THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HOW TO MOVE A GOD:

SHIFTING RELIGION AND IMPERIAL IDENTITIES IN ROMAN ATHENS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY

JOSHUA RAMON VERA

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JUNE 2018

For Katharyn,

άγκυρα μου

Contents

List of Illustrations

Figures

Table

Acknowledgements

Reflecting on the years of my life that have been dedicated partially or wholly to this project, I am profoundly humbled to acknowledge the immensity of support that I have received from so many individuals who owed me absolutely nothing. Indeed, it seems that nearly every step I have taken since my first ancient history course as a Berkeley undergraduate ultimately has been leading me here (thanks to my first mentor, Carlos Noreña), and at some level I never could have completed each of those steps without the guidance and assistance of my advisors, colleagues, friends, and family. Such substantial debts of gratitude, incurred throughout the process across various institutions, programs, and continents, I could never properly satisfy in the few pages allotted here. Nevertheless, the reader will have to indulge me if I become a bit emotional while I make my best attempt.

First, allow me to express my deepest and most heartfelt thanks to my primary advisors, Jonathan Hall and Cliff Ando, without whom this dissertation would have remained little more than a handful of disjointed observations. Beyond their respective and collective fields of expertise, the breadth of which still continue to astonish me, they each have served in various other advisory roles that are not adequately represented in the title "dissertation co-chair." Jonathan took me under his proverbial wing from my first days on campus at the University of Chicago and taught me how to navigate my way through both the doctoral program and also the broader politics of the academy. I will remember his office as a place of refuge, where I could go for guidance regarding dilemmas across the gamut of my graduate school experiences—from anxieties about the potentially derivative nature of my ideas to frustrations with the recalcitrance

of my more precocious students. Through a series of seminars and discussions both in and outside of the formal classroom, Cliff modeled for me not only the best methods of a professional historian, but also the best approaches for thinking and writing critically about events (both historical and current) when the sources of our evidence are particularly troublesome (on which, see the following 260 pages). His office has been a desperately needed incubator for fresh, insightful perspectives when my ideas have started to grow stale—or, for that matter, overly complacent.

In this same vein, I also owe immeasurable thanks to my third advisor, Alain Bresson, without whom I surely would have missed an embarrassing number of pertinent scholarly texts in French and Italian—as well as a wealth of wisdom and insight on comparative material that informed several crucial arguments below. Beyond the dissertation, Alain demonstrated a constant level of magnanimity and positivity in all situations on and off campus that I strive to emulate (so far, with variable results). Finally, Cam Hawkins offered pivotal advice in the early stages regarding the direction of my graduate studies and my conceptualization of the dissertation project, for which I remain deeply grateful. In considering the influence of these mentors on my research and professional training, I am overwhelmed to recognize the extent to which their guidance (along with their extensive lists of recommended readings) collectively has shaped my own understanding and interpretation of the world around me, in both its ancient and modern forms. Needless to say, culpability for any error in perception, interpretation, explanation, or composition in the text below remains solely my own.

The University of Chicago has provided not only the resources and funds necessary to complete a research project like this, but also a convivial community within which to endure it.

My friends and colleagues in the History Department, Classics Department, and Divinity School have commiserated with me during the tougher seasons and also offered invaluable feedback at formative moments in the development of my work, particularly through the Ancient Societies Workshop and the Religion and the Human Sciences Workshop. Special thanks are due to the Social Sciences Division for funding the majority of my graduate studies, and especially to the family of Harry Barnard for the generous gift of the Dissertation-Year Fellowship that made possible the completion of this project.

Further funding was provided by the Fulbright Foundation through a research fellowship in 2016–2017, thanks to which I was able to spend a very productive academic year in Athens collecting and interpreting much of the evidence presented below. The practical support I received from the Fulbright commission extended far beyond the financial, however, as the guidance of Nicholas Tourides, Artemis Zenetou, and their associates in the Athens office facilitated a much smoother and more enjoyable year abroad than I ever could have hoped to experience otherwise. Similarly helpful in this regard was the tireless staff of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and I am grateful to the administrators in the facilities on both sides of *Odos Souidias* as well as the Agora excavation team in the Stoa of Attalos. The collegial community of the ASCSA and the exchange of ideas constantly occurring among its members deeply influenced the formulation of my arguments, and the friendships with which I was blessed during my time there helped to make it one of the most gratifying years of my life.

Outside the academy, I have benefited in myriad ways and at countless moments from a supportive network of family and friends who carried me through the bleakest and most difficult phases of this process. My parents, Brenda and Edgar, nurtured my interests and passions from

the earliest stages of my intellectual development, and their exhortation ultimately catalyzed my successful pursuit of this path. My brothers and sisters (both biological and by marriage!), as well as my second set of parents, Kathy and Bob, persistently inquired about my work even when my responses were objectively uninteresting, and yet they all ceaselessly extended their unconditional love regardless. The pride they have derived from my academic accomplishments sometimes has eclipsed my own—and often has served to bolster it. In Chicago, my dear friends and especially my GC fam never let me doubt that I actually could finish this dissertation (won't he do it!), and they were always there to offer a hand and a hug when I needed it most. I count myself among the most fortunate of men to do life with people like these, and to enjoy the love and encouragement that each of them selflessly has provided me.

To Katharyn, my unfaltering solace and steadfast partner in this labor, the *sine qua non* of its completion, I owe far more than some paltry words of gratitude could ever convey. She kept me anchored in reality when my grasp on the world outside the Regenstein became perilously tenuous, reminded me of my true purpose when I started to lose sight of the finish line, and constantly renewed my joy and perception of beauty in our surroundings when scholarly myopia prevented me from appreciating it. It is thus to her, with profoundest humility and sincerest appreciation, that I dedicate this dissertation.

Abstract

Following the sack of the city of Athens by the Roman general Sulla in 86 BC, an unusual series of construction projects repurposed certain pieces of classical religious structures from around the region and relocated them right in the heart of the subjugated city—the middle of the Classical Agora. It is my purpose in this dissertation to examine the context and subsequent effects of these dramatic and deeply impactful changes to the landscape, and particularly the purported transformation of the city center into a living "museum" during the period between Sulla's sack of 86 BC and the end of Hadrian's reign in 138 AD. Whether the contemporary Athenians themselves might have initiated such efforts ostensibly aimed at revitalizing their ancestral religious heritage—and whether such actions even would have been acceptable according to the rituals of those ancestors—are both highly debatable questions. The Athenians of the Classical and Hellenistic periods had carefully repaired and maintained the most important civic buildings and temples that represented aspects of their democratic history, as indicated in both literary discussions of the perpetual sacrality of consecrated objects and also in the exceptional preservation of these areas during other urban development work over the centuries. If their Roman-era descendants were similarly concerned with preserving the city's sacred landscape in such a way that would reflect the conditions that originally gave rise to their famous reputation for piety, would we not expect some ambivalence about these changes?

A promising access point into this investigation can be found in certain contextual features of the religious and political climate in which such a program would have been conceptualized and undertaken, and I demonstrate in this dissertation that real, substantive

changes to the lived religion of the inhabitants of Athens—entirely unreported in literary accounts—are identifiable in the archaeological record of the city. In this regard, the landscape might be imagined as a sort of palimpsest: each layer contains its own contextualized cultural significance, and as new construction redefines the surface, some of the previous layer's meaning is effaced or replaced. However, throughout this process and across eras certain monuments persist, and so the cultural importance of significant places and the historical moments they represent continue to be socially memorialized. The Athenians of the Hadrianic period, while possibly diminished in number relative to those of the fourth century BC, patently remained proud of their place in the world, as exemplified in the rhetoric of the Second Sophistic. But theirs was a different sort of pride: rather than predicating their social, cultural, and religious identities entirely on that ancient glory achieved by their ancestors in the world of Classical Greece, they now came to emphasize to an equal if not greater extent their role as educators, philosophers, and cultural conservators in the world of Hadrian's Roman Empire. Therefore, we must recognize their role in assisting with and to some extent even initiating the transformative construction projects of the first and second centuries AD. But at the same time, we observe their own less emphatic but equally symbolic efforts to promote certain areas and monuments according to their own *living* image of the city—buried somewhere between the heritage passed down to them and the history foisted upon them. By carefully peeling back certain pieces of these layers with an eye for the lived experience of those who viewed each successive landscape, we can shed some light on the murky relationship between identity, memory, landscape, and religion that has been obscured and overshadowed in the post-classical history of the Athenians.

Introduction: Shifting Landscapes, Shifting Identities

When construction work in 2011 for the renovation of the Athens Metro Line 1 from Piraeus to Kifissia uncovered an archaic structure, rather plain and unimposing in appearance, at the northern edge of the excavated area of the Classical Agora, it probably seemed like just another candidate for reinterment—a policy that the transit authority generally had to maintain if the city wanted to see the project completed in a timely manner. However, given its conspicuous location and basic plan, the corner of the foundations already had been tentatively identified as a sacred site during preliminary excavations in the 1930s, and then confirmed shortly afterward by a dedicatory inscription from a statue base naming the Twelve Olympian Gods.[1] This famous altar had served throughout antiquity as the medial hub for all the milestones leading out of the city and was described by a multiplicity of Greek texts but, as one of the oldest established religious places in the city, it represented far more than just the functional centerpiece of Athenian topography.[2] As soon as it was fully exposed, the archaeologists petitioned the Greek government to delay work on the rail and conduct further excavations on the site. But then, a surprising turn of events: a group of protestors led by practitioners of the modern religious movement of traditional polytheistic Hellenism laid claim to the altar and even physically

[1] Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 129–130. Inscription: Agora I 1597 = Wycherley 1957 no. 378, p. 122.
[2] Wycherley 1957: nos. 363–378, pp. 119–122.

occupied it to prevent its burial by the transit authority, resulting in the arrest of six people.[3] While the academics argued in the supreme court that it should be recognized and protected as a historically important site of Greek heritage, the "Dodekatheists" (Δωδεκαθεϊστές, as they prefer to be called), actually sought to *worship* there—that is, to reestablish and reinvigorate the ancient cult practice that had been performed on this altar throughout the pre-Christian era of Athenian history. In the end, of course, the court determined that the argument for preservation was insufficient to warrant a long, expensive, and potentially more destructive rerouting of the tracks around the altar, and so it was documented and buried again. In the meantime, the protracted process of debate and trial fortuitously allowed the American School's excavation team sufficient time to uncover and examine the important area all around the site as well, but that is another story.

To what extent did religion really play a role in this controversy? Given the relative lack of popular protest, it seems that both the government and the majority of the locals—who, being predominantly Christian, viewed the altar in a different light than did the Dodekatheists—valued an efficient mass transit system over the accessibility of this ancient place of religious and historical significance. That the decision ultimately was influenced by the exigencies of logistics seems clear enough, but this series of events also demonstrated that different groups in Athens place very different value on physical manifestations of local history, and for very different

[3] News reports: "Altar of the Twelve Gods sees the light," *Kathimerini* (Athens), February 17, 2011; "Works to cover altar site suspended," *Kathimerini* (Athens), April 15, 2011; "Railway works halted until August," *Kathimerini* (Athens), May 2, 2011; "Θα καταχωθεί ο βωμός των 12 θεών στο Μοναστηράκι σύμφωνα με το ΣτΕ," *Iefimerida* (Athens), July 29, 2011. For the revival and practices of Dodekatheism, see Helena Smith, "By Zeus!," *The Guardian*, February 1, 2007; Anastasia Moumtzaki, "OH MY GODS!," *Vice* (Greece), November 7, 2015. On this event as a case study in modern perceptions and representations of Greek heritage: Tziovas 2014: 12–13.

personal reasons. Given the context and symbolism of this particular altar, we can observe that at least some of those differences pertained to aspects of their social, cultural, and religious identities, as well as the meaning they derive from those pieces of history.

Now, sources of personal identity for the respective inhabitants of modern and ancient Athens cannot be set on a neat plane of comparison for numerous methodological reasons.[4] However, I believe the long history of the Altar of the Twelve Gods encapsulates neatly some of the fundamental issues that we encounter in the study of the religion(s) of the Athenians after the end of the Classical period. Would the Greeks of the twenty-first century need to feel an explicitly *religious* connection to the historical sacred monuments of their ancestral landscape in order to want to preserve them? Surely not, as the various temples and statues enshrined throughout the city attest. But how would this separation affect their inherent value for the community that inherited them? To what extent do the rearrangement and repackaging of traditional objects reflect the value invested in them by successive generations of the local community? These same questions of identity, memory, and landscape become especially important after the political circumstances of the Hellenistic and Roman eras led to major changes in the form, placement, and utility of the sacred monuments for which Athens became (and still is) renowned. Just as the central location and community function of the Twelve Gods' altar lent it significance for centuries after the disappearance of the political regime under which it was conceptualized and erected, we witness various other objects in the vicinity persisting as places of social significance across transitions of historical eras, and ultimately becoming integrated into the changed image of the landscape that emerged after each of those transitions.

[4] Cf. Tziovas 2014: 9–10.

It is my purpose in this project to examine the effects of one such transition that resulted in dramatic and deeply impactful changes to the landscape, embodied in the transformation of the Classical Agora during the centuries following the sack of the city by Sulla in 86 BC. At some level, this program represents merely one episode in an immense catalog of construction projects by which the Romans came to influence the local cultures, landscapes, and identities of their imperial territories. However, the unique relationship between Rome and Athens throughout their history, and especially during this pivotal series of interactions, marks this case for special consideration.[5] The modern label of "Romanization" does not appropriately characterize the significant changes experienced at Athens in particular during the last centuries BC and first centuries AD, and the baggage conveyed by the traditional debate over Greco-Roman cultural exchange demands a more nuanced treatment of the relevant material evidence.[6] On the one hand, across Greece we observe that Roman officials displaced and relocated cults from defunct communities to urban centers (building up the cities, in typical Roman fashion) as a policy of conqueror forcibly reconfiguring the cultic priorities of the conquered society. One paradigmatic example is provided in the context of Augustus's organization of the province of Achaia, when various cult images (and their associated cults, apparently) were transferred from recently destroyed Aitolian cities to those which were newly empowered or enlarged by synoikism (as,

[5] Cf. Alcock 1997, "Problem": 3–5; Alcock 1997, "Resistance": 108–109.
[6] As discussed thoroughly at the conference and subsequent proceedings recorded in Hoff and Rotroff 1997, but especially in the Alcock chapter, "The Problem of Romanization." See also Dickenson 2016: 206–209; Mattingly 1997; and the useful (if occasionally Romano-centric) collection of studies in Goldhill 2001 (on their shortcomings, see the review by Clifford Ando, *Phoenix* 57, no. 3/4 (2003): 355–360).

for example, occurred at Nikopolis).[7] However, several critical features distinguish the projects at Athens from these other cases in Greece, and indeed from anywhere else in the Roman world: first, the majority of the de-/reconstruction work in Attica was completed during peacetime, so war could not be cited as the cause or justification, nor is it even clear in all cases that the Romans initiated the projects; second, we witness substantial architectural elements from classical temples repurposed, reused, and/or recycled, but as far as we can tell, almost none of the patron deities of the original sanctuaries were moved along with their sacred objects (just one cult statue of Athena seems to have been transferred), meaning that their traditional cults were simply dislocated from their consecrated property; and third, the new structures all featured statues, altars, and other votive dedications that could be—and, as I will argue, certainly would have been—identified simultaneously with ancestral Athenian civic cults *and* the Roman imperial family.

Whether the contemporary Athenians themselves might have initiated such an effort ostensibly aimed at revitalizing their ancestral religious heritage—and whether such actions even would have been acceptable according to the rituals of those ancestors—are both highly debatable questions. It has become axiomatic to observe that by the end of the Augustan period the Agora would have resembled an open-air museum for classical Greek (and especially Periklean) architecture, ultimately making it a more convenient "one-stop shop" for Roman tourists. This certainly could have served Athens in some way as an exhibition of its inherited greatness and a new locus for cultic activity. However, the Athenians of the Classical and

[7] As described by Pausanias 7.18.7–9. Cf. Alcock 1993: 140–141; Camia and Rizakis 2017; Dickenson 2016: 210–213. On the the Nikopolitan synoikism, see Purcell 1987.

Hellenistic periods had carefully repaired and maintained the most important civic buildings and temples that represented aspects of their democratic history, as indicated in both literary discussions of the perpetual sacrality of consecrated objects and also in the notable preservation of these areas during other urban development work over the centuries. If their Roman-era descendants were similarly concerned with preserving the city's sacred landscape in such a way that would reflect the conditions that originally gave rise to their famous reputation, would we not expect some ambivalence about these changes? The effort to transform the city into a version that the literati of the Empire would have imagined to best reflect Classical Athens represents more than simply a political statement of imperial domination: this project, in effect if not intention, represented a wholesale appropriation of the *memory* of the city as embodied in its most iconic structures and spaces.[8]

Of the few occasions when we do hear of discontent among the Athenian people of the Roman period, none can be linked directly to the transformation of the landscape *per se*, but given the timing, it is easy to imagine that these projects might have played a provocative role. Cassius Dio records one story worth retelling here: ten years after Augustus's victory over Marcus Antonius in the final civil war of the Republic, much of which had taken place in and around Greece, the emperor decided to pay a visit to Sparta and Athens.[9] At some point shortly before his arrival, an eastward-facing statue of Athena on the Acropolis (probably the portable

[8] Here I build on the case presented in Spawforth 2012 for an ideological "re-hellenising" effect by which Hellenism and/or aspects of the forms of Greek cultural expression, including Greek civic identity, were infused with a notion of "old Greece" in order to reinforce virile morality among the Romans. Cf. the "ideological wedge" model of Woolf 1994.
[9] Cassius Dio 54.7.2–3. On this visit and its effects, see the comprehensive discussion of Schmalz 1996.

wooden one) reportedly turned westward—that is, toward Rome, but also potentially toward the imperial entourage as the group would have been approaching via the Propylaia—and spat blood. News of this offensive "omen," compounded with the fact that the city had sided with Antonius in the final Roman civil war, apparently prompted Augustus to penalize Athens by liberating Aegina and Eretria from tributary obligations and then prohibiting the sale of Athenian citizenship, all of which had provided crucial support to the barely solvent civic treasury. Still, it is somewhat surprising that the Athenians did not suffer greater repercussions for their consistently misguided choices of friends in the Roman civil wars of the first century BC, and especially in the final Augustan settlement. Julius Caesar had pointed to the most likely reason for this clemency when he quipped, "How often will the glory of your ancestors save you from self-destruction?"[10] The fact that Athens' heritage was perceived to hold significant cultural value for the Romans clearly earned the city exceptional amnesty, but unfortunately it tells us nothing about the ambiguous sentiments that the Athenians held toward their new overlords—or about the reality of their lived religion in the nearly two centuries of literary silence following the initial Roman conquest.[11]

In the absence of another perspective, should we subscribe to contemporary reports of their ongoing reputation for extraordinary piety? Since Athens had held such a preeminent position among Greek cities for its impressive sacred construction projects throughout the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries BC, it *might* seem reasonable to assume that later citizens would have prioritized

[10] Appian, *Bellum Civile* 2.13.88. Compare this with Sulla's characteristically curt reply to Aristion's envoys: Plutarch *Sulla* 13.4.
[11] For the meaning and study of "lived religion" in the ancient world, see Rüpke 2011 and the recent report of the (now finished) project, "Lived Ancient Religion," at the Max Weber Centre, Erfurt University: Albrecht et al. 2018.

and maintained the same pious spirit down into the Roman period as well. Indeed, the sparse literary evidence for religious activity in Roman Athens *could* suggest that business in the sanctuaries simply proceeded more or less as it always had done (historians usually only comment on change, after all), with the occasional introduction of a new patron (including, perhaps most importantly, the Roman imperial family). Alongside the apparently static operation of these traditional institutions, historians have traced a gradual decline in the number and preservation of rural sanctuaries across Greece, a development which *could* reflect the Roman priority of urbanization and the resulting depopulation of the countryside. Finally, a remarkable rise in the popularity of mystery cults across the Greek East of the Roman Empire *might* signal a collective shift toward more personal and spiritual forms of religious experience, ultimately serving to explain the enormous success of Christianity across the Greek world.

I believe that this problematic set of assumptions has underpinned a great deal of thought on the *longue durée* of Greek religion. Such analyses generally focus on the sacred activities of the *polis* in a cultural vacuum and tend to gloss over any intervening developments between two of its most pivotal moments—namely, the establishment of Hellenistic ruler cult in the third century BC and the ascendancy of Christianity in the fourth century AD.[12] However, if the discussion is made to hinge upon archaeological data and comparative studies, nearly every aspect of this traditional picture of post-classical religious continuity becomes problematic.[13] In the interest of testing and prioritizing these narratives, Athens offers us a rare and valuable

[12] As first observed by Mikalson 1998: 1–3.
[13] Cf. Grijalvo 2005, in which epigraphic evidence is presented to highlight "the changing attitudes of the elites and their effect on religious life as a whole" (258). While that article's disproportionate focus on the aristocracy is perhaps a bit too myopic (on which, see below), she nevertheless pinpoints certain salient shifts in the "public religion" of Roman Athens.

window to a more comprehensive understanding, thanks largely to its preservation and the amount of attention its literature and material culture continue to receive. Compared with the varying fates of other notable Greek *poleis*, the Roman treatment of Athens was always remarkably amicable, which might be attributed to a perpetuation of that notion of cultural debt, or at least admiration, expressed by Caesar—but more on that below.

At the local level, I propose that the physical objects of the Classical Agora and its de facto successor, the Market of Caesar and Augustus (hereafter identified as the "Roman Market"),[14] are more useful for an investigation into features of *everyday* religion than the more illustrious sacred landscape of the Acropolis. From the permanent habitation of Attica in the Neolithic era until the present day, the Acropolis inevitably has represented the most prominent feature in both the physical view and the cultural consciousness of any visitor to the region. However, because its monumental significance was recognized and perpetuated throughout antiquity, it was continuously restored so that its architectural form remained largely the same from the time of the program initiated under Perikles in the fifth century BC until the decline of local polytheistic cult practice in the fifth century AD. The one conspicuous exception was the placement during the early Roman era of a small circular structure—the monopteros commonly identified as the Temple of Roma and Augustus—directly in front of the ceremonial entrance to the Parthenon, which therefore would have made quite an overt political statement.[15] However, while this

[14] On the nomenclature of this space, see Dickenson 2016: 246–252.
[15] On the significance of this site, see especially Greco et al. (III*, 9.59): 1145 and Thakur 2007. See also p. 59 below. Although the monopteros is the only addition technically within the sacred precinct on top of the Acropolis, we should also note the Stoa of Eumenes on the south slope (early second century BC) and the Odeion constructed by Herodes Atticus on the southwestern edge (160–170 AD).

feature allows us to discuss *Roman* priorities, and perhaps those of the handful of elites who participated in its erection, it offers us very little information about the perspectives of those countless others living, working, and worshipping in the great shadow of the Acropolis.

On the other hand, the Agora certainly possessed its own significance in the famed democratic culture of Classical Athens as the central gathering place for all inhabitants of Attica. Indeed, the destruction of the Agora area by Sulla's army in 86 BC made an even more definitive statement that the Romans now considered defunct the classical political culture embodied in its venerated civic buildings and ancestral shrines. In the consideration of religious change over time, the piecemeal reconstruction of the Agora district in the centuries following Sulla's sack comprises the primary case study of this dissertation, as I will demonstrate that shifting local priorities and imperial negotiations during each phase of rehabilitation can be recognized in the archaeological record. The most striking transformation occurred when several sacred objects were relocated partially or, in the remarkable case of the Ares Temple, entirely, from various places across the Attic countryside into the old Athenian marketplace sometime between 20 BC and 10 AD. Previous considerations of these "itinerant temples" have been offered predominantly by archaeologists situating this evidence within the established phases of construction and urban development at Athens, and only on a preliminary basis have historians considered the broader implications of this data.[16] I propose that a thorough, integrative analysis of these developments will reveal their impact on the daily lives and religious activities of the

[16] The most pertinent treatments include Dinsmoor, Jr. 1982; Shear 1981; Thompson 1962; Thompson and Wycherley 1972; and Walker 1997. In addition to the perspectives I consider in the chapters below, a concise review of the most pertinent historical claims is provided at Dickenson 2016: 277–282.

Athenians who would have frequented the Agora, a group of individuals undoubtedly more numerous and therefore more representative than those who would have most often traversed the Acropolis, or any other part of the city throughout its ancient history.

There are a number of tasks that a dissertation like this twenty years ago would have needed to do before presenting the core evidence or argumentation, but many of which, thankfully, now have become largely unnecessary. These include demonstrating the viability of examining a landscape for reliable evidence of social and cultural history, now accepted as an effective and fruitful methodology under the category of survey archaeology; establishing the importance of the study of Roman Athens with reference to both Classical Greece and Imperial Rome, now taken to be not only self-evident but popular to the point of scholarly trendiness; and emphasizing the usefulness of an ancient city's agora as a primary container for evidence of everyday life and experience (perhaps over and above major sanctuaries—but more on that later), now stipulated as a focus for all urban studies in the ancient Greek world.[17] I will briefly summarize the most pertinent scholarship for each of these themes in the following section, but in general I have the benefit of building upon the widely recognized foundations provided by the recent work of increasing numbers of historians of Roman Greece. This will allow me to offer some broad brushstrokes in terms of historiography and comparative material while focusing the bulk of my discussion on the core of the project—namely, the lives, and specifically the religious lives, of those generations of Athenians between the sack of 86 BC and the projects of the 130s AD, who have featured only infrequently and obliquely in related historical accounts.

[17] See e.g. Camp 1986, esp. 14, and Dickenson 2016.

Between Tradition and Transition

In the spring of 1983, Arnaldo Momigliano opened a lecture at the University of Chicago with this revelatory anecdote:

> "I woke up one winter morning to ask myself: «What do I know about what people believed in Athens, Rome and Jerusalem in the last century B.C.?». I soon discovered that I not only knew very little, but also that it is not easy to get to know more. If you turn to Athens first, you soon realise that literary sources are rare, and epigraphic texts of the first century B.C. are inevitably more indicative of new institutional arrangements than of personal beliefs or traditional unmodified practice."[18]

This methodological quandary, the same which I address here, was clearly identified by historians of religion more than thirty years ago. However, Momigliano's aim at the time was primarily to nuance prevailing discussions of ancient religious ideology by connecting possible dots between the features of contemporary Athens, Rome, and Jerusalem, not necessarily to propose other approaches that might be applied more broadly. Similarly, in an effort to thematize elements of persistence and change in Mediterranean religions from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity, J.Z. Smith called for a more comprehensive model that would explain several significant developments: increased mobility of cultic phenomena, the emergence of "religious entrepreneurship," and the reaffirmation of practices and ideologies that were more native than diasporic, more locative than utopian, and more celebratory than rebellious.[19] According to Smith's view, in response to their marginalization under the power structure of the Roman Empire, the local, former "state" religions of subjugated peoples like the Athenians shifted their focus increasingly toward traditional forms, at least as their practitioners remembered them after

[18] Momigliano 1984: 873.
[19] Smith 1971: 1978.

centuries of foreign rule. However, Smith stipulated that in order to develop a more inclusive model, "it would be necessary to undertake a careful study of the various fortunes of temples throughout the Mediterranean world during this period: those that continue, those that are newly founded, those that are restored, those that are rededicated or otherwise altered, those that are destroyed and those that are neglected."[20] I do not presume to perform the expansive cataloguing that he describes here, but by close examination of an important and revealing section of this data, I approach the subject from a new angle and seek to cultivate one branch of the theoretical models that Smith proposed. As a point of departure, I believe all of those overarching trends that he identified across late-Hellenistic societies are indeed discernible in Roman-era religion at Athens as well—but alongside an entirely idiosyncratic set of developments in the sacred landscape that resulted in otherwise unprecedented changes for the religious experience of the Athenians.

Theorists in the history of religions led by Smith and Mircea Eliade have continued to advance the idea that sacred space, being socially constructed, is not simply a place or a container for human activity, but rather a medium in and through which ritual action can be performed in perceived interaction with the divine.[21] Accordingly, not only does the ritual establishment of a *sanctuary* mark off certain land as socially distinct, but evidence for specific

---

[20] Smith 1978: 186. More recently, Kit Wesler (2012: 286) has called for a more nuanced development of the archaeology of religion through a greater number of "detailed site-specific studies, regional syntheses and compilations," as well as cross-cultural perspectives that integrate "a comparative approach to religious structures, symbols and phenomena."

[21] Especially Eliade 1959 and Smith 1978. With specific application to landscape studies, see the pertinent discussions of Cresswell 2004, Smith 2008, and Tilley 1994, as well as the insightful ideas presented in the assembled papers of Nordeide and Brink 2013. For a summary of the debate of Smith vs. Eliade on the qualities of sacred space (albeit with primary reference to Jerusalem), see Yasin 2009: 26–34.

selections of place and the subsequent management of sacred property can also provide us with a window into contemporary religious and ideological priorities. In the context of socially inhabited space, I adhere to the notion that it is unproductive (and generally unfeasible) to pose questions of identity, memory, and landscape as individual and separate categories. The landscape of an urban area provides the fabric into which are woven *lieux de mémoire* (translated a bit reductively as "sites of memory"), and local identities in turn are sourced from and shaped by these memorialized places and the objects they contain.[22] Actions and routines that are performed in everyday life, just as much as those in ritualized ceremonies, are structured and dictated deliberately within particular social spaces. The survival and/or transformation of these spaces thus can inform us about important moments in the historic landscape(s), collective memory(-ies), and communal identity(-ies) of that society.

Sociologists in the last two decades have argued insightfully that objects influence and provoke human actions, and that the effect of their location has direct consequences on those who interact with them.[23] Therefore, the objects might be considered to take on some agency of their own, insofar as they realize and reify the physical aftereffects of human activity. Landscapes thus constitute the material of "memory communities" (as Susan Alcock labels them), which in turn comprise the source of local identities.[24] Objects, including buildings and monuments, are used to "perform memory" through the selective preservation or omission of certain events and traditions, whether in decorative depiction or choice of location for subsequent

[22] Alcock 2002: 19–22, 65–75; Yoffee 2007: 3–4. For the theory behind the meaning and historical utility of *lieux de mémoire* (particularly in the context of modern France), see the seminal volumes of Nora 1984–1992, with a useful summary of the methodology at Nora 1989.
[23] Inter alia Gell 1998; Latour 1999 and 2005; Mills and Walker 2008.
[24] Alcock 2002: 65–75.

construction. Certain objects are preserved, restored, or replicated and others are relegated to oblivion according to the priorities of the moment, and we can identify in the archaeological evidence greater concentrations of such actions during periods of increased socio-cultural trauma (caused, for instance, by political instability or natural disasters). In this way, changes in environmental factors and subsequent reactions to them are made manifest in the material record, and we are granted much more representative access into the lived experience of those within socially constructed space than we can ever achieve through the lens of literary narratives.[25]

In recent years, a growing contingent of archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians have begun to reach across traditional departmental lines and break down perceived methodological walls, to great effect and with promising results. Interdisciplinary studies of identity, memory, and landscapes have fostered interactions between theories and approaches that can offer new insights into old material, while simultaneously bringing into the spotlight problematic assumptions that have long encumbered the individual fields in question.[26] The present study must find its place at the multifaceted intersection between Greek and Roman modes of thought, between politics and culture, between *polis* and *ethnos*, between memory and materiality, and ultimately between tradition and transition. In straddling so many disciplinary

[25] Cf. Elsner 2012: 14–15.

[26] The most relevant studies include Alcock 2002; Kyriakidis 2007; Mills and Walker 2008; Morris 2000; and the collection of Yoffee (ed.) 2007. See also Connerton 1989, which draws upon the seminal work of Maurice Halbwachs to offer a foundational formulation of methodology for studying social memory; Alcock 2001, which contextualizes that methodology for Greek landscapes under Roman imperial influence; and Price 2012, which characterizes other contexts in which networks of social memory were articulated, constructed, and transmitted (but also sometimes forgotten) in Greek communities (viz. objects and representations; places; ritual behavior and associated myths; and textual narratives, including especially communal genealogies).

lines, I should stipulate at the outset that some of the discussion below inevitably must present more questions than attempts to answer them. Moreover, in mapping an uncharted middle ground through the various well-trodden fields in which these fragmentary data have been examined, I necessarily emphasize certain approaches at the expense of others. In order to pay homage to the diverse studies that have touched upon the evidence I will examine here, as well as the several divergent theories with which I engage throughout the project, I must relegate most of the topic-specific historiography to footnotes in the chapters below. That said, it will have become apparent already that I am following closely on the heels of a few specific projects that deserve a more substantial introduction at the outset.

First, the archaeologists: Susan Alcock's pioneering efforts to construct a broader social history of Roman Greece present a strong case for the persistence of a vibrant, distinct Greek identity throughout the period of Roman domination by mobilizing underappreciated aspects of the post-classical archaeological record within the framework of landscape studies.[27] Especially useful in this regard is her model of interconnected landscapes (civic, imperial, sacred, et al.) as a layered palimpsest of local cultural priorities. Specifically, I will seek to validate the role she ascribes to the sacred landscape in the articulation of relationships between provincial individuals and their cities, and between their cities and the imperial authorities. She also has inquired as to the effect of displaced Greek temples on the communities who lost them, and argues against the old notion that the Athenians were too weak and scattered to object to such perceived abuses (if indeed they would have wanted to object at all). I will advance this position with reference to the specific case study of the Athenian marketplaces, and I will explore not

[27] Esp. Alcock 1993 and 2002.

only the possible rationales used to justify these projects but also the subsequent responses and adjustments they would have elicited from the locals.

For the material evidence of the Classical Agora I rely heavily upon the lifetimes of archaeological reports, drawings, and preliminary interpretations published consecutively by T. Leslie Shear, William Bell Dinsmoor, Homer A. Thompson, Richard E. Wycherley, William Bell Dinsmoor, Jr., T. Leslie Shear, Jr., and John McK. Camp II during their respective stints with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Additionally, the detailed drawings and architectural renderings of the School's former master architect John Travlos continue to serve as invaluable tools for reconstructing the perspective of an ancient pedestrian on the street. These intellectual giants cast a long shadow over any investigation into the cityscape of Athens, and many of their impressions of the evidence continue to undergird the most plausible interpretations. Building upon their assembled conclusions, I will flesh out and qualify certain observations pertaining to the long-term development of the Agora areas with particular regard to Athenian religion and identity. Similarly, the dissertation of Michael C. Hoff (Boston University, 1988) remains the only comprehensive study of the Roman Market, and in it he lays much of the groundwork necessary for further examination of its development, operations, and relationship to the Classical Agora. After providing technical and analytical details, he comments at least tangentially on several of the questions and issues I will examine here, especially when he asserts that the new market was characteristically Augustan in both sponsorship and function. Not only were the choice of location and architectural design intended to separate politics and commerce in the city, he argues, but the entire structure also served as a monument to Augustus

and the imperial family, ultimately comprising a programmatic "unity" that guaranteed its position as "the heart of Roman Athens."[28]

Transitioning from the discourses of classical archaeology to those of comparative anthropology, I build upon the momentum of recent progress in reframing and reconsidering the parameters of "the archaeology of religion."[29] At the most fundamental level, we must stipulate that material evidence allows us to recognize only certain actions performed under certain conditions, but when those conditions reflect a pattern or *ritual*, we sometimes are able to assess the relative importance of that category of action for the agent(s) who performed it.[30] Archaeological investigation can offer us a clear window into some aspects of ritual, including location and paraphernalia, as well as a partial window into other aspects, including performers, audience, and actions.[31] Still other windows remain opaque to us, including those into the purpose, meaning, and (often) duration of ritual ceremonies. We sometimes can supplement our understanding of these actions with textual evidence, but this is often a dangerous game and one which should be played only with measured circumspection.[32] Ultimately, material evidence allows us to infer certain types of behavior, and through identification of patterns of behavior we might then infer the reasoning behind them.

---

[28] Hoff 1988: 278–282.
[29] For a thorough summary of the historiography and current state of the field, see Barrett 2016.
[30] See especially Renfrew 1994. As a term and a theoretical concept, "ritual" is highly controversial and has been debated across disciplines: in addition to the crucial observations of Bell 1992 (and 2nd ed. 2009), see the diverse discussions of Kyriakidis 2007, and especially that volume's concluding chapter. With deference to Kyriakidis's attempt at a comprehensive definition (2007: 294), I will endeavor to describe explicitly the processes, whether religious or mundane in nature, to which I refer when using the language of ritual.
[31] Marcus 2007: 47–48; Wesler 2012: 11–12.
[32] For a compelling consideration of a series of such attempts gone wrong, see Hall 2014.

Such an examination is further supported by observation of human cognitive development, particularly in the search for pivotal moments in the emergence of institutional religion.[33] Once those ritual actions that are determined to be reliable for securing the providence of health and safety (e.g. from the gods) are institutionalized in a given community, they come to assume social and political significance for successive generations of its members. We can identify in the material record expressions of that significance in the form of religious structures erected through the concerted action of the community to facilitate ritual actions.[34] These objects often serve as the primary locus for the most important ritual activities of that community, and consequently become physical symbols of its religious identity. When we encounter a great density of these symbols, as in the sacred landscape of ancient Athens, it bespeaks the relative importance of that type of object in the formulation of local religious identity. As certain rituals (and the sanctuaries that facilitated them) were believed to be more effective for achieving desired outcomes at different points in time, those outcomes would come to be perceived as reflecting the favor of the gods. To what extent, then, might the shifting political priorities of the people contribute to differing treatments of certain religious objects over time? Or conversely, to what extent might the superior preservation of certain sacred monuments reflect priorities in local religion? A comprehensive evaluation also must measure and account for the power of external influences, such as the networks of the Roman Empire, in changing the form and

[33] For one useful model, see Atran 2002: ch. 3, "God's Creation: Evolutionary Origins of the Supernatural"; cf. Boyer 2001: 118–148. This conceptualization is based on certain principles in the cognitive science of religion, including especially those proposed in Barrett and Lanman 2008 and Sanderson 2008. For a summary of related positions, see Wesler 2012: 7–9.
[34] McCauley and Lawson 2007: 210–216; Kyriakidis 2007: 298–300.

function of these symbols. This intricate process constitutes the principal task of any investigation into the interplay of landscape, religion, and identity in an ancient society.[35]

Concerning the nature of local Greek identities under Roman imperial influences, Greg Woolf's pioneering article (1994) delineates the contours and discontinuities in the perceived sources of Greek identity vis-à-vis cultural exchange with Rome. He concludes that Greek and Roman identities, rather than becoming fully melded, coexisted discretely throughout the imperial period, and the parting of their ways during the changed circumstances of Late Antiquity demonstrated the lack of integration. Greeks were able to maintain a distinct "Hellenism" because the Romans allowed them to do so through the elevation of the classical past and the preservation of the Greek language. Their sense of community thus remained flexible enough to adapt to Roman political and cultural customs without losing its core integrity. There was widespread dissent over what constituted Greek identity by this time since local communities of Greek-speakers had been influenced by so many external cultural contacts throughout the post-Alexandrian East, but Woolf asserts that such disputes usually revolved around the question of blood descent, and almost never that of material culture.[36] He therefore imagines a sort of compartmentalization of local identity into Greek and Roman components, which could be activated and isolated in the interest of self-preservation as befitted the circumstances. Focusing on Athens' religious architecture as a form of that material culture, I will test this conclusion with regard to the role and importance of the sacred landscape as a unifying element of local identity during this specific period of Athenian history.

---

[35] Cf. Elsner 2012: 5–6; Kyriakidis 2007: 296–298.
[36] Woolf 1994: 128–130. On these and other *indicia* of the formulation of Greek identity, see the seminal discussion of Hall 2002.

A number of methodological pitfalls are inherent to this kind of approach, as frequently decried in recent anthropological scholarship pertaining to the relationship(s) between state and individual and the significance of certain ritualistic behavior as evidence of group identity in the ancient world. I will eschew here the tendency to think synecdochically about certain localized developments identifiable in the archaeological record as being representative of a formal shift in culture or ideology for the *entirety* of the larger social group in question.[37] Such a position might suggest, for instance, that the increased presence of shrines to non-traditional deities in Athens must symbolize an increased interest in forms of religion that are not "natively" Greek. Since we do not find explicit evidence of resistance to their importation, this interest must have been shared by *all Athenians*. This argument from silence is problematic for a number of reasons, especially in the case of Roman Greece: first, it ignores the question of agency that is so crucial to any historical study of populations under Roman domination. In this example, how can we identify who really is responsible for initiating the installation of these foreign shrines if we do not possess all the dedication plaques? Second, it imputes bounded categories of self-identification to populations for whom such boundaries could have been relatively both malleable and permeable. Here, can we really determine whether first-century AD Athenians living within the Roman Empire still viewed *all* forms of cult in purely ethnic terms, so that certain shrines remained inherently "Greek" and others did not? And third, given the difficulty of pinpointing signs of collective resistance in the material record (short of destruction caused by rioting, what evidence would survive beyond an occasional graffito?), this position thus turns to literary evidence and attempts to force the archaeological data into a dubious framework

[37] Cf. Anttonen 2013: 15; Bell 2007: 279–280; Kyriakidis 2007: 15–16; Mikalson 1998: 6.

suggested independently by the texts. If there had been local agitation, why should we assume that imperial authors really would have recorded it accurately, if at all? These precarious assumptions might be recognized as underlying certain moments of methodological disjunction between the respective conclusions of archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, philologists, et al.[38] Of course, when dealing with issues of identity, we often characterize large groups of individuals for whom we rarely have direct quotes. However, as I will strive to demonstrate here, we can productively and more precisely highlight shifts and trends in the lived experience of an Athenian on the street by examining changes in the form and function of that street itself. Archaeological studies of religion must consider more than just sanctuaries when investigating aspects of ritual activity. Accordingly, in this project I examine also the profane, mundane ground surrounding and interacting with the sacred spaces of the sanctuaries, and thus identify aspects of everyday rituals intrinsic to the experience of their regular patrons.

