (n. 10) 5; cf. Schäfer 1998, 102 and n. 242. Alcock (n. 161) 55 and n. 32 again points out that transport and reuse, which represent a time-consuming and complicated process, cannot be ascribed to reasons of economy.

172. For a link between the “itinerant temples” in the Athenian Agora and the decree concerning the restoration of Attica’s shrines, see Shear 1981, 364-368. (The proposal to date the move to Claudius period is nevertheless at variance with the prevailing view). Cf. Walker (n. 71) 72, who associates the transplantation of Athenian temples more broadly with Augustus’ program to restore the shrines at Rome.

173. The relevant literature (mainly studies and articles by G. R. Culley), with a concise commentary on the inscription including opinions regarding its date, is canvassed by Böhme (n. 51) 71-75; see also Schmalz 1994, 48-60, esp. 53-56, who also associates the renovation of the Athenian Asclepieum with the restoration decree *IG II*² 1035; Schäfer 1998, 45 n. 2.

174. Cults at Acharnai: M. Platonos-Giota, *Αχαρναί. Ιστορική και τοπογραφική επισκόπηση των αρχαίων Αχαρνών, των γειτονικών Δήμων και των οχυρώσεων της Πάρνηδας* (2004) 36-43. Altars are attested for the shrine at Acharnai, but not a temple, see Harrison (n. 161) 120. Certain scholars nevertheless aver that the fourth-century B.C. altar set up in front of the Temple of Ares was transplanted from Acharnai: K. J. Harts-

wick, The Ares Borghese reconsidered, *RA* 10, 1990, 262; cf. Schmalz 1994, 95-96; Alcock (n. 161) 55 and n. 31.

175. Schlaifer (n. 169); W. Peek, Attische Inschriften, *AM* 67, 1942, 28-29; G. R. Stanton, Some Attic Inscriptions, *BSA* 79, 1984, 292-298; see also D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica 508/7-ca. 250 B.C. A Political and Social Study* (1986) 185 and n. 46; Goette, Ο Δήμος (n. 164) 106-107 no.3, 114-115.

176. See G. W. Bowersock, Augustus in the East: the problem of the succession, in: F. Millar, E. Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (1984) esp. 174; see also Alcock, Graecia (n. 171) 195; Schmalz 1994, 107-108; Schäfer 1998, 95 and n. 205; Burden 1999, 115, 141; Baldassarri 1998, 170-171, 260; Baldassarri, Lo specchio (n. 113) 417-418. The temple had already been linked to the cult of Augustus and Gaius Caesar by W. B. Dinsmoor, The Temple of Ares at Athens, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, 49-51; see also Shear 1981, 362; Hoff (n. 79) 111 and n. 76-77.

177. Spawforth (n. 141) 186-188; see also Walker (n. 71) 72 and n. 24 who does not find the efforts to connect the transplanted buildings with the cult of members of the Imperial house persuasive. Spawforth (*op.cit.*) maintains that the temple was dedicated exclusively to Ares, see next note.

178. Spawforth (*op.cit.*). His view that the temple was dedicated only to Ares, however, is based on the dedication *IG II*² 2953, made to Ares and *Sebastos* by the community (*koinon*) of the Acharnians, which also mentions the name of the priest of Ares Apollophanes, but the inscription is of unknown origin and thus not necessarily connected with the temple in the Agora.

179. Note that Pausanias makes no allusion to statues of emperors here, in contrast to other cases of great shrines or marketplaces such as the Metroon at Olympia (5.20.9), the sanctuary of Pronaia at Delphi (10.8.6), and the Agora of Elis (6.24.10).

180. H. A. Thompson, The Annex to the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, 171-187; Baldassarri 1998, 142-152; Burden 1999, 142-148 (cat.14).

181. Thompson (*op.cit.*) 180-181 fig.3, pl.57c; cf. Thompson, Wycherley (n. 43) 102-103; Hänlein-Schäfer (n. 114) 159-160 (A 21). Most scholars accept that these rooms were associated with the Imperial cult: Schäfer 1998, 65 and n. 82; see also Spawforth (n. 141) 193 («with some certainty»).

182. For the date, see Thompson (n. 180) 178, who matches up the data to arrive at a dating no earlier than the age of Augustus and probably not much later.

183. Thompson (n. 180) 171-187; see also Schäfer 1998, 65 and n. 83.

184. Thompson (n. 180) 180-187 theorizes that in the double cella of the stoa there would have been a cult of the deified Au-

gustus and members of his close family, of the current emperor, and of some personified abstraction (not Roma). In contrast, Hänlein-Schäfer (n. 114) 160 tends to support the view that one of the two temples housed a statue of Roma, as do other scholars, see Baldassarri 1998, 151 and n. 55. Schäfer 1998, 65-66 thinks the cult of Augustus in the stoa was contemporary with his cult in the monopteros on the Acropolis. Baldassarri 1998, 260; Baldassarri, *Lo specchio* (n. 113) 416-417 accepts a relatively early dating for the double cella in the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and its association with Augustus and his adopted sons (no earlier than 17 B.C. and not later than the last decade of the first century B.C.); cf. recently C. Monaco (n. 32) 130 and n. 215, with opinions on the issue. Likewise, Schmalz 1994, 112 connects the double cella with the posthumous cult of Gaius Caesar. Finally, K. Clinton, *Eleusis and the Romans: Late Republic to Marcus Aurelius*, in: *Romanization* 1997, 174 accepts that the double cella was destined for the cult of Tiberius and Livia.

185. See supra n. 184.

186. For the bibliography see supra n. 175.

187. Hoff (n. 79) 108 and n. 48; Baldassarri, *Lo specchio* (n. 113) 404 and n. 12.

188. Cf. the observation by Millar (n. 81) X: "There is little to suggest that a person visiting a typical Greek city in 50 or 40 B.C. would have had the presence of Rome forced on his attention".

189. See the contribution by Dally (in this volume).

190. Shear (n. 155) 260-261 and n. 48 (with the relevant bibliography); Schmalz 1994, 69-72.

191. H. Thompson, *The Tholos and its Predecessors*, *Agora Suppl.* 4 (1940) 55-57. See also Schmalz 1994, 61 who attributes the additions of the Augustan age to the Athenian *demos* because of the manner of their construction and the reuse of older materials; cf. Burden 1999, 155-162 (cat.12).

192. Travlos (n. 55) 127-128, 135; Schmalz 1994, 53-60.

193. Spawforth (n. 141) 193.

194. Spawforth (n. 141) 194.

195. See Böhme (n. 51) 62-67, mainly for the Odeion.

196. Cf. also the conclusions summarized by Alcock (n. 10) 3-6, which make evident the slow and circumspect manner in which the Athenians adapted to the new realities as well as their tenacity in maintaining their cultural identity.

197. The role of Athens in Augustus' policy: Böhme (n. 51) 42-54; Schäfer 1998, 103-109.

198. See, for example, P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (1987) 257; T. Hölscher, *Greek Styles and Greek Art in Augustan Rome*, in: J.I. Porter (ed.), *Classical Pasts* (2006) 237-259.

ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΑ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΔΟΥ-ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ

Παράδοση και εκρωμαϊσμός στη μνημειακή μορφή της Αθήνας

Οι σχέσεις της Αθήνας με τη Ρώμη που χρονολογούνται, όπως είναι γνωστό, από το 200 π.Χ., καλλιεργήθηκαν και διατηρήθηκαν σχεδόν ανέφελες για πάνω από έναν αιώνα. Οι μισθιατικοί πόλεμοι και η καταστροφή της Αθήνας από τον Σύλλα το 86 π.Χ. μόνο προσωρινά ανέκοψαν τις σχέσεις της με τη Ρώμη, οι οποίες σιγά σιγά άρχισαν να αποκαθίστανται. Η παρακμή του εμπορίου στη Δήλο προκάλεσε τη μετεγκατάσταση Ιταλών στην Αθήνα και από τη δεκαετία του 60 άρχισε να εισρέει ρωμαϊκό χρήμα στην Αττική για την αποκατάσταση των ζημιών της καθώς και για νέα οικοδομικά προγράμματα.

Με δεδομένη την πρόοδο του εκρωμαϊσμού της Αθήνας σε πολιτικό και οικονομικό επίπεδο είναι αναπόφευκτο να αναρωτηθούμε αν και κατά πόσο η μνημειακή

μορφή της πόλης και η τέχνη της μεταβλήθηκαν κάτω από την επίδραση νέων στοιχείων. Ο έντονα κλασικιστικός χαρακτήρας στην καλλιτεχνική δημιουργία της κατά τον 1^ο αι. π.Χ. και τα αυτοκρατορικά χρόνια, και ιδιαίτερα στα προϊόντα της από μάρμαρο, συνδέεται αφενός με τη μακρόχρονη παράδοση της πόλης στον καλλιτεχνικό τομέα και αφετέρου με τις προτιμήσεις που έδειχναν οι ίδιοι οι αποδέκτες των έργων αυτών, που ήταν κατά κύριο λόγο πλούσιοι Ρωμαίοι αριστοκράτες. Τα έργα αυτά, που εντάσσονται στη λεγόμενη νεοαττική παραγωγή, αποτέλεσαν, με κάποιες εξαιρέσεις και για πολλές δεκαετίες την αιχμή στην έρευνα της αττικής τέχνης των χρόνων αυτών. Το ενδιαφέρον επικεντρώθηκε κυρίως σε αυτό που η Αθήνα – λόγω του κύρους που ασκούσε ως η