Religious Buildings or Building Religions?

This brings us finally to the broader methodological question: what exactly can we learn about religion from the built environment? On the more cautious end of the spectrum, the empirically-minded social scientist might stipulate that almost nothing can be identified with confidence. We expect any given structure associated with a ritually defined space to have served a specific *religious* purpose by nature of its proximity to the *sacred*—everything that occurred within that

[38] On the methodological issues, see e.g. the observations of Bell 2007. For Roman Athens in particular, the absence of reliable evidence for local resistance is one of the central observations presented in Hendrick 2006, but he tends to swing too far in the other direction by inferring from silence a nearly complete Athenian acquiescence (or, as he prefers, "mutual respect": 1).

space must have been placed there intentionally and activated formulaically.[39] However, even this understanding of sacred space presupposes that actions can be captured and reflected meaningfully in words, in the sense that our notion of religious behavior is derived largely from those contemporary textual discourses that we deem most "religious" in subject matter. The same holds true for religious objects: a certain container of a shape that alludes to ritual libations based on comparative data could have just as easily served practical, non-sacred purposes in its original context. But would this fact diminish its ritualized nature? Surely, an otherwise mundane tool used to facilitate religious activity acquires a certain ritual importance of its own.[40] Similarly, a modern portrait of any ancient temple can attain only to a murky and dimly-lit sketch, as the historian's ekphrastic brush necessarily remains a blunt instrument with a limited range of interpretive colors. How can we accept at face value the assertion that everything placed, uttered, performed, consumed, destroyed, or transformed within a sanctuary must reflect the neatly prescribed circumstances offered in a contemporary text? Even if we have literature describing the supposed action, should we not assume that its portrayal was intended to convey a certain understanding of the event to suit the particular purposes of the writer? The best we can hope to achieve is an incomplete, tainted, and questionably useful model of a religion that has eroded with its material remains.

On the other side of the debate, though, the theoretically-oriented humanist might suggest that human logic should play a greater role in our consideration of the sacred: even with a margin for dissonance between the native cultural context of the object in question and that of our own,

[39] Elsner 2012: 2–5; Parker 1983: 150–154.
[40] Cf. Kyriakidis 2007: 16–20; Renfrew 1994: 52–54. *Pace* Elsner 2012: 8–10. See also A.D. Nock's explanation of the "worship of cult-instruments" (1930: 50–51, with examples in note 2).

thousands of years of philosophical dialogue have provided at least a basis for certain reasonable expectations. So we fairly assume that no sanctuary will have been located and designated randomly or arbitrarily, regardless of provenance. Even our libation container above might be imputed certain significance from an assessment of the exceptional effort involved in its creation and embellishment, even if we cannot establish that this significance was explicitly "religious." Avoiding the many pitfalls of mapping objects onto apparently related textual data, we might still derive a great deal of knowledge from a general sketch of how a structure and its contents functioned on a daily basis. Thus, our murky portrait of that ancient temple can allow us at least a meaningful glimpse into a certain unfamiliar world, even if only a partial snapshot of a scene that is vastly different from the one we expected to find—and so its visage might offer answers to questions that we were not originally asking.

In establishing a middle position, we must constantly ask ourselves this: how much do we really know about those actions, objects, structures, and rituals that we discuss most frequently? Hundreds of years of theory based largely on *reading* have provided a broad foundation for identifying cultural outlines, but deeply embedded in that foundation are hundreds of years of cultural assumptions that must be questioned if these theories are to be mobilized. Only with self-conscious recognition of the depths of our ignorance can we hope to learn anything new. A productive outlook certainly should take into account the consensus of the intellectual establishment, but it is almost always advantageous to weigh the practical implications of our evidence just as heavily as the ideological. What made sense to the architects of the sanctuary in their logistical and contextual considerations often still makes sense to modern architects, *mutatis mutandis*. It is thus the historian's greatest task to determine precisely which factors

should be recognized as having mutated. In so doing, we can hope to achieve a useful heuristic model of that eroded religion, even if only certain aspects are exposed to our view.

Let us consider briefly the material remains of a hypothetical Roman-period Greek temple in an effort to integrate the polarized approaches of the social scientist and the humanist above. Imagine that our sanctuary occupies a prominent space on a major thoroughfare in the center of the city, placed on predetermined axes between buildings of civic importance. Its precinct contains remnants of a cult statue, metal votives, and charcoal. A cursory analysis raises certain fundamental questions: what physical and chronological relationships can we identify between the sanctuary and neighboring structures? Is there evidence of previous versions of the temple underneath its latest exposed position? What else do we know about the local culture during the time period in which it was constructed? Does it resemble temples in other contemporary contexts? These are necessary and productive lines of inquiry, particularly for archaeological investigation, but other questions might be raised by a more general, integrative approach: who would have regularly frequented the temple? Who would have passed by it on that street? Did its construction require the permanent redirection of traffic? Did it obstruct a direct line of sight from the street to another structure? And so on. Altogether, this wider set of considerations might allow us to access the perspective of those individuals whose lives would have been most affected by such construction, and not just the mindset of the elites who so often receive all the attention for their possessive relationship with the built environment. In this way we might juxtapose the most useful results of a granular technical analysis with those of a more experiential social perspective.

Recent trends in art historical and anthropological research have led to greater emphasis on perspective visualization in reconstructing landscapes, which I believe can substantially augment our understanding of these urban spaces, alongside the detailed work published on specific architectural features. In order to reconstruct certain pedestrian experiences, I employ here a form of topographic survey analysis born out of these landscape studies. The focused examination of human movement offers a practical heuristic tool for understanding perspective and experience, and so built pathways emerge as particularly important in visual and ekphrastic reconstructions. We can imagine the prominence of certain urban places in relation to the paved streets, colonnaded corridors, and monumental staircases that allow access to them, as they represent the *directed* movement of pedestrians through the city. Therefore, a study of human visual perspective in these transitional spaces is valuable for understanding the goals of the agents involved in their design and development, as well as the *effect* of new construction on pedestrian experience, regardless of the original intentions of the architects. Even if, as so often must be admitted in ancient studies, the motivations behind such efforts cannot be discerned in the extant evidence, certain impacts at least can be determined from the information that is currently accessible to archaeologists—that is, in the siting, orientation, shape, form, and ornamentation of each object within a respective transitional area. These features frequently are sufficient to reconstruct how a given space would have appeared to a contemporary viewer before and after the appearance of new objects, and from these reconstructions we can draw important conclusions about relative priorities at different moments in the urban development of the city.

Given the wealth of archaeological data we possess for the district of the Classical Agora, can we impute to the architects of its major construction projects any specific programmatic motivations or ideological goals for preserving or repurposing cultural memory? In the absence of literary testimony for the two centuries of concern here, it becomes all too easy to project our own presuppositions and conclusions about the identifiable *effects* of such changes in the landscape onto the apparent *intentions* of the ancient designers, which generally remain inaccessible to us. Lacking any primary account (e.g. in a dedicatory inscription), it is at best a fool's errand and at worst historical revisionism to attempt a wholesale reconstruction of the mindset of any individual separated from us by a divide of so many centuries. But does this render the entire exercise of the informed imagination unproductive? Regardless of the architects' original intentions, at the very least we can confidently assert that prominent monuments and structures came to acquire some kind of significance for those who interacted with them, as demonstrated through their preservation, elevation, or reinvention. Therefore, I believe that careful, contextualized consideration of the visual effects of these projects for the local actors (and for their descendants) can lead us to fruitful conclusions about their lived experience without putting thoughts in their minds or words in their mouths.

Peeling back the Palimpsest

The sacred landscape of the city of Athens therefore might be imagined as a sort of palimpsest: each layer contains its own contextualized cultural significance, and as new construction redefines the surface, some of the previous layer's meaning is effaced or replaced. However, throughout this process and across eras certain monuments persist, and so the cultural importance

of significant places and the historical moments they represent continue to be socially memorialized.[41] This dissertation will proceed as if by peeling back layers of that palimpsest, but rather than a strict chronological progression, I structure the investigation thematically and dig through the layered landscape accordingly. Chapter I examines the surface-level understanding of Athenian religion in the Roman period and challenges assumptions of continuity and perennial "piety" inherent to contemporary characterizations of the Athenians. Chapter II traces the history of the most prominent objects that protrude through the several transitions between the Classical period and the building program of Hadrian, providing an analysis of the most significant changes in the physical image of the district over these centuries and identifying a concerted effort to maintain traditional forms that seems to fade following the sack of 86 BC. Chapter III then focuses in on the agency behind these major changes (which, as I argue, was shared by Athenians and Romans, apparently working together) in order to discern their priorities as far as they are revealed in the archaeology, as well as the actual effects of the changes and the reactions of later generations to them. Finally, chapter IV delves as deeply as possible into the backgrounds and motivations of these agents by considering the precedents and contexts within which they would have imagined, conceptualized, and proposed the several transformations of the landscape, concluding that the nature of the objects chosen for reuse rendered them acceptable for repurposing, and that the collective effect of these objects would have served the Athenians and the imperial household simultaneously. The deeper we dig, the darker the image—but by carefully peeling back certain pieces of these layers with an eye for the lived experience of those who witnessed each successive image of the city center, we can shed some

[41] Based on the model theorized in Smith 2008: 4–5. Cf. Alcock 1993: 197–198.

light on the murky relationship between identity, memory, landscape, and religion that has been obscured and overshadowed in the post-classical history of the Athenians.

I have framed this project in these terms because the phenomena I consider below emerge distinctly as products of the late Hellenistic Mediterranean, in which the heirs of classical states like the now-defunct Athenian Empire were forced to renegotiate a new geopolitical position between the ascendant warring powers that supplanted them. These conditions allowed Rome to expand so meteorically into the Greek East, while also enabling Athens to capitalize on the marketability of its reputation as a cultural mecca. It is now axiomatic to observe that fifth-century BC Athens, as one of the foremost epicenters of cultural advancement, was considered an exceptionally "religious" place in the estimation of its contemporaries. But what exactly did that "religiosity" entail, and how long did it persist? What practical features of religious observance might have been disrupted in the unstable political climate after the city's decisive defeat at the end of the Peloponnesian War, and then again in the struggles with Macedonian dynasts? How, if at all, did the Athenians' perception of their own piety change during and/or because of the intervention of the Romans? In this study, I will build a more comprehensive model of later developments related to religion on the ground in Athens that might have been overlooked or taken for granted in the process of the Greek East becoming "Roman."

A number of issues are implicated in just the terms required for such a discussion, and a recognition of the discursive background is necessary for mobilizing them here. It is now widely acknowledged that such concepts as "religiosity" and "piety" are tainted by the Western, Judaeo-

Christian, and/or modern baggage they carry.[42] Some insist upon "emic" terms for these categories, preferring for example *eusebeia* to its less precise English translations, but here we encounter other problems.[43] The ancient authors themselves use a variety of words for religion with varying degrees of interchangeability (e.g. *theosebeia*; *deisidaimonia*) and so they detract from the precision that supposedly makes these terms more appropriate for modern applications anyway. Accordingly, they require the reader to wield both a philologist's knowledge of etymology as well as a historian's familiarity with the context in which each term would be preferred by respective authors. In the end, the original vocabulary might bring us slightly closer to the definitions that the ancients intended for these concepts, but at the price of diminished accessibility for all but the most erudite audience. I therefore will employ the Greek terms as far as they are directly applicable within the context of the discussion, but I will beg the reader's indulgence when I occasionally must resort to more flexible (and thus less precise) modern terminology. Finally, in emphasizing distinctions between "religion" and "ritual," one of my aims in this study is to highlight in the evidence of the material record the significance of certain actions that are performed ritually—that is, the behavior of those interacting with sacred objects as a matter of course in their everyday lives—but which might not have been considered explicitly "religious," nor even ceremonial, by those actors.[44]

---

[42] Much of this baggage reflects the fraught notion of "religion" itself as a contested discursive category in our post-modern academic context (Renfrew 1994). For a concise summary of the debate with a focus on ritual, see also Renfrew 2007: 112–114.
[43] See e.g. the admonitions of Daniel Boyarin, especially *Border Lines* (2004) and the follow-up, "Rethinking Jewish Christianity" (2009), where he dedicates a lengthy footnote (p. 9, n. 8) to challenging even the terms "emic" and "etic" for describing and analyzing religious categories.
[44] Cf. Elsner 2012: 8–13; Renfrew 2007.

One final point, on orthography: in striving to adhere as closely as possible to the ancient sources, I transliterate directly from the Greek all proper names wherever it is practicable, but there are certain forms that remain simply too cumbersome or unrecognizable for a modern Anglophone audience. Therefore, I acknowledge the inconsistency but nevertheless offer what I believe to be a balance between the most faithful and most accessible versions of these titles. As Richard Wycherley quipped, "Let him who is without sin—and who writes 'Aiskhulos'—cast the first stone."[45]

[45] Wycherley 1978: viii.

CHAPTER I: A Reputation for Piety

"Athenians, I see how *extremely religious* you are in every way."[1]

So begins the apostle Paul's famous speech to the council of the Areopagus at Athens, often cited as a cogent (and rather concise) statement of Christian theology rendered accessible to a particularly skeptical audience. The doctrines proclaimed therein have been dissected and interpreted according to countless perspectives since the text's composition in the late first century AD, but rarely has the focus lingered on the questionable basis of Paul's acclamation in the opening line.[2] This address, the type of which appears frequently in the contemporary speeches of the Second Sophistic, was clearly intended to stroke the Athenian ego, but such a statement must have been rooted in more than just Paul's observation of a random altar to an "unknown" god, as he claims. Attica certainly was renowned for its numerous temples and cult statues, and it seems almost obligatory that visitors to Athens should comment on the sheer preponderance of sacred spaces and objects there. But do these material manifestations of religious activity necessarily reflect an equivalent preponderance of that activity itself? What do we really know about the everyday "religion" of the Athenians during the Roman period?

Paul's assessment of Athenian religiosity, which we find paralleled in various other texts ranging from the fifth century BC to the second century AD, seems to represent a common misconception embedded deep in classical tradition. In this chapter, I compare the scant literary

[1] Acts 17.22. Translation adapted from New Revised Standard Version, as in all subsequent quotations from Luke-Acts. My emphasis.
[2] The most relevant discussion is Gray 2005.

evidence with a brief overview of the archaeological picture in order to make two claims in sequence: first, that the Roman-era emphasis on the purified, idealized notion of Classical Athens as represented in contemporary literature occluded recognition of changes in the ideology and practice of religion during the period of Roman domination; and second, that this occlusion has pervaded and undermined post-classical understandings of Athenian religion, especially in narratives describing the persistence of *polis*-based cult practice and the inevitable inclination toward more characteristically Roman, and ultimately Christian, forms of observance. I will show that real, substantive changes in the lived religion of the Athenians—entirely unreported in literary accounts—are identifiable in the archaeological record of the city, particularly after certain sacred monuments were moved and modified in such a way that they became the focal points of the Agora and forced the locals to interact with them in new ways. By identifying these changes and their impacts on the daily activities of the local community, I believe that we can recover a clearer image of Athenian religion and religious identity buried beneath the layers of Roman architecture and the pages of Roman history.

The Most God-fearing, as They Say: Classical Athenian Piety

Since we have a considerable dossier of ancient comments on the religious culture of Athens from the centuries surrounding the focal moments of this study, let us briefly examine extant appraisals of the city's supposed "religiosity" in order to identify the justifications offered by a representative range of ancient writers. By applying a critical eye to the information that the texts provide, and outlining the information that they cannot, we will more conclusively highlight the perspectives of the traditional narrative that should be challenged. I opened with the quote from

Luke-Acts because in both composition and content it strikes nearest to the heart of the issue and originates in the period immediately following the culmination of the urban redevelopment projects at Athens. However, a fuller narrative of this perception and its roots must be sought much earlier—during the era in which the monuments were first erected, in fact.

Various quotations from fifth- and fourth-century BC literature might be strung together regarding the religious reputation of the Athenians, and indeed the widespread perception of their preeminence during the Classical period hardly needs demonstration.[3] Nevertheless, in the interest of contextualization and thematic coherence in the discussion to follow, it is useful to understand the nature of this reputation as portrayed in contemporary discourse. We find in a forensic speech by the fourth-century orator and statesman Lykourgos (390–ca. 324 BC) a pointed reference to the city's physical symbols of religion as a source of its citizens' traditional reputation, and it is surely no coincidence that this text often has been mined for evidence of contemporary Athenian life.[4] The account records the prosecution of a certain Leokrates for treason because he fled to Megara in the aftermath of the battle of Chaironeia (338 BC), when Philip II was marching on Athens and held the fate of the city in his capricious hands. One of the primary charges Lykourgos brings against Leokrates is that of "impiety" (ἀσέβεια), because "he did all that he could to bring about that the sacred precincts be ravaged and the temples be

[3] See e.g. the claim of Sophokles's *Oidipous at Kolonos* (401 BC): "What help comes from fame, or from a fine reputation that flows away in vain, *seeing that Athens, as they say, is the most god-fearing*, and alone can protect the afflicted stranger, and alone can give him aid?" (ll. 258–262. Translation adapted from Loeb Classical Library, with my emphasis.)
[4] For a detailed discussion of this passage as regards Athenian religious culture, see Mikalson 1998, ch. 1: "The Age of Lycourgos."

destroyed."[5] Throughout the case, Lykourgos claims that the defendant's abandonment of the city in its moment of greatest need constitutes a betrayal of the gods themselves. Since the sanctuaries would have been destroyed if the victorious Macedonians had wished it so, Leokrates, having deserted instead of defending them, thus would have been considered complicit in the attack. The fact that no such destruction ever occurred is moot: Lykourgos's accusation presupposes the jury's agreement that a "pious" Athenian (εὐσεβής) would sacrifice his life before he would allow the temples of Athens to be damaged. Students of Greek history might surmise that the orator here evocatively alludes to the momentous resolution for revenge in the Persian Wars, after the sanctuaries of Attica were first demolished so infamously.[6] Indeed, just a few years later Philip II was successful in uniting the Greeks (including the reluctant Athenians) behind this retributive goal of finally realizing the destruction of Persian temples, an endeavor in which his son Alexander was notoriously effective. Since Lykourgos was an Athenian employing specific rhetoric intended to persuade other Athenians, we should recognize that he here attempts to arouse the indignation of the jury by citing an established expectation in Athenian society: neglect of the gods' property equates to impiety, as the careful preservation of their sanctuaries represents piety. Maintenance of sacred structures constitutes a primary form of religious practice, and one of the most important activities of a truly "pious" city.[7]

---

[5] Lykourgos, *Against Leokrates* 147: ἀσεβείας δ᾽ ὅτι τοῦ τὰ τεμένη τέμνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς νεὼς κατασκάπτεσθαι τὸ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν γέγονεν αἴτιος… Translation adapted from Loeb Classical Library, as in all subsequent quotations unless otherwise noted.
[6] As demonstrated in his quotation from the (supposed) Oath of Plataia: *Against Leokrates* 80–82. See also below pp. 84–85.
[7] Cf. Mikalson 1998: 31.

Indeed, the accusation that Leokrates's negligence is tantamount to treason against both the Athenians *and* the gods frames Lykourgos's entire speech from the opening lines. He provocatively prays "to Athena and to the other gods and heroes established throughout the city and the country" that he be made a "worthy accuser" of the crimes of Leokrates, "who betrayed their temples, shrines, and precincts, the reverence ordained in the laws, and the sacrificial rituals handed down from the [Athenians'] ancestors."[8] Lykourgos skillfully interweaves the interests of the deities with the traditions (and "public" property) of the city: the fundamental assumption of his rhetoric is that any abandonment or abuse of Athens' sacred objects represents an abuse of Athens' gods themselves. Furthermore, Leokrates's impiety comprises not only the abandonment of sacred property, but also a damnable disregard for the hereditary laws and the rituals prescribed by tradition for observing and maintaining all the cults of Athens.[9] Here we have a direct reference to certain procedures of religious observance, albeit in rather vague terms that do not offer us much information as to the relationship between the hereditary laws and the traditional rituals, or how one conveys the other. Expanding on Lykourgos's reasoning, we might deduce that maintenance of the temples should take greatest priority in demonstrating piety since the rituals are impossible to perform outside of the designated sacred space. Accordingly, Leokrates's greatest offense is his abandonment of the physical symbols of Athenian piety, and this act marks him as unworthy of the three characteristics that supposedly distinguish Athenians from all other men: piety toward the gods, reverence for ancestors, and zeal for fatherland.[10]

---

[8] Lykourgos, *Against Leokrates* 1–2a.
[9] As emphasized in the Ephebic Oath, which Lykourgos would have recited in front of the court: *Against Leokrates* 76–77.
[10] Lykourgos, *Against Leokrates* 15.

Lykourgos suggestively presents these conjoined aspects of the Athenian reputation in this order, and so provides us with an important characterization of their famous religiosity at the end of the Classical era—at least as far as the Athenians themselves understood it. In this case, the assessment is apparently grounded in the successful preservation of both the sacred structures and practices inherited from the ancestors. Surely, this is a forensic speech with a very particular purpose and recognizable biases—namely, to convict a political rival of a dubious crime. But underneath all the chauvinistic, partisan rhetoric, I propose that we can identify in the condemnation of Leokrates a more general focus on the sacred landscape as a physical representation of civic *eusebeia*.[11] Looking ahead, can we discern whether the Athenians of the Hellenistic period were similarly concerned with maintaining the visage of traditional piety exhibited in their famous sanctuaries? If so, what would the damaging impact of successive wars on the landscape of Athens mean for this focus as a source of religious identity?

The Possession of the Gods: The City as a Sacred Landscape

Despite a general silence on the topic in Hellenistic texts, we have brief comments from a few Roman historians of the early Imperial period echoing the same characterization of Athenian *eusebeia* and alluding to the same reasons seen above,[12] indicating that Athens' Classical-era reputation remained prevalent among foreigners at least until the late first century AD. Since Roman generals and other elites played such a significant role in transforming the cityscape of

[11] Cf. Mikalson 1998: 42–44: witness the shift in focus of local cult centers away from the Acropolis and the accompanying implications for late- and post-classical Athenian religion.
[12] See for example the tangential comments of Livy 45.27.11; Valerius Maximus 1.1.ext.7; and Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.130.

Athens during this time, the perspectives of these writers are essential for understanding the relationship between reputation and reality in post-classical Greece. The earliest surviving Roman-era description of the sacred landscape of Attica is offered by the geographer Strabo in the Augustan period. As a native of Pontus and student of Rome, Strabo was in a unique position to observe and comment on the wider Roman perception of cultural trends in the Greek world, and so the brevity with which he covers Athens is remarkable. His review of the region's built topography initially only mentions the Erechtheion and the Parthenon before he breaks off, claiming that there is simply too much to describe: "in tackling the multitude of things in this city that are celebrated and proclaimed far and wide, I hesitate to go too far, so that my work should not depart from its stated purpose."[13] Recognizing that his purpose is to paint a "colossal" picture of his subject and so not to focus on debatable details, we might infer that his survey pinpoints only the most important physical aspects around the turn of the millennium—at least in Strabo's estimation, and so presumably also in that of his readership.[14] As a precedent he offers the poetic words of the third-century BC historian Hegesias of Magnesia: "I see the acropolis, and the mark of the enormous trident there. I see Eleusis, and I have become an initiate of its sacred mysteries; there is the Leokorion, here is the Theseion; I am not able to point them all out one by one; for *Attica is the possession of the gods*, who seized it [as a sanctuary] for themselves, and of the ancestral heroes."[15] Even allowing for the uncertainty of the word "τέμενος" supplied

[13] Strabo 9.1.16.
[14] Strabo 1.1.23.
[15] Strabo 9.1.16: ὁρῶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ περιττῆς τριαίνης ἐκεῖθι σημεῖον· ὁρῶ τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γέγονα μύστης· ἐκεῖνο Λεωκόριον, τοῦτο Θησεῖον· οὐ δύναμαι δηλῶσαι καθ᾽ ἓν ἕκαστον· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ θεῶν αὐτοῖς [τέμενος?] καταλαβόντων καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡρώων [ἐστὶ κτῆμα]. Translation (and suggestions for lacunae) adapted from Loeb Classical Library. My emphasis.

in the lacuna, the emphasis of this final statement is revealing as it implies that all of Attica in some way could be considered sacred ground, and therefore would be subject to the same restrictions and expectations as any ritually demarcated space within which state-sponsored religious activities could take place.

This sentiment is also echoed by Pausanias when he asserts that "both the city and all of the land are sacred to Athena," explaining why her statues were so ubiquitous throughout the region, to the extent that she also featured in many sanctuaries dedicated to other gods.[16] It is most relevant for our purposes that in both Strabo's comments and the quote from Hegesias we only hear of *religious* monuments, and particularly those associated with the heritage of Athens via its most prominent gods and heroes. While we might expect such a focus from Pausanias, we must recognize that Strabo's descriptions of other cities tend to spend an equal amount of ink on certain places and monuments that seem more primarily *political* in significance—that is, specific locations where famous events in Greek political history occurred, the sort of which Athens also boasted "a multitude" (for one, the renowned statues of the Tyrannicides). Of course, religion and politics are often inextricable in the pseudo-historical etiologies the writer provides, but why does he not elaborate on any such stories for the iconic sites of Athens as he does elsewhere in his geography? Even as he proceeds to cite notable moments in the heritage of certain demes, he simply skims over each of the characters and events involved, apparently assuming that his readership will be familiar with their distinctly local significance.[17] Was the

[16] Pausanias 1.26.6.
[17] Strabo 9.1.17.

entire mythology and history of Athens really so famous as to be common knowledge among the literati of the Roman Empire?

Strabo seems to recognize the superficial nature of his coverage of Attica as he repeats variously that his project simply cannot accommodate further explanation, and even dedicates a paragraph to defending his brevity, the opening line of which is particularly revealing: "The greater men's fondness for learning about famous things and the greater the number of men who have talked about them, the greater the reproach, if one does not master the history."[18] Can we read in this statement a tacit admission that he is simply unwilling to dedicate the extensive time, energy, and ink needed to "master" Athenian history? Or, since so many other authors had covered these stories before Strabo's time, was he simply sidestepping the numerous debatable questions that permeated any discussion of Athenian traditions? It seems unlikely that many of his readers would be as well-versed in local Greek histories as the erudite geographer himself, and such a theory is supported by the fact that he decides to include in the next section a (very) brief summary of Athenian political development from Kekrops to Sulla.[19] He concludes with the observation that the city in his own time is held "in freedom and honor by the Romans." The placement of this remark at the end of his synopsis suggests that such "honor" is rooted in the prominent influence of Athens' historic political innovations, but those innovations date back centuries to the mythical leaders associated with the handful of temples that he deemed important enough to highlight at the beginning. The unifying thread throughout this commentary seems to be that Athens' fame stems from its reputation as a hub for religious architecture and political

[18] Strabo 9.1.19.
[19] Strabo 9.1.20.

heritage in tandem, pinpointing the two most celebrated and marketable features of its traditions emerging from the fifth century BC. Surely, one of the factors that made these cultural products so exportable in the Roman period was their symbolic allusion to the Greeks' own prior bid(s) for imperial power. The Athenians' hope for renewed hegemony might have been rekindled for a moment after T. Quinctius Flamininus's expulsion of the Macedonian dynasts and declaration of Greek freedom,[20] but then of course it was snuffed out so momentously at the first instance of their own conflict with Rome—a cautionary tale that would have been familiar to both the triumphant Romans and the nostalgic Greeks. Therefore, Strabo affirms the connection between the Athenians' classical heritage and its vestiges in their contemporary landscape but chooses not to mention any developments after Sulla. Indeed, even if his patronage obliged him to speak favorably of the Roman presence in Greece, it is striking that he mentions only those classical objects which originally had made the city famous and does not seem concerned to paint an accurate picture of whichever monuments would have been of greatest importance to *contemporary* Athenians.

Shrines Made by Human Hands: The Early Christian View

It is remarkable and, for us, remarkably unfortunate that no substantial text survives from the hand of an Athenian in the era between Sulla and Hadrian. In our search for direct testimony regarding the religious climate at Athens, let us return to Luke-Acts in order to examine the attitudes attributed by the evangelist author to the apostle's anonymous Athenian interlocutors. It is worth noting that Paul's first reaction upon arriving in town is utter distress at the spectacle of

[20] Livy 33.32; Plutarch, *Flamininus* 10; Polybius 18.46.

the city being "full of idols"—or, in Wycherley's more evocative translation of κατείδωλον, "a *forest* of idols."[21] This distress stirs him to begin arguing daily with Jews in the synagogue, then with "the god-fearers" (τοῖς σεβομένοις, gentile sympathizers of Judaism), and finally in the Agora with anyone who happened to be there.[22] In addition to regular citizens conducting business, groups of philosophers seem to have spent much of their time in the Agora as well, and it is Paul's encounter with the Epicureans and Stoics that quickly lands him in front of the Areopagus. The brief description of activity in the Agora raises a few questions for our study, beginning fundamentally with which Agora is being described. Of the two adjoined marketplaces in Athens during this period, the original Classical Agora to the west presumably served more social and exhibitionist purposes, while the newer Roman Market to the east apparently hosted most common commercial transactions.[23] This was not a complete separation since trade certainly occurred in both markets throughout this period (see chapter II below), but in the archaeology we can confidently observe that the Roman Market was the primary center for Roman-era commerce. For reasons I will explore later, contemporary texts do not distinguish between the two spaces. I also will elucidate what the archaeology can tell us about the occupants and activities of the double Athenian marketplace in Paul's day. For now, suffice it to say that the writer of Luke-Acts pictured the area of the Agora as the dynamic city-center where the lifeblood of Athens flowed through the inquisitive conversations of citizens common and elite, trained and illiterate, pious and intellectual.

---

[21] Wycherley 1968.
[22] Acts 17.16–17. This seems to have been Paul's usual procedure in the cities he visited: Keener 2014: 2579.
[23] Dickenson 2011: 56–57; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 107–108, 172–173.

Indeed, in a rare moment of authorial commentary "Luke" himself implies that the discussion of academic and religious topics *constantly* occurred in Athens, not only in the philosophical circles that he identifies as such but also among every demographic of the city: "All the Athenians and the foreigners living there would spend their time in nothing but telling or hearing something new."[24] This bald stereotype, like that of the Epicureans and Stoics in this same passage, reflects the common perception of first-century Athens as a "college town" where the only exportable products were ideas. It is crucial to recognize here that such intellectual acquisitiveness is painted as a negative trait in the context of Luke-Acts, and is essentially contrasted with a true desire for knowledge that inevitably leads to belief in the Christian message.[25] The characterization alludes to the trope of the curious "busybody" denounced by contemporary authors like Plutarch and Apuleius as a person naturally prone to superstition, the kind of "overly religious" concern for the sacred that surpassed natural, appropriate levels of interest.[26] The Athenians who question Paul first in the Agora and then on the Areopagus are portrayed as indulging a dilettantish curiosity in entertaining and contesting opinions purely for the sake of debate, especially when those opinions offered ideas unknown to them, and even more so when they contained titillating stories. The two temperaments attributed to the audience (that is, excessive intellectualism and excessive superstition) might seem incompatible, but a careful consideration of the cultural subtext of Paul's speech helps to clarify its reasoning. In addressing the Athenians as "extremely religious," he seems artfully to extend a double-edged compliment in order to praise their interest in acquiring knowledge while simultaneously

[24] Acts 17.21.
[25] Keener 2014: 2612–2613.
[26] Gray 2005: 110–113; Wood 2005.

implying that they still are going about it in the wrong way.[27] The term the author uses here is invoked most commonly with this negative connotation as it stems from the root verb δεισιδαιμονέω, "to fear superstitiously," while earlier references to the Athenian reputation employ some version of the root σέβω, "to worship or honor."[28]

It is difficult to imagine that this subtle irony would have been lost on the rhetorically-minded Athenians, and were such a term actually employed, their recognition of the insult could have contributed to the ambivalent response to the whole speech that we witness in the text. It is interesting that the Areopagites are supposed to have been entirely unfamiliar with even the basic concepts of Paul's teaching, a detail highlighted as the reason they want to hear him speak in the first place.[29] The notion of resurrection surely would have been known to them through various common myths including those of Dionysus, the Egyptian Osiris, and the Mesopotamian Tammuz. The key seems to be the Agora philosophers' accusation that Paul was introducing *new gods* into the city without prior permission, a charge that better explains his arraignment before the Areopagus council and also imbues the episode with distinctly Socratic overtones.[30] However, what is even more pertinent here is the slice of the gospel message that the evangelist chooses to feed them, as it positively sustains the connection I seek to draw between *eusebeia* and sacred objects in Athens.

---

[27] Gray 2005: 109–110. This insinuation of their ignorance might have provoked them to interrupt Paul's speech at the premature point where it ends so abruptly in the text (so Gray 2005: 114–115).
[28] Keener 2014: 2627–2629; cf. Gray 2005: 112–113.
[29] Acts 17.19–21.
[30] As has been remarked frequently in scholarship: an overview is provided in Keener 2014: 2603–2607, and esp. note 3043.

I have commented on the double-edged implication of Paul's overture to his "extremely religious" Athenian audience, and that the only justification he explicitly provides for this appraisal is a chance encounter with an altar "to the unknown god," a deity whom he conveniently identifies as the Christians' own.[31] However, his next two statements are more indicative of the deeper basis for his reasoning, as they revolve entirely around physical manifestations of religion. First, the apostle asserts that God "does not live in shrines made by human hands, nor is he served by human hands, as though he needed anything, since he himself gives to all mortals life and breath and all things."[32] He clearly refers to the aforementioned altar, but uses it to make a more general statement about the substance and nature of the divine that directly contradicts the most basic tenets of classical Greek cult practice. In his next statement, he puts the icing on the cake by appropriating the words of the poet Aratus, a student in Athens during the third century BC: "as even some of your own poets have said, 'we too are his offspring.' Since we are God's offspring, we ought not to think that the deity is like gold, or silver, or stone, an image formed by the art and imagination of mortals."[33] He thus completes his assault on the triad of classical cult apparatus by explicitly repudiating the valence of the sanctuary, the altar, and the statue. Without these sacred objects, traditional rituals were rendered impossible—and the evangelist clearly recognized this. Why bring up these points explicitly, if not to tackle directly an Athenian preoccupation with physical demonstrations of piety?

---

[31] Acts 17.23. On the implications of the exordium, see Gray 2005: 109–110, and especially footnote 6. Wycherley (1968) proposed that these altars to unknown gods, which were common throughout the region of the Agora, in fact could have been a type of hero shrine erected in order to appease the inhabitants of the unlabeled Mycenaean graves that were frequently disrupted during construction work.

[32] Acts 17.24–25.

[33] Acts 17.28–29. Cf. Gray 2005: 113–114.

Moreover, this criticism could not actually have been new to the intellectual community at Athens: various Greek philosophers had urged a return to an earlier form of cult practice that eschewed statues or other physical representations of deity, and they inevitably would have been familiar with the infamous iconoclasm of the Jews.[34] But regardless, if the classical practice was not still preeminent, or at least widely popular, among the Athenian audience, why place such climactic emphasis upon the argument?

The only other point Paul makes before closing the sermon is the proverbial "mic-drop" assertion of the Christian gospel: the ignorance of earlier generations would be forgiven, but there is no longer any excuse not to believe the message of the resurrection—in fact, unbelievers will be judged "in righteousness" (ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ) by the resurrected "man" himself.[35] The Athenian reaction in this passage centers around the statement about the resurrection, as this obviously served the author's greater purpose in the Luke-Acts text. The audience, as in other cities visited by Paul, is split between three responses: outright rejection on philosophical grounds; conciliatory contemplation with a view toward another discussion; and, in just a few cases, immediate conversion.[36] It is noteworthy that the Areopagites are depicted as more concerned with addressing the ontological viability of resurrection than countering the bold rhetorical attack on their sacred landscape, but this also reinforces Luke's claim that Athenians were really only interested in debating "new" ideas. On the other hand, since the purpose of the hearing was to determine whether Paul legitimately preached a new god, it seems plausible that

[34] Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.3.1; Gray 2005: 114; Keener 2014: 2639–2641.
[35] Acts 17.30–31. Cf. Gray 2005: 114.
[36] Acts 17.32–34. On the small number of Athenian converts, see Frantz 1965: 188; Keener 2014: 2567–2568. Other such mixed reactions occur e.g. at Ikonion (Acts 14.4) and Jerusalem (Acts 23.7).

the audience considered the homeless, self-sustaining, iconoclastic Christian deity to be just one among many potential candidates for admission into the city's cultic sphere, regardless of whether he desired his own shrine within the city limits. Ultimately, Luke's narrative introduction and Paul's succinct speech comprise an incisive polemic against the focus on materiality inherent to the *old* religion of the Athenians, and by synecdoche, that of all the Greeks. Why does the apostle single out the altar and not the ritual activity that would have been performed on top of it? Surely, it was not sacred construction *per se* that earned more vocal condemnation from early Christians, but rather the attendant offerings and sacrifices that these structures accommodated. Where else in the New Testament canon do we see such a direct and concentrated foray against altars and statues without pinpointing the act of worship as the real "sin"? To some extent, Athens must have been perceived as unique in this regard and so this sermon was tailored to address that special focus. If such a striking number of sacred objects in one city testified to a collective local *eusebeia* toward the traditional gods, then these objects continued to provide evidence for the credibility of Athens' historic reputation.[37]

Greater than Others in Piety: The Second-Century Perspective

In concluding the literary survey, our final reference of interest comes from the detailed account of Pausanias, which enshrines the perception of Athenian religiosity in the years immediately

[37] Cf. Evans 2011: 94: "Like the real emperors, this literary version of Paul had a desire to see in Athens a reflection of his own world. Each constructed the Athenian past so that the past predicted the new order, and each looked to the stones of Athens—the monuments, temples, and altars—to appeal to the Athenians' sense of traditional piety and free inquiry." Also Keener 2014: 2578: "Together, the archaeological and the literary evidence suggest a city devoted to artistic praise of traditional Greek deities, with a few newer deities added."

following Hadrian's reign: "In the Athenian agora among the objects not generally known is an altar to Mercy, of all divinities the most useful for human life and changes of fortune, but to whom among the Greeks only the Athenians give honors. And they are greater than the others not only as they demonstrate benevolence but also as they show reverence to the gods."[38] While Pausanias comments on Athenian *eusebeia* elsewhere (see e.g. 1.24.3), here he offers a justification for the characterization, and it should come as no surprise that the assessment is based on certain sacred monuments in the city. The shrines that he lists in the next statement as evidence for Athenian reverence include Mercy, Modesty, Rumor, and Effort/Impulse, and these cults apparently indicate exceptional piety because of their rarity among Greek cities. I hardly need to belabor my case here, as Pausanias unequivocally offers up the information we seek. The stereotype of Athenian piety by the mid-second century was so pervasive as to have become interwoven into the very fabric of the city's identification, and that piety was rooted in the diversity of cult evident in their sacred objects. Even taking into account Pausanias's notion that virtually every Greek city derived its identity from its ancient religious heritage, we should observe that he mentions Athenian "benevolence" (φιλανθρωπία) without qualification, implying that they were "greater than the others" simply by nature of their accommodation of a greater number of divinities. Notably, we do not hear of their famous festivals or other specific religious activities, in Pausanias or any other second-century text, unless in reference to the distant classical past—a mere chapter in history to be admired and remembered by the likes of poets and

[38] Pausanias 1.17.1.

sophists.[39] Instead, the physical manifestations of *historic* religious practice in the city, and particularly those dedicated to unique divinities, offer all the evidence necessary for Pausanias's contemporaries to subscribe to his viewpoint of Athens' perennial piety.

It should be recognized that each of the so-called deities mentioned as patrons of the altars above are not technically gods at all, but personifications of philosophical ideals governing individual human behavior. These reflect a long tradition of Athenians honoring abstractions as if they were deities, although the earlier examples generally exhibit greater interest in issues of victory and prosperity, rather than philosophy.[40] However, in this instance Pausanias mentions none of the classical cults of civic welfare most prominent on the Acropolis and in the Agora, perhaps because they were so well known—or perhaps because the "religion" of Athens had become steeped in a distinctly philosophical and intellectual form of observance. This shift could have been fostered by the sort of self-conscious discussions constantly taking place there but, as I will argue in later chapters, it also could signal an embrace or at least acceptance of the Roman-era stereotype of the Athenians as academics and intellectuals. If the city had become a center for the cultivation of personal philosophy, this culture necessarily would have influenced local religious ideology even if the specific and practical effects remain enigmatic to us.

---

[39] The *Panathenaicus* of Aelius Aristides is a classic example, as demonstrated by Saïd 2006. Over the last half-century there has emerged a substantial literature on the idealized conception and reimagination of the Greek past in the rhetoric of the Second Sophistic, the most pertinent works of which include Bowersock 1969, esp. 15–16; Bowie 1970, esp. 27–31; Bowie 2007, esp. 362–366; Bowie 2010; and Day 1980.

[40] For example, see the statue dedications of "Glory" (εὔκλεια): SEG 16, 230; "Plenty" (εὐετηρία): Raubitschek 1966: no. 2, pp. 242–243; "Abundance" (εὐπορία): SEG 19, 224; "Contentment" (εὐδοσία): IG II^2 4491; and "Good Temper" (εὐκολίνη): IG II^2 4682. Cf. Humphreys 2004: 65, 70–71. On the history of these kinds of cults with other testimonia: Hamdorf 1964.

At any rate, the notably uncommon deities to whom the city's myriad sacred objects were dedicated would have been as impressive to observers as the simple fact that these objects were ubiquitous there, visible on every street corner and across every open space. Citing these as physical evidence of extraordinary religiosity, Pausanias goes on to assert, "It is clearly evident that those who are greater than others in piety are equally so in good fortune."[41] Awe-struck by the grandeur of the sacred landscape, he apparently forgets his other observations concerning the dilapidated state of much of the local settlement. Indeed, the Athenians arguably had not experienced "good fortune" of any substantial sort since Philip II, a fact which should have been recognized by such an informed writer. Is it not possible, then, that his entire impression of Athenian religious fervor was grounded in a misunderstood and romanticized ideal?[42] After praising their maintenance of particular notable sanctuaries, he turns around and comments on how significantly reduced was the Athens of his own period from its classical magnitude—a common trope in Pausanias's imagery of Roman Greece, but surely one that reflected equivalently on the political and religious situation. Furthermore, since he regards Athens as historically exceptional in these arenas, the inconsistency of his final assessment is particularly striking. This is the crux of the issue I am pinpointing throughout this chapter, as also reflected in the words of the contemporary Aelius Aristides: "The city is most well endowed to provide for the beauty of her temples and images, so that in two ways she would be a guide in these matters. For this whole custom began here and the city has provided from its own resources the material

[41] Pausanias 1.17.2: δῆλά τε ἐναργῶς, ὅσοις πλέον τι ἑτέρων εὐσεβείας μέτεστιν, ἴσον σφίσι παρὸν τύχης χρηστῆς.
[42] Cf. Elsner 1995: 140–141; Elsner 2012: 14–18.

for it."[43] Thus we witness the second-century understanding that Athens had always led the Greeks in both creating and maintaining the temples and images of the gods, and for this they deserve the respect of all other peoples. That they prioritize this sacred responsibility in the dispensing of civic funds further demonstrates their ongoing piety, and the beauty of their sacred landscape inspires so much awe as to be akin to a religious experience in itself.[44] But what civic funds did Athens even have for such activities during this period? Who was really maintaining the sanctuaries, and with what motives? These important questions remain unanswered in the texts, so we must look elsewhere for qualification of the writers' idealistic claims.

The Glory of Your Ancestors: Imagining a Landscape

I have restricted this survey of Athenian reputation to the significant literary references that offer some justification for their assessment of exceptional "piety," through which I have traced a primary focus on physical symbols of religious activity. Returning now to our original inquiry, should we therefore read the presence of sacred construction in the cityscape as the most indicative representation of fervent religious activity? They certainly are linked in the authors' descriptions of Athenian reverence for the divine and how that reverence is manifested, but does this link allow us to make an authoritative statement about the emphases of religion during this period? While this review of the literary material has offered us a sense of contemporary cultural perceptions, there simply is not enough proof to confirm or even corroborate the unchanging assumptions about Athenian religiosity implied in the ancient texts themselves. Most crucially,

[43] Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaicus* 21.
[44] Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaicus* 12.

we have heard almost nothing about religious *practice*, and any abstract references to ritual observance are apparently tied to notions of Athens' classical situation. For example, we know that the major festivals that receive so much attention in earlier literature continued at Athens and some, such as the infamous Eleusinian mysteries, even acquired a substantial contingent of Roman initiates and supporters.[45] So why do we not hear of these (or any other) sorts of events, which we could identify as performative acts of religious practice, among the other affirmations of continued Athenian piety? Is it possible that second-century writers tacitly acknowledged how these festivals had shifted from a local to a more universal character in order to be marketed as a cultural attraction, and thus to maintain viability? Such a shift surely would have changed the meaning and significance of the events for the locals, who no longer administered (or even attended) them together as a bounded group of participants with common ethnic ties.

What does a reputation for piety, whether promulgated by outsiders or by the Athenians themselves, really have to do with their religious identity anyway? Is it reasonable to expect that outsiders would report accurately the Athenians' own valuation of the importance of certain religious objects? What if those outsiders were Romans who obviously had vested interests reporting on Greeks who did not have the power to articulate their own priorities in the face of their rulers? Based on the general arc of Athenian religion that we can identify in the better-attested periods before Sulla and after Hadrian, I find it rather unlikely that the perspectives examined above truly reflect the sentiments of the respective contemporary Athenians. Whether they resented or appreciated such stereotypes is another question, but the literature alone cannot offer us sufficient information to authoritatively conclude much of anything beyond superficial,

[45] Momigliano 1984: 881–885.

ex post facto notions of the situation. However, in our efforts to flesh out and refine this fragmentary narrative, it is also misleading simply to map these literary scraps onto potentially corresponding developments in the archaeology of the cityscape. An inclination toward such methods can obscure the reality of the situation on the ground to the extent that we might miss completely the uniqueness of certain factors. The famous case of the universally recognized "Theseion" in the Agora that was later discovered actually to be a temple to Hephaistos (and Athena) is merely one of numerous examples.[46] Texts and objects respectively offer us very different sets of information, especially when it comes to religion.[47] Scholars across the disciplinary spectrum have demonstrated what we can learn about religion from the texts, and this information generally falls under such categories as "ideology" and "propaganda." Notably absent from those categories is any real data about the living, breathing activities of those who enacted these ideologies on the ground, and whether or not they ever considered themselves to be doing so.

Returning now to my concrete case study: if the Athenians' civic pride and identity were rooted in their reputation for *eusebeia*, and that concept of piety was based largely on the preservation of the traditional sacred landscape, then where would they have derived their religious identity after this landscape was transformed? In answering this question, we must consider again what exactly constituted Athenian religion during the Roman period. Did it comprise more (or less) than the practical union of classical ideology and ritual practice in a context bereft of civic political roots? What would it have meant to an average citizen? Would

[46] For an extensive description and consideration of this temple, see Dinsmoor 1941, which builds on the earlier discoveries of H.A. Thompson 1937 and D.B. Thompson 1937.
[47] Cf. Morris 2000: 3–29; and for the study of agora areas specifically, Dickenson 2016: 32–43.

s/he actively think about and discuss the consequences of these changes among the community? The texts have failed to offer us any real insight and the inscriptions, as Momigliano emphasized, generally inform us only of institutional arrangements framed in the terms of honorific traditions.[48] If we cannot find answers in the literary and epigraphic records, we are left to consider the physical landscape—and thus, hopefully, to arrive at conclusions less tainted by cultural baggage both ancient and modern.

The incident with the blood-spattered Rome-facing Athena statue represents the most significant and direct indication of any sign of displeasure, whether divine or human, provoked by the Roman intervention in Athenian affairs after Sulla's conquest. Unfortunately, the story is rather fanciful and otherwise unattested, and cannot securely support the conclusion that this was the final moment when the Athenians resented Roman rule.[49] Indeed, later Roman authors refer obliquely to some sort of "stasis" event which apparently occurred at Athens around AD 13 and even might have required an imperial legate to settle it, perhaps indicating some kind of rebellion.[50] In a speech by Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso from 18 AD, he denounces the Athenians as troublemakers possibly in allusion to that same event, but again the details are unknown to us.[51] The Romans report no further disruption from Athens after this point. Here again we encounter the limits of our literary evidence: an absence of other references to unrest should not be construed to represent a complete and unanimous acquiescence.[52] It seems rather more likely that

---

[48] Cf. Grijalvo 2005.
[49] See Hoff 1989, "Civil Disobedience."
[50] Eusebius, *Chron*. 197.4; Orosius 6.22.2; Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Misc.* 7.86.9. See also Bowersock 2002, esp. 15–16.
[51] Tacitus, *Ann*. 2.55.
[52] Cf. Alcock 2001: 333–334; Hoff 1989, "Civil Disobedience": 275–276. *Contra* Hendrick 2006, esp. 39–55.

at least certain factions within the Athenian population would have long resented the heavy hand of Rome—and perhaps especially after the landscape redevelopment projects that leveled several residential areas and forced a characteristically Roman imperial model of urban planning onto the ancient city center (on which, see the following chapter). Unfortunately, resentment is something that we cannot easily detect in the material record, barring the discovery of something like a buried cache of Athenian curse tablets.[53] The facile recognition that the newly transplanted temples in the Agora were not destroyed in a riot (such as that which might have transpired in AD 13) is insufficient to argue consent. On the other hand, taking into account the enormous extent of the damage wreaked by the sack of 86 BC and the fact that many of the ruined buildings remained in heaps throughout parts of the city until well into the first century AD, perhaps the Athenians of the Augustan era would have welcomed these major renovations that they otherwise never would have been able to afford—regardless of the impact the program would have on the traditional image of the landscape. Since these Athenians were two or even three generations removed from the events of the Mithridatic War and the Roman conquest, they might have been more willing than their grandparents to forgive and forget the traumatic destruction and bloodshed inflicted by Sulla's army if it meant that the Roman funding and patronage would help them finally to rebuild their city again. Within this context, it not only seems plausible but even likely that the Athenians themselves might have proposed or initiated the projects, with an eye for ingratiating themselves with the emperor—whose favor famously

[53] By way of modern analogy, it was suggested to me by Clifford Ando that in a few hundred years, it is possible that the only primary evidence for the construction of the Obama Presidential Library in Chicago will be a monolithic foundation inscription, obscuring completely the facts that other cities initially competed for it and locals variously contested its placement.

had not shone on them early in his reign, thanks to their backing of his rival, Antonius. In the complete absence of a text or even a substantial inscription declaring their feelings toward their Roman overlords, we can only speculate as to the diverse range of responses these interventions might have evoked. In the archaeology, though, we might identify subsequent adaptations to these changes that are suggestive of local acclimation and adjustment, and here we encounter a substantial category of evidence provided by the built environment that can offer us useful insight for this investigation.

Equal or Opposite Reactions?

Before we consider the impact of the projects and examples of such adaptations, let me briefly summarize the most significant changes in the Athenian landscape of the early Roman period to which the locals had to acclimate. The focus of the changes is the series of monuments in the center of the Classical Agora (see Figure 1), and particularly the so-called "itinerant temples" that were transplanted here during the reign of Augustus. The biggest and most prominent case is the Temple of Ares (also known as Mars Ultor), once thought to have originated in the northern deme of Acharnai but later determined to come from a sanctuary to Athena in the rural deme of Pallene.[54] This remarkable edifice was deconstructed, transported, and reassembled in (almost) its original form in the center of the Agora like a giant Lego set, along with a separate

[54] Burden 1999: 115–137; Camp 2001: 116–117; Dinsmoor 1940: 51–52; Greco et al. (III*, 9.32): 1055–1061; Goette 1997; Hoff 1988: 52–54; Korres 1992–1998; McAllister 1959; Spawforth 1997: 186–188; Thompson 1952: 93–98; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 162–165; Wycherley 1978: 84–85. On the modern discovery of the connection between the temple in the Agora and the site at Pallene, see Shear 2016: 250–256.

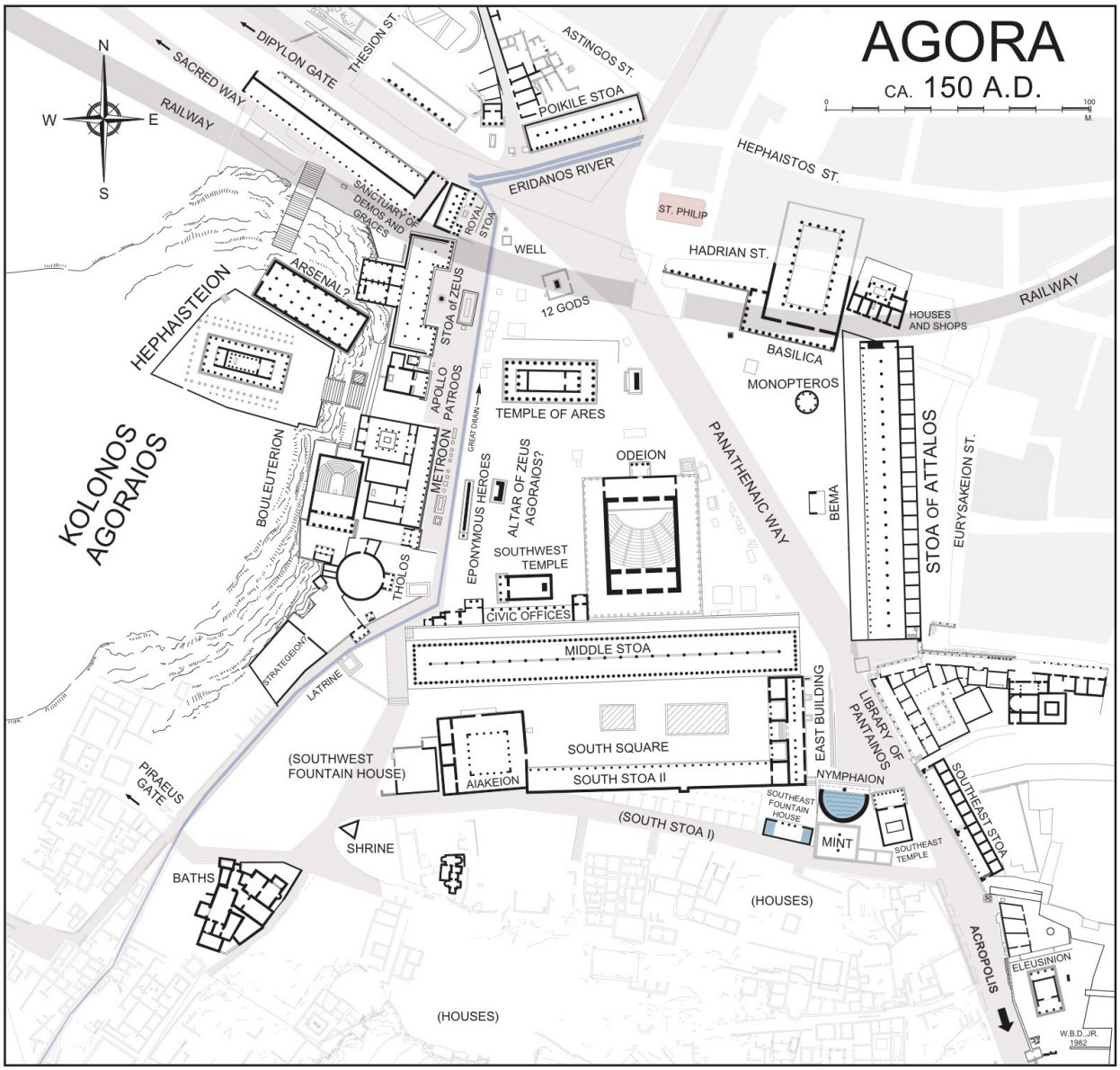

Figure 1: The Agora in the late 2nd century AD. Source: Camp 2010.

altar that actually seems to have originated in Acharnai.[55] Next, the building known as the "Southeast Temple" (for lack of an identifiable patron) contained among other transplanted

[55] That is, a Lego set for which one carefully follows the instructions and cannot interchange the pieces. An item of IKEA furniture, which there is truly only one way to assemble properly, perhaps would be another apt analogy (as suggested to me by Jonathan Hall)—but the likelihood of that furniture surviving the process of disassembly and subsequent reassembly in another location without losing structural integrity seems dubious at best.

materials at least eight columns from the temple of Athena Sounias, which had possibly been damaged in the Mithridatic war.[56] The third repurposed structure, positioned on the same axes as the Odeion, is known as the "Southwest Temple" and reused at least four columns and some other pieces from an unfinished structure (apparently planned for religious use) at Thorikos.[57] The original is known only to have been a double stoa, but it could have been intended to perform some kind of ceremonial gateway function in the Demeter sanctuary there.[58] The archaeologists observed that these Doric columns seem to have been finished by Roman masons, as indicated by their distinctly heavier fluting. One final monument, the altar of Zeus Agoraios, was apparently moved into the Agora from the Pnyx, where the god originally oversaw political assemblies, by a method similar to that used for the Ares Temple.[59] This occurred around the same time that Augustus made those assemblies politically ineffective and largely irrelevant in civic affairs, and so it represents appropriately if coincidentally a kind of rationale for these deconstructive and reconstructive actions.

The question of the agency behind these projects remains a thorny one, and throughout the discussion below (especially chapter III) I will disentangle some of the relevant threads that allow us to grasp more securely the identities of those who would have conceptualized them (probably the Athenian elites), sponsored them (most likely Roman benefactors), and executed them (almost surely the Athenian people). The knottiest issue is the extent to which locals were

---

[56] Camp 2001: 110–111; Corso 1997; Dinsmoor, Jr. 1982; Greco et al. (III**, 9.52): 1124–1125; Thompson 1960: 339–343; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 167–168; Wycherley 1978: 85.
[57] Camp 2001: 114–115; Dinsmoor, Jr. 1982; Greco et al. (III**, 9.40): 1095–1096; Thompson 1952: 90–91; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 165–166; Wycherley 1978: 85.
[58] Miles 2015.
[59] Burden 1999: 149; Dickenson 2016: 317–324; Shear 1981: 365; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 160–162; Wycherley 1978: 82–83.

responsible for devising these plans vis-à-vis the Romans who paid for them. From the early years after the integration of Athens into the Empire, Roman admirers of Greek culture had been interested in sponsoring monuments there, as we find described in the letters of Cicero.[60] Eleusis particularly received a number of these dedications (such as that of Claudius Pulcher, consul 54 BC, and his descendants), some of which seem to have been arranged or facilitated by the Athenian hoplite general Pammenes of Marathon, evidently a pro-Roman aristocrat and possible client of Marcus Agrippa.[61] It is notable that this Pammenes is also named on the dedicatory inscription as the priest for the new Temple of Roma and Augustus, identified as the monopteros on the Acropolis in front of the east entrance to the Parthenon.[62] He seems to have been part of a cohort of elite Athenians, including several prominent members of a single family from Marathon, who fostered beneficial relationships between the city and imperial officials, often requesting funds for the construction and restoration of various civic structures.

We hear from Cicero that in 50 BC, one Herodes of Marathon (relative of Pammenes and direct ancestor of Herodes Atticus) successfully petitioned Caesar for 50 talents to be used on civic construction, apparently earning Athens the enmity of Pompey—who had himself donated

[60] E.g. Cicero *Att.* 121.2 (VI.6.2).
[61] For a summary of these monuments and their significance, see Clinton 1997: 163–165; cf. Camia and Rizakis 2017: 391–392. On Pammenes's involvement, see also Hoff 1996: 190–192.
[62] IG II^2 3173. On the significance of the monopteros as the Temple of Roma and Augustus, see Hoff 1996: 185–194; Greco et al. (III*, 9.59): 1145; cf. Thakur 2007: 188. It is not entirely clear whether it was indeed a temple *per se*, much less a center of imperial cult (as Hoff suggests). This assumption is based largely on the vague dedication inscription and so is occasionally disputed, although no other candidate for the site of Roma and Augustus has emerged in the archaeology. See Burden 1999: 62–69; Camp 2001: 187–188; Hendrick 2006: 102–111.

50 talents in 62 BC and thus considered their continued requests to be rather greedy.[63] We also know of Herodes's son Eukles, who petitioned Augustus for funds to complete the new Roman Market (started with the initial donation from Caesar) and may have served as the first priest of the imperial cult.[64] Tracing this line into later history, we know that Domitian proscribed Hipparchus (grandfather of Herodes Atticus) on charges of conspiracy for tyranny in Athens, but Philostratus also tells us of genial correspondence between Hipparchus' son Atticus and Nerva, as well as close relations between Herodes Atticus and Hadrian, then Antoninus Pius (whose relative, Regilla, he married), and especially Marcus Aurelius, who became one of his pupils along with Lucius Verus.[65] However, while the Athenian family apparently became Roman citizens sometime in the first century AD (as indicated by the *nomen* Claudius that had been added at least before Nerva), it is notable that none of the earlier members appear to have held Roman citizenship—nor did many other Athenian aristocrats in general.[66] Indeed, when compared with local elites in other provinces, the aristocracy of Roman Greece seems to have sought less actively to engage with the Roman imperial political system via the provincial *cursus honorum*. This hesitation could have been rooted in a preoccupation for preserving certain traditional aspects of Greek society, as the continued emphasis on devotion to one's city dictated that most elite priorities remained within the civic framework.[67] It is worth considering whether

[63] *Attico Sal*. 115.25 [VI.1]; cf. Geagan 1997: 20. For discussion of the earlier branches of this family prosopography (before the mid-first century BC), see Geagan 1992. For its later development (up to Herodes Atticus), see Ameling 1983, esp. pp. 3–47.
[64] IG II² 3175. Cf. Bowersock 2009: 477–478.
[65] Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 2.1 [547]; see also the mention at Suetonius, *Vespasian* 13.
[66] Bowersock 2002; Walker 1997: 73.
[67] Alcock 1997, "Resistance": 110–111; 1997, "Problem": 4; Walker 1997: 73. For comparison with other Greek elites: Rizakis 2011.

anti-Roman sentiment in Athens remained substantial enough to deter them from seeking greater integration into Roman circles, or if their hesitation stemmed simply from a conservative adherence to traditional social structures and patterns of residence, as Alcock suggests. Regardless, economic necessity drove them to secure profitable contacts with interested Roman patrons—most notably the imperial family—in which cases we see both parties inscribed on the dedication plaques.[68]

In assessing these agents' relative levels of involvement in the construction work completed during this time, we need only consider the dire financial situation at Athens from Sulla to Hadrian. This poverty resulted largely from the series of ill-advised diplomatic decisions that landed the Athenians repeatedly on the wrong side of Rome's emerging powers.[69] Indeed, a shortage of disposable resources among elite Athenian families is confirmed by those surviving petitions of local aristocrats for imperial funds to complete even basic civic construction.[70] Further evidence of foreign involvement is manifested in the characteristically Roman forms of architecture and alignment identifiable in the itinerant temples and the other new buildings constructed during this period.[71] These would have been immediately apparent to the ancient viewer, as they would not have matched the archaic and classical architectural forms that characterized the rest of the city until the end of the first century AD. In one striking example, the garish Odeion of Agrippa would have vastly outshone the Middle Stoa behind it and the

---

[68] Alcock 2002: 65–66. See also Hoff 1997; Thompson 1966 and 1987; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 23; and further discussion in chapters III and IV below.
[69] The length of the city's time to recovery after Sulla's sack was the topic of an extensive debate in modern scholarship, finally concluded by Hoff 1997, which will be examined in chapter III below.
[70] Walker 1997: 73. Cf. Geagan 1997.
[71] Shear 1981: 368.

smaller temples around it. I will consider in subsequent chapters whether the archaism of contemporary Athenian construction might have been reflective of an emphasis on programmatic consistency in civic architecture, of simple convenience in adaptive reuse of available materials, or of an entrenched reluctance on the part of the Athenian people to embrace Roman forms. Whatever the case, the architectural features themselves reveal a dichotomy in the priorities of the agents involved: the more elaborate and better-funded structures emphasize the new universal style of a united Mediterranean world, while the outmoded styles of the relatively poorer Athenian projects allude to the richer heritage of their classical past.

The ostentatious new monuments across the cityscape that resulted from Roman benefactions surely symbolize the pragmatic resourcefulness of the local elites who often facilitated them, but in any case might not represent the general attitude of the Athenian public toward Roman patronage.[72] The elites' self-interested motivations occasionally caused divisive disputes even among the several most prominent families,[73] and the resulting projects do not necessarily provide us with useful examples of the adaptations and adjustments of less well-connected Athenians. Notably, it is within this context of Roman sponsorship that the Roman Market (of Caesar and Augustus) was commissioned, begun, and eventually completed.[74] It is also revealing that Athenian aristocrats subsequently decided to display the objects of their own competitive efforts for notoriety inside the Roman Market.[75] This newer agora thus seems to

---

[72] Philostratus (*Lives of the Sophists* 2.1) depicts vividly the often-strained relationship between aristocrats like Herodes Atticus and the general Athenian populace regarding the use of funds for civic construction and other types of benefactions, although the story is not explicitly tied to these projects.
[73] Geagan 1997.
[74] Hoff 1989, "Early History." Funding of construction by Augustus: IG II² 3175.
[75] Walker 1997: 72–74.

have become the locus for most donations from the elites and their Roman patrons, while the Classical Agora presumably maintained its museum-like status without significant accretions after the Augustan era (i.e. beyond small honorific or votive statues and the diminutive imperial altars that appear everywhere in the city). Since much of the identifiable *civic* construction in this period does not match these trends, it is more informative for our purposes when the Dēmos (the assembly of the people, such as it was during this period) undertook to place its name on new structures, including even the unexceptional maintenance of basic infrastructural needs. By identifying the form and circumstances of these inferior but vital projects, we might better understand the impact of Roman intervention on everyday Athenian life, as well as the physical emphases of their lived religious experience.

The embellishment at public expense of a rare marble-colonnaded street connecting the two marketplaces together is therefore an especially valuable example, and one to which much pomp and ceremony was clearly attached.[76] We might expect that the city would have wanted to bolster this essential corridor between the two high-traffic areas at the time when the Roman Agora was completed with a final donation from Augustus around 10 BC, but the colonnade was not actually finished until the reign of Trajan at the beginning of the second century AD. This delay might bespeak the sheer financial insolvency of the city treasury, particularly given the enormous outlay required by such a project. Simultaneously, it also could indicate an entrenched reluctance to accept the new visage of the cluttered and "Romanized" public squares that obscured the previously open and accessible nature of their democratic civic space. Indeed, the

[76] Greco et al. (III**, 9.53): 1128–1131; Shear 1981: 370–372. See the comprehensive examination of this project in chapter III below.

concurrent erection of a substantially longer but significantly meaner colonnade along the celebrated Panathenaic Way might suggest the priorities of the city in delaying construction until both projects could be executed.[77] This ceremonial street with its countless civic processions embodied a much deeper history with stronger implications for local identity than the region surrounding the Roman Market. Might we identify here a latent effort to reassert the vitality of Athenian culture?

I will present a few other compelling cases of this sort of reactionary construction in chapter III, but the search for agency in these examples brings into relief a feature absent from the Agora project: there is no surviving evidence of any Athenian patronage in the transplanted temples, and since local facilitators always made sure to inscribe their names prominently on public dedications—even if the sponsorship is attributed to a third party—we might tentatively conclude that no Athenians were involved in any significant capacity.[78] It is true that we are missing the dedicatory plaques for the itinerant objects, except possibly for an inscription describing Augustus's grandson Gaius and later Tiberius's son Drusus as the "new Ares," which—if it is even connected to the temple at all—was probably added after the completion of the temple relocation.[79] However, the lack of any local aristocrat named in this context (in the way that we saw Pammenes listed on the dedication for Roma and Augustus) could indicate not only a lack of local elite involvement in the project but also less willing integration of, and interaction with, these newly transplanted monuments on the part of the Athenians. At the risk of

[77] Greco et al. (III*, 9.13): 975–978; Shear 1981: 369–370.
[78] Walker 1997: 72.
[79] Gaius: IG II^2 3250 = Schmalz 2009: no. 129, pp. 100–101; Drusus: IG II^2 3256. See discussion and scholarly doubt about the connection of this plaque to the temple in chapter III below.

proposing a problematic argument from silence, we must question at any rate why we have no evidence whatsoever of the patronage or usage of these temples. Could it signal a loss of social memory, or at least interest, among the local agents, who focused their attention instead on the aspects of their proud sacred landscape that they prioritized in the image of the Agora? I will argue here that the archaeology supports such a conclusion, especially with regard to the questionable treatment of the Southwest Temple in subsequent construction undertaken by the Dēmos in the second century AD. In this situation, the Roman-era changes fundamentally reshaped and redefined this central district into a form that reflected an idealized vision of Classical Athens, and perhaps the effects of the changes were so unavoidable that the Athenians eventually came to reimagine the significance of the area altogether on these terms.

Whose Landscape Is It Anyway?

When viewed within the greater landscape of the city, the transplanted structures are clustered in the once-open center of public space and are specifically oriented to face the important access roads, particularly the Panathenaic Way. It is easy to imagine their dominance in the sight of the approaching viewer, and they were clearly meant to impart a commanding message.[80] In our search for the practical effects of this new sacred topography, the question of which cults were chosen specifically for this purpose becomes especially important. Perhaps we will be informed by the original divine patrons of the itinerant temples: the Temple of Ares was almost certainly that of Athena Pallenis in its original incarnation, and its altar belonged to either Ares or Athena

[80] Walker (1997: 68) even asserts that it has become almost "cliché" to remark that the Roman reorganization of Athens represented a demonstration of new Roman power over that of classical Greece.

Areia within their shared sanctuary at Acharnai; the Southeast Temple recycled pieces from Athena Sounias; and the Southwest Temple co-opted parts from a sanctuary of Demeter. Although their new patrons remain mysteriously anonymous, archaeologists have proposed various reconstructions that connect them with members of the imperial household.[81] While we have not yet discovered hard evidence for imperial cult worship in any of these sites, we possess a staggering number of objects and images related to the imperial family from across the landscape of Athens (which I will describe in chapter IV).[82] At any rate, even with this fragmentary picture of the structures before and after they were transplanted, we can still identify that the Roman imperial family came to occupy a conspicuous position in relation to the sanctuaries' original Greek patrons, who became increasingly overshadowed. It has been observed that a secondary map imposed onto an existing cityscape by an authoritarian power eventually has the effect of reshaping the layer underneath it to reflect the new social and cultural priorities of the ruler, while simultaneously burying those of the ruled.[83] In order to access those buried interests and uncover the perspectives of the subjugated Athenians, then, we must attempt to place ourselves in their shoes—in this case, as literally as possible.

With the aid of a perspective reconstruction based on the excavation reports (see Figure 2), we can visualize at least some of the amble through the Agora that Paul himself would have experienced when he first entered the city center—and perhaps even the moment he was so

[81] Dinsmoor 1940: 51–52; Dinsmoor 1982: 438; Wycherley 1957: 55–57. Cf. Oliver 1965; Spawforth 1997: 187–188.
[82] Camp 2008: 92–92. Cf. Renfrew 2007: 119–121.
[83] Cf. Scott 1998: 347–348.

struck by the ubiquity of sacred objects displayed therein. Let us imagine that we are standing on the northwestern edge of

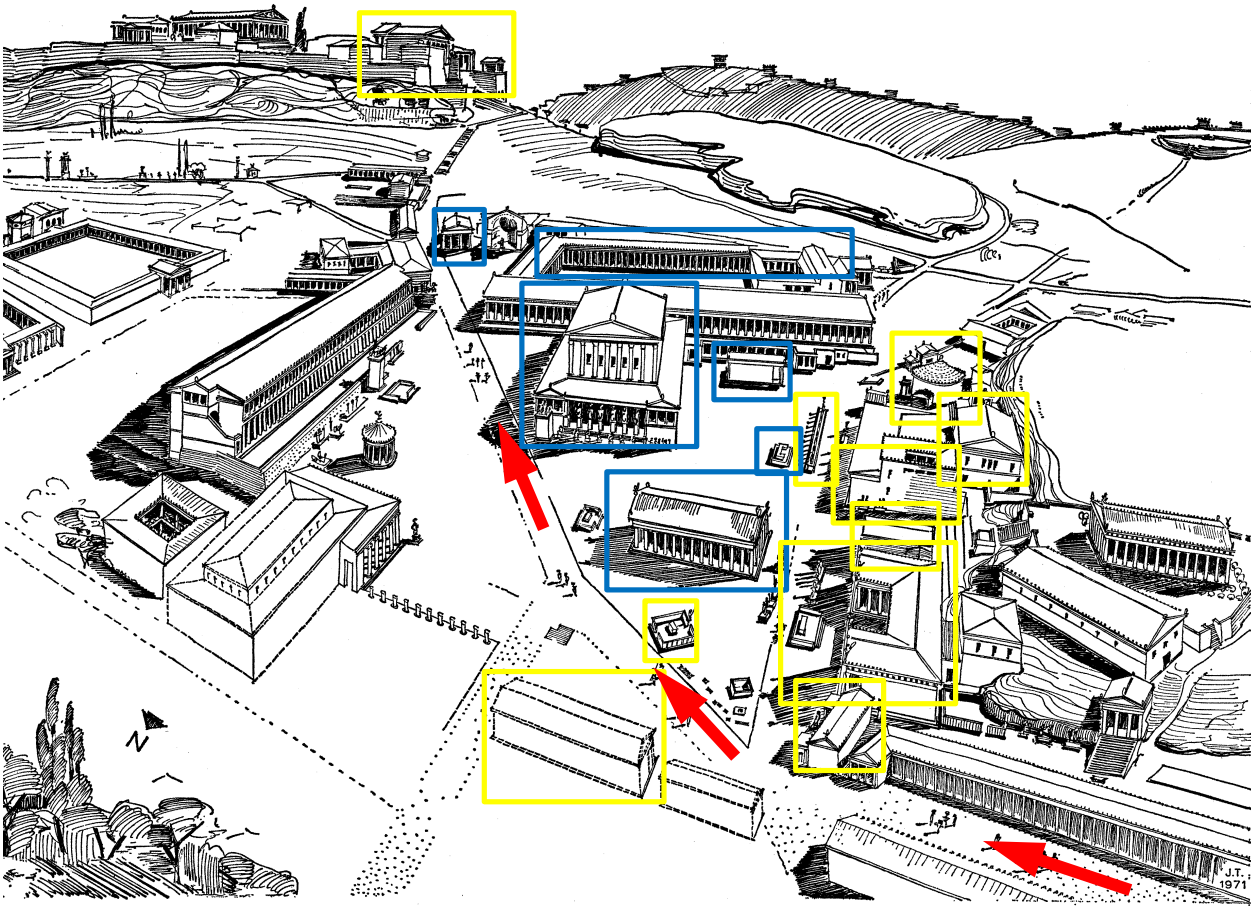

Figure 2: The Agora and environs in the 2nd century AD: perspective. Source: after Thompson and Wycherley 1972. (Pre-Roman structures highlighted in yellow; Roman-era structures in blue.)

the marketplace after having entered the city from the Dipylon Gate and traveled southeast along the Panathenaic Way: we would first pass between the Stoa Basileios on our right and the Stoa Poikile on our left, framing the monumentality of the space and alluding to the memory of Athens' classical greatness. Then we would encounter the old Altar of the Twelve Gods, marking as it always had the central milestone of Attica—however, it would now be visually dwarfed by the backdrop of the Temple of Ares, which surely would have drawn our attention from any

entrance along the north or west side. We would also note the appearance of another Roman temple directly behind the small sanctuary to Aphrodite Ourania, just east of the Stoa Poikile. This new temple was clearly associated with the Aphrodite cult, and although details of their relationship remain unclear, its position would have given the archaic altar a distinctively Roman background.[84] As we continued into the square, the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios would stand on our right, but after Sulla's confiscations, the portico lacked the shields and funerary inscriptions of those classical Athenians who had fallen in battle.[85] This historic community memorial would leave behind only silhouettes—which would poignantly bespeak the absence of the shields, just as the shadows of Alexander's dedications from the Granikos still can be seen today on the architrave of the Parthenon.

From this central position on the Panathenaic Way, the Temple of Ares also would have blocked the line of sight to the precinct of Apollo Patröos, the Metrōon, and the other civic buildings known as the *archeia*, which included especially the Bouleueterion and Tholos—as well as the Hephaisteion if one were standing directly east of the Ares Temple. The pastiche Southwest temple too would divert some attention from this group, as well as from the monument of the Eponymous Heroes. On the pedestrian scale, we should also consider the Altar of Zeus Agoraios, which was dropped directly east of the Heroes. Although their row of statues was longer, we can assume that the Altar still would have been rather imposing based on the height of the podium and the recovered orthostates that have been set up to give a sense of its

[84] Burden 1999: 163–168, 240–242; Camp 2008: 94; Greco et al. (III**, 9.9): 968–969; Shear 1975: 495–507.
[85] Pausanias 10.21.6.

original size.[86] It is most likely that the Heroes faced east onto the previously open square, so the Altar would have blocked the frontal view of at least a few of them.[87] Since the role of the Heroes as a node in the square traditionally had been to facilitate the dissemination and exchange of news, this function would require easy passage to and from their bases, which would now be more difficult. Even if the demes were politically defunct, this monument would have maintained significance for its historical symbolism and central location within the Agora triangle, which would still serve as a convenient meeting place—at least before the crowding of the space marginalized these characteristics.

Finally, as we exited the square and moved toward the Acropolis, we would encounter the composite Southeast temple, perhaps advertising for some Augustus-approved cult, and this would stand directly in our view up to the Propylaia. As we reached this point, the ruined remains of the "South Square" to the right would serve as a poignant reminder of the damage to the Agora caused by the Romans before they contributed to any of this "reconstruction." Looking back the other direction, as many locals often would do as they came into the square from the south and east, the visual obstruction would be even more drastic since the enormous Odeion of Agrippa would be the first monument encountered, and the Temple of Ares the second. Accordingly, the new and transplanted buildings would have punctuated almost every open line of sight from the most heavily trafficked thoroughfares to the traditional cultic spaces and offices of the city's democratic functions. This would have the effect of not just overshadowing, but indeed obstructing the Athenians' perception of their historic preeminence, forcing them to

[86] Thompson 1952: 92–93. Cf. Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 39–40.
[87] Ma 2013: 123–124.

recognize the reality of their new provincial identity and its attendant reliance upon the emperor instead of their inherited gods.[88] The sacred landscape had been altered in such a way and to such an extent that constituted usurpation, both of the specific structures and of the local cultural memory those structures preserved. What is more significant in this case is that the Athenians themselves were clearly involved in the process and would soon afterward praise Hadrian for bringing to a conclusion the enormous transformation they experienced, indicating that they placed a very different kind of value on the image of their native landscape than had their ancestors in the early first century BC.

What I seek to provide here is a deeper and more contextualized understanding of the real experience of walking down these streets repeatedly over the years, through the busiest nodes of the bustling city center with its double marketplace, among new clusters of monuments and honorific statues, around transplanted and pastiche structures displaying pieces of the city's glorious past. Through the exercise of the informed human imagination, a visualization tool which remains unparalleled and impossible to replicate fully in any artistic or digital medium, we can recognize clear points of cultural contact and symbolic change in the landscape of Roman Athens. Using only this simple ekphrastic reconstruction, we can access at least some of the visual effects of the Roman-era developments, through which the traditional meaning of Athenian civic cult practice was reimagined in new imperial forms. For Roman visitors, this represented a direct, physical connection with the religious heritage they believed they shared.[89] But for the Athenians, it was effectively a willful exchange of the historic significance embodied

[88] I build here on the visualization methods for landscape studies theorized and outlined in Nordquist 2013.
[89] Cf. Alcock 2012: 94–96.

in the sacred objects of their proud democratic tradition that had won them fame and protection, for which they now received a more immediate and tangible benefit: the favor of their new patron, the emperor, and with it, continued cultural relevance in the evolving Roman world.

In conclusion, the information we learn about the daily lives of Athenians in the Roman period from the material evidence neither confirms nor disproves the persistent notion in the literature that they were exceptionally "religious." It does, however, enable us to map out some practical implications of changes in the sacred landscape that surely would have impacted the daily practice of religion in the city. We must therefore challenge the assumption of continuity inherent to the assessments offered by the textual sources throughout the ancient world (and beyond). The Athenians of the second century AD truly might have been just as "pious" as their fifth-century BC ancestors, but their own sense of religious identity and its sources cannot be discerned in the unrepresentative accounts of outsiders—or the form of the sacred landscape designed, with or without their involvement, by Roman-era idealists. Instead, by seeking to meet them where they would have chosen to spend their time and resources after these changes, perhaps we can uncover more aspects of their living, breathing religion—buried somewhere between the heritage passed down to them and the history foisted upon them.

CHAPTER II: Memorials to Ancient Virtue

"For the memorials of all our noble deeds stand dedicated in the Agora."[1]

Thanks to continuous excavation and meticulous recording, the Classical Agora of Athens is one of the most thoroughly documented archaeological sites in the world. However, the shallowness of our knowledge of its complete form at any given historical moment is revealed again and again by the regular publication of revised interpretations and innovative perspectives on material that we previously believed to be well within our realm of mastery.[2] One particularly relevant example is the recent reevaluation of the Ares Temple, that most prominent of transplanted structures upon which our understanding of the Roman-era city center relies, and the ongoing controversy surrounding the agency and circumstances of its relocation.[3] Moreover, the Roman Market has been studied to a far lesser extent and so remains less familiar to us, despite the fact that the relationship of the two commercial centers was inextricable and perhaps even symbiotic throughout the Roman period. This might be partially attributable to a lack of funding (and approval) for the completion of the Greek Ephoreia's excavation, but in cyclical fashion this also bespeaks a general lack of interest in the Augustan commercial center on the part of the

[1] Aischines III (*Against Ktesiphon*), 186. Loeb Translation (Charles Darwin Adams 1919).
[2] See for example the collection of Camp and Mauzy (eds.) 2009, the relevant chapters of Daly and Riccardi (eds.) 2015 and Miles (ed.) 2015, as well as the numerous articles cited below. There also have been several dissertations in recent years demonstrating new methods and approaches to examining these spaces, including Evangelidis 2010 and Dickenson 2012.
[3] Most recently Stewart 2016 *contra* Steuernagel 2009. The merits of each case will be considered in depth in the following chapter.

wider academic community.[4] That we still lack a comprehensive narrative of the social, cultural, and commercial relationships of the two markets up to the Hadrianic era is a case in point, and a desideratum that I aim to address presently.

Imaging Athens

Before I proceed with more detailed analysis, it is necessary to identify and situate key points of reference in the central topography of ancient Athens. We now benefit from a wealth of scholarship concerning the archaeology and architecture of the Agora, especially from the Classical period up through the additions of Hellenistic dynasts.[5] Drawing on these, I will begin by describing its development in the centuries leading up the destructive arrival of Sulla's army.

---

[4] The most comprehensive treatment remains the unpublished dissertation of Michael C. Hoff (Boston University, 1988). Three other doctoral projects provided substantial assistance for this chapter: Jeffrey Burden (Berkeley, 1999) offered a rich architectural analysis of the relevant structures that appear or undergo changes in the Augustan period, as well as some insightful observations on their effects from the Roman perspective; Chris Dickenson's "On the Agora," (Groningen, 2012) much of which was published as a book of the same name (Brill, 2016), laid solid groundwork for writing a more focused narrative of the social and cultural development of the Agora as a public space; and Geoffrey Schmalz (Michigan, 1994) provided contextual perspective on the Julio-Claudian building programs, much of which will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Also relevant is the dissertation of Kieran Hendrick (Berkeley, 2006), which raises similar questions about the relationship between the Athenians and Roman emperors up to Hadrian, but many of his conclusions depend too heavily on problematic literary evidence and must be updated in light of more recent reassessments. More useful is the work of Vasilis Evangelidis on the general development of agoras across Roman Greece, but unfortunately his dissertation (Thessaloniki, 2010) has not been made publicly available beyond the brief arguments presented in two published articles (2008 and 2014).