κατεξοχήν πόλη του πνεύματος και του πολιτισμού – είχε να προσφέρει στους πάτρωνες και θαυμαστές της. Αν ωστόσο θελήσουμε να θέσουμε ερωτήματα σχετικά με τον «εκρωμαϊσμό», ή, πιο σωστά, με τη διαδικασία προσαρμογής της Αθήνας σε ρωμαϊκά πρότυπα στο πλαίσιο της ενσωμάτωσής της στο σύστημα της αυτοκρατορίας, θα πρέπει να στραφούμε σε άλλα μνημειακά κατάλοιπα προκειμένου να ανιχνεύσουμε αλλαγές στη μορφή και την τέχνη της που σχετίζονται με την πολιτική βούληση των νέων πατρώνων της αλλά και με την προσαρμογή των ίδιων των Αθηναίων στα νέα δεδομένα.

Ως το τέλος της ελληνιστικής εποχής, η ρωμαϊκή διείσδυση στην Αθήνα γίνεται με δειλά βήματα. Η θεά Ρώμη, που είναι εξάλλου θεά ελληνικής επινόησης, εμφανίζεται σε οικεία για τους Έλληνες μορφή και εγκαθίσταται δίπλα σε προϋπάρχουσες θεότητες. Αλλά και στα οικοδομικά προγράμματα που αναλαμβάνονται ως δωρεές είτε από μονάρχες της Ανατολής (Ωδείο Αριοβαρζάνη Β' της Καππαδοκίας) είτε από Ρωμαίους στρατηγούς (εμπορική Αγορά του Καίσαρα και του Αυγούστου), η διατήρηση της παράδοσης είναι το κυρίαρχο στοιχείο. Η Αθήνα συντηρεί και προβάλλει την αρχαία κληρονομιά της, αφού μέσα από αυτήν ελκύει την προσοχή των ισχυρών της εποχής, και οι νέοι της πάτρωνες από την πλευρά τους σέβονται την παράδοση και ανταποκρίνονται στην πρόκληση αυτή χρησιμοποιώντας το κύρος της πόλης για τις δικές τους επιδιώξεις. Η ρωμαϊκή παρουσία και ισχύς εκφράζονται ωστόσο άμεσα με το «βήμα» των Ρωμαίων στρατηγών εμπρός από τη στοά του Αττάλου. Εξάλλου, την εμφάνισή τους κάνουν και ανδριάντες Ρωμαίων στρατηγών που πιθανόν εισήγαγαν στην Αθήνα το νέο στίλ των πορτρέτων της Ρώμης με τον έντονο ρεαλιστικό χαρακτήρα.

Η εποχή του Αυγούστου ανοίγει χωρίς αμφιβολία μια νέα σελίδα για τον πολεοδομικό και αρχιτεκτονικό εξωραϊσμό της πόλης, αφού η Αθήνα απολαμβάνει μιας ιδιαίτερης μεταχείρισης εκ μέρους του αυτοκρατορικού οίκου. Τα οικοδομικά προγράμματα τα διακρίνουμε σε δύο κυρίως μεγάλες κατηγορίες: σε αυτά που σχεδιάζονται και εκτελούνται από την πόλη (ορισμένες φορές με ρωμαϊκή χρηματοδότηση) και σε εκείνα που οφείλονται στην παρέμβαση της κεντρικής εξουσίας. Στα πρώτα συγκαταλέγονται λ.χ. η εμπορική Αγορά, ο μονόπτερος της Ακρόπολης σε συνδυασμό με την επισκευή του Ερεχθείου, ο δίδυμος σηκός πίσω από τη στοά του Ελευθερίου Διός και πολλά άλλα. Οι κατασκευές είναι σχετι-