[5] Besides the ongoing publications of seasonal results from the Agora excavations, innumerable studies (predominantly published in the American School's journal, *Hesperia*) have followed the seminal survey of Thompson and Wycherley 1972. Their conclusions also have been updated and supplemented in regular overviews from John Camp and his team: Camp 1986, 2001, 2009 (with Craig Mauzy), and 2010. Finally, the voluminous *Topografia di Atene* of Emanuele Greco et al. (2010–2015) is now an obligatory first stop for any study of the built environment of ancient Athens.

This survey will not focus myopically on the evolution of the Agora, but on its place and role within the broader scope of the city, and with particular focus on the functions of the landmarks in and around this area.

The most prominent objects in the built topography of any given period are most often those sacred and/or civic structures that receive the most attention in both ancient histories and modern archaeology, so these features have been a natural fulcrum for such narratives in the last century of scholarship on the landscapes of Greece.[6] We rely even more heavily upon them when considering developments during an era for which the textual evidence is especially thin, such as the Roman period in Athens. It remains useful and often necessary to establish the framework of the contemporary civic topography with reference to these landmarks, not only because the most substantial evidence is provided by their remains but also because the perspective of an ancient pedestrian would have been dominated by their presence. However, it is important to acknowledge, as scholars recently have insisted, that a truly representative image of the historical development of any ancient city cannot focus only on its famous monuments, and indeed the orientation of my project here pivots upon this recognition.[7]

In order to address the questions raised in the previous chapter, I will consider the cityscape first from a bird's-eye view in order to identify major shifts and areas of developmental priority across time; and second, from the perspective of a pedestrian on the street in order to identify the most salient landmarks and points of transition in her daily line of sight. In this

[6] See for example the binary division of Camp 2001: the first part outlines "The Monuments of Athens" as a narrative of the most important construction projects in each period, and the second part provides a catalog of specific "Site Summaries" with further details about those monuments in the traditional style of a topographic survey.
[7] E.g. Alcock 2002: 53–55; Dickenson 2011: 47–48.

effort, John Travlos offers enormous assistance, as his maps and visualizations of the identifiable landmarks of pre-modern Athens are unparalleled in scope (especially 1971 and 1993, but also in many of the publications of the excavations). Building on this work and the data of the following four decades of excavations, a group of Italian scholars led by Emanuele Greco has provided a monumental multi-volume encyclopedia of the topography of the city of Athens (2010–2015), which offers a wealth of updated maps and superimpositions of modern aerial photography on top of the excavation plans. These together have provided the basis for most subsequent renderings of the city, including many of the images I use below. Wycherley lamented back in 1978 that we lack access to the information buried in certain vitally important regions, including most notably the northeast slope of the Acropolis under the modern neighborhood of Anafiotika, and unfortunately much of this occlusion remains to the present day.[8] However, we have learned a great deal about many other areas where the archaeologists of the 1970s might not have expected to find anything of significance, and so it is beneficial to complement or qualify the hypotheses proposed by previous generations of scholars. In assembling the observations of the excavators and specialized studies on aspects of daily life in Athens, we can identify certain areas of greater social and cultural focus relative to the rest of the city leading up to and during the Roman period. Throughout this survey, I will employ the terminology of the now-canonical work of urban planner Kevin Lynch, based on his adaptation of network theory to topographic studies for analyzing the form of the built environment. Using this framework, I demonstrate that we can pinpoint key places of continuity and transition that would have defined the "image" of Athens for its citizens across eras.

[8] Wycherley 1978: 5.

Let us first establish the ancient correlates of Lynch's urban features. In order to reconstruct the image of the city as contemporary pedestrians would have seen it, this topographic analysis will focus on highlighting certain physical aspects of the built environment, and more precisely where and how those aspects intersect and interact to provide form and meaning to the cityscape. A viewer's perception and experience of a given place might be influenced by her knowledge of its social significance, its function, its history, or even just its name, but its outward physical form is of the most fundamental importance for providing and reinforcing its meaning, comprising its "imageability." Lynch defines this as the qualities inherent to physical objects that make a strong imprint in the mind of the viewer, that is, the "shape, color, or arrangement which facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment."[9]

The physical contents that provide structure and give form to a city can be categorized into five elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. These headings are rather self-explanatory, but since Lynch's study only considers modern examples, it is worth identifying the analogous features that would have existed in ancient Athens as well. Since "people observe the city while moving through it," *paths* are the predominant element in the image of most observers.[10] This is true of cities both ancient and modern, and the major streets through the city of Athens provide us with a much clearer understanding of traffic patterns, urban density, and areas of developmental priority over time. *Edges*, "the boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity," demarcate and outline generalized areas of a city.[11] Around Athens, we

[9] Lynch 1960: 9.
[10] Lynch 1960: 47, 49–62.
[11] Lynch 1960: 47, 62–66.

can identify important edges in its perimeter walls, as well as structural elements along natural features such as rivers and cliffs or other points of steep elevation. *Districts*, usually identifiable as "neighborhoods" in modern cities, are sections that the "observer mentally enters 'inside of,' and which are recognizable as having some common, identifying character."[12] Although these characteristics are more difficult for us to recognize in the archaeology of residential areas in an ancient city, we know from a variety of evidence that certain civic and commercial regions certainly held this bounded status—the Agora, of course, being a very prominent example. *Nodes* are key points on a smaller scale, often defining the districts that encompass them, which provide for a pedestrian "the intensive foci to and from which he is traveling."[13] These are even more difficult to identify in ancient cities without relying heavily upon literary evidence, but a concentration of other physical elements such as a convergence of paths or an enclosed square might form a "core" around which we can recognize focused activity. In Roman Athens, we might imagine the enclosed Roman Market to have embodied one such node, as several important streets run to it and there is evidence of a great deal of social and commercial activity within it. Finally, *landmarks* provide the most obvious and salient points of reference for observers, as they become "frequently used clues of identity and even of structure, and seem to be increasingly relied upon as a journey becomes more and more familiar."[14] In Athens, as throughout the ancient world, these objects most of all provide the identifiable substance of the civic and social landscape. The monuments of the Agora and the Acropolis held intrinsic

[12] Lynch 1960: 47, 66–72.
[13] Lynch 1960: 47–48, 72–78.
[14] Lynch 1960: 48, 78–83.

meaning for the community as they preserved collective memory, attested to local history, and defined a shared identity.

As further justification for the primacy of landmarks in a narrative of local pedestrian experience, Lynch's interviews with inhabitants of urban spaces present some very revealing conclusions regarding the way that the human mind acclimates to and navigates through a city.[15] Individuals who have not lived in a given place for very long (less than a year or so) and are still in the process of mentally mapping their surroundings tended to describe the environment in terms of broader topography, using major paths (e.g. arterial roads) and generalized architectural and/or natural characteristics for each district. Those who attained a somewhat higher level of familiarity imagined their surroundings according to more specific paths (e.g. neighborhood streets) and the interrelationships between them. However, those who had the most intimate knowledge of the city relied most heavily upon local landmarks in their descriptions (e.g. public statues), and less upon the paths leading to them or the broader districts that contained them. We must acknowledge some dissonance between the experience of navigating a large modern city, like Lynch's mid-twentieth-century Boston, and that of a relatively small ancient urban center, as Athens surely was throughout the Roman era. Nevertheless, I believe enough of the relevant variables still apply so that Lynch's conclusions also could reflect the experience of an ancient pedestrian in her native context. With many fewer streets to traverse and no house addresses by which to navigate, the image of the ancient city was defined according to its districts, which in turn were defined by their prominent landmarks. The rambling paths of Athens, as well as those of most other ancient Greek cities, would have no apparent coherency to an outsider, and without

[15] The results are summarized at Lynch 1960: 49.

a map (very few of which even existed) it surely would have been a monumental task to master the form of even one district, not to mention the entire city. It is no coincidence that the travelogues of ancient geographers like Strabo and Pausanias often consist of little more than a description of the most significant physical objects in a given place. Therefore, while I will offer examples of all five topographic elements in the formal development of the city, the greatest emphasis should remain upon the role of the landmarks in defining the identity of the Athenians.

The Emergence of a Core

The irregular development of the early settlement at Athens warrants some preliminary observations on the nascent (dis-)organization of the city. Until the late Archaic period, almost all permanent construction predictably was centered on the Acropolis, but gradually the slopes were settled and built up as the population grew.[16] Further expansion of the settlement in the sixth century was concentrated on the north side of the Acropolis, focused all around the future area of the Classical Agora. Under the Peisistratids, the primary commercial activity of the city coalesced in this district, where the focus of everyday life remained for the rest of Athens' ancient history. The fact that the archaic city wall skirts along the southern edge of the Acropolis and Areopagos confirms that there were no plans at the time for further development in that direction, despite the initiation of construction on the Temple to Olympian Zeus.[17] The largest residential areas emerged in clusters around the relatively flatter region off the northeast slope of the Acropolis and then eventually spread to encompass all of the area around the northeastern

[16] Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 1–18. See also Hurwit 1999: 1–137.
[17] Wycherley 1978: 7–11.

and northwestern edges of the Agora as well.[18] Throughout the developments of the sixth and fifth centuries BC, the region of the Agora clearly comprised the "core" of the city, around which all public administrative buildings were clustered and to which all other areas were connected by a nexus of paths.[19] The original boundaries of the Agora itself probably were contingent on some early versions of these roads, and the frequent interactions of locals coming and going through this area must have lent it importance as a node for social gathering from the earliest years after it was levelled by a laborious process of filling and clearing—a project which further indicates the extent of the community's intentionality in its development.[20]

In order to identify more precisely the areas of construction concentration across eras, it is worthwhile to consider the emergence of the most important landmarks in and around the Agora that would survive into the Roman period. The oldest confirmed religious structure within the space is the Altar of the Twelve Gods, which was probably laid out during the demarcation of the Agora with *horos* stones sometime between 520–480 BC.[21] The fact that this monument was chosen as the starting-point for all milestones leading out of the city (and used as such for the

[18] Tsakirgis 2009: 47–48; Wycherley 1978: 237–252.
[19] Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 17–18, 192–194.
[20] Wycherley 1978: 27–28. On the especial difficulty of filling in the northwest corner, which required enormous amounts of soil, see Ammerman 1996.
[21] The dating remains contested. See Camp 2001: 32; Greco et al. (III**, 9.31): 1051–1055; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 20, 129–136; Wycherley 1978: 32–33. For the early siting of the Agora in relation to the area commonly described in the ancient sources as the "Kerameikos," see Papadopoulos 1996. Some of the debate hinges upon the location and nature of the Archaic Agora, for which the consensus points to the northeast slope of the Acropolis. Following Dontas 1983 and later Harris-Cline 1999, Camp (2001: 257) is confident that it was located east of the Classical Agora in the area yet to be excavated, probably along with the original Prytaneion (Camp 2001: 27; cf. Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 46–47). Thompson and Wycherley (1972: 19) stipulated that it was probably rather small and insignificant anyway since no ancient sources seem concerned to identify it. See also a summary of recent debate at Dickenson 2012: 16.

rest of antiquity) further confirms the topographical and ideological centrality of the place.[22] Following the establishment of the democracy at the end of the sixth century, various administrative buildings were erected in order to house the newly instituted organs of government (especially the complex along the west side of the square that would come to be known as the *archeia*).[23] Dated to the period after 500 BC are the Stoa Basileios on the northwest corner, an area that would become one of the earliest important nodes in the city;[24] three small structures presumably sacred in nature, including an early sanctuary to the mother goddess, along the east slope of the Kolonos Agoraios;[25] the first Bouleuterion on the west edge, placed on top of some earlier structures of unknown but possibly civic function;[26] and the building in the southwest corner generally called the "Aiakeion," initially thought by the excavators to be a courthouse (the "Heliaia") but later identified as a sanctuary and occasional grain store dedicated to the old hero from Aegina (an identification which, nevertheless, has not been universally accepted either).[27] By the beginning of the fifth century the Pnyx was laid out on the hill to the southwest as the meeting place of the people's Assembly (the *Ekklesia*), connected directly to the Agora by a new road.[28] These spaces could have been closely linked in function as well, as it has

---

[22] IG II^2 2640; Herodotus 2.7. The adjacent *eschara* (hearth) was also built shortly after the altar, perhaps as a sacred hearth or an auxiliary feature for a less important thirteenth deity: Anderson 2003: 93–94; Wycherley 1957: 49.
[23] Camp 1986: 48–57; Wycherley 1978: 30–31, 35, 62–64; see also Miller 1995; Shear 1995; and Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 20, 25–31. For a contextualized analysis of the Agora's role in the emergence of the Classical polis, see Anderson 2003, esp. 87–103.
[24] Greco et al. (III**, 9.15): 981–987; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 83–90. On the early significance of this node, see Ammerman 1996.
[25] Greco et al. (III**, 9.22): 1015–1020.
[26] Greco et al. (III**, 9.24): 1021–1023.
[27] Greco et al. (III**, 9.45): 1101–1103; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 62–65. For the Aiakeion theory: Stroud 1998, esp. 85–108.
[28] Greco et al. (II, 4.5–4.7, F.26): 337–345.

been suggested that citizens might have gathered in the Agora before and after meetings of the Assembly to discuss affairs informally.[29] Notably, it was also at this time (ca. 500 BC) that the boundaries of the Agora were officially redrawn and reestablished with new *horoi* (two of which survive today), formally marking the land as public again under the authority of the new government.[30] This renewal and rededication, apparently part and parcel of the edification of the area for the purposes of the new democracy, seems to represent an intentional program for the veneration of the Agora by the people and for the people.

This was the last of the major projects completed before the Persian Wars, and we do not see much development in the Agora area until their conclusion. When the Persians invaded in 480 BC, most Athenians famously chose to abandon the city before the enemy army even arrived. The ensuing destruction effectively wiped out the existing landscape both on the Acropolis and throughout the lower city, and on these ruins the Athenians would create a mostly new layer as they built up Classical Athens in its iconic form. The resulting map of the cityscape, which must have been the product of speedy and somewhat haphazard redevelopment, bespeaks no obvious master plan or guiding principle for the new city, save the immediate reconstruction

[29] Thompson and Wycherley (1972: 50) described the Agora as "a kind of foyer to the political theater." Wycherley (1978: 35) asserted that the Pnyx "may be regarded as an appendage of the agora," placing greater importance on the latter. I tend to agree with this emphasis since, of course, the Agora not only came first but also formally outlived the Assembly. We possess no literary discussion of the relationship between the two spaces and the use of the Agora as a preliminary meeting place, but the archaeological evidence is highly suggestive of the fact that people were constantly meeting here for a variety of civic and personal purposes so it seems a natural development.

[30] Camp 2001: 45–46; Greco et al, (III**, 9.41, F.84): 1096–1097, 1157–1158; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 117–119; Wycherley 1978: 33.

of the fortifications using a great deal of rubble as fill.[31] However, it seems that the reconstruction of the public spaces was a gradual and more deliberative process, and there actually seems to be a certain agenda in the reuse of certain materials.

We can identify in the archaeology two reactions to the Persian sack with apparently ideological motivations: the placement of damaged but recovered building materials in strategically visible locations, probably to serve as a negative memorial to the event;[32] and the inverse, where certain buildings—most crucially, the temples—were simply left in ruins as an arguably even more poignant memorial to the desecration of sacred space perpetrated by the Persians.[33] Lykourgos and Diodoros report that the Greeks even formalized this policy with an oath (the famous "oath of Plataia") so that they would recite it regularly and thus remember the necessity of revenge.[34] The debates over whether the "oath" was sworn by the Greeks before the Battle of Plataia in 479, whether it was ever institutionalized to the extent that the sources indicate, and whether it contained the clause regarding the temples at all (*contra* the dubious inscription found at Acharnai) are not particularly relevant here.[35] The policy entailed in the alleged prohibition evidently was observed at Athens regardless as the temples were not rebuilt

---

[31] Described in Thucydides 1.90–93 and confirmed by German excavations in the Kerameikos: Camp 2001: 57–60; Tsakirgis 2009: 49–50; Wycherley 1978: 11–12.
[32] Rous (2016) dubs this architectural technique "upcycling" and identifies a number of other instances in Athens throughout its ancient history, the most pertinent of which I will address in chapter III below. On the ancient characterization of certain fifth-century monuments as "trophies" of the Persian Wars (including the Propylaia, Parthenon, and statues of Athena on the Acropolis), see Shear 2016, esp. 4–8.
[33] Miles 2014.
[34] Diodoros Sikeliotes 11.29.2–3; Lykourgos, *Against Leokrates* 81.
[35] Inscription: RO 88. See most recently Hall 2014, ch. 4: "Eleusis, the Oath of Plataia, and the Peace of Kallias," with a concise summary of the debate at pp. 59–62. See also Kellogg 2013 and Miles 2014: 129–133, as well as the comprehensive (if somewhat generalized) analysis of Cartledge 2013.

immediately, and subsequent projects on these sites were not begun until Perikles's program some thirty years later. If the hesitation to rebuild was motivated in part by financial inability or a dearth of skilled artisans, it is equally interesting in this case that a religious clause was invoked as an excuse.[36] It is crucial that the creation or preservation of visual memorials after the Persian War pertained only to sacred construction (under which category I include the Propylaia, given its role as the gateway to the consecrated precinct of the Acropolis), as this demonstrates how closely these objects were tied to the local sense of identity. The practice also provides us with an early precedent for Athenian reactions to foreign imperial invasion and conquest, which might be compared usefully with the Roman-era examples we will see below.

The Classical Image

Much civic construction was accomplished during the first half of the fifth century BC, and the buildings commissioned in the Agora would be maintained with only a few alterations until the Roman period. The city Eleusinion would have been completed during the second quarter of the fifth century, marking an important point on the Panathenaic Way between the Agora and the Acropolis by which all processions would pass for the annual celebration of the mysteries.[37] Other buildings also appeared during this time to form the outer ring of the Agora and provide a place for its signature classical functions. The Tholos was built around 470, in the southwest corner next to the Bouleuterion, to serve as the administrative headquarters for the *Boulē*.[38] The

[36] On the relative plausibility of these explanations, see Shear 2016: 7–11.
[37] Camp 2010: 144–147; Greco et al. (I, 1.21): 145–150; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 150–155; Wycherley 1978: 71–72.
[38] Camp 2001: 69–70; Greco et al. (III**, 9.28): 1032–1038; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 41–46; Wycherley 1978: 28.

Stoa Poikile was set up on the northern edge and immediately became symbolically important as a memorial for the collective greatness of Athens as it was filled with images and trophies of her famous victories.[39] Due to its open, public nature and the fact that it was not used for any specific administrative functions, it emerged as an enormously popular node where the common people would meet and spend their time. This monument in particular represents the spirit of the Classical Agora as celebrated in literature and memory. As the most central "lounge" (*leschē*, an unofficial meeting place that could be characterized as a node) of Athens, it constantly facilitated exchange of news and ideas among the local community, to the extent that its name even became associated with the renowned philosophical school. The stoa would have epitomized for both Athenians and visitors the image of the vivacious Agora that was preserved down into the Roman period, and here we might envision itinerant orators like the Apostle Paul first seeking the audience of the Athenian people.[40] From a pedestrian perspective, this construction all along the paths leading into and out of the core would further amplify the dignity of the Agora space, and the utility of these buildings in community events like the festivals ultimately would serve to reinforce the significance of the district for the people of Athens.

The greatest transformation of the Attic landscape occurred in the third quarter of the fifth century under the influence of Perikles, and the notorious building program that is attributed to him comprises the most concentrated series of construction projects in Athens' ancient history

[39] Camp 2001: 68–69; Camp 2015, esp. 507; Greco et al. (III**, 9.4): 949–956; Shear 2016: 14–17; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 90–94; Wycherley 1978: 38–41. Among these trophies were the shields of the Spartans captured at Pylos, one of which has been found in the excavations and is now displayed in the museum in the Stoa of Attalos (Agora Object B 262).
[40] Cf. Camp 2009: 33; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 92–94; Wycherley 1978: 41.

until Hadrian.[41] However, in order to realize his plans it was first necessary for the Assembly to approve the project, which effectively would appropriate the funds of the Delian League and repudiate the de facto policy against the reconstruction of the temples that were destroyed during Xerxes's invasion.[42] Regardless of the dubious circumstances of the original "oath," its preservation in tradition indicates an entrenched concern that the marks of the traditional landscape be remembered, and especially those poignant reminders of the destruction wrought by the foreign invaders. If this priority was passed down to later generations of Athenians, as seems to be the case based on the frequency with which the memory of the burnt temples reappears in literature up through at least the time of Pausanias,[43] it could inform our understanding of their sentiments toward the destruction of 86 BC and the subsequent Roman-era "reconstruction" projects—which would appear to have been executed without concern for preserving any traditional form of the city's image.

We can trace the persistence of this concern at least into the late fourth century, as an "imaginary" oration of Himerios deals extensively with the theme of Xerxes's supposed offer to make amends and rebuild the temples.[44] The orator's words, placed in the mouth of Themistokles, immortalize the deeply-rooted symbolism of Athenian topography: "But what was the mark of our city? Its mark was *the majesty of its buildings, the memorials to its ancient virtue that were found everywhere*, and its natural ornament, which added more beauty to the city than

---

[41] For a comprehensive contextualization of the construction activity in Attica during this time with special focus on the program traditionally (but, as Shear argues, dubiously) attributed to Perikles, see Shear 2016.
[42] Camp 2001: 72–73. Cf. Cartledge 2013: 27–28.
[43] Miles 2014: 135–138.
[44] Himerios *Oration* 5, especially §20–31. Cf. Herodotus VIII.140. See also Penella 2007: 160–161.

the adornment bestowed by human craft."[45] It matters little that the buildings of late-archaic Athens hardly would have been considered "majestic" by the standards of Himerios's time, or that "the memorials to its ancient virtue" had proliferated throughout the public spaces to the point of obscurity. The civic landscape, in both its constructed and natural elements, was the mark of Athens. The fact that the memory of its destruction was preserved and reiterated for centuries afterward affirms its importance in the local conception of the city's history. Furthermore, just as the texts in the previous chapter pointed toward an emphasis on the landscape as a source of Athenian religious identity, we now see how integral it was to their civic identity from the very beginning of the Classical period as well.

Given the victories in Asia Minor and the establishment of peace with Persia around 450, Perikles seems to have experienced little resistance in passing the proposal through the Assembly. Besides the impressive new monuments on the Acropolis, which I will refrain from recounting here, these projects included a few notable additions to the lower city that would have impacted the perspective and experience of those frequenting it.[46] The most visually striking new structure was the Hephaisteion overlooking the Agora from the Kolonos Agoraios to the west, as it still does today in its excellent state of preservation.[47] Why the Athenians would have decided

---

[45] Himerios *Oration* 5.30: Τί δέ ἦν τῆς ἡμετέρας τὸ ἐπίσημον; σεμνότης οἰκοδομημάτων, πανταχοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήματα, ὁ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως κόσμος μεῖζον τοῦ παρὰ τῆς τέχνης προστιθεὶς τῇ πόλει τὸ κὰλλος. Translation adapted from Penella 2007. My emphasis.
[46] For a survey of the Acropolis monuments, see Hurwit 2004, and the context provided by Shear 2016.
[47] Camp 2001: 102–104; Dinsmoor 1941; D.B. Thompson 1937; Greco et al. (III**, 9.1): 923–941; Shear 2016: 137–160; H.A. Thompson 1937; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 140–149; Wycherley 1978: 68–71. Although archaeologists have debunked the initial assumption that this Doric temple was the Theseion, other possible but less convincing identifications have been proposed (and others probably will be in the future). The Hephaisteion theory remains the most compelling, not least because of Pausanias's clear identification (1.14.6).

to dedicate this sanctuary to the ironworking god is unclear, but apparently he was allowed to maintain possession (with Athena) even when various other buildings in the area were repurposed or rededicated, as we will see below.[48] The temple might have been initiated a few years earlier (perhaps under Kimon), but its completion was the most notable contribution of Perikles's program to the area of the Agora. It certainly would have changed the image of the district by establishing a landmark that could be seen from almost any unobstructed position in the square. Its style and quality would have linked it to the monumental group on the Acropolis as well, forming a visual connection between the two areas that were most important for the cultural life and local image of Classical Athens. As Plutarch famously asserted, the religious construction that was completed under Perikles's leadership "brought the most delightful adornment to Athens, and the greatest amazement to the rest of mankind; that which alone now testifies for Greece that her ancient power and prosperity, of which so much is told, were no idle fiction…"[49] Plutarch's praise in the second century AD suggests that the sacred landscape remembered from the fifth century BC still comprised the signature image of Athens, in both the Athenians' own perception and also that of the Roman world.

Just down the hill from the Hephaisteion, at the northwest corner of the Agora next to the Stoa Basileios, an elaborate and unique new Doric portico was built in honor of Zeus Eleutherios—a rather strange feature since stoas generally were secular civic structures, not

---

[48] On the double cult in the Hephaisteion and its possible link to the emergence of Athenian industry, see Shear 2016: 156–160.

[49] Plutarch *Perikles* 12: Ὃ δὲ πλείστην μὲν ἡδονὴν ταῖς Ἀθήναις καὶ κόσμον ἤνεγκε, μεγίστην δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔκπληξιν ἀνθρώποις, μόνον δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι μαρτυρεῖ μὴ ψεύδεσθαι τὴν λεγομένην δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἐκείνην καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ὄλβον, ἡ τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατασκευή… Adapted from Loeb Translation. Cf. Shear 2016: 1–12, where he presents other similar comments and considers the context and plausibility of their respective claims.

typically dedicated to any particular deity.[50] A large altar stood in front of the Stoa, with the effect that it would serve as a visual backdrop for the sacrifices in the same way as a temple normally would do. This unusual union might be explained by the Stoa's replacement of an archaic shrine to Zeus found beneath it, indicating the Athenian desire both to honor the god and to preserve the memory of the place's previous image. Another historical circumstance could further explain the motivation behind its erection, as it has been suggested that the monument might represent a "palliative" gesture on the part of the Athenians for their negligence in not sending aid to Plataia when it was besieged by the Spartans, thus demonstrating another kind of negative memorialization.[51] As a place of memory, the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios came to perform a function similar but inverse to that of the Stoa Poikile, in that it housed shields and inscriptions honoring those who had died defending the freedom of Athens.[52] Indeed, Zeus was given the "freedom" epithet in the first place for saving the Greeks from enslavement by the Persians, lending even deeper historical significance to the social memory that was preserved in this multi-faceted structure and its symbolic ornamentation.[53]

During the Peloponnesian War, Athens was forced to redirect all available funds to military efforts, so much of the construction work in the city center was paused and nearly all projects outside it were abandoned. Several unfinished structures were fated never to see the completion of their original plans, such as the Propylaia on the Acropolis and the sanctuary at Thorikos

[50] Camp 2001: 104–105; Greco et al. (III**, 9.17): 992–997; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 96–103; Wycherley 1978: 42–44.
[51] Miles 2015: 173–175.
[52] Pausanias 1.26.2, 10.21.5; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 102–103.
[53] Wycherley 1957: 25–30.

whose pieces were later found incorporated into a Roman-era temple.[54] Similarly, by necessity certain structures in the Agora were completed in a much more rudimentary fashion than would have befitted the great Periklean vision for the city. These included the "South Stoa" on the southern edge of the square adjacent to the southeast fountain house, composed largely of reused blocks underneath mud brick.[55] The new Bouleuterion, placed directly west of the older council chamber in a niche carved out of the Kolonos Agoraios, similarly seems to have been finished with basic mud-brick walls and packed-clay floors.[56]

Although these materials might sound exceptionally poor in relation to neighboring structures, we must keep in mind that the gleaming painted marble of the Acropolis group was not characteristic of those in the Agora until the Roman era.[57] The juxtaposition of the different architectural styles in buildings across the lower city and especially in the stoas along the north and west edges of the square probably would not have been visually appealing in the Roman (or modern) sense, as "the general impression must have remained disjointed and sporadic."[58] We might imagine that during the Classical period the unassuming appearance of most of the objects in the Agora would have drawn very little appreciation from tourists or visitors, especially compared with the Parthenon, for instance. Therefore, their importance would reside all the more

[54] Camp 2001: 117; Miles 2015. Shear (2016: 258, n. 109; 389) notes also that the treads and risers of the only identifiable step block for the Pallene temple remained unfinished, as if the architects intended a final dressing that it never received.
[55] Camp 2001: 127–128; Greco et al. (III**, 9.46): 1105–1108; Wycherley 1978: 44–45. Inscription of the *mentronomoi*: Agora I 7030, with Vanderpool 1937.
[56] Too little survives of the structure to identify its features with certainty: Camp 2001: 127; Greco et al. (III**, 9.25): 1023–1025; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 31–35; Wycherley 1978: 50–51.
[57] Cf. Dickenson 2012: 28; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 21.
[58] Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 100.

in local knowledge of their functions and history. These landmarks were important places of social memory and gathering for the Athenians, who surely would have navigated and described the image of the Agora district with reference to them—regardless of their lack of aesthetic value to outsiders.

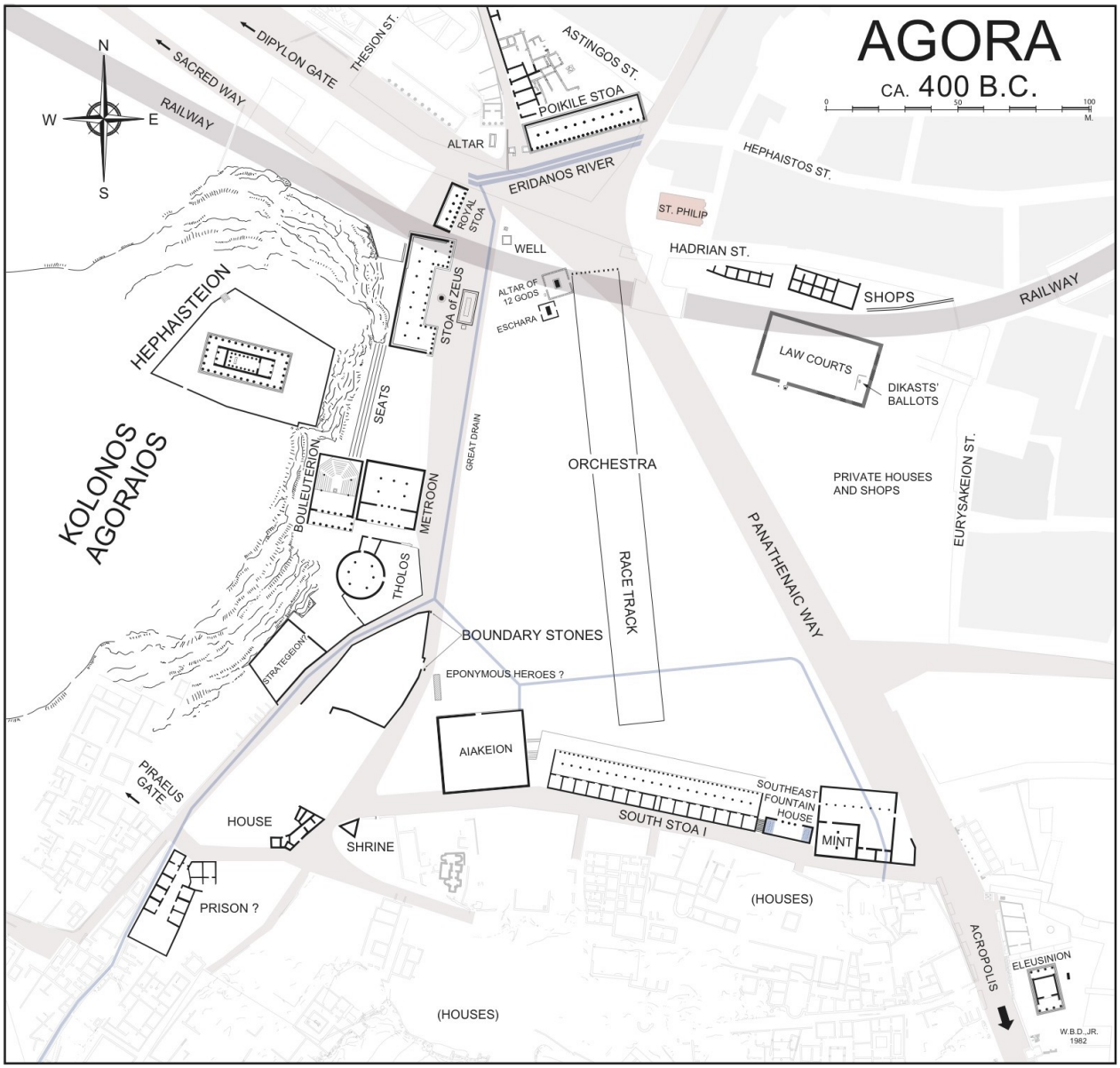

Figure 3: Plan of the Agora, ca. 400 BC. Source: Camp 2010. N.B. the original identification of the "race track" has now been revised, and the group of post holes at the northern end on the Panathenaic Way is recognized as the "*perischoinisma*" ("roped-off area") referred to by Plutarch (Mor. 847A): Camp 2015: 473–475; Dickenson 2016: 105–106.

No substantial development was undertaken again until the second half of the fourth century, when a number of new projects revived the civic landscape after decades of war and neglect. The Agora received a number of new features that emphasized not the Athenians' current political or cultural position but instead the city's features and functions during the Classical period—just as we should expect by now. At the base of the Kolonos Agoraios just south of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios we find signs of cult activity related to Apollo during this time, culminating in the erection of the Temple of Apollo Patröos ("the ancestral," a meaningful epithet given the rise of Macedonian hegemony in Greece during this period), which apparently absorbed an earlier altar to Apollo on the spot.[59] Directly between this and the stoa was a very small shrine to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, patrons of the old *phratres* (clans) of Athens.[60] We also identify the appearance during this time of the monument of the Eponymous Heroes, honoring the legendary figures whose names were chosen to represent the ten demes organized in Kleisthenes's pioneering reforms.[61] There is evidence that this monument was placed originally (perhaps even earlier than the fifth century) in the southwest corner of the Agora (or possibly in the Archaic Agora), but this reestablishment placed it across from the old Bouleuterion in an especially prominent position. It was the only object besides the archaic Altar

[59] Camp 2001: 156–157; De Schutter 1987; Greco et al. (III**, 9.19): 1001–1010; Hedrick 1988; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 136–139; Wycherley 1978: 66–68. Lawall (2009) has argued convincingly that the final version of the Patröos temple seems to date to the late fourth or even early third century, and so cannot necessarily be connected with Lykourgos—although it indisputably reflects the influence of the Lykourgan program.
[60] Greco et al. (III**, 9.20): 1010–1011; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 139–140. Not to be confused with the small sanctuary to the same gods found to the northwest on the road out to the Acharnian Gate, on which see N. Kyparisses and Homer A. Thompson, "A Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena Phratrios Newly Found in Athens," *Hesperia* 7, no. 4 (1938): 612–625.
[61] Camp 2001: 157–158; Greco et al. (III**, 9.37): 1082–1084; Rous 2016: 168–195; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 38–41.

of the Twelve Gods (and at some point, the statues of the Tyrannicides) to be located inside the central triangle itself, rather than around its outer edges. It therefore would have been visually and symbolically linked with the existing group of statues honoring various other figures in Athenian democratic history located on the east side of the central space along the Panathenaic Way, but we can imagine how much more dominant would be this long line of heroes than any individual statue, including even the famous Tyrannicides—who formally had been preserved from crowding by other dedications.[62] Unlike these other dedications, which were valued primarily for their visual qualities, the Heroes' monument also served a functional purpose as a poster board for the display of important announcements for each deme, whose members would have consulted it whenever they passed. Despite its relatively small size relative to nearby buildings, we therefore might consider it to have possessed great importance as both a landmark and a node, as citizens would gather there throughout the day to learn and exchange news.

Finally, we can identify the beginning of a square peristyle building in the northeast area, replacing a series of earlier structures that likely served as courthouses.[63] The scant remains do not allow us to determine why the latest iteration of this edifice was left incomplete. But regardless, various structures and spaces throughout the Agora, including especially the stoas, served as venues for legal proceedings at some point or another, so the whole district would have acquired another layer of democratic significance as a place for the dispensation of justice by the

---

[62] Camp 2010: 104–105; Camp 2009: 37; Greco et al. (III**, F.79): 1075–1082; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 155–160; Wycherley 1978: 74–75. Which version of the Tyrannicides stood in this position at the time is irrelevant—the Eponymous Heroes' monument was unquestionably grander in scale.

[63] Based on substantial amounts of stone "ballots" and Hellenistic-era voting devices found inside: Camp 2001: 158–159; Greco et al. (III**, 9.61): 1150–1151; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 56–61. Wycherley 1978: 56–59.

people.[64] It is important to note that throughout this period, the region north and east of the Panathenaic Way, with perhaps the exception of the supposed courthouse structure, seems to have been left otherwise entirely open. The neighborhood probably was filled on a regular basis with temporary market booths and tables, as described in the literary impressions of the busy square.[65] The appearance of honorific statues to both civic benefactors and minor gods would have punctuated the space and emphasized the democratic heritage it embodied, but would not have encumbered its functions as an open place for commercial, social, and political gatherings.[66] Putting all of this together, the impression of the fourth-century Agora from the Panathenaic Way must have been a constant flurry of noises, smells, and activity—all set in front of a patchwork backdrop of disparate historical objects. Some of these survived from the beginning of the Classical period, some had been started early but taken decades to reach completion, and some were brand new, but they each represented a piece of Athenian heritage. They would have required intimate knowledge of their context to be fully appreciated, but because of this, the image they collectively exhibited would have been distinctly Athenian.

---

[64] Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 71–72.

[65] Especially the *skenai* described by Demosthenes (e.g. *On the Crown*, 18.169), most of which have left little to no trace in the archaeological record, but which would have been found all over the Agora wherever they were allowed. For a collection of references to booths and tables see: Wycherley 1957: 190–193; for discussion: Greco et al. (III**, F.82): 1135; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 170–173.

[66] The distribution of bases shows that only in certain limited areas would these statues have appeared as the kind of "series" or "forest" we find ubiquitously in some sanctuaries: Ma 2013: 121–130. Cf. Wycherley 1968, where he suggests that the author of Luke-Acts rhetorically employs the hyperbolic term "κατείδωλος," to imply a visual forest of statues of gods across the Athenian landscape.

The Heart of the City

It is immediately clear from a brief topographical survey over the centuries of Athens' most significant ancient development that the Agora held the most central position in the city. Every path leads to it, and every other district is oriented around it. Whether by design or logistical constraint, there is a general division of the urban plan along a northwest-southeast line roughly following the direction of the Panathenaic Way—with the Agora at its heart. This would have had the visual effect of bisecting the city, with the regions of sacred and civic construction almost entirely below (i.e. south of) the path of the major road. If one stood on the Panathenaic Way and traced the short legs of the triangle (i.e. the road from the northwest corner of the Agora south along the Kolonos Agoraios and the east-west path that passed in front of the South Stoa), this would thus form a sort of wide curve that represented an edge in the image of the viewer as well, with the civic functions behind it and the commercial activity in front (see Figure 3). It is unclear why nearly all of the public buildings were set up along the western and southern borders of the Agora, if not simply for ease of communication between them. However, the continued observance of the division of the city center with the sacred/civic areas below the northwest/southeast bisection of the Agora seems to be driven by a motive deeper than just convenience.

I would be pushing the available evidence too far to claim that this represents an intentional segregation of the city's functions, but it certainly is striking and should not be written off as merely coincidental. In considering the assumption that it was merely a logistical move, we must observe that the land to the northeast was flattest and so was used for houses from the end of the Archaic period—but therefore could have served the same purpose for larger

structures like temples and thus diminished construction costs, which ultimately would have put less of a burden on the frequently depleted civic treasury. Perhaps instead, in recognition of their local significance, the public structures were placed in an imposing monumental row in order to emphasize their size and prominence as landmarks. But even then, the historic administrative buildings still sat relatively low in the hollow of the Agora, surrounded by the hills that would have overshadowed them from many vantage points outside the district of the city center. Another theory is that sacrifices and other cult activities would often be performed toward the east (i.e. facing the rising sun), so the cultic functionality of these buildings in the Agora might have dictated their placement looking eastward with their rears against the hill.[67] At any rate, even without knowledge of the motivations behind their original siting, we must wonder why later civic projects remained in these traditional zones as well. Could this plan be attributable to an emphasis on keeping the most important religious/civic objects clustered in their ancestral nodes?[68]

One other magnetic organizational aspect persists: at every point from the late Archaic period to the sack of Sulla (and arguably even up to that of the Herulii in 267 AD), the Agora's triangular district marks more or less precisely the epicenter of the city.[69] The expanding ring of the defensive wall, which would have formed the most important topographic edge in the

[67] Dickenson 2016: 99–100.
[68] A cursory survey of the emergence of contemporary agora areas elsewhere, such as at Argos, indicates the plausibility of such a theory, but an adequate examination and comparison of these features requires a more comprehensive study than can be accommodated here. For a diverse set of observations on commonalities in form and function among the most thoroughly excavated agoras of Greek cities (with special focus on their persistence into the Hellenistic and Roman periods), see Dickenson 2016.
[69] Cf. Wycherley 1978: 27.

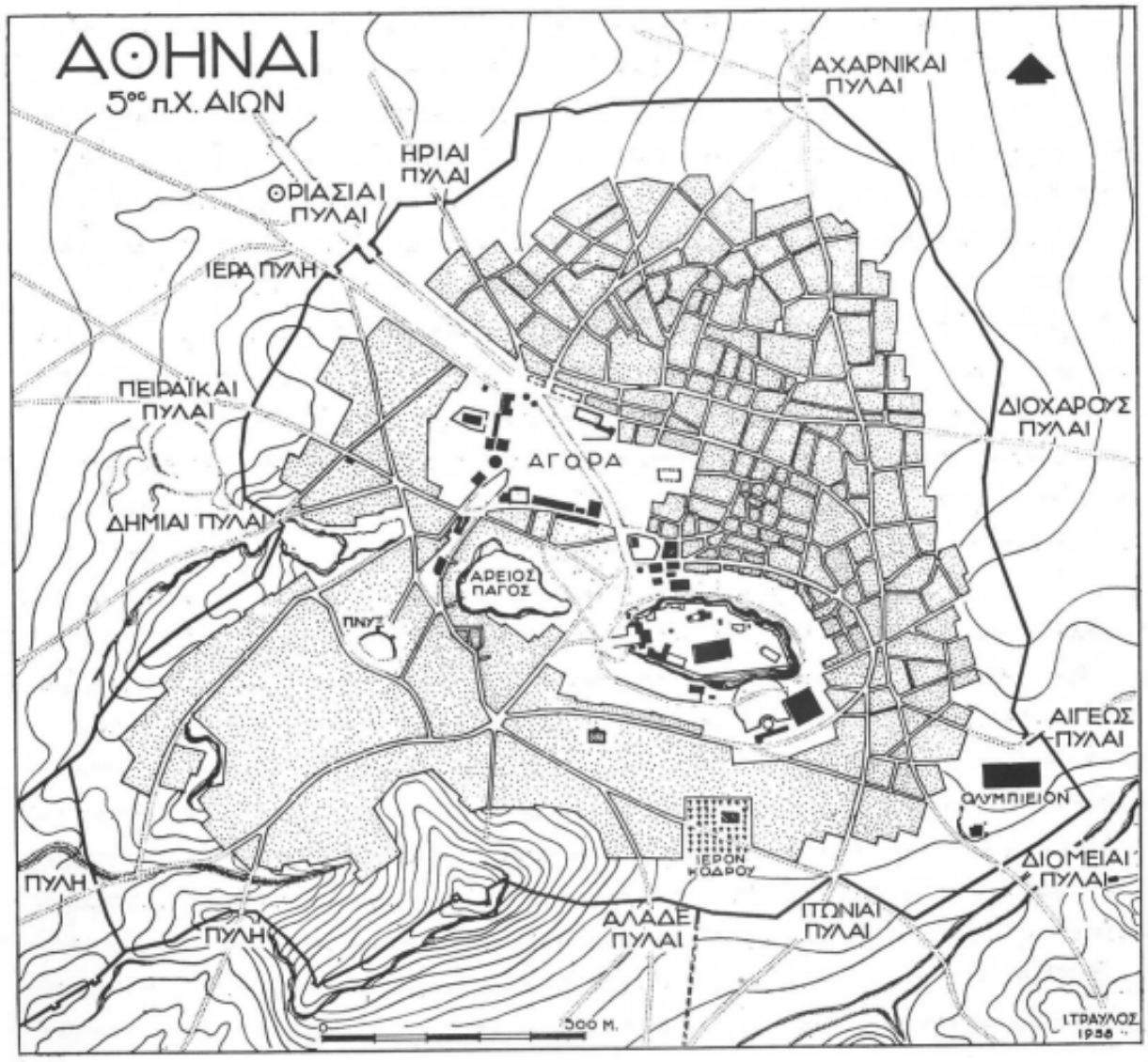

Figure 4: The Acropolis and the Agora at the beginning of the 5th century BC. Source: Travlos 1993.

perception of the residents inside, further highlights this focus. In the late Archaic era it seems to have begun initially in a tight circumference around just the Acropolis, Areopagos, Agora, and the residential area immediately east of it, but after the Persian sack it was extended significantly to the northeast in order to accommodate an expanded residential zone (see Figure 4).[70] The

[70] Wycherley 1978: 10–12.

Themistoklean wall also reached further to the southwest to encompass the Mouseion hill, and the subsequent erection of the long walls allowed a direct vein between the Agora and the ports of Piraeus and Phaleron.[71] The Hellenistic wall, rebuilt after the destruction of the earlier fortifications at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, kept largely the same shape, but with a greater number of guard towers looking toward the harbor.[72] Throughout these phases of urban development and defensive reinforcement, all new circuit walls expanded around the core of the Agora, and all gates directed their roads inevitably toward it.

We have observed that all commercial functions of Classical Athens were based in this marketplace and so all goods brought into the city needed easy central access, but it also should be emphasized that the daily life of a contemporary Athenian would have been oriented accordingly. Although the Acropolis, Areopagus, and Pnyx might have received the most attention from those who composed the literary accounts, everyone else in the city would have dedicated much more of their own energies to activities in and around the Agora. Indeed, the fact that the popular law courts and the records of their results were held in or on the Agora further cements its importance for the lives of *hoi polloi*.[73] We could project how much greater would have been the number of citizens, officials, and merchants who conducted daily business in the Agora than the number of those who would do so on the Acropolis. Furthermore, while the traditional meeting places of the organs of civic government comprised the most consequential nodes for the enfranchised citizen men of Athens, the much larger and more diverse urban community of Attica most likely would have identified the Agora, with its memorial landmarks

[71] Wycherley 1978: 15–16.
[72] Wycherley 1978: 19–23.
[73] Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 52–61.

and open places of gathering, as the most important singular district of the city. To press the biological metaphor: the civic councils might be imagined as the brain of Athens, where major decisions were made and sent out to all other parts of the territory. But the Agora must represent the heart of the city, pumping the lifeblood of social interaction throughout the major arteries and enabling the decisions made in the assemblies to be enacted. We therefore should postulate that the Agora and surrounding areas (including the Acropolis) functioned symbiotically and with mutual dependency for the operational success of the city, but the Agora facilitated the most—and arguably the most important—activity for the everyday livelihood of the common people.[74]

I need not belabor my case further here, as the political and ideological significance of the Agora throughout Athens' long ancient history has been persuasively demonstrated by recent work.[75] However, from this survey emerges one crucial function that is less often recognized: in tracing the monuments and structures that were erected in the Agora during Athens's democratic period, there is a perennial emphasis on memorialization—not only in famous monuments, but in the very form and image of the public space itself. Early buildings reflected archaic memories of prehistoric activities in the area; later monuments emphasized triumphant moments in local history as remembered collectively by the Classical Athenian community. The Stoa Basileios preserved in name an institution that was either long abandoned or invented entirely, and so it was given ceremonial functions to reflect its perceived role in local heritage. The popular art and votives of the Stoa Poikile and the memorabilia in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios recalled major turning points in the city's political history, and the memorial symbols of these moments were

[74] Cf. Dickenson 2011; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 25.
[75] Especially the dissertations and subsequent publications of Chris Dickenson (2012; 2014; 2016) and Vasilis Evangelidis (2010; 2014).

kept easily accessible to the people.[76] Shining Apollo, with the epithet Patröos, was dressed up to represent their distinguished ancestral customs. The Eponymous Heroes both embodied Athens' legendary heritage and also lent their names to the demes from which individual civic identity was primarily derived during the glory years of the democratic period. It is clear even without corroboration from the literature that, as Aischines proclaims while imagining the Stoa Poikile, "the memorials of all our noble deeds stand dedicated in the Agora."[77]

At the macroscopic level, it is astounding that buildings of earlier phases were almost never removed or leveled to make room for new ones. We have seen that various earlier structures were absorbed or incorporated into later versions on the same respective spots, but in almost every case the original names and/or functions were preserved. Even when the old Bouleuterion was replaced by a newer iteration, the original structure was allowed to remain and eventually became integrated into the courtyard of the Metrōon—despite the fact that a space had to be quarried out of the hill behind it in order to accommodate the new council chamber. The stress on memory in the architectural development of the area is not attributable to any short-term political program or ideological agenda, as these trends span several major transitions in the interests of the foremost leader(s) and group(s) responsible for the projects. The landscape of this vital city center seems to represent a manifestation of cultural orientation, such that the identity of the Athenians was contingent upon visual recognition of their own history in the landscape. As a canvas onto which the most important moments and priorities in the lives of preceding generations were pressed and sculpted, the Agora itself became an image of local development

[76] Cf. Camp 2009: 35–36.
[77] Aischines III.186.

over time. This is a function of the square that is rarely discussed, much less recognized as fundamental, but it seems to have been one of the primary concerns in the development of the area. This agenda certainly would have been palpable to the ancient viewer.

I have grouped civic and religious (viz. "public") structures together in contrast to private and residential buildings (as many shops were also the homes of their proprietors), but it should be acknowledged that these types would not necessarily have been viewed as separate sets by the citizens who interacted with them on a daily basis. The reasons for approaching and entering a civic structure were varied, but generally comprised the business of state, much of which would not have been everyman's affair even in the most democratic of eras. Many religious structures, on the other hand, often would have been open and available to (almost) everyone, and the activities they hosted and facilitated (e.g. festivals) did indeed involve all locals at various points during the year—including even women, children, slaves, metics, et al. However, the Agora is particularly unique as it maintained places for both cultic and civic-administrative buildings adjacent to each other, and some structures even represented an unexpected union of the two spheres. For example, the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios evidently was a solution for the dislocation of an earlier shrine to Zeus on a place where the Athenians wished to build a portico. Similarly, the city archives were most conveniently located in a position that happened to be on top of an archaic shrine to the mother goddess, so they created the Metrōon.[78] Indeed, all the administrative buildings of the *archeia* were considered sanctuaries to some extent, as each apparently housed some related aspect of civic cult.[79]

[78] See comprehensive discussion of the relationship between the sanctuary and the archives in Sickinger 1999.
[79] Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 45.

The Agora itself occupied an interesting position in social space since it was technically a kind of sacred land, as announced by the *horoi* and displayed in the preponderance of shrines and altars, but of course the activities that took place there covered a broad spectrum outside of the category of religious ritual as well.[80] The civic offices seem to have been placed along the outside of the triangle in order to isolate their activities, regardless of the quasi-sacred nature of the *archeia* buildings themselves. The rules pertaining to the sacredness of the Agora seem to be somewhat flexible compared with a traditional *temenos*, but they were clearly established in order to preclude a number of undesirable activities from occurring there. These included most of all private construction but applied to personal behavior as well.[81] The presence of lustral basins used for purifying oneself before entry to the Agora, just as at the entrance to a shrine or sanctuary, demonstrates the importance placed on the ritual cleanliness of the individuals within its designated space.[82] Even if we cannot confidently place it on either side of the rigid dichotomy of sacred and profane, clearly the area was marked as special and separate, and its traditional form was prized to the extent that considerable resources were dedicated to maintaining it. What then would this mean for the Athenian perception of the transformative Roman projects?

In the next chapter, I will present evidence of subsequent adaptations suggestive of certain mixed reactions on the part of the Athenian people. For now, it is sufficient to stipulate that even without religious ramifications, the appropriation of the central space of the Agora would

[80] Shear 1981: 360; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 118, 168. Cf. Dickenson 2016: 4–5, with n. 8. On the complicated nature of land marked by *horoi*, see inter alia Horster 2010: 440–442.
[81] Camp 2001: 45–46; Wycherley 1978: 62.
[82] Parker 1983: 19–23, 152–154; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 118–119.

constitute a serious affront to the Athenian social and cultural memory that was preserved in and through its landscape. We have seen the emergence of various objects around the square that were intended to preserve or represent those memories, whether in form or function. It is surely no coincidence that most of these objects are religious structures, and we should not be surprised that there was very little distinction between local sources of religious and civic identities—as if these conjoined aspects could be differentiated in the first place. From the end of the Classical period, we can observe an effort to maintain these structures and monuments so that the image of the Agora remained largely the same up to the arrival of Sulla—and for those objects that survived, even long afterward.[83]

The Hellenistic Image

The years of Macedonian rule were not easy on the Athenians. Even before the restrictions on public displays implemented by Demetrios of Phaleron, most local resources were expended fighting for or against successive Hellenistic kings. The only major construction projects completed on local initiative were defensive fortifications.[84] The one large structure found in the Agora dating to this period was most likely an arsenal, located on the Kolonos Agoraios north of the Hephaisteion.[85] Thanks to these efforts, the infamous attack of Philip V in 200 BC failed to take the city itself, but on his retreat he laid waste to much of the rural landscape of Attica—

[83] Cf. Dickenson 2011: 54–56.
[84] By the end of the third century BC, even the long walls had been left to crumble as the city lacked resources to maintain them: Wycherley 1978: 21. Cf. Camp 2001: 164–166. On the history of the long walls, see Conwell 2008.
[85] Greco et al. (III**, 9.2): 941–943; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 80–81.

including its many temples.[86] The archaeology shows overall that Hellenistic Athens might not have experienced a decline as severe as has been traditionally assumed, but nevertheless a decline it was. Many houses were apparently abandoned in the course of the third century, and we have found no public building whatsoever that can be dated to this period.[87]

A few notable structures do appear in the second century but are all products of foreign benefactions, often resulting from competition between these same Hellenistic kings for mainland Greek support, even if only rhetorical. The vicissitudes of these relationships were demonstrated in the monuments of the Agora. For example, statues that had been added to the Eponymous Heroes group in honor of Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes were subsequently torn down and destroyed.[88] That of Ptolemy II was allowed to remain thanks to his continued support: besides providing financial and military assistance on several occasions, the Egyptian kingdom also donated a new gymnasium in the area southeast of the Agora, probably near the place where the Tower of the Winds was later erected (also possibly a Ptolemaic project).[89] Apparently the popularity of this gymnasium elicited a wave of such benefactions from other rulers hoping to ingratiate themselves with the city. This desire probably also should be attributed to Athens' fame as an educational destination and center of cultural innovation.[90] These were the most significant aspects of their Classical eminence to persist, and

[86] Thompson 1981: 352–354.
[87] Camp 2001: 167–170.
[88] For a detailed study of the monument and its phases, see Shear 1970. See also Camp 2001: 168–170; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 40.
[89] Gymnasium: Camp 2001: 168; Greco et al. (III*, F.54): 749–751. Tower of the Winds: Camp 2001: 179; Greco et al. (III*, 8.5): 765–768. See also Dickenson 2016: 179–184; Habicht 2002.
[90] Camp 2001: 170.

this reputation strongly influenced the sort of dedications they received throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as we will see.

The Attalid kings of Pergamon were the greatest contributors to Athens' development during the late Hellenistic period, and on their initiative the most significant additions to the built environment were accomplished.[91] Attalos I dedicated a monumental sculpture group on the Acropolis; his first son Eumenes II erected a large stoa on the south slope overlooking the Theater of Dionysos; and his second son Attalos II, who had studied philosophy in Athens, gave the Agora a new stoa in the same style but with a deep row of twenty-one shops on each of the two floors.[92] The archaeological finds indicate that this building, which visually enclosed the east side of the square and might have required the relocation of some houses and shops, fundamentally shifted the focus of commercial activity in this direction. The open center of the Agora undoubtedly still accommodated some temporary market booths, but the area around the new stoa east of the Panathenaic Way, which had lacked any major features since the abortive construction of the peristyle building nearly two hundred years prior, now might have become the busiest node in town.

It is noteworthy that the first significant departure from the traditional binary separation of public and private buildings on respective sides of the line of the Panathenaic Way was designed and sponsored by a foreigner. The Athenians must have appreciated this donation, but we should question what effect it would have had on the patronage of the structures along the west and north side of the Agora, especially the places that served memorial purposes as described above.

---

[91] Camp 2001: 171–173; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 65–71; Wycherley 1978: 77–79.
[92] Greco et al. (III**, 9.57): 1140–1143; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 103–108.

The only new building to appear in these traditional spaces was a version of the Metrōon that also served as the archive of the city—another strange union of religious and civic functions.[93] This replaced the old Bouleuterion (now possibly in ruins) and provided a more ceremonial entrance to the new council chamber with an open-air peristyle court and an Ionic colonnade.

The greatest change in the image of the Agora during this period occurred after the erection of two large stoas along the southern edge, constructed in perpendicular alignment with that of Attalos, effectively erased the former topographic arrangement of the southern edge and established a new space between them that was essentially isolated from the rest of the square.[94] Indeed, the so-called Middle Stoa (built ca. 180 BC) not only ignored but actually crushed the original southeastern boundaries by placing a foundation stone directly on top of the *horos* marking the southern limit. The second new stoa, known as South Stoa II, replaced the earlier version that had previously enclosed the southern edge of the Agora. It was built on a parallel axis and connected to the Middle Stoa by a small building on the eastern edge. With the so-called Aiakeion to the west, the complex was closed off from the rest of the square, a feature that likely marked it as a special commercial or administrative (or, as Dickenson argues, judicial) zone. With these major additions, it has been remarked that the Agora now began to take on the standard appearance of other great marketplaces across the Hellenistic world.[95] On one hand, the new stoas essentially reified the edges of the Classical Agora and provided a more formal shape

[93] Camp 2001: 182; Greco et al. (III**, 9.26): 1026–1030; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 35–38. Wycherley 1978: 51–52. On the relationship of these functions, see Sickinger 1999, esp. 114–138.
[94] Camp 2001: 180; Camp 2009: 14; Dickenson 2016: 142–157; Greco et al. (III**, 9.47): 1108–1111; Wycherley 1978: 80–81.
[95] Dickenson 2016, esp. 69–86, 142–157. Cf. Wycherley 1978: 78; and the comparative studies contained in the conference proceedings of Chankowski and Karvonis 2012 (esp. 23–138).

to the open space between them. This could be interpreted as a recognition of the significance of the democratic center, but the erasure of the *horoi* presents a bit of a problem since these ancient markers defined the special boundaries of the space in the first place.[96] On the other hand, though, the Hellenistic dynasts refrained completely from building within the open triangle formed by the western border, the southern stoas, and the Panathenaic Way (the hypotenuse). This could signify an affirmation of Athenian preferences, perhaps for functional if not historic reasons. That the Athenians had continued to maintain the Agora's open character up to this point, even after real estate in the area became increasingly cluttered, indicates an effort to preserve the space regardless of whether its primary functions had changed. We cannot discern whether the kings actually consulted with locals before planning and siting their buildings, but it certainly seems likely, even without the ideological underpinnings suggested here.

The Roman Image

For reasons of economy, I cannot address parallels in other Greek cities at this time, but it is very likely that similar trends of memorialization would be identifiable in the civic landscape at Corinth as well—at least before its destruction in 146 BC.[97] Histories often refer to this year as the transition between the Hellenistic and Roman eras in central and southern Greece, since after this point the region was administered by Rome as the province of Achaea. However, there is no archaeological evidence to mark this date anywhere outside of Corinth,[98] and the practical effects

[96] Shear 1981: 360.
[97] See e.g. the recent observations at Corinth offered by de Grazia Vanderpool and Scotton 2017. Cf. Dickenson 2016, esp. 215–237.
[98] Camp 2001: 183.

of "provincialization" would have been felt very differently in each city according to its status and imperial favor. Similarly, the traditional watershed date of 31 BC, with Octavian's victory at Actium, is entirely invisible outside of the waters where the battle occurred. In thinking about the

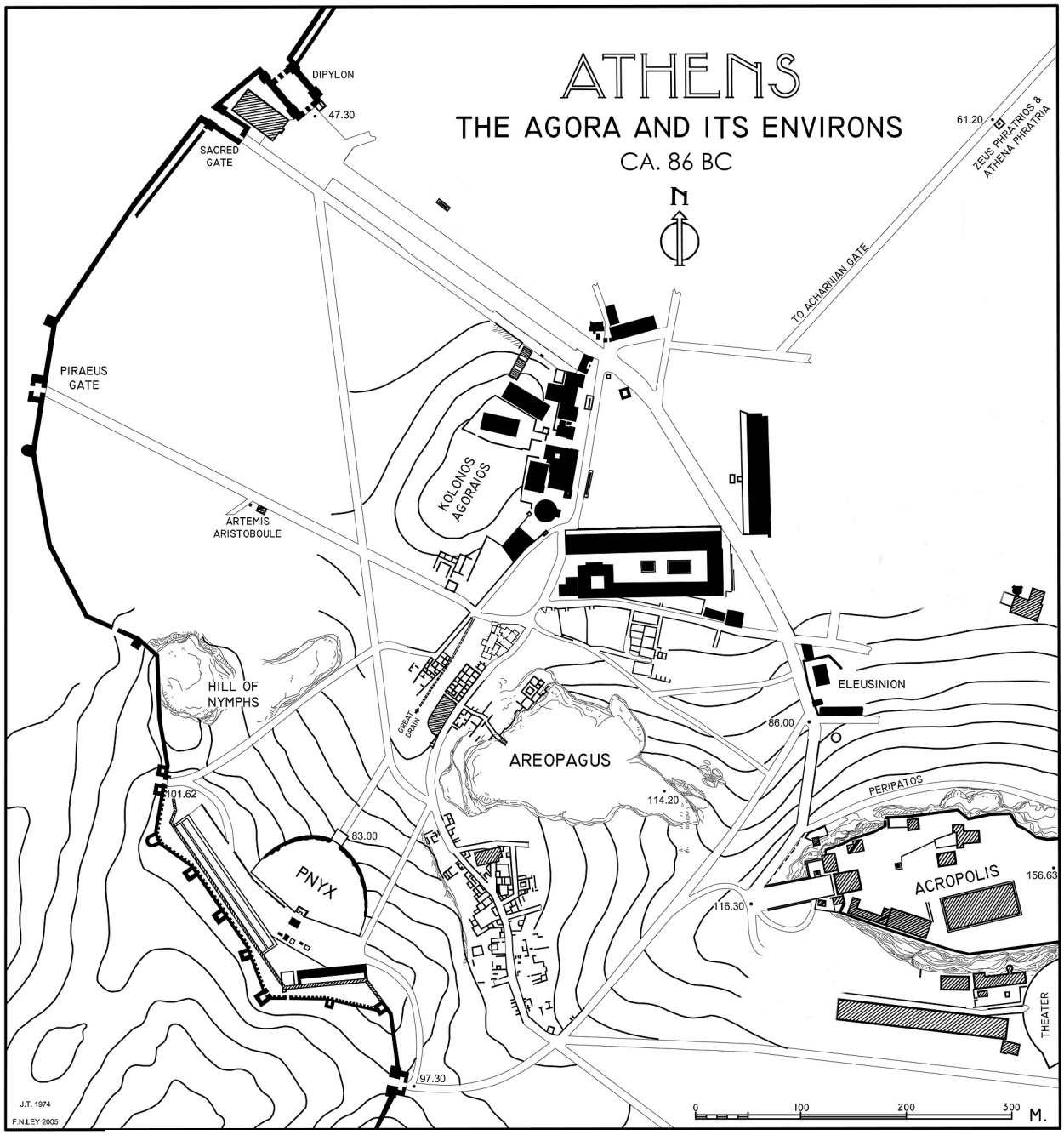

Figure 5: Athens, 86 BC. Source: after Camp 2010, with edits by author.

effect of these major political events on the lives of the common Greeks, it is crucial to recognize that the influence of increased Roman presence would have been felt only on a gradual and widely varying basis at the local level. For the Athenians, the most pivotal moment during this period was Sulla's sack of the city in 86 BC, and in terms of the archaeological record this marks the most traumatic event since the Persian invasion of 480–479 BC.

It is unfortunate for the preservation of the Agora that Sulla's army chose to break through the city wall on the northwest edge between the Piraeus and Sacred Gates, but perhaps more fortunate that on this day Sulla showed a surprising degree of mercy to the Athenians (see Figure 5). In the end, most of the city was left intact but the region of the Agora received the brunt of the invasion before the soldiers were recalled from their plundering. The significant extent of the damage is clear from the excavations.[99] However, it seems that over the following decades almost every important public building eventually was restored to its previous state, and some were even embellished further. The major exceptions are the "arsenal" structure on the Kolonos Agoraios and the buildings that had formed the southernmost edge of the "South Square," which evidently experienced the greatest damage. These structures included the Hellenistic South Stoa II, the so-called Aiakeion, and two small monuments about which unfortunately we know nothing beyond the dimensions of their foundations.[100] Burden insightfully observed that for a pedestrian standing in the central triangle of the Agora, all of these objects would have been mostly occluded from view either by topography (the hill) or by the buildings that survived (the

[99] See e.g. Burden 1999: 11–13; Shear 1973, "Excavations of 1971": 142; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 71

[100] Wycherley (1978: 81–82) suggests that the bases would be suitable for small temples, although no evidence of cultic activity survives there. Cf. Dickenson 2016: 156–157.

Middle Stoa).[101] This could elucidate at some level why they were not restored, but it almost certainly explains why their material remains became "quarries" for the reconstruction of the other buildings. I also suggest the possibility that they were not sufficiently ancient, venerable, or significant as nodes, and so did not constitute a focus in the Athenian image of the Agora that would make them worthy of restoration as the others did.

The recovery after the sack points again to a local emphasis on maintaining the most traditional elements in the memorial landscape of the Agora, even during periods of financial hardship. And hard this period was, indeed: after the string of bad political moves that pitted them against the future emperor Augustus in two consecutive struggles, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that Athens was not fiscally solvent again until perhaps the time of Claudius.[102] Beyond the major streets and public spaces, debris often was swept into gutters or drains and whole rows of houses were simply abandoned.[103] This evidence, among a few other considerations that will be explained below, supports the conclusion that nearly all of the significant new construction work completed during the first century of Roman rule was sponsored by private benefactors rather than the city. In the chapters that follow I will discuss the agency behind the relevant monuments at length and then consider the impacts and reactions of the general Athenian community. For now, I will review the Roman modifications to the Classical Agora in order to bring our topographical survey to its culmination.

---

[101] Burden 1999: 13.
[102] Hoff 1997. See further discussion in chapter III.
[103] As was the case with the row of houses along the "Broad Way" between the Classical Agora and the area that would become the Roman Market: Burden 1999: 17–18; Shear 1975: 353–354; Shear 1981: 358–359.

The first major addition was the Odeion of Agrippa, which was built shortly after 20 BC off the north side of the Middle Stoa and occupied much of the traditionally open space in the middle of the square.[104] It is no overstatement to claim that this enormous structure "completely dominated the Agora," both topographically and visually.[105] In front of it on (nearly) the same axis was dropped shortly afterward the repurposed Ares Temple, originally that of Athena from Pallene, transferred block-by-block—along with the altar from the precinct of Ares at Acharnai—into the vacant area at the north end of the square.[106] These two structures alone were sufficient to transform the appearance and operations of the square, but numerous other buildings and monuments were added as well. The altar of Zeus Agoraios was moved down from the Pnyx at some point, but the date is contested.[107] Two small but still relatively sizable temples of unknown patronage were constructed using certain recycled pieces from other rural sanctuaries. Without detailed information about their circumstances, we call these only by their general locations within the Agora: the "Southeast Temple" was squeezed into the corner between the Mint and the Panathenaic Way,[108] and the "Southwest Temple" occupied the space immediately

---

[104] Burden 1999: 76–115; Dickenson 2016: 258–264; Greco et al. (III**, 9.38): 1084–1089; Schmalz 1994: 86–91; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 111–114; Wycherley 1978: 83–84.
[105] Camp 2001: 188–189. Cf. Burden 1999: 80–81.
[106] Burden 1999: 115–137; Camp 2001: 116–117; Dinsmoor 1940: 51–52; Greco et al. (III**, 9.32): 1055–1061; Spawforth 1997: 187–188; Thompson 1952: 93–98; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 162–165; Wycherley 1978: 84–85. On the misalignment of 3.5 degrees between this foundation and the Odeion, see p. 154 below.
[107] Burden 1999: 149; Dickenson 2016: 317–324; Greco et al. (III**, 9.36): 1070–1072; Shear 1981: 365; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 160–162; Wycherley 1978: 82–83. Burden (1999: 153–154) argues for the chronological priority of the altar before any other construction in the central triangle, based on the disparity in transplantation technique and the bizarre orientation of the altar obliquely facing the flank of the Odeion. The alternative connections he proposes to the much earlier projects of the second century BC, however, remain more tenuous.
[108] Camp 2001: 110–111; Dinsmoor, Jr. 1982; Greco et al. (III**, 9.52): 1124–1125; Thompson 1960: 339–343; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 167–168; Wycherley 1978: 85.

to the west of the Odeion within the central triangle.[109] The ultimate effect of these four monuments on the area is now universally recognized: for the first time, the central space of the Agora was filled in, and its function as the most important district of the city for both casual social meetings and commercial interactions was forever changed—if not eliminated. Existing landmarks that previously served as points of gathering and communication were obstructed or overshadowed completely, meaning that the Athenians' image of the Agora and its place in the city essentially would have been effaced.

An examination of the new interrelationships between architectural features particularly demonstrates this point, in that we can identify a visual, functional, and/or symbolic usurpation of place brought about by the Roman transformation of the city center. As described in the previous chapter, the appearance of the transplanted structures would have blocked several lines of sight that reinforced the historical and democratic meaning of the Agora's public space. From a viewpoint on the Panathenaic Way, the Odeion eclipsed most landmarks in the south and west parts of the square; the Southwest Temple overshadowed the Tholos and partially the Metrōon; the Temple of Ares occluded the precincts of Apollo Patröos and Zeus Eleutherios, as well as the altar of the Twelve Gods and, from many angles on the ground, even the Hephaisteion. The Altar of Zeus Agoraios blocked a significant portion of the visual and physical access to the Statues of the Eponymous Heroes. In addition to the visual obstruction of the Stoa of Zeus by the Temple of Ares, it is of enormous symbolic importance that after Sulla the portico lacked the shields and inscriptions that had been proudly displayed on its exterior.[110] Unlike the spoils on the Stoa

[109] Camp 2001: 114–115; Dinsmoor, Jr. 1982; Greco et al. (III**, 9.40): 1095–1096; Thompson 1952: 90–91; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 165–166; Wycherley 1978: 85.
[110] Pausanias 10.21.6.

Poikile that commemorated Athens's victories over Sparta, these shields were Athenian and therefore—like the stoa itself—representative of the Athenian ability to defend the city's freedom. Their exhibition honored the memory of the ancestors who had served and died to guarantee the preservation of this freedom for subsequent generations, and thus their disappearance surely was intended to make a powerful statement that the Athenians no longer possessed that ability. The traditional image of this important node would be erased, and the local pedestrians who would have been accustomed to the prominent presence of the memorials on the stoa now would be reminded constantly of their loss.

The Emergence of a Double Core

While I join Dickenson in challenging the traditional assumption of the Agora's "decline" after this transformation, it inevitably would have changed the image of the central district for the locals in such a way that redefined much of its meaning.[111] I will consider the impact of these changes on local identities more precisely in the chapters that follow. For now, it is sufficient to recognize that any activities that previously made use of the Agora's open space had to be moved, and this could be one explanation for the formal reification around this time of a new marketplace directly to the east in an area that had already facilitated certain functions auxiliary to the Agora for some time (according to Dickenson, as early as the Classical period).[112] The "Market of Caesar and Augustus," on which construction had begun as early as 50 BC, was completed in the final decade of the first century BC and immediately became the new center for

[111] Dickenson 2011: 47–48. Cf. Wycherley 1962: 83.
[112] Dickenson 2016: 172–186; Hoff 1988: 88–93.

much of the city's primary commercial activity.[113] As announced by the dedicatory inscription, the structure was built by the Dēmos but only with a final installment of funding from Augustus, probably as a sign of goodwill after some years of cold relations.[114] Taking into account the gifts received previously from Pompey and Caesar for this new market, as well as the lack of earlier monumental architecture on the spot, I believe we can safely conclude that some Athenians had an influential role in its siting. However, this does not mean that those who worked and traded there would have simply consented to move all of their activities away from the place where their ancestors had conducted business for at least five hundred years.

Who provided the guiding vision behind the appearance of the market structure is another question, and one which we cannot answer with any confidence. The well-preserved west gate facing toward the Agora is known as that of Athena Archegetis because she is listed alongside Augustus on the dedication inscription, which was displayed above the pediment on a plinth that seems to have sported an equestrian statue to the emperor's second grandson, Lucius Caesar.[115] It strongly resembles the facade of a Doric temple, and so might have been intended (by whichever party commissioned it) to be consistent with the "antiquarian spirit" of the Classical Agora.[116] Sections of the market's colonnades are relatively well preserved around the excavated area, although little else is visible. The east and west gates and the surviving columns were and remain its most remarkable permanent features, but some of these appear to have been assembled at least

[113] Burden 1999: 169–209; Dickenson 2016: 237–252; Greco et al. (III**, 8.7): 770–777; Hoff 1988: 99–110; Hoff 1989; Sourlas 2012.
[114] IG II^2 3175.
[115] IG II^2 3251; Hoff 2001; Shear 1975: 355. On the statue's symbolism, see also Bowersock 2002: 7–10.
[116] Hoff 1988: 70.

partially from reused materials. The quadriporticus surrounded a flat, newly cleared surface that provided the new commercial zone where local vendors would set up their booths. However, both the Stoa of Attalos and the surviving shops of the "South Square" in the Classical Agora were maintained and apparently also used for certain types of goods.[117] It is surely a misconception that the Roman Market completely supplanted or rendered obsolete the older, larger commercial zone, and there is no reason to doubt that they operated in tandem for most of the Roman period.[118]

Most of the transformative construction that created the new image of the Agora was completed by the turn of the millennium, and the first century AD was less explosive in terms of new developments. Sometime between 10 BC and 10 AD a stoa-type structure was constructed in the northeast part of the square, extending from the north end of the Stoa of Attalos almost to the Panathenaic Way, perhaps intended to close off this open corner of the square.[119] Around this time we also find the addition of two small rooms to the rear of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, which were richly decorated and could have housed some aspect of imperial cult.[120] The excavations also have identified under similarly mysterious circumstances the erection on the north side of the Agora (just west of the Stoa Poikile) of a small Roman-era temple facing south onto the open square and directly on axis with the archaic altar of Aphrodite Ourania in front of

[117] Camp 1986: 172–175; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 107–108, 172–173.
[118] Dickenson 2011: 56–57.
[119] Burden 1999: 137–142; Greco et al. (III*, 9.62–63): 1153–1156. Full enclosure had become virtually a "requirement" for agoras of this period as exhibited in the Roman Market as well as other central agoras across the Greek world: Dickenson 2016: 324–332.
[120] Burden 1999: 142–149; Greco et al. (III**, 9.17): 996–997; Thompson 1966. Note that the annex is not significant enough in size or position to seem a likely candidate for the *primary* imperial cult center of the city.

it, but little else can be determined about its context from the surviving remains.[121] Given the general absence of major construction projects, with almost nothing but infrastructural maintenance directly attributable to the civic council, it seems that less recognizable adaptations were being made to the existing built environment as the community acclimated to the new arrangement of the urban landscape. One such instance in the middle of the century might be a monumental (if somewhat economical) flight of poros steps in the east slope of the Kolonos Agoraios, precisely in line with and leading up to the Hephaisteion.[122] A more notable modification to the form and access of the Agora appeared at the very end of the first century, when a well-designed new building with a colonnade was built south of the Stoa of Attalos and came to comprise a part of the transitional passageway to the Roman Market. This structure is known as the Library of Pantainos after its dedicator, Titus Flavius Pantainos of Gargettos, a proud Athenian bibliophile and "priest of the Muses," as proclaimed by the dedicatory inscription.[123] We will return below to this valuable piece of evidence in the next chapter, as it could inform our understanding of the priorities of local elites during the time of Trajan. A final example of local adaptation is indicated by the appearance sometime in the second century of a few modest rooms attached with a small, poorly constructed portico to the front of the Middle Stoa at its western edge, which might have served some function, probably commercial in nature, in the contemporary administration of the Agora.[124]

---

[121] Burden 1999: 163–168, 240–242; Camp 2008: 94; Greco et al. (III**, 9.9): 968–969; Shear 1975: 495–507.
[122] Shear 1981: 367; Greco et al. (III**, 9.21): 1011–1014; Thompson 1937: 221–222.
[123] Camp 2001: 197; Greco et al. (III**, 9.53): 1125–1131; Notopoulos 1949: 26–27; Parsons 1949: 271; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 114–116; Wycherley 1978: 88. Inscription: Agora I 848.
[124] Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 79–80.

These adjustments, like the Roman projects, are concentrated in the expanded region of the two agoras as a new double core of the city, demonstrating that the Athenians remained invested in the area and continued to act out much of their daily life there as ever. I will examine in further depth the implications of these often-overlooked architectural and topographical adaptations in the next chapter, several of which seem to occur in response to contemporary dedications by Roman emperors with some interest in the city. The 120s–130s AD would witness the most significant series of major public works in Athenian history since the fifth century BC, all completed at the behest of the most famously philhellenic Roman of antiquity—the emperor Hadrian. The substantial reconfiguration of the city undertaken during his reign provides an appropriate bookend for my study as very little changed between the time of his death and the Herulian sack of 267 AD.

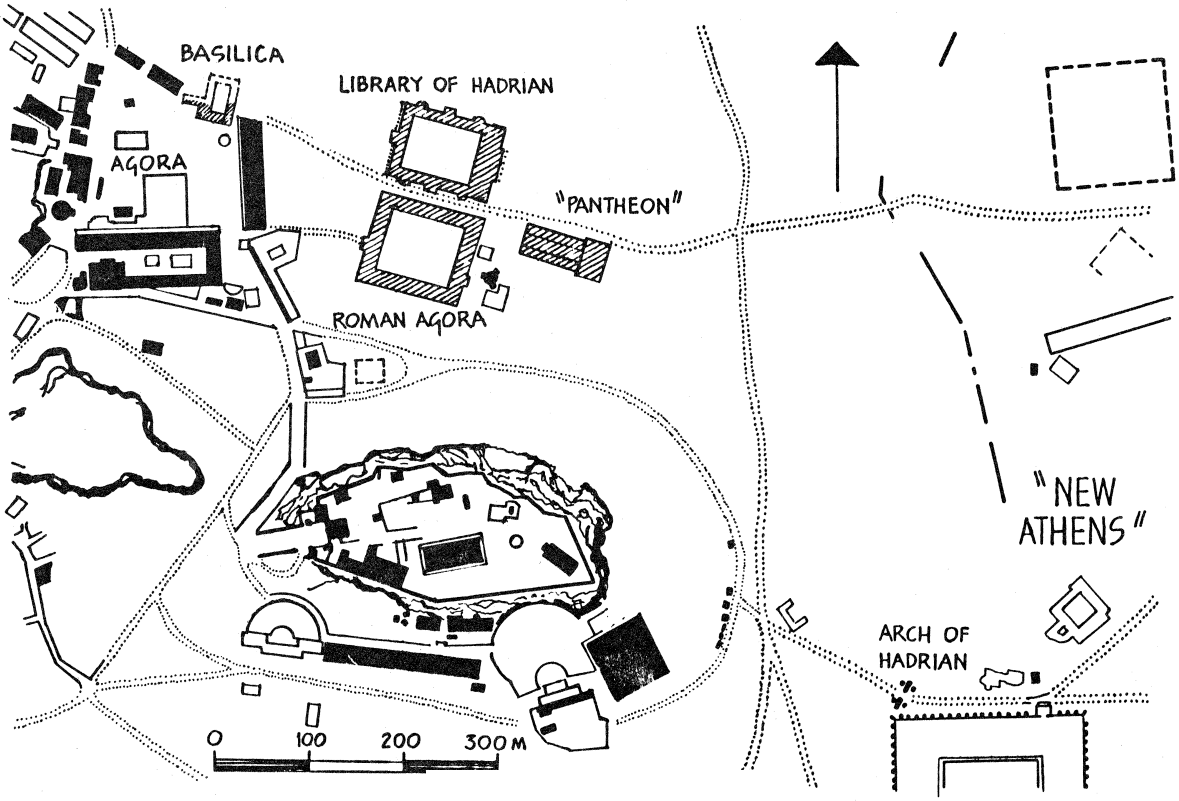

Figure 6: Partial plan of Hadrianic Athens. Source: Boatwright 1983.

The Hadrianic Image

Under Hadrian, Athens undertook its greatest construction program since Perikles's in both scope and significance. The landscape was transformed in several regions of public interest, but the most prominent features (besides the Olympieion, with which Hadrian became famously associated) were installed in the area around the new double core of the Agora and the Roman Market. These included a large basilica structure of unknown function on the northeast corner of the Classical Agora;[125] the Library of Hadrian, which was designed with nearly the same dimensions as the Roman Market and placed just north of it;[126] and a huge triple-naved podium building (of disputed function) just to the east of these two structures and on the same axis (see Figure 6).[127] These benefactions would have changed the everyday experience of life in and around the marketplaces in a number of important ways, and the situation of the Library provides a particularly interesting example for my study.