κά χαμηλού κόστους και περιορισμένης πολυτέλειας, διακρίνονται όμως για τις άμεσες και σαφείς αναφορές τους στην κλασική παράδοση. Η νέα, αυτοκρατορική λατρεία γίνεται γρήγορα αποδεκτή στην Ακρόπολη και την Αγορά, αλλά εγκαθίσταται σε κτίσματα μικρά και σε καμιά περίπτωση ανταγωνιστικά προς τους ναούς των θεών. Σε ό,τι αφορά τον μονόπτερο της Ακρόπολης θεωρώ ότι δεν συντρέχει κανένας λόγος η αρχιτεκτονική του μορφή να συσχετιστεί με πρότυπα της Ρώμης. Επίσης σε ό,τι αφορά τη λειτουργία του εντάσσεται στην παράδοση των κυκλικών κτιρίων (θόλων και μονόπτερων) του ελληνικού χώρου, τα οποία συνδέονται σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις με λατρείες, συνήθως ηρωικές, ορισμένες φορές στέγασαν όμως, όπως φαίνεται, και τη λατρεία των αυτοκρατόρων, όπως πληροφορούμαστε από τον Πausanias για την περίπτωση της 'Ηλιδος.

Η δεύτερη κατηγορία οικοδομικών προγραμμάτων, δηλαδή αυτών που αναλαμβάνονται από τον αυτοκρατορικό οίκο και ειδικότερα από τον Αγρίππα, είναι αυτή που θα σφραγίσει τη φυσιογνωμία του παλαιού πολιτικού της κέντρου. Στην περίπτωση αυτή η κλίμακα, η πολυτέλεια και η προβεβλημένη θέση των κτιρίων αντιστοιχούν στις δυνατότητες της κεντρικής εξουσίας για δαπάνες που ξεπερνούν κατά πολύ αυτές της πόλης είτε πρόκειται για νέα κτίσματα, όπως το Ωδείο και η βορειοανατολική ιωνική στοά, είτε πρόκειται για μεταφορά ολόλιθων κτιρίων, όπως ο ναός και ο βωμός του Άρη. Η κατάληψη, εξάλλου, της κεντρικής πλατείας της Αγοράς που επί αιώνες είχε παραμείνει ελεύθερη, από τον όγκο του Ωδείου και του δωρικού ναού, προκειμένου να εξυπηρετηθεί το ρωμαϊκό πρόγραμμα, είναι ενδεικτική για το ρόλο της κεντρικής εξουσίας ακόμη και σε μία «ελεύθερη», ελληνική πόλη. Τα ίδια τα κτίρια, μέσω της μορφής και της λειτουργίας τους αναφέρονται περισσότερο ή λιγότερο άμεσα στο κλασικό παρελθόν της. Εισάγουν ωστόσο με τη μελετημένη χωροθέτησή τους τη ρωμαϊκή χωρο-οργανωτική αντίληψη και διακηρύσσουν με σαφήνεια τη δύναμη του δωρητή και νέου ευεργέτη της πόλης. Μέσα στον κλασικό ναό λατρεύεται τώρα ο Άρης-Mars, ως θεός που εκπροσωπεί το ρωμαϊκό Imperium, κατά πάσα πιθανότητα όμως μαζί και με την Αθηνά, τη μεγάλη θεά της πόλης.

Στην εποχή του Αυγούστου ο εκρωμαϊσμός γίνεται πράγματι αισθητός στο πολιτικό κέντρο της Αθήνας. Εμφανίζεται ωστόσο με σχετικώς ήπιο τρόπο ή, διαφορετικά, συγκαλύπτεται με τη χρησιμοποίηση κλασικών

χαρακτηριστικών, για δύο -πιστεύω- λόγους. Οι αναφορές στο κλασικό παρελθόν είναι αφενός σύμφωνες με τις επιδιώξεις των Αθηναίων, που για αιώνες αντλούσαν από αυτό και εξακολουθήσαν ακόμη και τώρα με το νέο καθεστώς να εμμένουν σθεναρά στη συντήρηση και προβολή του. Από την άλλη όμως η αρχαία παράδοση της Αθήνας και η προτίμηση για τα κλασικά πρότυπα που συνδέονται με αυτήν εντάσσονται στο πρόγραμμα

της ίδιας της κεντρικής εξουσίας. Στην πολιτική του Αυγούστου απέναντι στην ελληνική Ανατολή η Αθήνα κατείχε, ως γνωστόν, εξέχουσα θέση. Σε ποιο βαθμό μάλιστα η πόλη αυτή εξαιτίας του αρχαίου κύρους και της αξίας της λειτούργησε ως πρότυπό του γίνεται προφανές από την κλασικιστική και εν πολλοίς αθηνοκεντρική τέχνη της αυγούστειας Ρώμης, όπως δείχνουν τα κρατικά μνημεία της πρωτεύουσας.