Shear cautioned that the label of "Library" should not obscure the fact that the structure itself served much more monumental purposes than merely the storage of books, as indicated in Pausanias's laudatory description.[128] With its dedicated spaces for leisure, displays of artwork, and public lectures, this quadriporticus was surely an analogue of the other imperial fora of the time, all of similar shape and style. However, he notes one crucial variation in our model: at Rome, the Templum Pacis and the Fora of Caesar and Trajan were all oriented around a

[125] Dickenson 2016: 385–386; Greco et al. (III*, 9.62): 1153–1154; Shear 1981: 376; Wycherley 1978: 86.
[126] Greco et al. (III*, 8.9): 780–787; Shear 1981: 374–375; Wycherley 1978: 86–88.
[127] Boatwright 1983, esp. 175; Greco et al. (III*, 8.2): 753–756.
[128] Shear 1981: 375; Pausanias I.18.9. Cf. Karivieri 1994, which discusses various other possible uses of the structure.

prominent podium temple at the front of the respective square and on the main axis, while the Library of Hadrian at Athens instead sported the book repository that lends the entire building its modern name.[129] I think Shear was right to imagine this architectural choice as representative of a symbolic statement: "In this important alteration to the basic plan, we may well feel that Hadrian's architects wished to pay graceful homage to Athens' unique position as the cultural capital of the Greek-speaking world: to this end the architectural schema developed in Rome for the Templum Pacis was transplanted on Attic soil as a Templum Cultus."[130] With regard to its implications for religious ideology, however, perhaps Shear does not push the conclusion far enough: the notable omission of a temple to a Roman deity, as we find in the other contemporary fora, and the installation instead of a shrine for *education*, as we might construe the Library itself to symbolize, could represent a shift in the priorities of sacred construction in Athens. Even with Hadrian's completion of the Olympieion in the southeast region of the city, we would still expect that this prominent position in the center would receive the same kind of conspicuous *religious* structure as did the other public squares.[131] Without attempting foolhardily to psychoanalyze the emperor, we might imagine that a philhellene who spent so much time among the Athenians would have been more personally aware of local cultural trends—surely, he must have conversed with certain local elites, including probably Herodes Atticus—and perhaps even would have tipped his hat to their preferences in his construction programs.[132] Could we recognize in this

[129] Shear 1981: 375–376.
[130] Shear 1981: 376.
[131] Cf. Gros 1996: 207–234.
[132] Philostratus (*Lives of the Sophists* 2.1 [548–549]) tells of correspondence between Hadrian and Herodes when the latter was serving as governor of Asia (a position which he had been given by the emperor), so we can assume that the two would have been familiar at the time of the Hadrian's visits to Athens.

particular decision an implication that the Library and the cultural institutions it housed would serve as the "religious" focus of the new buildings instead? Is it possible that this cultural and intellectual orientation might reflect to some extent the interests of the Athenians of his own period, not only the venerated shades of their ancestors who were commemorated so monumentally in other parts of the city? The sacred objects ubiquitous throughout the district had given the Athenians their famous reputation for piety, but as we saw above (in chapter I), the emphasis of their religion was almost surely different by this time. If philosophy, rhetoric, and education were the new hallmarks of Athens' identity in the Roman period, as these certainly were their greatest exports, perhaps Hadrian chose to honor them by installing not another temple to a traditional deity but instead a monument that would epitomize this identity in the new image of the city.

All of Hadrian's construction lies outside the classical limits of the Agora, including the basilica on the very northeast corner that was aligned with the Library and Roman Market to the southeast. This subsumed the mysterious Augustan-era stoa and perhaps an earlier basilica attached to it—as if the decision to level the later, less significant building was made in order to preserve the older monuments of the traditional Athenian center. Even if the scale of Hadrian's new structures would not permit their insertion into the existing open space, such hindrances had not prevented earlier Roman agents from smashing or adapting classical and Hellenistic objects in order to fit their "benefactions." Because of this, and because of the lack of evidence for any space overtly dedicated to the imperial cult in any of these new structures, we must question

Shear's assertion that Hadrian's whole program represented a "conscious Romanization" of the city center.[133]

Since we know almost nothing about the development of the unexcavated area between the Library and the basilica, we cannot draw any solid conclusions regarding the neighborhood at this time.[134] However, Mary Boatwright followed up on Shear's comments with a few qualifying observations that further inform our discussion. The discovery of the large triple-naved podium about 50 meters east of the Roman Market connects the four major buildings in the region of the Agora on the same axis (Roman Market, Library of Hadrian, Hadrianic basilica, and Hadrianic podium structure), which marks this group as a unique program, apparently not aligned with any other features in the city center. Boatwright chimes in on the question of the Library's missing temple and advises that we consider this free-standing podium structure to be representative of the usual affixed temple customary for the Library's forum-like design.[135] This assertion is problematic for a few reasons, apart from my belief that it underestimates Hadrian's intentions for the Library as a monument to Roman-era Athenian culture as proposed by Shear and elaborated above. First of all, the enormous building is nearly half the size of the Library, and this ratio has no parallel in any contemporary forum (certainly not the temple of Divine Trajan in the Imperial fora at Rome, as she suggests). Secondly, while it is indeed *aligned* with the Library, the podium structure is offset awkwardly and not on either of the Library's main axes. In fact, it is positioned much closer to the Roman Market. Furthermore, the very nature of this building is questionable, as it has been argued that it actually could be identified as the

[133] Shear 1981: 376–377.
[134] Cf. Greco et al. (III*, 8.8): 778–780.
[135] Boatwright 1983: 175.

headquarters of the Panhellenion, or at least a basilica of more general use, instead of Hadrian's Pantheon or any kind of temple at all.[136] Ultimately, it is more significant for my argument that this whole complex with the basilica at one end and the podium building at the other reached toward the east and did not encroach into the sacred boundaries of the Classical Agora, instead building up the surrounding area in order to render the district even more monumentalized.

As for the effect of this entire program on the lives of those frequenting the marketplaces, these buildings clearly pulled the focus of the city's everyday activities eastward, so it is useful to consider the relative position of Hadrian's other projects. Boatwright pragmatically observed that the major road from the Dipylon Gate through the center would have passed along the northern edge of the Agora, around the basilica (although it is unclear how this passage would have been managed), between the Library and Roman Market, and along the northern side of the podium building before heading off in the direction of Hadrian's "New Athens" with its iconic arch (and ultimately to the Gate of Diochares).[137] She goes on to claim that the basilica on the western end of the complex tied the Classical Agora to this new central cluster, and the podium structure on the eastern end pulled the new city toward the ancient heart of Athens. While we might not be able to impute these motivations to the architects, I think this is a very insightful assessment of the *effect* this new arrangement would have had on the local Athenians. Indeed, rather than the Romanization agenda proposed by Shear, I find much more appropriate

[136] Spawforth and Walker 1985: 97–98. Cf. Camia and Rizakis 2017: 389–390; Willers 1990, esp. 54–67.
[137] Boatwright 1983: 175–176.

Boatwright's conclusion that this program essentially "achieved the integration of Greece and Rome without suppressing either culture."[138]

Overall, Hadrian's project deftly incorporated the new buildings with the existing structures into a new civic core that included the Classical Agora—rather than essentially erasing it as the transplanted temples had done, or functionally replacing it like the Market of Caesar and Augustus had done. I believe that this integration bespeaks an imperial awareness of contemporary Athenian interests and an effort to honor their focus on their memorial landscape to an extent that we do not see under any other post-classical regime. In the end, though, the image of that memorial landscape was transformed again nevertheless. In this context, we must also consider how many generations of Athenians living in the city after the arrival of Rome would be aware of these changes, and to what extent they would recognize the symbolic usurpation of the landscape around them. Surely local citizens living in the time of Hadrian would have viewed the built environment that they had inherited, with its now-characteristic mix of cultural and architectural sources, in a very different light than had their ancestors who survived the sack of 86 BC and the slow, piecemeal recovery of the city through the first century of its subjugation.

The Mark of the City

Comparing overarching trends in the types and architectural styles of buildings and monuments erected before Sulla's sack of Athens with those that appear afterward, we immediately should recognize a general shift in their characteristics. Those dedicated by Hellenistic monarchs and

[138] Boatwright 1983: 176.

local elites before 86 BC served civic functions in providing facilities for commerce and administration, and often simultaneously commemorated local history. Those structures commissioned after Sulla by aristocrats and the imperial family are oriented toward education and the arts, while often honoring Rome and the emperor in the guise of traditional Greek cults.[139] I will explore the relevant landmarks and demonstrate this connection in further detail in subsequent chapters, but we should expect such a dichotomy between the differing architecture of these two eras of Athenian history. This transition is consistent with the loss of self-governance and the consequent marginalization of the proud heritage of democracy experienced by the Athenians once they fell under Roman hegemony, just as we find paralleled in many famous cities of the Greek East.

What is more surprising is that the sponsors of new construction in these later periods often seemed to recognize and actually acknowledge the traditional importance of certain nodes and landmarks within the landscape of the city center. The observation that Athenians of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods continually restored the existing civic structures in the same traditional forms and did not encroach upon areas left vacant by their ancestors suggests a perennial focus on the classical image of the city. That the Hellenistic dynasts refrained from imposing on the open center of the Agora triangle, even while manipulating certain edges demarcated by the old *horoi*, seems to indicate that they sought the input of the locals before executing their projects. That the architects of the Augustan period apparently did not take these precautions is thus further emblematic of the general disinterest—or perhaps disdain—that they exhibited for the existing image of the Athenian landscape. However, this makes it all the more

[139] Cf. Camp 2001: 184.

striking that the Hadrianic projects seem to indicate at least an acknowledgment of local preferences again, and therefore these structures potentially offer us even more valuable information about contemporary priorities.

Turning our lens to the relationship between the two marketplaces of Athens during the Roman period, there was clearly a great deal of traffic and communication between them throughout the city's ancient history, as shown by the embellishment of the Broad Way and archaeological remains of persistent commercial activity in both. However, the Market of Caesar and Augustus could never hold the same level of cultural or memorial prominence for the Athenians, even once it officially took over many of the Classical Agora's traditional functions. It seems to have maintained a level of cleanliness and decorum typical of Roman imperial marketplaces but never witnessed in the earlier, organically evolving public spaces of Athens, and therefore detached from the term "Agora" much of its traditional meaning for the Athenians.[140] The rather sterile archaeological site of the Roman Market stands in stark contrast to the immensely complicated plan still visible in the Agora today with its consecutive layers of interconnected architecture and imbricated features. What would become of the older district? Was it vitiated by the removal of its most popular activities? Or should we see in this bipartite arrangement something of the ideal proposed by Aristotle, in which one space was reserved for the vulgar business of buying and selling and the other for official civic business and cultural pursuits?[141] We have seen that the separation in function was incomplete, but perhaps the double core was more effectively divided in terms of ideological and cultural symbolism.

---

[140] Cf. Hoff 1988: 87–90; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 172–173.
[141] Aristotle *Politics* VII.11.2–3. Cf. Dickenson 2014: 87–88; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 172. See discussion of other precedents at Hoff 1988: 240–248.

Let us consider finally the position of the religious structures in and around the Agora area in order to test the effect of the new core on the Athenian experience. At the level of the sacred landscape, the Classical Agora had its traditional image largely reshaped, along with much of the meaning attached to it. In describing the treatment of certain monuments I have spoken pointedly of effacement, but in general the "crowding" of the space with new and upcycled structures would have simply marginalized the prominence of the older landmarks. In this way, we might imagine the "serialization" effect that was inherent to rows of dedicatory statues (as described articulately by John Ma) also to have applied to these buildings. With the appearance of a group of temples (the Ares Temple, the Southeast Temple, and the Southwest Temple) all of similar style (composed at least partially of recognizable fifth-century BC pieces, even if different architectural orders), and all within a relatively short span of time (the first thirty years or so of Augustus's reign), they would thus be viewed and imaged collectively. The dominant positioning of this group would impart a sense of uniformity that bespoke the planning of the powers responsible—in this case, the universal order of *Pax Romana*, embodied also in the neatly organized Roman Market just a stone's throw away.

The alignment of the itinerant temples with the other new objects placed in and around the Agora's central triangle during these years would have reinforced this association. Given the circumstances surrounding their appearance, they probably would not bear much deeper meaning for most local viewers in social significance, function, history, or even name. This is most likely part of the reason we cannot confidently identify *anything* about the patronage or use of the Southeast and Southwest Temples. They might have represented a collection of architectural pieces taken from Athenian contexts, but any traditional image that these features might

previously have evoked from viewers would have been expunged. Even if their design aped to some extent the classicizing Greek architecture around them, they must not have been viewed as truly Classical Athenian buildings. This would have been even more apparent in the rededication of certain temples to new patrons, regardless of whether the deities (as far as we can identify them) could be deemed "less" Athenian—that is, less common in local cult worship, such as Ares.

One of the signature characteristics of the old Agora, as frequently mentioned in the excavation reports (and rarely as a positive attribute in the eyes of the excavators), was the stark disjunction of shapes, sizes, styles, siting, and circumstances between individual objects within the district. Indeed, this was a quality integral to the "mark of the city" described so evocatively by Himerios. Not only did the Augustan-era projects disregard this character by establishing a uniformly situated group that dominated almost every line of sight, but later construction in the area continued this trend to the point that the former image would have soon faded from local memory.

For most of its pre-Roman history, the only protuberant religious structure in the district was the Hephaisteion, which was not technically located within the *horoi* but indisputably remained one of the most noticeable landmarks that defined the Agora. This would have been a popular cult site for the craftspeople living and working in the area, and the encroachment of their activities on the sanctuary at various points demonstrates that the Kolonos Agoraios would have been busy both before and after the Roman projects.[142] The Hellenistic "arsenal" building for a time would have crowded the hill, but the repurposing of its damaged pieces after 86 BC

[142] Shear 2016: 156–160.

could signify that locals were happy to be rid of it, or at least that it was less important for their image of the place than the buildings that they reconstructed with its remains. After the appearance of the new Roman temples, though, the Hephaisteion would have been much diminished in both visual effect and uniqueness, even if its function did not change for most Athenians.

Along the base of the hill, the series of sanctuaries and quasi-sacred civic spaces that included Zeus Eleutherios, Apollo Patröos, and the Metrōon presumably had seen the most extensive use for civic administrative purposes, but we should imagine at least a relatively substantial number of sacrifices taking place on the elaborate altar in front of the Stoa of Zeus. With the Altar of the Twelve Gods across from it, this group traditionally would have concentrated most religious activities within this northwest quadrant. After they were overshadowed and crowded by the Ares Temple, their functions could have continued largely unchanged, but their symbolism and prominence surely were reduced by the presence of the newcomer. Not only did the addition visually block the Stoa and its altar, but Ares's newly transplanted altar was positioned to the east right in front of the Panathenaic Way, which would surely detract most if not all of the attention of passersby that previously would have been drawn to Zeus Eleutherios. Furthermore, the appearance of the Southeast and Southwest Temples in the other corners of the Agora distributed the religious activities across the square, so that there would no longer be an exclusive concentration in the northwest area. We cannot determine how many Athenians would have regularly patronized the new temples but given the lack of information regarding even their names, we might imagine that they never achieved the same level of local symbolism as the sacred objects from the Classical period. In contrast, none of

Hadrian's new construction works in the immediate vicinity of the Agora was explicitly religious in nature, which could indicate his intentional effort not to detract further from the visual dignity of the traditional sacred landscape.

There might have been a few ephemeral shrines within the Roman Market, as indicated obliquely by Pausanias,[143] but in general its space was left completely unencumbered in order to facilitate trade. It has been proposed, but not convincingly proven, that some kind of imperial cult center was located outside of the Roman Market in the largely unexcavated area to the east, and so the Market's colonnade could have provided a sort of monumental pathway toward this "Sebasteion."[144] However, against this supposition it must be observed that, at least until Hadrian, nearly everything else was oriented closely along the Panathenaic Way. Several shrines had been erected and maintained from as early as the sixth century around the edges and entrances to the Agora, and the concentration of these landmarks would have signaled to pedestrians that they were entering an especially important district. In the process of imaging the Agora, these would have had enormous impact on the viewer's experience and memory of the place.

This visual effect is also indicated in the appearance during Roman times of colonnades along all of the major paths into the Agora, although the style and quality of these varied depending on their sponsor, as we will see in the next chapter. Not only was such embellishment bestowed upon the corridors that led to the Roman Market and to the Acropolis (the front of the Library of Pantainos and the Southeast Stoa, respectively), but apparently the paths leading

[143] Pausanias 1.17 (the deified abstractions discussed in chapter I above).
[144] Hoff 1988: ch. 7, "The Imperial Cult at Athens in the Augustan Period." See further discussion in chapter IV.

northwest also were reified with colonnades all the way to the Dipylon and Sacred Gates.[145] Burden makes the compelling observation that the Augustan projects in particular represent an effort to monumentalize the processional route along the Panathenaic Way, and so the image of the program "was not so much an antiquarianism focused on ornament but an antiquarianism concerned with restoring an urban corridor."[146] Given the natural emphasis on paths in forming an image of the city, I believe this conclusion reflects accurately the effect, if not the intention, of the Roman program in the first century AD. Hadrian's final additions, while augmenting the public functionality of the previously residential area slightly to the east, also built up the area around the Pnyx to the southwest by improving access to it.[147] This program ultimately reaffirmed the double core of the Agora in its role as the nexus for all of the major arteries of Athens, and in the process monumentalized the city center to an extent that Perikles himself never could have imagined.

Although Hadrian's intentions might have been more Athenocentric than those of his predecessors, his benefactions nevertheless redrew the map of Athens all over again. The mark of the city inherent to its reputation had been substantially altered, if not erased forever. Although the "majesty of its buildings" was greatly enhanced by contemporary aesthetic standards, the image of the Periklean buildings that had brought "the most delightful adornment to Athens" and testified "that her ancient power and prosperity were not idle fiction" had been largely overshadowed. The objects that had commemorated all of the "noble deeds" celebrated

[145] Greco et al. (III**, 9.53–9.55): 1125–1134; Shear 1973, "Excavations of 1972": 370–382; Shear 1981: 369–372; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 108–114.
[146] Burden 1999: 213.
[147] Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932: 180–188; Thompson 1937: 222.

by Aischines were no longer the defining feature of the Agora. Hadrianic Athens was full of monuments, but in this district, the true heart and core of the city, Athenians would no longer gaze upon the traditional "memorials to its ancient virtue." Instead, they would find themselves surrounded by objects alluding to their status and place in the Roman world—reflecting the new sources of their contemporary social, religious and cultural identities.

CHAPTER III: By the People, For the People?

We have seen the most striking effects that the Roman-era modification of the Agora area would have on its image for the local community, and I suggested that the Athenians of the Augustan period, inheriting cultural and memorial priorities of their forebears, would not have looked favorably upon these changes. I highlighted in the development of the Athenian landscape a marked conservatism throughout the late Classical and Hellenistic periods that was manifested in two persistent efforts: first, to maintain the structures that had been erected during earlier periods in their traditional form, even if this meant extra cost or labor in the erection of new buildings; and second, to maintain certain areas for certain functions, such as the isolation and preservation of the administrative buildings in the vicinity of the *archeia* to the west of the Agora's central triangle. However, as very little construction was completed on the initiative of the Dēmos after 86 BC, and as the commissioners of public works were more often private individuals or the imperial family, it becomes much more difficult to trace the priorities of the people in the urban development of the region.

The imperial decree(s) referenced in one inscription from Aeolian Kyme and then another from Athens in which Augustus orders the restoration of local sanctuaries and all of their property might lead us to expect that sacred structures would be given preference in

contemporary construction efforts of both public and private sponsorship.[1] This clever imperial strategy of effectively laying claim to all such acts of sacred reconstruction demonstrates the pervasive influence of the Empire even in projects that we might identify independently as having been locally initiated. On the other hand, the purportedly sacred nature of many monuments in the Athenian landscape, including nearly every structure within the Agora and on the Acropolis, would have muddled the process of prioritizing and selecting objects for refurbishment. If they chose strategically, local elites could exploit any such demonstration of liturgical (i.e. civic-oriented) "piety" to garner favor with the emperor, the gods, *and* the Athenian people simultaneously, as they arranged funding for projects that could be construed to support the interests of all parties involved. The webs of agency and patronage behind all such projects therefore must have been interlinked, interactional, and often interventional. A more comprehensive account of who precisely was involved in the erection of new structures, the relocation of transplanted structures, and the restoration of existing structures in central Athens between Sulla and Hadrian therefore will provide a clearer understanding of the extent to which the development of the landscape should be interpreted as a reflection of local priorities—and whose priorities they truly were.

[1] Kyme: SEG 18.555; Oliver 1963. Athens: IG II^2 1035; Culley 1975 and 1977; Schmalz 2007–2008. On their relative dating, see also Oliver 1972, who situates the Kyme inscription in the first few years of Augustus's reign, ca. 30/29 BC (1972: 194–195), and the Athens decree shortly thereafter ca. 27/6 BC (1972: 190–191), *contra* the assessment proposed by Culley (1975: 221) of 10/9–3/2 BC for the Athens inscription, which nonetheless is defended compellingly and, to my mind, conclusively by Schmalz (2008: 14–17). Cf. Dignas 2002: 127–128; Shear 1981: 366–368; and Ando 2016: 264–265, with the apt observation in n. 11 that the IG II^2 1035 decree could be a response to the Augustan edict of SEG 18.555.

In this chapter, I turn directly to the question of agency in order to assess more thoroughly the motives of those who sponsored these Agora projects and the contexts in which they did so. First, I will present the current state of evidence for the financial position of the Athenian people and their council during the first centuries BC and AD. I will show that the testimony for their very limited resources compels us to expect that work initiated by local officials would be restricted almost exclusively to infrastructural maintenance. Next, I will identify in the major projects signs of Roman patronage and authorship, and I will suggest contextual motives behind particular choices in the selection and style of the Roman-era structures. Finally, I will compare these objects with certain identifiable public works projects executed by the Dēmos that stand out among the more mundane maintenance efforts. I will demonstrate that we can trace concurrent benefactions on the part of private and/or foreign sponsors that seem to have driven the choice and timing of the "monumental" works carried out by the Athenian people. I will present three specific cases that reveal how the priorities of the Roman-era Athenians can be discerned in these "reactive" construction efforts, and that these projects represent an assertion of their continuing viability as actors in the ongoing development of their memorial landscape.

Reduced, Reused, or Upcycled?

The transplanted structures have been discussed more than most developments in the landscape of Roman Athens, perhaps because the program is so unique and so informative for our understanding of the imperial identities of both Greeks and Romans. Archaeologists generally have proposed pragmatic and economic motivations behind the choice to reuse sacred building

materials, and especially in a region as war-torn as first-century Attica.[2] The severity of local poverty supports the inference that many of the sanctuaries in and around the city could have fallen into disrepair by this time, even besides those which had been damaged first by Philip V and later in Sulla's siege during the First Mithridatic War. However, while this dilapidation certainly may have been a factor, Susan Alcock has argued persuasively that it cannot be the only determining one: the process of dismantling the original structures and carefully transporting each piece across potentially great distances to the new site for meticulous reassembly would have been extremely costly and time-consuming, if not quite as much as the creation of a brand new temple from scratch.[3] Moreover, several rural sanctuaries were repaired in situ at great expense around this same time.[4] The unfinished nature of the original structure at Thorikos, major parts of which were co-opted into the Southwest Temple, also begs the question why they would not instead have simply appropriated pieces from any of the numerous other structures across Attica allegedly left in greater states of decay at this time. There undoubtedly existed other options, some much closer to the center, that possessed columns and would not have required further craftsmanship. The effect of curating the monuments of the Agora into a sort of Periklean "museum," frequently mentioned in scholarship,[5] also might have been

[2] Camp 2001: 192; Hoff 1988: 69–70; Schmalz 1994: 98–100; Shear 1981: 365; Thompson 1981: 352–354. Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 160–165; Walker 1997: 72.
[3] Alcock 2002: 55. See also Burden 1999: 136–137; Miles 2015: 167–170.
[4] E.g. the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (Miles 1989), as well as those restored slightly later on Salamis by Gaius Julius Nikanor, as will be discussed below. Also relevant is the (notably expensive) restoration of the Erechtheion during the Augustan period: Burden 1999: 32–62; Camia and Rizakis 2017: 386.
[5] Inter alia Alcock 1993: 195–196 and 2002: 52–53 (cf. 2001: 332–338); Bowersock 2009: 473; Shear 1981: 361–362; Walker 1997: 72. Cf. Dickenson 2011: 47–48 and 2016: 396–401, where he challenges this characterization.

collateral to the project, but the fact that the new temples (not to mention the gaudy, obtrusive Odeion) generally were assembled and arranged on contemporary Roman designs, not Classical Greek precedents, also seems to detract significantly from this purpose.

Other ideological concerns surely provide firmer rationales, especially those concerning the interest of the imperial family in singling out and reconstructing local cult centers.[6] The act of robbing an operational sanctuary of its parts in order to supply another is unattested in earlier Greek literature but could have been considered problematic at Rome (as I will demonstrate in chapter IV), so certain rules must have been flexed (or redefined) in order to accommodate these projects. In this case, the association of existing divine patrons with the emperor, the empress, and their children might represent one *de facto* strategy for the reuse of these materials without risk of incurring the wrath of the gods. Ruler cult had long been acceptable in the Greek East by this point, and at any rate the Athenians historically seem more willing than the Romans to test the limits of divine tolerance. I will return in the next chapter to the question of precedents for dislocating gods from their temples, and also the assimilation of these potentially dislocated deities with imperial figures as a potential solution. For now, we must consider whether *some* Athenians at least must have been complicit in the execution of these complex, multivalent projects, even if the effects would prove destructive for the traditional image of their native landscape. The most likely candidates for such cooperation were the elites, of course, who probably would have offered up valuable information regarding local history and culture to

[6] Cf. Alcock 2012 on the question of the relative historical and/or cultural value perceived by different imperial groups as inherent to these sites, which contributed to their being spared from destruction or abandonment.

Roman planners in exchange for imperial favor. We will address here one striking example of this cooperation in the sourcing, siting, and transplantation of the Temple of Ares (and Athena).

Regardless, it should not be assumed that the most prominent developments in monumental architecture at any given point in time must have comprised and defined the areas that were also the primary focus of local (i.e. pedestrian) construction priorities. As I suggested above and will further demonstrate here, the interests of Roman authorities and benefactors sometimes stood in opposition to those of the common Athenians, even if local aristocrats seem to have been eager participants in the projects of foreign sponsors.

The Road to Recovery

In order to understand the construction capabilities of the Dēmos, it is necessary to assess the fiscal condition of the city between Sulla and Hadrian. It seems clear enough that Athens was in a rather impoverished condition until many decades after the wars of the first century BC, and even long after the subsequent stabilization of the political situation in Greece. The lasting effects of Sulla's destruction are now universally recognized thanks to the American School's Agora excavations, but archaeologists differ on the length of time it took the city to recover. Daniel Geagan initially offered a relatively optimistic perspective on the economic activity in Athens between Sulla and Augustus and imagined substantial recuperation by the turn of the millennium.[7] However, T. Leslie Shear, Jr.'s reevaluation after further excavations declared the process to have been rather "slow and painful" and therefore much longer than the eighty years

[7] Geagan 1979: 375.

proposed by Geagan.[8] In support of this position, he pointed to a number of houses and shops in the city center adjacent to the northeast corner of the Agora that were destroyed by Sulla's troops and apparently left lying in ruins until the early first century AD, or even slightly later.[9] Finally, after a further fifteen years of excavations, Michael Hoff concluded that very little *new* construction was accomplished anywhere in the city center until more than a century after Sulla, and perhaps not even until the reign of Claudius.[10] His evaluation of the situation remains the most compelling, and the most compatible with the epigraphic evidence. Indeed, the shortage of disposable resources among elite Athenian families at the end of the first century BC is confirmed by surviving petitions of local aristocrats for imperial funds to complete even basic civic maintenance.[11]

The construction of the Roman Market is a case in point: Caesar provided fifty talents toward its initiation in 51 BC, a decision which seems to have chagrined his rival Pompey who, as we saw above, had donated exactly the same amount for the general restoration of the city eleven years earlier.[12] Some of Pompey's funds might have been used to repair the classical buildings in the Agora, but even the substantial combined sum of the two donations apparently did not cover the necessary work of these endeavors. The Athenians remained so insolvent that the new market was not completed until they received a final gift from Augustus around 10 BC.[13] It is notable that these funds were earmarked for commercial and civic infrastructure, not

---

[8] Shear 1981: 356.
[9] Shear 1973, "Excavations of 1971": 142.
[10] Hoff 1997. Cf. Alcock 2002: 65–66; Shear 1981: 367; Thompson 1987.
[11] Walker 1997: 73. Cf. Geagan 1992 and 1997.
[12] Cicero *Att*. 115.25 (VI.1.25). See also Hoff 2005: 332–334.
[13] IG II^2 3175. See also Hoff 1988: 5–25, 93–124; Hoff 1989, "Early History"; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2008: 15–20.

religious or cultural buildings, in spite of (or, possibly, in reaction to) the nearly contemporaneous sanctuary restoration decree (IG II^2 1035). Furthermore, once the market was opened for business, all available resources seem to have been exhausted once again and the quadriporticus did not receive a proper corridor to the Panathenaic Way or the central Agora area until nearly 110 years later, when this "Broad Way" was finally completed (for reasons I will discuss presently). Athens might have begun its financial recovery with Augustus's grant of mercy and patronage following Actium—a full *fifty-five years* after Sulla—but it could not truly have become a thriving urban center again until the mid-first century AD at the earliest.

To make matters worse, the Athenians famously bet on the wrong horse in every major Roman conflict of the first century BC, and each gamble cost them dearly in both financial resources and favor with the winners.[14] After rallying behind the failed cause of Mithridates VI that provoked Sulla's violent reprisal, Athens proceeded to join with Pompey against Caesar, then with Brutus and Cassius against Octavian and Marcus Antonius, and finally with Antonius and Cleopatra against Octavian. This last defeat was the most expensive since the Athenians had voted exceptional honors to Antonius, the "new Dionysus," which seem to have entailed a substantial gift from the civic treasury.[15] In the end, it is surprising that they were able to negotiate their way out of more serious devastation following each defeat, let alone with such favor that they could come to enjoy "free city" status in the reorganized Augustan province of Achaia. Widespread admiration for the legacy of Classical Athens previously had saved it from

[14] For a concise summary of these events with bibliography, see Thakur 2007: 106.
[15] Cassius Dio 53.16.8; Seneca *Suas*. 1.6.

destruction at the hands of Greek generals and Macedonian kings alike.[16] But the repeated extension of Roman clemency was also attributable to Athens' entrenched popularity among elites of the Empire as a cultural and educational center, where promising young men would be sent to learn the fundamentals of rhetoric and philosophy before embarking upon a career in public office.[17] However, as we have seen, the benefits of tourism would not offset the losses of the first century BC until many years later.

In the meantime, the pedestrian experience of Athenians on the ground must have been bleak: as we saw above, debris from the sack had been left in the gutters and much of the residential area around the Agora remained derelict until at least the turn of the millennium. Ultimately, the archaeological evidence supports the conclusion that the preponderance of construction work completed in Athens up to the end of the first century AD must have been sponsored at least in part by foreign benefactors.

Old Money, New Men

It must be recognized that no matter who footed the bill, it almost always would have been Athenian laborers who brought the projects to reality. In stating that Roman aristocrats and other foreign benefactors erected certain structures, I make no claim that they brought in slaves or some other such workforce who otherwise would not have lived in the area—although it is entirely possible that the master architect and his staff at least would have been of foreign

[16] Lysander: Plutarch, *Lysander* 15–16; cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.2.19–20. Philip II: Diodoros Sikeliotes 16.87, 89. Witness also the leniency shown by the successors of Alexander in dealing with the city as it repeatedly vacillated in loyalty between them. Cf. Alcock 2012.
[17] As described in numerous letters of Cicero, but especially *de Or*. III.4 [13]. Cf. Camp 1989; Shear 1981: 357–358.

extraction, as was common throughout the Mediterranean world.[18] At any rate, the practice of hiring Athenian craftsmen and artisans to work on these structures not only would have boosted the local economy but also might have lent them some sense of ownership over the products, further ingratiating the benefactor to the local community. However, this assumes a relationship of consent on the part of the locals, and it is clear that many of the Roman projects were unlikely to have obtained this consent automatically. In the execution of these construction projects, the extent to which we can construe the inevitable participation of the Athenians to embody local approval on the one hand, versus sheer financial necessity on the other, is extremely tenuous for this period.[19]

It is convenient to identify the three main groups of agents involved in these projects as the Romans, the Athenian aristocracy, and the Athenian commoners, but this imprecise categorization does not account for any integration of their priorities in action.[20] The civic councils of the Dēmos and the Areopagos are cases in point, since we do not possess sufficient evidence to make solid conclusions about their demographic or socioeconomic composition.[21] We can identify certain motives and benefits attributable primarily to a particular group within the city, but ultimately we must recognize that imperial systems of Roman influence in local cultural and political affairs blur the lines that might be drawn more starkly around the agents of earlier construction programs—for example, when Athens itself was the imperial power. That

[18] Cf. Bowersock 2009: 477; Shear 2016: 9–10; Thompson 1950: 90–94.
[19] Cf. Thakur 2007: 121.
[20] Nevertheless, this tripartite division remains more precise than previous discussions that posit only a dichotomy of "Roman" and "Athenian" groups (as in Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2008; cf. Dickenson 2016: 30–31) or those that deny one side any agency at all (as in Rous 2016). See further discussion regarding the Ares Temple below.
[21] Geagan 1967: 32–91.

said, through a close examination of the respective contexts, we still can and should identify some projects as more predominantly "Roman" in sponsorship, design, and orientation, while others would have served more specifically Athenian purposes.

In the years following Sulla's intervention, Athens operated according to an ambiguous and probably composite system of new laws and older institutions that still defies our attempts at thorough identification and characterization.[22] It seems that something like an oligarchy was given power, perhaps centered around the body of the Areopagos, but the sources of civic decision-making remain unclear. Given this ambiguity, it can be problematic to infer that such actions would have represented the interests of any Athenians besides the presumably pro-Roman cohort that was given control. However, we might recognize a persistent invocation of earlier precedent behind certain institutions that seem to cater to local concerns, or at least hearken to an earlier understanding of the sources of local authority. One such phenomenon, as identified by Inger Kuin, is the "anchoring" of Sulla's settlement in the guise of a revived empowerment of the Areopagos, which was apparently chosen for institutional (or even constitutional) renewal as an ancient symbol of stability.[23]

I will return below to the question of the extent to which the Areopagos might be assigned agency in the construction projects of this period. For now, it is less important to ask which changes the people would have passively accepted than it is to determine which they would have actively *embraced*—if any at all. In seeking the agency of the Athenian people *per se* through the actions of the *ekklesia* of the Dēmos, which is to say not just the boulē of the

[22] Geagan 1967 remains the most authoritative treatment (with additional evidence: 1971), but see also the recent observations of Kuin 2017. Cf. Dickenson 2016: 169–170; Zuiderhoek 2008.
[23] Kuin 2017, esp. 160–163.

elites, we must determine that the decision-making apparatus of this assembly was indeed representative of the people—the *dēmos* in the traditional sense. In theory, this would require evidence that the assembly was not itself dominated by the aristocracy during this period, and that it possessed exceptional powers vis-à-vis the Areopagos. This is impossible without more precise knowledge of its operations and division of powers, but some broad conclusions can be drawn with reference to the dedication inscriptions and types of construction we find for this period. Without making untenable assertions about the political climate, I propose that certain responses can be identified in the archaeological record in the form of subsequent structural interactions with and adaptations to the objects placed in the landscape by Roman-oriented projects.

There is notable specificity in the dedications of those projects funded explicitly by the Dēmos and/or by a member of an elite family. Many inscriptions provide useful details for identifying the products of the sponsor's outlay, such as those of the Library of Pantainos and the colonnaded Broad Way, respectively.[24] Indeed, the rhetoric of this type of dedication is so insistent that we must expect neither group ever to have missed an opportunity to announce and commemorate its involvement in a public project.[25] Those in the Dēmos category comprise a very small list, as the civic treasury evidently could not support very many structures that would

[24] Library: Agora I 848; Meritt 1946: 233; Parsons 1949: 268–272. Broad Way: Agora I 7349; IG II^2 2628 (*horos*).

[25] For reference, of the nearly 300 honorary monuments in the most recent catalog published from the Agora, 133 retain a dedication inscription that allows us to identify the respective agents who initiated them (Geagan 2011: 142). Of the 133, the Dēmos is listed as primarily responsible for 85 and involved in a further 18 of those remaining 48, which means that only 30 of the identifiable honorific objects were set up without any involvement of the civic council. These were initiated by private parties (who set up 32 total), other Athenian political or religious organizations (13 total), or foreign political entities (3 total).

be deemed worthy of a dedication plaque. Of the various examples in the elite category, most donations from private parties entailed a substantial financial commitment, and the tone of their dedications bespeaks a concern not to be overshadowed by more noticeable physical monuments of earlier periods (or by those of other elites in their own day).[26] In keeping with both the civic tradition of Hellenistic Athens and the competitive ethos of the Roman aristocracy, we can posit with confidence that a benefaction of any real size and substance would have been decorated with some kind of commemorative inscription, even if it does not always survive.

Finally, there is the distinction between wealthy Athenian benefactors and those from non-Athenian backgrounds, whether Greek, Roman, or otherwise. We are fortunate to know quite a great deal about some of the individuals named in surviving inscriptions, so I will defer to existing studies that offer a prosopography of local families during this period.[27] What remains to be investigated is whether the priorities of a foreign benefactor (*euergetēs*) like Julius Nikanor from Hierapolis in Syria would have been markedly different from those of local families like that of Herodes of Marathon. Perhaps the most important consideration is the desire (or, occasionally, obligation) of elite Athenians to ingratiate themselves with the common citizens in their neighborhood and/or deme. To what extent might this local priority have conflicted with the more profitable pursuit of favor with the Roman imperial family? Perhaps instructive in this regard is the notable hesitancy of the Athenian aristocracy, compared with other Greek elites, in aspiring for Roman citizenship, which might bespeak one such conflict of interests as discussed above. Non-Athenian benefactors, on the other hand, could derive personal satisfaction from the

[26] Cf. Cicero *Att.* 115.26 (VI.1.26).
[27] See inter alia Geagan 1992 and 1997; Schmalz 2009; Thakur 1997.

appreciation of the Athenian people but would feel no obligation to obtain it as the local elites had done since the heyday of civic liturgies in the Classical period. The foreigners therefore might represent more universal (i.e. non-local) interests in their benefactions, many of which can be classified as acts of "philhellenism" in the generic sense—which is to say, such a donor would seek a reciprocity of honors with the Athenians but would not necessarily feel compelled to ask specifically what form the locals would like his donation to take.[28]

Roman Plans, Roman Hands?

Even before the Augustan era, it was popular among Romans to fund monuments at Athens. This trend seems to have emerged during the 60s BC, as epitomized in Cicero's discussion of his intentions to build a propylon for the Academy.[29] As we have seen, Eleusis exhibited several similar dedications by late Republican senators before Augustus's erection of his preeminent monument there (ca. 31–27 BC).[30] This apparently was arranged through an invitation from the Dēmos (so the dedicatory inscription), but several other Roman projects were facilitated by individual Athenian statesmen striving for personal notoriety.[31] A prominent example is the hoplite general Pammenes, who was at least partially responsible for the monopteros to Roma

[28] The Philopappos monument is one such case in point (early second century AD, probably between 114–116 AD: Kleiner 1983: 14–15). What function would a self-serving mausoleum for a Syrian prince standing on a hill on the edge of town have performed for the Athenians? In her seminal study of the monument, Diana Kleiner thus concludes: "The Commagenian's modern reputation as a great benefactor of Athens is, in my opinion, unfounded" (1983: 15–17).
[29] Cicero *Att.* 115.26 (VI.1.26); 121.2 (VI.6.2). Cf. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2008: 12–13.
[30] Augustus inscription: SEG 24.212.
[31] Geagan 1992 and 1997.

and Augustus on the Acropolis—the most identifiably pro-Roman monument in the city until at least the time of Hadrian.[32]

Other foreigners also were conspicuous in their patronage of the city, and perhaps none more so than the magnanimous Gaius Julius Nikanor of Hierapolis, who seems to have been a very active and influential figure in Attica during the early first century AD.[33] An honorary citizen of Athens, he served as hoplite general and as *agonothetes* (sponsor and contest director) of the games dedicated to Augustus. He earned himself at least four honorific statues as well as the title of "New Homer and New Themistokles" for his poetry and service to the city, respectively.[34] His greatest achievement seems to have been the purchase of titles to recently privatized land on Salamis that amounted to the entire island, which had been removed from Athens' control (whether seized or sold) after the First Mithridatic War, and his subsequent donation of the reunited territory back to the city of Athens.[35] We also notice around this time a series of temple restoration projects that were undertaken across Athenian territory, but especially on Salamis, and at least the latter were probably initiated by Nikanor.[36] These

---

[32] IG II^2 3173. See also Greco et al. (III*, 9.59): 1145; Hoff 1996: 185–200; and above, pp. 59–60.

[33] Follet 2004; Geagan 1979: 382; Jones 1978: 222–228; 2005; and 2011. Athenian decree of his honors: IG II^2 1069, with IG II^2 1119 and IG II^2 1086 (see Meritt 1967 no. 13, pp. 68–71; Woodhead 1997 no. 337, pp. 474–477). The precise timing of his presence in Athens remains contested, but the consensus generally follows Jones's conclusion of an Augustan date, on which see Bowersock 2002: 11–16.

[34] Statues: IG II^2 3786 = Schmalz 2009: no. 199, pp. 162–163; IG II^2 3787 = Schmalz 2009: no. 200, p. 163; IG II^2 3788 = Schmalz 2009: no. 201, p. 163 (Piraeus); IG II^2 3789 = Schmalz 2009: no. 202, p. 163 (Eleusis); cf. Dio Chrysostom 31.116. Titles: IG II^2 1723. See also Follet 2004: 144–145; Jones 2011: 79–80.

[35] Dio Chrysostom (31.116) mentions this benefaction in relation to the mixed reception of the extravagant honors given to Nikanor by the city of Athens, including the aforementioned statue.

[36] Shear 1981: 366–367.

examples draw attention to a significant feature of the Agora project: there is no surviving evidence of any specific patronage in the transplanted temples whatsoever, nor in the new projects that emerge in the area until the turn of the second century AD.[37] Since benefactors always made sure to inscribe their names prominently on public dedications, it is striking that we cannot identify securely any party involved in these major programs.

Without epigraphic testimony, we turn to landscape and architectural studies, where evidence of Roman involvement is manifested in the distinctly Roman styles of planning and alignment identifiable in the itinerant temples and the other new buildings constructed during this period.[38] Just a surface-level analysis reveals that these contrast sharply with the somewhat impromptu, archaizing structures pervasive throughout the rest of the city until the end of the first century AD. The Roman plans focused on inserting and arranging comparatively huge structures, nearly all of which were sited on right angles and aligned on predetermined axes with each other, in the few open areas available for such monumental additions.[39] It was typical at Rome to leave vacant the intervening spaces between public buildings (witness the careful arrangement of the imperial fora), and the new structures in the Agora reflect such a strategy, at least as far as it was possible in the already-crowded landscape of the city center.

This marked a departure from the traditional modus operandi of architects at Athens, however. In the few moments when we can identify a planned program (e.g. the Periklean) underlying the erection of new structures, it is still evident that the Athenians had no qualms

[37] Compare this absence with the dedications on the Acropolis, the majority of which bear the names of their dedicators (cf. Walker 1997: 72). See also Alcock 2002: 65–66; Shear 1981: 370–374.
[38] Shear 1981: 368.
[39] For extensive analysis and examples of these architectural styles, see Gros 1996, esp. 207–234.

about using space economically and fitting something into every available gap. This policy (or lack thereof) seems to have obtained in both public and private contexts, with the result that nearly all areas along the most important arteries of the city, and especially those around the Agora, were filled in with shops and houses.[40] The obvious exceptions are the consecrated spaces of the sanctuaries (the *temenē*), and the center of the Agora itself, within which no such construction had ever been permitted. The delimiting *horos* stones on the outer borders of the Agora were not always respected, as we have seen underneath the Hellenistic (probably Attalid) Middle Stoa, but nothing permanent was ever erected in the central triangle before the Roman program. Along the edges of nearly all specially designated spaces, though, we find dense structural clustering.

The close proximity of residential and commercial zones served the pragmatic interests of those who lived and worked in the area by facilitating networks of social and business connections simultaneously. But when the architects began planning the new projects of the first century AD, "the hopeless task of imposing a Roman sense of order upon a city which had grown in haphazard fashion for 500 years" necessarily required a fair amount of destructive leveling, not least of which included the removal of houses and shops from all across the periphery of the marketplaces.[41] This was the necessary first step in the erection of the Roman Market, and one which probably set the stage for the much wider clearing of the area throughout this region during Hadrian's extensive building campaigns. What effect would all this demolition

[40] As indicated by the excavations in various parts of the city center: Wycherley 1978: 237–252. See also Shear 1973, "Excavations of 1971": 138–144; Shear 1984: 43; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 20, 96, 173–185; Tsakirgis 2009: 49–51.
[41] Shear 1981: 358–359, 368.

have had on the interactive social and commercial networks of the locals? Does this pattern reflect a value judgment in the Roman prioritization of certain places that were destroyed in close proximity to others that were spared?[42]

In this context, it is crucial to recognize that, apart from the Roman Market, all projects in the city center between the sack of 86 BC and the end of the first century AD were sited in *open* spaces, suggesting that the architects turned to demolition only as a last resort. Notwithstanding this pragmatism, when we consider the traditional democratic symbolism inherent to the center of the Agora—a place where Athenians would meet on equal footing and discuss the most important issues of the day—we must ask the thorny question of whether the strategy of filling in that space actually would have been more desirable to the general populace than the replacement of less significant private buildings. Since the entire group of Roman-era structures in the Agora, with the exception of the architecturally Roman Odeion of Agrippa, was composed of "itinerant temples" and reused elements sourced from traditional places of religious significance across Attica, this program might have appeared Athenian in architectural aspect—but certainly would have seemed Roman in orientation.

Let Slide the Gods of War

Further light might be shed on the negotiations behind these projects through a closer examination of the context for the largest and most prominent of the transplanted objects, the so-called Temple of Ares. It was initially thought to have originated in the northern deme of Acharnai based on the presence of the classical Ares sanctuary there (the only cult center in

[42] Cf. Alcock 2012.

Attica dedicated to the war god), but after the identification by Manolis Korres of a bare platform of the correct dimensions in the sanctuary of Athena at Pallene to the east, the consensus is now in support of the latter provenance for the temple—although the concurrently transplanted altar actually does seem to have been taken from Acharnai.[43] At any rate, the entire superstructure was transplanted piece-by-piece into the center of the Agora just north of the new Odeion of Agrippa. Perhaps due to damage inflicted on the original roofing pieces (whether formerly by the elements or contemporaneously by the workers), the marble sima for its new roof was appropriated from the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion (probably also in a state of disrepair), lending the newly assembled structure a more Periklean aspect. Methodical and meticulous planning is indicated by the letters inscribed on each block that signaled where and how they should fit back together after transportation. The forms of these letters have been dated to the Augustan period, a dating further supported by the fact that we do not witness this procedure anywhere in Greece before this time but begin to find other instances appear immediately thereafter, including most prominently the other itinerant temples in the Agora.[44] The arrangement of the Ares Temple's foundations at (nearly) right angles to the Odeion seems to suggest that they were both initiated as part of, or at least shortly after, the Roman general's eponymous project, and further exemplifies characteristic Roman planning.[45] However, this relationship has been challenged

[43] Burden 1999: 115–137; Camp 2001: 116–117; Dinsmoor 1940: 51–52; Greco et al. (III*, 9.32): 1055–1061; Goette 1997; Hoff 1988: 52–54; Korres 1992–1998; McAllister 1959; Spawforth 1997: 186–188; Thompson 1952: 93–98; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 162–165; Wycherley 1978: 84–85.
[44] On the unprecedented nature of these projects, cf. Walker 1997: 78. It has been suggested accordingly that the Ares Temple initiated a new "trend" in Greek construction of the first century AD: Rous 2016: 98–99.
[45] Cf. Spawforth 1997: 187–188.

recently, and consecutive reconsiderations of the evidence over the last few years have increasingly informed the complex question of agency.

This extraordinary project has been an object of intense debate ever since Dinsmoor's initial publication of the foundations in 1940. In fleshing out our understanding of the temple, Thompson's assessment after further excavation provided crucial details (1952), which were elaborated in McAllister's more complete consideration of the site once fully exposed (1959). I will not review all of the material here since my objective is not to provide another examination of this well-trodden ground, but a few of the most recent reevaluations warrant our attention. In 2008, Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou proposed that various architectural elements traditionally identified as "Roman" were more likely Athenian efforts based on Hellenistic inspiration, and stipulated that none of the identifiable Roman-era Athenian structures convincingly represents an installation of imperial cult.[46] Furthermore, she emphasizes that we need only think of Roman involvement along the lines of financial contribution rather than a specific cultural or political statement, as Greek preferences are indicated by the style of certain buildings erected in the early Roman period—at least until the Agora transformation work, where we can identify a heavier Roman hand in the choice of architectural types and divine patrons.[47] While the line she draws between efforts initiated by the city on the one hand and those executed by the imperial "central authority" on the other might be a bit too rigid for the evidence, this important reorientation allows us to discuss the buildings as a joint project executed by Romans *and* Athenians.

[46] Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2008 *passim*, but especially 17–21.
[47] Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2008: 20–28.

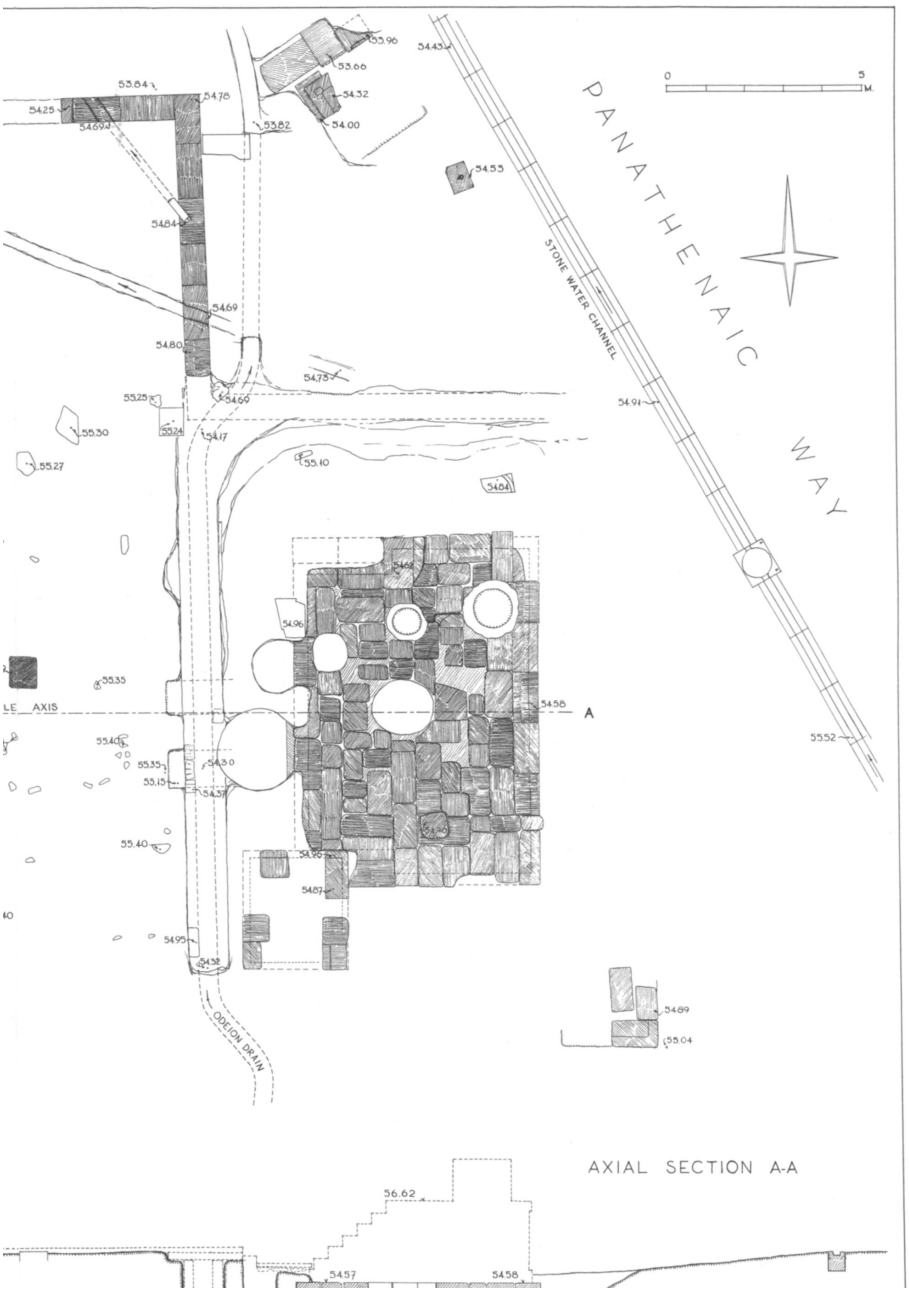

Figure 7: Drain and altar in front of Ares Temple. Source: McAllister 1959.

One year later, the pendulum of debate swung back in a more Atheno-centric direction, as Dirk Steuernagel proposed that the Ares Temple must predate the Odeion and therefore must represent a purely Athenian project.[48] His argument, based on the alignment and phasing of the

[48] Steuernagel 2009: 282–296.

structures in question, challenges the observations of McAllister that had been accepted without much debate for fifty years. The consensus was (and largely remains) that the Odeion was finished around 13 BC with a drain running north from the orchestra up to the Panathenaic Way, so when the Ares Temple and the associated altar were transplanted, the direction of the drain was adjusted to accommodate them.[49] This is physically represented by the drain's slight curve to the west to skirt the foundation of the altar, followed by a slight adjustment back to the east on its northern side before flowing on its original course to the Panathenaic Way (where, presumably, it met a larger sewage duct). Although this arrangement prima facie might suggest that the altar existed before the drain was built around it, one crucial piece of evidence supports the theory of the drain's adjustment after the appearance of the altar. McAllister recognized that the vaulting tiles used in the bedding for the drain are identical to those in the north terrace wall of the temple, indicating either that they were installed at the same time or (more likely) that the preexisting drain was rerouted when the temple was under construction and given these tiles in its second incarnation.[50] Steuernagel apparently did not consider the vaulting tiles, but he does make a few related observations that further serve to complicate the matter. Perhaps most striking is his revelation that the Odeion and the Ares Temple are not exactly at right angles (nearly 3.5 degrees off axis), which would have been a rather sloppy mistake for Roman

[49] McAllister 1959: 4, based on Thompson 1950: 77–78 and his own subsequent examination.
[50] McAllister 1959: 4, n. 15. Perhaps his report of this crucial bit of information only in a footnote has detracted from its influence on the conversation. See Figure 7.

architects if indeed they had planned them together.[51] He therefore posits provocatively that the Ares Temple was not only earlier than the other Roman-era buildings in the Agora, but in fact not even part of the same program. It then follows that this temple must have been initiated by another group, and taking into account the Ares connection, he concludes that the natural choice would seem to be the Areopagos council.[52]

This argument has been taken up again in Sarah Rous's recent dissertation (Harvard, 2016) and she doubles down on Steuernagel's claims, especially insofar as the project's circumstances inform questions of agency and social memory.[53] She extrapolates a narrative of Athenian intentionality in this building program to memorialize various aspects of the local topography and presents other evidence to further implicate the involvement of the Areopagos. While she makes some irrefutable points regarding the inevitable collaboration of local agents, the logical conclusion to which she takes the case is almost surely overstated. First of all, she challenges the notion that the Ares Temple effectively filled in the central space of the Agora as the Odeion would do and instead imagines that the temple and altar "in effect delimited the northern side of the space, just as the Stoa of Attalos and the South Stoas had done on the east and south sides in the second century."[54] As demonstrated in the previous chapter, this idea of the temple's "delimiting" effect on the northern side of the central triangle does not make

[51] Steuernagel 2009: 287–288. However, by way of comparison, the monopteros known as the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis sits similarly (although not as egregiously) off-kilter vis-à-vis the Parthenon (in front of which it was erected, ca. 23m from the stylobate): the monopteros's foundations are 1.70º off parallel from the Parthenon's eastern façade and a negligible 0.10m off its longitudinal axis: Hoff 1996: 185–188, with n. 5. Regardless, ipso facto this does not constitute evidence that the Athenians were responsible, as Steuernagel suggests.
[52] Steuernagel 2009: 290–295.
[53] Rous 2016: 75–102.
[54] Rous 2016: 81–82.

topographic sense in either planning or execution. If the Ares Temple were considered the northern edge, most of the Agora's signature buildings on the north and west side would have been visually blocked and physically placed *outside* the limits—including the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and the Altar of the Twelve Gods! Based on the emphatic and persistent absence of any objects in the area before this time, as well as the significance of these structures as places of memory, it seems unlikely that the Areopagos (or any other Athenian group) suddenly would choose to execute such a controversial project here.

Next, Rous tackles the assumption that this temple represents any agency on the part of the imperial family, or even Roman officials at all. Her argument here is more compelling: if, as she insists, this temple was built years before the dedication inscription proclaiming Gaius Caesar as Mars Ultor (which, for the record, was found in the Theater of Dionysus all the way on the other side of the Acropolis), then there is nothing linking Augustus to the temple or the choice of Ares as its new patron.[55] If the choice of Ares was local, then there is no need to seek contemporary parallels in Rome for the elevation of this deity as a special imperial agenda. If the emperor was not personally involved, then perhaps we can read this as a response to the sanctuary restoration decree (IG II^2 1035), albeit an inverted and self-serving one.[56] If the Areopagos was responsible, which would explain the choice of Ares, then this development dovetails neatly with the council's empowerment during this time as implied in certain lines of Cicero's personal correspondence.[57] It therefore would have served the Areopagites to emphasize the local, autochthonous origin of this cult and to anchor contemporary Athenian identity in the

[55] Rous 2016: 82–84; *contra* Bowersock 1984: 171–176, but cf. 2002: 9–11.
[56] Rous 2016: 95. Cf. Schmalz 2007–2008.
[57] Rous 2016: 84–88.

classical past, a time when the city was strong enough to commission such temples from scratch—and a time when the council was even more powerful.[58]

There are several elements of the narrative that do indeed warrant consideration along these lines. The direct link that frequently has been drawn between the Gaius Caesar dedication inscription and the Ares Temple has been challenged before, most convincingly by Stefanidou-Tiveriou,[59] and it does seem too weak to be tenable at this point. Another interesting piece of Rous's case for Athenian agency concerns the presence of a Mycenaean chamber tomb located directly underneath the northern edge of the temple. According to local myth, a number of Amazons—daughters of Ares—supposedly had been buried here in the heroic past and this history perhaps factored into placement of new cult, which might even have removed an earlier shrine.[60] This implies (although, of course, we cannot be sure) that someone involved in the project knew about the legendary topography and sacred significance of memorial places within the Agora. Since only local agents would have possessed and relayed that knowledge, this *could* be indicative of the involvement of the Areopagos in the planning—but it certainly would not mean that they were the responsible party, much less the only one. One possibility that neither Steuernagel nor Rous considered was that the Areopagos cooperated with the Romans in the execution of this project, a compromise that seems to provide a very natural solution to the problems in the reconstructions they offer. We have seen that the local councils lacked sufficient funds to carry out such an effort on their own, and the Romans lacked local knowledge. Why

[58] Rous 2016: 88–91. Cf. Kuin 2017: 160–163.
[59] Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2008: 25–26; cf. Hendrick 2006: 119–120.
[60] Rous 2016: 91–92; Townsend 1955. However, Stewart (2016: 601, n. 55) points out that the transplanted altar at least stood on virgin soil.

must we assume that the Athenians *or* the Romans respectively initiated and executed the entire project on their own independent initiative? Is it not plausible that the Areopagos assisted with the planning in order to garner Roman favor? Moreover, it would not be out of the question to pin the slight misalignment of the axes on the Athenian workers, who traditionally eschewed such neat arrangements in their urban planning anyway. If we stipulate the possible involvement of all three of our agent groups in this effort, the pieces come together much more organically. We should acknowledge at the very least that the evidence tells a story in which none of these groups could have done it entirely on its own, and there is no reason to draw such stark lines between them as responsible parties.

On a separate but related issue of patronage, we must consider the increasingly accepted theory that a connection between the cults of Ares and Athena was renewed at this time, and that the Ares Temple was actually associated with both deities. In perhaps the most revelatory and conclusive discussion of the subject, Andrew Stewart has performed an exhaustive reconsideration of the surviving sculptural elements of the cult statue group and confirmed that the statue of Athena (found in a Byzantine wall within the Agora) must have been the original cult statue made by Lokros for the classical temple at Pallene.[61] This indicates that it too was moved into the Agora with the temple and installed alongside Ares (whose statue was of similar scale) as a *dual* cult, just as Athena *Areia* apparently had been worshipped next to Ares—but,

[61] Stewart 2016: 603–606. This identification was first proposed by Homer Thompson: Dinsmoor 1940: 1, n. 4.

importantly, on separate altars—in the fourth-century arrangement at Acharnai.[62] The fact that this association was renewed at this time, and under these circumstances, offers valuable insight into the negotiation between Greek and Roman valuation of the classical past and its role in the contemporary landscape. It also raises questions about the nature of shared cultic property at Athens during this period, the implications of which I will unpack in the next chapter. Ultimately, the complex case of the Temple of Ares *and Athena* exemplifies the imbricated layers of sponsorship and participation that we should expect to find underneath each of the Roman-era projects and seems to apply also to the pastiche itinerant temples of the Agora.

As described above, the Agora sports the largest group of this new style of Roman-era architecture and represents the only place where we can identify several such structural projects in sequence. While this sort of reuse, or "upcycling" as Rous would have it, does appear in limited cases elsewhere in Greece, it is generally limited to single-structure projects. The next earliest instance identified after the Agora program is a composite temple in Thessaloniki that was assembled from pre-existing parts at some point during the first century AD.[63] Although the details of the structure's architectural history are far less discernible than those in Athens, it seems that this strange building was in its first life an Archaic-period Ionic temple from an unknown sanctuary nearby. Most of its parts, and perhaps even the entire structure, were transplanted into the center of town under the auspices of the Romans but in close cooperation

[62] SEG 21.519, with translation and commentary in Gonzales 2004: 221–225. Stewart (2016: 612–613) reconstructs four cult images inside the temple, with two types of Aphrodite flanking Ares and Athena, and on this basis he draws a number of parallels with both Classicizing and Romanizing arrangements in other contemporary temples.
[63] Allamani-Souri 2003, "Brief history": 80–82; Miles 2014: 137–139; Tasia, Lola, and Peltekis 2000; Voutiras 1999.

with the locals, much like the Ares Temple in the Athenian Agora. It has been suggested that it was intended to serve as a new shrine for the imperial cult, although the evidence is certainly insufficient to support such a claim.[64] At any rate, Thessaloniki likely would have been in a similar situation with regard to its finances and civic construction capabilities following the Roman conquest of Macedonia. Based on this fragmentary picture, we might imagine that local elites in northern Greece and Macedonia had learned of the strategy implemented at Athens. However, the large-scale deployment of this technique for an entire program of several related objects, as we see Athens, was unprecedented.[65]

Above all, the agency behind the construction of these objects cannot be placed neatly on one side of a solid line, and there almost certainly were multiple groups at play to differing extents. It is crucial to recognize that no one of these groups could have executed such a program without the assistance or at least cooperation of the others: the Romans had the resources but lacked knowledge of local topography and place-history; the Athenian aristocracy had some limited resources but not enough to execute such a project without funding of outsiders and the manpower of the people; and the Athenian people lacked any resources to sponsor such an endeavor but could provide the labor necessary to realize the designs of the wealthier agents. What may have originated as Roman plans were brought to fruition by Greek hands, and thus distinctions between a party's intended outcome at the conception of a project and the actual resulting effects are nearly impossible to draw in stark terms. However, behind every structure we should imagine the participation of Greek workers. We can establish with a fair degree of

[64] Kralidis 2013, especially 92–93, which echoes the original suggestions of Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou (with George Karadedos).
[65] Cf. Walker 1997: 78.

certainty that there was no alien population of any size sufficient to fill out a full team of masons and laborers, so it seems safe to conclude that the Athenians themselves would have performed this work. Therefore, the local population comprises a baseline of agency for any and all construction undertaken at this time. Indeed, this must have been a building program that involved nearly everyone in Athens at some point, and it surely would have been discussed at length in most social circles. However, I emphasize again that this does not necessarily imply consent on the part of the people, but only cooperation. If a venture of this scale were commissioned by the imperial household, what choice would the Athenians be given in the execution of the work? Could they really have refused? Ultimately, the mere fact of its completion tells us very little about their motives or willingness to participate, and so cannot be used prima facie as evidence of local complicity.

On the other hand, certain projects like the three case studies to which we turn now display no discernable evidence whatsoever of Roman involvement, as it seems most likely that the governing magistrates did not concern themselves with infrastructural projects unless they were required to do so. We might at least stipulate then that the Athenians alone, but *all* the Athenians together—elites, commoners, and their slaves—must have been the agents responsible for these efforts. As described in the previous chapter (II), we should expect that the less expensive and less noteworthy projects identifiable in the archaeology generally would have been executed by the Athenian civic council(s).[66] Much of this maintenance and conservation work was oriented toward the renewal of older public buildings that had been functionally important in a bygone era, and the products of these efforts now appear to have been remarkably

[66] See a useful categorization and summary of these buildings at Hoff 1988: 67–72.

inferior to those initiated around the same time by foreign patrons. Even the newly assembled pastiche temples that aped Classical Greek architecture seem to have reflected a higher budget than the venerated old structures of the *archeia*, not to mention the handful of stoas and staircases cobbled together by the Athenians during the course of the first and second centuries AD. In order to demonstrate this disparity, I will present specific examples in the vicinity of the Classical Agora that stand out in importance even if their respective architectural quality might not have done so at the time. It is no coincidence that these examples also signify the sorts of responses that I seek to analyze in terms of local adaptation, as the contextual circumstances of their appearance offer information as to the interplay of imperial and civic identities.

A Tale of Two Staircases

My first example juxtaposes two monumental staircases erected at nearly the same time in the 40s AD, which encapsulate neatly the disparity I seek to pinpoint here in both scale and symbolism. During this period, we observe that the emperor Claudius held Athens in high regard and honored the city in a few ways that are confirmable in the archaeology. First, he returned a number of statues that had been pillaged between Sulla and Caligula, of which at least seven have been identified in the excavations.[67] The second and much grander benefaction, however, was a monumental marble staircase leading up to the Acropolis, which finally provided a suitable replacement for the unfinished ramp of the Propylaia (highlighted in Figure 8). Although the new steps reflect a standard Roman design, we know from an honorary inscription that

[67] IG II^2 5173–5179. See also Shear 1981: 367, and the accounts of Pausanias 10.27.3 and Cassius Dio 60.6.8.

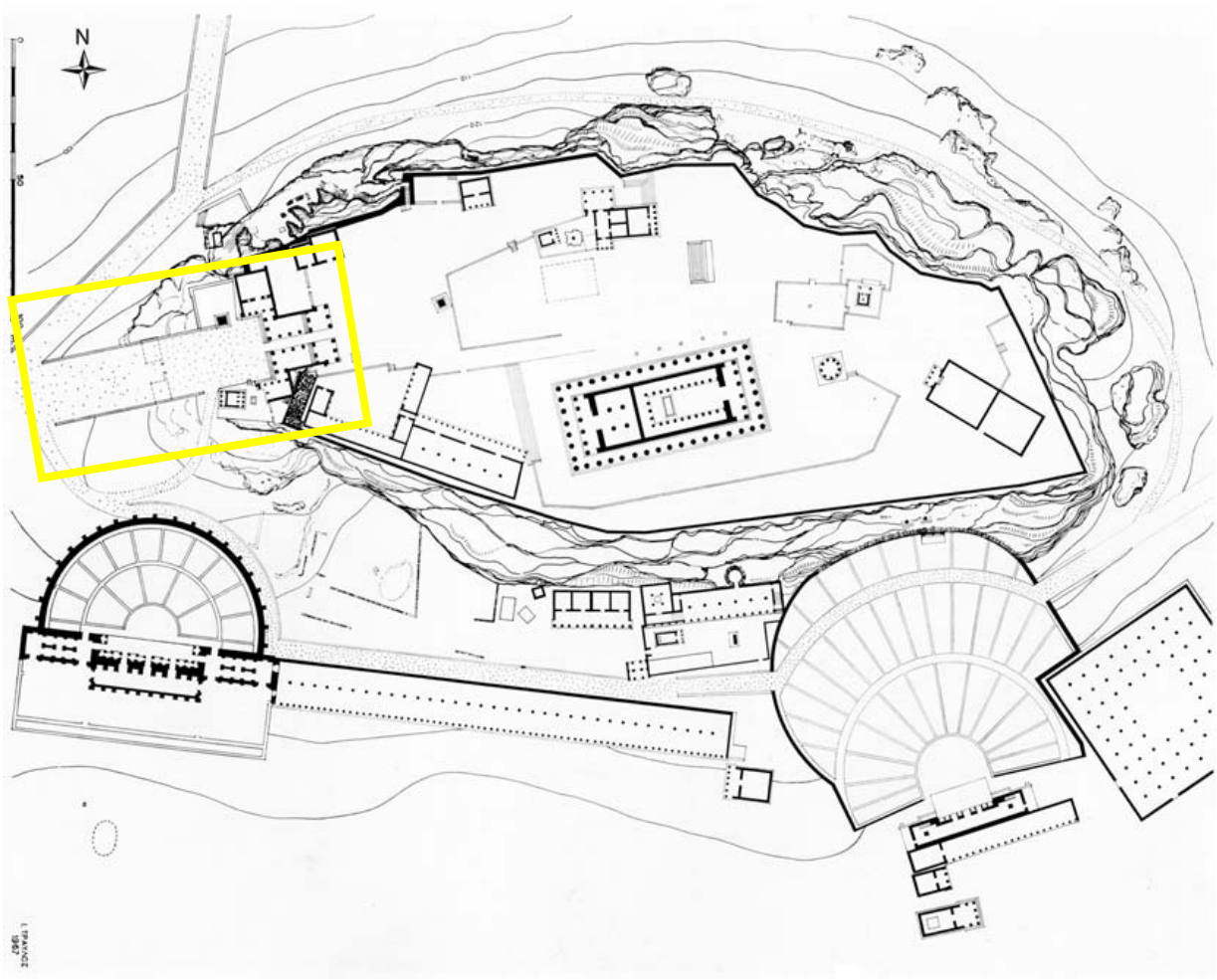

Figure 8: Acropolis in the 2nd century AD. Source: after Martin-McAuliffe 2012 (after Travlos 1971).

certain Athenian aristocrats were involved in the project.[68] This redevelopment surely would have improved the experience of hiking up to the Acropolis and provided a much more appropriate visual climax to the ceremonial processions that still traversed this ascent on a regular basis. The centuries-old classical ramp would have appeared long overdue for a makeover anyway, and its removal and replacement likely would not have evoked much dissent.

[68] Especially the so-called "herald of the Areopagos" Tiberius Claudius Novius, son of Phileinos: IG II^2 3271.

Indeed, for his benefactions Claudius received the encomiastic title of "savior and benefactor," indicating the grateful spirit in which the Athenians received the gift.[69]

However, at nearly the exact same time, the Dēmos took it upon itself to build a monumental staircase of its own in the east slope of the Kolonos Agoraios (see Figure 9).[70] The

Figure 9: Hephaisteion stairs in the Kolonos Agoraios. Photo by author.

[69] IG II^2 3269, 3271, 3272, 3274; Shear 1981: 367.

[70] Homer Thompson (1937: 221–222) early on suggested a possible temporal connection between these stairs and those of the Propylaia (echoed in Shear 1981: 367–368; and Schmalz 1994: 138–141). See also Greco et al. (III**, 9.21): 1011–1014; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 149. A related project, apparently designed to facilitate access to another area of classical significance, was a new set of steps up the Pnyx that appear about ninety years later, probably under Hadrian: Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932: 180–188.

finished stairs consisted of a series of short flights punctuated by landings, one of which sported a large statue of unknown character. This ascent was constructed by covering four rows of benches dating to the mid-fifth century BC that had provided seats for viewing public events in the Agora, and then filling in the slope of the hill above with earth and reused pieces of conglomerate and poros stone. The benches most likely had fallen out of use as bleachers long before this time, since the construction of the temple of Apollo Patrōos and the Metrōon in the fourth century BC largely blocked the view of the square from this position.[71] The slope above had been furnished previously with a rough and simple ramp, indicating that the benches themselves were being used as clumsy, oversized steps. It seems that before the installation of the new stairs, one would have had to do a bit of scrambling to reach the top of the hill with its sanctuary and excellent vantage point over the city center. This project therefore provided much-improved pedestrian access and line of sight from the main level of the Agora up to the Hephaisteion—with which it was oriented on a parallel axis. This monumental staircase, which also contained recycled architectural fragments from nearby buildings ruined in the sack of 86 BC, was clearly associated with the temple on the hill, but its mean construction would not have matched the majesty of the Periklean building it served.

The visual contrast in magnitude and quality between this project and Claudius's Acropolis stairs would have been almost comical. However, in this case at least, size does not matter as much as placement and purpose. The choice of the Agora as the focus of civic expenditure is a sure sign of the persistent significance of the district to the Athenians, particularly at this moment when the treasury was still recovering and could not sponsor such

[71] Thompson 1937: 218–220; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 71.

efforts frivolously. Should we therefore see in the construction of this staircase a concerted Athenian attempt to assert their stake in developing the image of the city center? The Hephaisteion was one of the few classical buildings that had remained largely unobscured by the new Roman structures, and it was one of the last landmarks from the traditional landscape of the Agora that survived intact to this point. The sanctuary was especially important to the local craftsmen and artisans working in the area, and these stairs would have facilitated a great deal of activity even after the redirection of much traffic to the new Roman Market. This project clearly served the Athenian people both functionally and symbolically. I suggest that it might be seen as a response to the Roman staircase initiated at the same time by Claudius in front of the Propylaia—a much more prominent location, and one which would have been of greater value to foreign visitors. The many Roman tourists who came to see the Parthenon and experience Athenian festivals, including most notably the Eleusinian mysteries, would have benefited much more from Claudius's new stairs. But the Athenians frequented the Agora on a more regular basis and for more quotidian purposes than they did the Acropolis, so would they have benefited analogously from their new little staircase up the Kolonos Agoraios?

Shear proposed that these projects might be associated with the famous Augustan decree ordering the restoration of sanctuaries (IG II^2 1035), asserting that we do not actually see any response in the archaeology until more than forty years after the latest date previously suggested for its issue (ca. 2 BC).[72] Although neither of these staircases technically reach within the respective sanctuaries they approach, given their proximity and the service they would have provided to pedestrians in significantly improving access to the temples, it seems plausible that

[72] Shear 1981: 366–368. Cf. Miles 1989: 236. On the dating, see above p. 133 n. 1.

they could have been construed as "sacred" dedications. Regardless, the claim that these connections warrant a revision of the dating for the sanctuary restoration decree to the years of Claudius's reign remains unconvincing and, to my mind, unnecessary. If it had been decreed by Augustus fifty years earlier that all sanctuaries should be restored, surely the Athenians of Claudius's era would still be acting on this basis, and perhaps even more so now that they actually could afford it. Furthermore, since Roman benefactors were providing the most expensive embellishments for the city, the Athenian Dēmos could select more strategically where it would spend the city's still-meager resources to improve the religious landscape as it saw fit. I believe this offers us a useful indication of local priorities in the mid-first century AD. Decades after the classical buildings in the area had been upstaged and overshadowed by new, Roman-sponsored objects, these stairs demonstrate that the Agora—even with its space transformed and cluttered—remained for the Athenians an especially important node in the city. Furthermore, the stair project also indicates that the Hephaisteion persisted as a signature landmark in the Athenian image of the Agora, undoubtedly for the social and cultural memory preserved by and within it.

A Tale of Two Streets

My second case concerns the redevelopment of two arterial corridors for traffic moving into and out from the Classical Agora. The first project was concerned with the paving and decoration of the aforementioned street between the Classical Agora and the Roman Market, running east from the southern end of the Stoa of Attalos directly up to the Athena Gate (highlighted in Figure 10). Following the dedicatory inscription, this path has come to be known as the "Broad Way," and

its completion was closely associated with the simultaneous construction of the "Library of Pantainos" at its western edge. Together they would alter completely the image of this side of the Classical Agora.

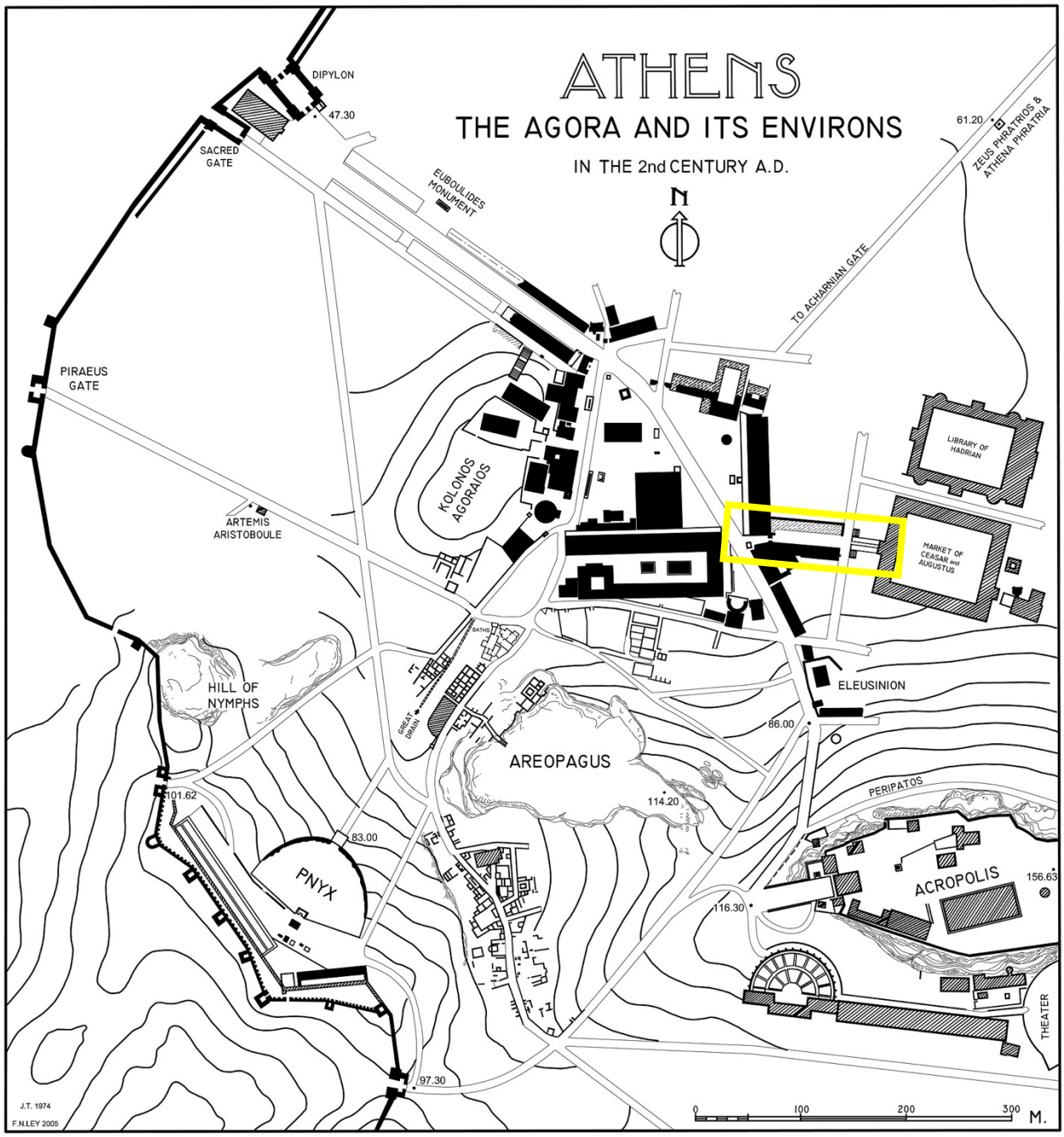

Figure 10: The Agora and environs in the 2nd century AD. Source: after Camp 2010.

We have seen that the Roman Market was dedicated and opened for business around 10 BC, after a period of more than forty years of intermittent construction.[73] The two agora areas operated in some kind of symbiotic relationship throughout the Roman period and commercial transactions took place in both simultaneously, probably differentiated by type of commodity.[74]

Figure 11: The north stoa of the Library of Pantainos, along the Broad Way. Source: Camp 2010.

[73] Hoff 1989, "Early History": 6–8. See also pp. 138–139 above.
[74] Dickenson 2011: 56–57; 2016: 170–188; Sourlas 2012, esp. 121–128; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 107–108, 172–173.

Following the completion of the Augustan-era construction projects, many of the common exchanges that previously had occurred among the makeshift booths in the available spaces of the Classical Agora likely would have migrated to the Roman Market, while the higher-end sales of more established vendors might have remained within the old Hellenistic stoas. It would have been enticing to the trader who could sell his wares outside of a designated shop to relocate his activities to the newly established quadriporticus structure, with its wide, open space and likely higher rate of commercial traffic. Therefore, as the two marketplaces together comprised the new "double core" of the city center, many pedestrians would have frequented the path between these areas on a regular basis, perhaps even several times a day. The elaborate facade of the Athena Gate at the east entrance to the Roman Market attests to its primacy. However, the corridor leading up to the stairway of that gate apparently remained rough and unpaved until around 100 AD—more than a full century after the grand opening of the new marketplace.

This area was one of the focal sections of the American School's Excavations for four consecutive seasons, from 1971 to 1974, and they found directly underneath the street and stoa of circa 100 AD an older path that had facilitated a thriving row of shops throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods (see Figure 11). These shops originally date to the early years of the Peloponnesian War (430–420 BC), and they were remodeled repeatedly before their destruction in the sack of 86 BC. We are fortunate that a well, found deep under the Roman-era foundations, offered up a variety of evidence for the use of these spaces, so that we can identify with confidence a tavern, a wine seller, a butcher, and a workshop for terra cotta figurines.[75] It is clear that the region served many purposes in both the social and commercial lives of the

[75] Shear 1975: 346–360. Cf. Dickenson 2016: 176–178; Greco et al. (III**, 9.54): 1131–1133.

Athenians who spent their time in and around the Agora, and this busy corridor was important long before the appearance of the Roman Market. However, it was not until the time of the new market's dedication in the last decade of the first century BC that the "strip mall" was rebuilt, at

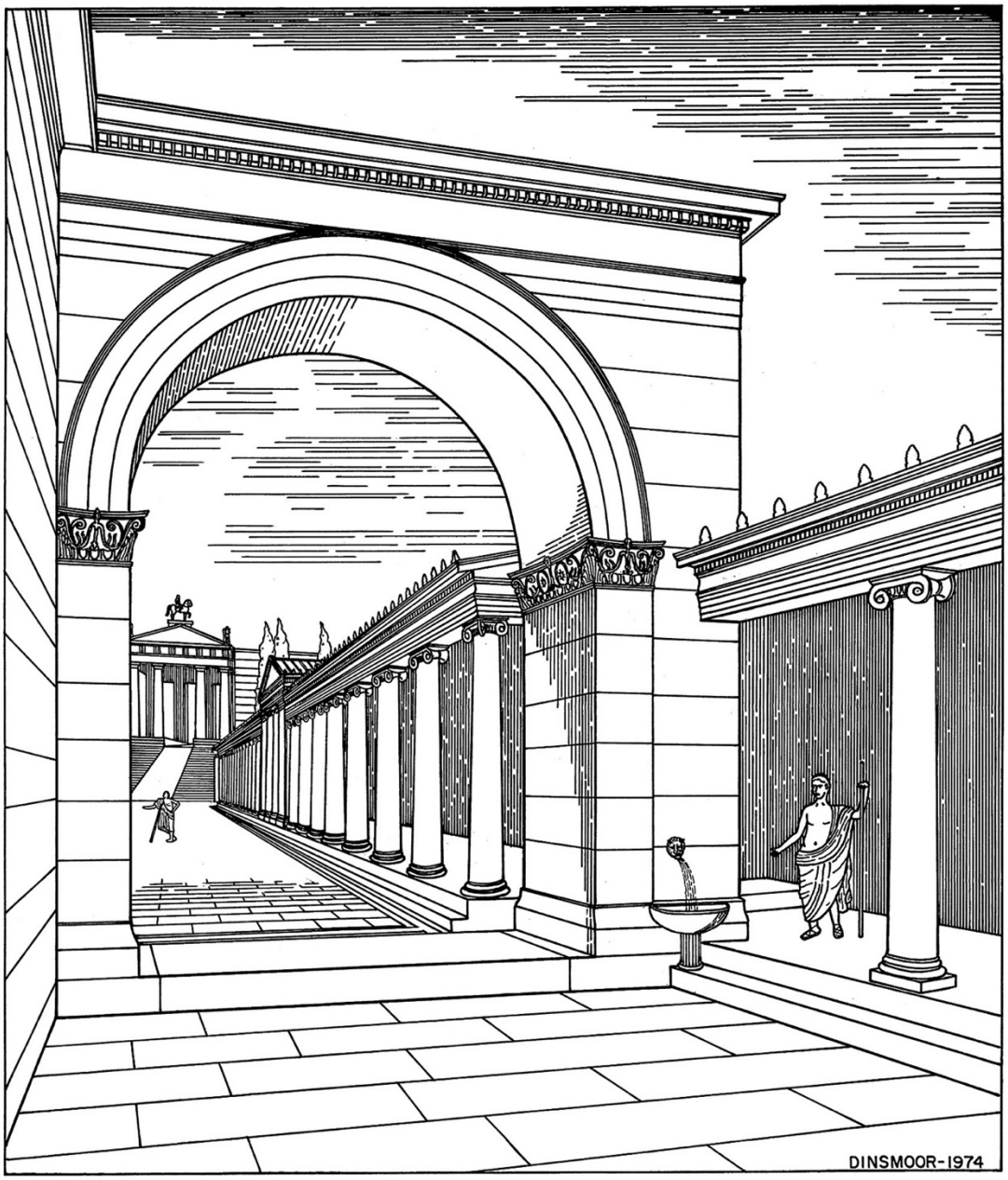

Figure 12: Restored view of the street leading to the Roman Market. Source: Camp 2010.

which point the developers simply leveled out the remains and erected a new row of shops on top of them.[76] The fact that this area was left in ruins for so many decades points again to the slow recovery of the Athenian economy, which also could explain why the street itself was not paved sooner. But now we have seen that the Dēmos was capable of funding other important transitional construction in the Agora by the 40s AD, more than fifty years after the shops were reopened, so we must question why the street that served those shops was left rough and unfinished for *a full century* after the resumption of commercial functions in this area.

Between 98 and 102 AD, the street finally received proper embellishment with an Ionic marble colonnade and revetment along the full seventy-five meters of its southern wall (see Figure 12).[77] Additionally, the external staircase that had been attached to the south end of the Stoa of Attalos was dismantled to create wider access for the road, and a marble arch was built to frame the entrance and house a small fountain to replace an existing one that was removed. It is surely no coincidence that this was undertaken at the same time as the Library of Pantainos, and after such a long delay the whole project was completed with remarkable swiftness. The dedication inscription for the Library sheds some light on the situation, since it precisely identifies the aspects of the project for which the wealthy Athenian Titus Flavius Pantainos

Figure 13: Lintel block with Pantainos inscription. Source: Agora Object I 848.

[76] Shear 1975: 353–355; 1981: 358–359. See also Burden 1999: 17–18.
[77] Shear 1973, "Excavations of 1971": 145–146; 1973, "Excavations of 1972": 385–389; 1975: 343–345; 1981: 370–372. See also Greco et al. (III**, 9.53): 1128–1131; Wycherley 1978: 88.

provided funding, just as we would expect from an aristocrat of the time (Figure 13).[78] He describes himself as the "priest of the philosophical muses," probably an invented and self-assigned title alluding to his status as a philosopher and cultural benefactor in providing a public

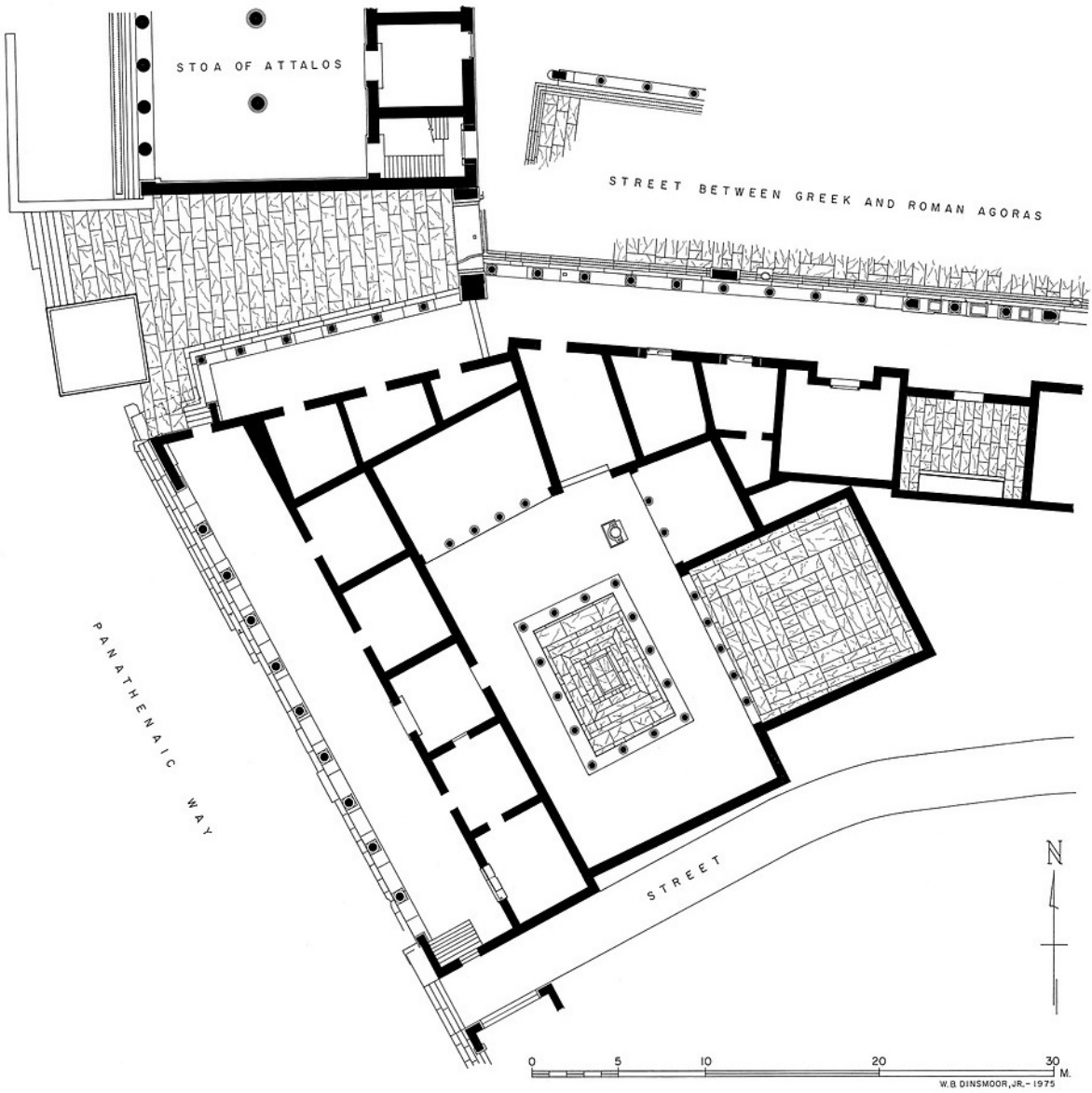

Figure 14: Restored plan of the Library of Pantainos. Source: Camp 1990.

[78] Notopoulos 1949: 26–27; Parsons 1949: 271. Cf. Camp 2001: 197.

library to the city.[79] He declares that he paid specifically for "the outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with its books, and all the decoration inside them"—a list which comprises most of this prominent corner of the Agora (Figure 14). We possess fragments of a marble herm with his portrait, apparently erected in his honor by a friend and/or client, and possibly with the title φιλαθήναιος ("lover of Athens") in recognition of his benefactions to the city.[80]

Another momentous plaque identifies in broader terms the involvement of the Dēmos, which makes sure to stress that its part of the project was funded by the city's own revenues (Figure 15), rather than those of a benefactor (as in the case of a joint dedication like the Roman Market).[81] They describe their colonnaded street as a "*plateia*," a term that connotes its magnitude as a place of both transition and gathering. We find this label applied to the main street of Piraeus in the Hellenistic period, as well as several other major thoroughfares of the

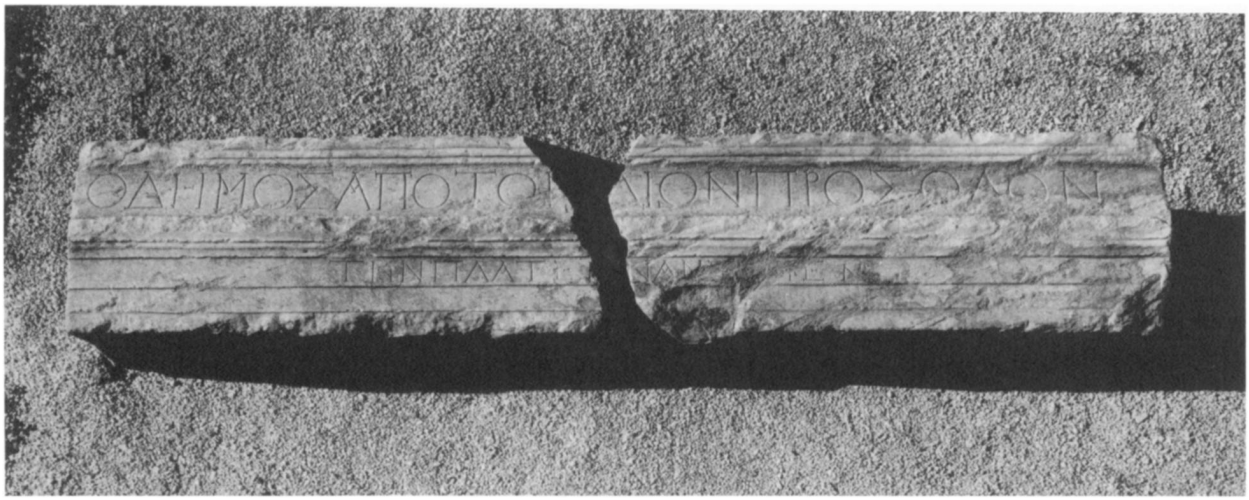

Figure 15: Broad Way Dēmos dedication inscription. Source: Agora Object I 7349.

[79] Agora I 848; Meritt 1946: 233; Parsons 1949: 268–272. See also Shear 1973, "Excavations of 1972": 385.
[80] Raubitschek 1966: no. 8, pp. 247–248 with Plate 66.
[81] Agora I 7349; IG II^2 2628. See also Shear 1973, "Excavations of 1972": 388–389.

Greek East across eras.[82] The survival of the concise but emphatic inscription is a rare feature in contemporary Athens and warrants special recognition as it demonstrates the significance of this corridor and its elaborate decoration for the Athenians.

Two large statue bases survive in the immediate vicinity, with one just off the northwest corner of the Library and the other facing it across the Panathenaic Way against the east edge of the Middle Stoa.[83] Together these two monuments would have framed the passage of anyone walking south on the Panathenaic Way, and they also would have been in the direct line of sight of everyone approaching the Classical Agora from the east. It is unfortunate that we know nothing of the statues that these bases supported, but regardless, the presence of such large dedications right at the junction of these paths again confirms that this node would have been central and especially prominent in the everyday experience of local pedestrians.

The fastidious character of Pantainos's dedication almost seems to imply a causal relationship between the two, as if his project and the ornate outer stoa bordering the square finally motivated the city to do something about the sorry little dirt path between the two markets. The fact that the street provided by the Dēmos evidently was designed to match the style and quality of the outer stoa of the Library, which essentially provided a covered sidewalk at the entry to the complex, further indicates the influence of the Library on the city's plans. Even though the twenty-five columns of the stoa were primarily sourced from preexisting structures, they seem to have been in much better shape than the pieces recycled into the other

[82] As pointed out by Shear 1973, "Excavations of 1972": 389, n. 64. Piraeus: IG II^2 380; Alexandria: Diodoros Sikeliotes 17.52.3 and Strabo 17.1.10; Classical Miletos: *S.I.G.*^{3} 57; Roman Pergamon: *O.G.I.S.* 491.
[83] Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 114–115.

infrastructural work of the Dēmos during this era.[84] Indeed, compared with the appearance of the staircase in the Kolonos Agoraios, the Broad Way would seem quite a lavish feature. I therefore suggest this to be one of the factors behind the formal reification of the street in the first place: the Athenian people seem to be asserting the continued importance of the Classical Agora after the rhythms of everyday life had begun to shift east toward the area of the Roman Market. They thus reacted to Pantainos's timely benefaction with their own, and they formally and ceremonially connected the now-thriving commercial activity in the eastern area to the more tradition-focused cultural events in the western square. In the process, they tied the paths through and around the Roman Market to the older main roads of the Classical Agora—which, perhaps not so coincidentally, were also embellished around the exact same time.

We saw in the previous chapter that The Panathenaic Way, which maintained its diagonal course through the middle of the Classical Agora until at least 267 AD, undoubtedly remained the most prominent road in the city of Athens throughout this period. Its image within the city center was elaborately monumentalized with new buildings all along its edges during the reign of Augustus, and this even might have been one of the original intentions behind the program of new and transplanted structures within the Agora triangle. Indeed, Jeffrey Burden has argued persuasively that the Augustan-era construction projects were centered on and around the Panathenaic Way so as to co-opt its historic significance for a new Roman symbolism.[85] Whether because of or in spite of this imperial emphasis, the Athenians also apparently continued to value highly the appearance of the historic thoroughfare and the experience of traversing it. This is

[84] Shear 1975: 341–342. At least nine of these columns were found in the excavations, and each seems to come from a different original context.
[85] Burden 1999, esp. 213–219.

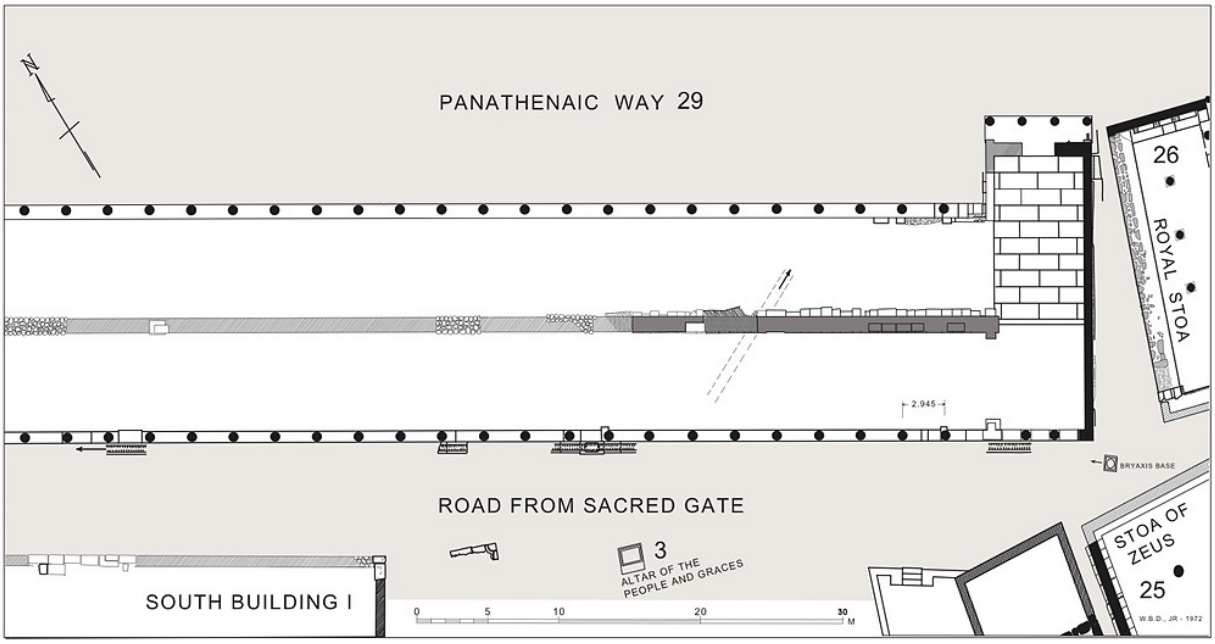

Figure 16: Stoa northwest of the Agora, facing the Panathenaic Way. Source: Camp 2010.

confirmed most momentously in the emergence at the beginning of the second century AD of a colonnade running its entire length from the Dipylon Gate to the northwest entrance of the Classical Agora, as revealed by excavations in a few key places along its course (see Figure 16).[86]

Colonnaded streets had become widely popular throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, but in keeping with the classicizing emphasis of the Athenians, we do not find them anywhere within the city of Athens until the end of the first century AD.[87] After this point, however, they begin to appear on every major path, including first and foremost the Panathenaic Way. The excavators posited that the rudimentary style of this long Doric colonnade, which was built mainly out of poros limestone with a beaten earth floor, must

[86] Shear 1973, "Excavations of 1972": 377; Shear 1981: 369–371; Greco et al. (IV, 10.11): 1255–1257.
[87] Shear 1981: 368, 371–372.

be attributable to the authorship of the Dēmos.[88] The material for these stoas seems also to have been sourced partially from the remains of the buildings destroyed by Sulla around the Classical Agora.[89] These ruins probably would have been visually occluded from the main gathering places in the hollow of the square, but still it is striking that much of their debris would have been left in unsightly heaps from 86 BC until the late 90s AD. Some of the repurposed marble likely was used to repair the more important buildings of the *archeia*, and then probably also in the construction of the Roman additions, but nevertheless we might imagine the rubble to have served perennially as a reminder of the destruction wrought by Rome and the inability of Athens to fully recover until this time.

At any rate, the colonnades on the Panathenaic Way would have appeared at least somewhat like a pastiche, and their quality would have been noticeably rougher than those of the Broad Way—which, as described above, had to match the grandiose Library of Pantainos.[90] Nonetheless, the architectural style of the substructure of these new colonnades on the Panathenaic Way bears a striking similarity to that of the outer stoa of the Library of Pantainos as well.[91] In more precisely defining the timeline of projects and the fiscal resources of the Dēmos to complete them, I submit that the appearance of these stoas in temporal conjunction with those of the Broad Way represents another causal relationship. Given the symbolic and monumental investment that both Athenians and Romans of this period manifestly put into the areas along Panathenaic Way, including especially the Agora and northwest slope of the

[88] Greco et al. (III*, 9.13): 975–978; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 108–110. Cf. Schmalz 1994: 141–143.
[89] Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 80–81.
[90] Cf. Shear 1981: 369–371.
[91] Shear 1973, "Excavations of 1972": 387.

Acropolis, we must question all the more why the Broad Way that directly connected the busy Roman Market to that most essential artery through the city was left undeveloped for so many decades. The argument for financial inability does not hold water after the Claudian era, when we begin to find more substantial (albeit still infrastructural, rather than monumental) projects sponsored by the civic treasury. As we saw in the example of the staircases, the Dēmos of the mid-first century still had to be scrupulous in its expenditures, but it had at its disposal the resources to accomplish certain embellishments of the landscape that were impossible fifty years earlier. Much of this improvement of fortunes was thanks to the positive relations the city was able to maintain with the imperial family in the late years of Augustus's life, not to mention its popularity among aristocrats from across the Empire throughout the Roman era.[92] The patronage and donations they received as a result helped to pull them out of the bankruptcy that had characterized local administration in the first century BC. Clearly, the reasons for delaying a practical and useful paving of the Broad Way must be sought elsewhere, and here I propose we find another instance of reactive construction.

While adapting on the eastern side of the Agora to the fact that the new Roman areas had shifted the city's core in that direction and away from its traditional center, on the western side the Athenians still were monumentalizing the pedestrian aspect of the Panathenaic Way approaching the city center. This road still facilitated not only their famous festival processions, but also the commutes and everyday activities of those who lived and worked in the area to the north and west. Furthermore, the northwest corner of the Agora itself still sported a higher concentration of classical monuments and memorial objects than the region to the east. These

[92] Thakur 2007, especially p. 106. Witness also the examples of Nikanor and Philopappos above.

included the Altar of the Twelve Gods, the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, the Stoa Basileios, and the Stoa Poikile, all of which had served prominent functions in the memorialization of the greatness of Classical Athens. The new stoas thus would have provided a more dramatic frame for those historically important buildings that survived in the oldest part of the district. Should we then identify here a subtle effort to reassert these monumental symbols of Athenian history in reaction to the Roman redefinition of the landscape?

The objective of beautification for its own sake is a possibility, but the sheer cost and amount of effort involved in erecting just these humble series of columns might have been spent more efficiently elsewhere if the primary goal was merely a monumental edification of the landscape. Again, the Agora and the experience of moving through it remain the focus of the Athenians' priorities in building and rebuilding, and the Panathenaic Way continued to serve as the primary path to, through, and from it. The additions of the staircase and colonnaded streets visually and structurally emphasized the continued importance of the district for local culture, despite inevitable changes in the meaning of popular processions once the Panathenaic and Eleusinian festivals were opened to foreign participants. In the embellishment of these passages, we should recognize elements of adaptation and acclimation to Roman influence. However, through a consideration of specific choices in the timing and location of the projects undertaken by the Athenians, we can trace subtle but assertive reactions that prioritize their own image of the landscape.

Office Space

The third case, which deals with a more static set of projects than the earlier two, marks the first time in Athenian topographic history that civic functions verifiably intrude into the hallowed central triangle of the Agora, a development that in itself is worth examination. The open space was not treated as "sacred" in the same way as an official *temenos* (sanctuary)—obviously, a great number of "profane" social activities and commercial transactions occurred there that had nothing to do with religious ritual—but it must be recognized that there were rules for and against certain behavior inside its boundaries that could be classified as religious in nature.[93] We find three physical features in the archaeology that were intended to lend the Classical Agora some level of inviolability: the *horos* boundary stones marked its special significance as an area separate from the rest of the land around it; the *perirrhantēria* wash basins on edges of the main roads denoted that one must be ritually clean in order to enter; and the perpetually vacant space in the center represented a concerted priority to maintain its openness for congregation and community.[94] Even the original buildings of the *archeia*, in spite of their sacred characteristics and associations with certain deities, seem to have been isolated along the eastern slope of the Kolonos Agoraios, to the west of the north-south road through the Agora, in order to keep their "profane" administrative activities outside the space. Nothing but sacred dedications appear in the central triangle during the autonomous periods of Athenian history, and this is one of the main reasons that the transformation effected by the Roman building program was so striking in

[93] Cf. Parker 1983: 150–151.
[94] For the *horoi*: Greco et al. (III**, 9.41, F.84): 1096–1097, 1157–1158. On the *perirrhantēria*: Parker 1983: 19–23, 152–154. On the nature of *horos* stones and basins in the Agora specifically, see Shear 1981: 360; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 118.

both image and ideology. However, even the newly erected Roman-era buildings could still be classified as somewhat religious, since they were all temples or altars—with the one exception of the Odeion, which nevertheless likely would have been used for events of religious character, such as dramatic performances during festivals.[95] The fact that no structures of unequivocally non-religious character appear within the central space until the second century AD is therefore especially noteworthy, and the "civic offices" to which we now direct our attention should be given special consideration.

Within this context, it is perhaps even more striking that the quality and appearance of these structures is so pitiful in comparison with all other objects inside the central space (highlighted in Figure 17). Attached to the northern face of the Middle Stoa at its westernmost

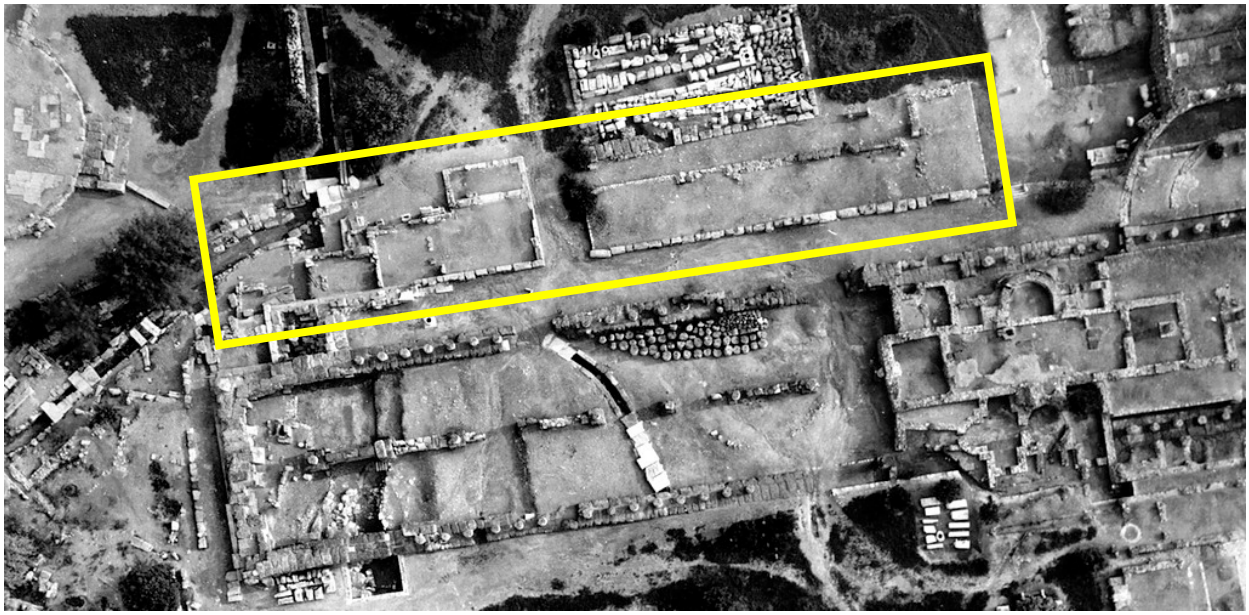

Figure 17: Aerial photo of south square and civic offices.
Source: after Agora Image 2000.03.0066.

[95] The only surviving evidence for any specific use of the venue describes lectures held there, but given its central location, it probably would have been used for a variety of events: Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 113–114. Cf. Burden 1999: 77.

edge we find three rooms built largely from reused pieces in a style reminiscent of a much earlier period of Greek architecture, when stoas were created simply by leaning a colonnade against the wall of an existing structure.[96] Like the two Athenian projects above, the juxtaposition of this meager complex with the enormous monumental stoas and buildings all around it would have exhibited a rather striking disparity in scale and quality. Homer Thompson, in palpable disappointment, described it first as "a very late, and very poor descendant of the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi."[97] He later characterized the whole complex as "a somewhat odd and makeshift excrescence on the major architecture of the Agora."[98]

In spite of its humble stature, the building's remains offer us a great deal of information as to its use and significance. The main group was originally comprised of four rooms of graduated size squeezed into the space between the street and the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa, but the fourth room was removed at some point, presumably because it was impeding traffic on the important north-south road. On the outside corner of the third room (i.e. the westernmost of the three remaining) was a *perirrhantērion* (ritual wash basin), as we also find at other entrances to the Agora. A tiny chamber was built into the wall between the third (westernmost) and second (middle) rooms and apparently was used as a latrine or washroom, as indicated by a direct pipeline out to the great drain of the city. In the external corner between the second (middle) and first (easternmost) rooms were found several marble tile standards, used to measure tiles sold in the marketplace and to arbitrate disputes accordingly (Figure 18). The

[96] Thompson 1948: 151–153. See also Dickenson 2016: 382–384; Greco et al. (III**, 9.43): 1099–1100.
[97] Thompson 1952: 90–91.
[98] Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 79–80.

Figure 18: Tile standards in civic offices. Photo by author.

largest room on the east end sported a small porch outside and a reused tripod base inside, indicating that it was the most important section of the group. The little lean-to stoa mentioned above extended from the wall of the third room east behind the Southwest Temple and ended in another room of unknown use directly abutting the wall of the Odeion. Altogether, it is clear

from this evidence that the complex was used by Agora officials for the purposes of commercial administration, such as the duties of the traditional *Agoranomoi*.[99]

This construction project is evidently attributable to the agency of the Athenian Dēmos, like the other classicizing and poorly funded structures we have seen. The awkwardly intimate arrangement of these offices behind and around the new Southwest Temple is also distinctly Athenian, and clearly motivated by convenience rather than aesthetics or ideology. They were positioned in such a way that their entrances would have nearly shared the space in front, and the sad little stoa almost certainly clashed visually with the upper facade of the more grandiose Middle Stoa behind and above it. It is apparent that the architects of these rooms did not consider the ground around the Southwest Temple to have been sacred to the same extent as a more formal sanctuary: there often would have occurred "vulgar" economic and commercial activities in the offices and in the stoa—plus officials even might have defecated in the little chamber just meters away from the temple's front door! The fact that a ritual wash basin was maintained right outside the building could bespeak their recognition that this was a religiously questionable arrangement. Or had the Athenians of this era completely forgotten the traditional emphasis their ancestors placed on the segregation of these activities and on the special separation of the space in the center of the Agora? In any case, the relationship of these offices to the Southwest Temple suggests that the Athenians did not view that Roman-era shrine in the same sacred light as they traditionally regarded their more venerated sanctuaries. Therefore, I posit that this represents another structural reaction on the part of the locals, and perhaps one more specifically identifiable as begrudging adjustment rather than willing acclimation.

[99] The *locus classicus* for the description of their duties is *Ath. Pol.* 51.

In seeking a contemporary project of imperial or private sponsorship that might have motivated this public work, we are faced with greater difficulty than for the two preceding examples since the civic offices cannot be dated more precisely than within the second century AD. However, nearly all of the urban development in second-century Athens occurred within the twenty-year window of Hadrian's reign (117–138 AD), so this project also probably would have been undertaken around or shortly after this time. There had not been a new building for the administration of local government in Athens since the beginning of the Hellenistic period, so it is inevitable that the responsibilities and spatial needs of local officials would have evolved by this point.[100] Hadrian took a personal interest in Athenian affairs and famously restored certain powers and functions to autonomous Greek administration, so this structure could constitute a physical representation of the civic officials' expanded operations. Furthermore, the redevelopment of the Pnyx under Hadrian indicates an intensification in activity toward the southwest, which would have increased traffic on the road that entered the Agora next to these civic offices.[101] Indeed, this seems the most likely reason that the smallest, westernmost room had to be dismantled so soon after its initial construction.

At any rate, these offices indicate intensified commercial activity and augmented Athenian interest in the southwest sector of the Classical Agora, where many of the oldest administrative buildings still survived. The fact that this complex represents the first encroachment of unquestionably non-religious construction into the central triangle strongly suggests a change in the meaning and significance of the space for the Athenians. I propose that,

[100] Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 79–80.
[101] Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932: 180–188; Thompson 1937: 222.

as a result of the filling of the center by the Roman buildings some 150 years earlier, the traditional image of the Agora landscape gradually must have been eroded, and to some extent the democratic symbolism inherent to both the classical buildings and the open central space eventually must have diminished. Since these spaces had not hosted substantive public gatherings for the purposes of political debate or decision-making in over two centuries, the "museum" aspect of the older structures might have become more primary than their traditional classical functions, which by now would have survived only tenuously in collective social memory, if at all. Therefore, when Hadrian's program first expanded the focus of local cultural activity further eastward toward his new buildings, and then increased traffic through the Agora by restoring and redeveloping certain access routes around it, the Athenian officials decided to build some new rooms that could be used for more mundane tasks than those facilitated in the old classical buildings of the *archeia*. These offices therefore represent a twofold reaction: while the Athenians adjusted to the newer Roman temples by simply working around them, they also acclimated to the new cultural significance of the traditional buildings by embracing their value as an exhibition of the city's ancient greatness.

By the People, For the People?

We have seen in these examples that the image and uses of the Agora for local Athenians must have changed considerably between the early first century BC and the mid-second century AD. In response to these changes, the priorities of local construction seem to have adjusted, reflecting an equivalent adjustment in the mentality of the people behind the identifiable projects. Although we possess no contemporary literary evidence for Athenian attitudes toward Rome and toward

the Roman-sponsored construction in their city center, we can still learn a great deal about how they chose to interact with the new buildings after the fact. In many cases, as we have seen, their reaction is manifested in plans for their own construction, particularly in the development of certain significant paths and access points. As they slowly recovered from the financial ruin of the first century BC, they began to take on more elaborate projects, but even in the time of Hadrian the Dēmos remained severely limited in its capacity to improve or even alter the landscape. The days of the Periklean assembly and its hubristic urban development programs were gone forever, no matter how favorably the Roman emperors regarded the Greeks.

One remarkable feature of the construction in the city center during this era is that reused pieces were incorporated into nearly every "new" structure, either as a result of the Roman strategy exemplified in the transplanted temples (which perhaps could be seen as initiating a new "style"), or else because of simple convenience or necessity, although these motives certainly are not mutually exclusive. While this type of reuse has been recognized since the excavations of the 1970s, the visual implications of the "upcycling" of certain elements have not been fully appreciated until recently. The experience of the local viewer must be considered when discussing the impact of these projects, as they would find the pieces of earlier buildings that had been destroyed by the Romans now reincorporated into newer buildings throughout the city. In the works completed on local initiative, the Dēmos specifically chose to reuse these pieces and so perhaps set them up as a kind of *negative* memorial—like the archaic column drums built into the post-Persian wall of the Acropolis. In these "renewed" objects that preserved fragments of ancient greatness forever lost, the Athenians were encapsulating elements of an entirely different sort of memory than those displayed by their proud classical ancestors. These structures thus

took on a whole new kind of value for the Athenians as they represented a constant reminder of the wounds suffered at the hands of their Roman captors, displayed ubiquitously throughout the major thoroughfares of the city.

Considered altogether, the visual appearance of the city center as experienced by pedestrians at this time would not have embodied an assertion of timeless Athenian strength and vitality, but instead smacked of a forced association between Classical Greek and contemporary Roman cultural priorities. The latter in many cases obscured the visage of the former, and particularly those with special significance for the preservation of local democratic memory. Therefore, the choice of embellishing these access points around the most significant memorial objects that survived, and particularly at the times when the projects were undertaken, reveals a possible strategy on the part of the Athenians to emphasize these places and landmarks in the constantly developing landscape.

However, even if the minor projects of the civic council slightly offset the vast weight of Roman development, the common Athenians constantly would be confronted with the loss of their native landscape. A more difficult question is how long they would remember what had been lost in the first place and how these changes would have affected their daily life and identity. What about their grandchildren, who never knew the pre-Roman image of the city? Perhaps, in these structural reactions carried out *by* the people, *for* the people, we can trace a gradual acceptance that the most important places in their memorial landscape had assumed a new kind of importance in the Roman period.[102] As physical manifestations of the zenith of classical culture, the pieces of their heritage displayed in renewed forms all around them offered

[102] Cf. Rous 2016: 96–99.

a different—but still valuable—source of local identity, by which the Athenians became the preservers and purveyors of the greatest cultural center in the Roman world.

CHAPTER IV: Sharing is Caring

Returning to Rome after his successful campaign against Mithridates in Asia (84/3 BC), Sulla decided to pass through Athens again and took home some of the colossal columns from the (still unfinished) Olympieion in order to refurbish the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline.[1] Note that this took place just two years after his sack of the city, during which time the Athenians remained defeated and docile, with much of their built environment still visibly in ruins. The local memory of the sack presumably would have been fresh and still painful at this point, so even Sulla's return to the city so shortly after his violent first visit might have evoked some trepidation from the community. As we saw above, it took the Athenians many decades to restore the city center, and they finally did so using the remains of the buildings destroyed by the sack. At this early stage of rehabilitation, workers would have been sifting through the debris and searching for any recoverable construction materials. The columns of the Olympieion most likely had never been erected and so probably lay in a state of *disuse* rather than *disrepair*, and we should expect that all building materials of such a substantial size, especially high-quality marble, would have been precious in Attica at this time. The general's decision to remove these monumental pieces—and to take them back to Rome, no less—would have been a pointed reminder of Athens' subjection to Roman hegemony. Sulla's motives seem clear enough: after conquering the city of Athens and thereby bringing this prominent Greek city-state into the imperial fold, the triumphant commander was carrying back monumental parts intended for the

[1] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 36.45. See also Perry 2012: 178–181, 190–191; Wycherley 1964: 170–171.

Athenians' biggest temple—which was slated for dedication to Zeus—to incorporate into Rome's biggest temple—which was, of course, dedicated to Jupiter. Assuming these particular column drums actually were installed in Rome (no evidence survives), the momentousness of the conquest would have been reinforced visually by their appearance on the Capitoline at the climactic point of the triumphal procession.

While this sounds like it would be pleasing to the Romans at home, in the century before Sulla's campaign the senate and people had shown notable concern for the behavior of generals who tampered with the sacred property of imperial subject cities during peacetime. The controversy surrounding Marcus Fulvius Nobilior's sack of Aitolian Ambrakia in 189 BC, and specifically the spoliation of its temples, indicated that the Roman relationship with the Greeks was more complicated than simply that of conqueror and conquered when it came to their religious heritage.[2] However, the inconclusive outcome of that highly politicized case offers us little more than the recognition that the senate could be swayed rather easily on questions pertaining to the proper treatment of sacred property outside of Rome, and especially among allied or subject communities whose ambitions seemed potentially hostile to Roman interests. As we will see, Pliny's letters offer further evidence during the Imperial period of the general

[2] Livy 38.43–44. Like the Athenians, the Ambrakians had vacillated on their commitment to Rome and had suffered the consequences, but the legitimacy of Nobilior's siege of the city was questioned and brought to trial by his rival Marcus Aemilius Lepidus on the grounds that he had attacked *during peacetime*—surely a dubious charge, but one that nevertheless earned him a conviction (which, at any rate, was overturned upon Nobilior's return to Rome: 39.4–5). A related case, but on Italian soil, was brought against the censor Quintus Fulvius Flaccus fifteen years later for his appropriation of marble roof tiles from the southern Italian sanctuary of Juno Lacinia at Bruttium in order to decorate his new temple for Fortuna Equestris at Rome—a decision that provoked not only outrage from the people, but also a formal denunciation from the senate in which he was accused of betraying the censorship and implicating all of Rome in great sacrilege: Livy 42.3.1–11; cf. Valerius Maximus 1.1.20.

disinterest or even inapplicability of Roman religious policy in matters of provincial cities' sacred property, as long as there would be no larger political ramifications for actions taken locally. At any rate, it seems most likely that the columns of the Athenian Olympieion, due to their state of only partial completion, had not yet been consecrated to Zeus, and so would have been regarded as little more than rocks at the time of their appropriation. Sulla, for his part, seemed entirely unconcerned with the prospect of offending either men or gods.[3]

I have argued that the program of sacred objects transplanted into the Athenian Agora during the Roman period could not have been accomplished without the participation of each of the major social groups active in the city at the time. In the most likely scenario, the local elite conceptualized it, the Roman aristocracy and/or imperial family financed it, and the Athenian people (with their slaves) executed it. This model speaks to the mechanics of the projects, but we still have not landed securely on the primary agenda that motivated the participants to execute the program, or a rationalization that justified their unprecedented manipulation of sacred property in this way. Building on the example of Sulla's columns, we might conclude that the Augustan-era architects (whether Roman or Greek) would have no reservations about the reuse of the pieces from the unfinished sanctuary at Thorikos that were incorporated into the Southwest Temple in the Agora. Such a policy might have been applied inversely to derelict sanctuaries along the same lines of logic (if no one remembered the moment of dedication, had it ever really occurred?), so that by the time of the Agora transformation projects, the removal of the pieces from Pallene, Acharnai, and Sounion—assuming that those classical-period

[3] Sulla's alleged desecrations in other cities also seem to bespeak a general lack of concern for such matters: e.g. Pausanias 9.33.6; cf. 1.20.5–7. Cf. Forte 1972: 119–123.

sanctuaries had indeed fallen into desuetude—also would have been acceptable without risk of condemnation.[4] Unfortunately, though, evidence for this perception can only be extracted *ex negativo*: as revealed by a cursory reading of Pausanias, the landscape was dotted with old temples that had been abandoned all over Greece, but this tells us next to nothing about their perceived sacrality.

If there was a certain identifiable level of deterioration at which a sanctuary suddenly could be regarded as "naturally" deconsecrated without a formal ritual, and at which point it became acceptable for architects to repurpose its pieces, it certainly would resolve some of the problems underlying the questionable circumstances of the Agora program. Unfortunately, our limited evidence for Athenian policies regarding the treatment of sacred property in any pre-Christian period does not offer any institutionalized rules or religious procedures that might have governed the transformative construction projects of the Roman era. Conversely, though, we can actually identify in historical texts and commercial documents at least the expectation of Classical and Hellenistic Greeks that the cultic arrangements of their ancestors remained viable in perpetuity. As a result, traditional forms of cult worship—the respective rituals performed "according to the ancestral way" (κατὰ τὰ πάτρια) and the sacred apparatus used for those rituals—were imagined to endure indefinitely.[5] It follows that this attitude also would extend to the administration of any property consecrated to the gods, since "to disestablish a cult, to close a sanctuary, tear down the *temenos* wall, dismantle the altar, and to, for example, farm the property

[4] In this light, it is worth noting again Shear's observation (2016: 258, n. 109; 389) that one of the blocks for the Temple of Ares apparently had been left undressed while it resided at Pallene.
[5] Mikalson 1998: *passim*, but esp. 4–5; 2016: 110–119, 165–174. Cf. Chaniotis 2009; Grijalvo 2005, esp. 260–262.

or to use it for other secular or religious purposes would be actively to 'dishonor' the god, and that was always thought to be dangerous."[6]

Within the scope of this study, we might identify an expectation of perpetual sacrality behind the Athenians' continuous conservation of the monuments of the Classical period—the sort which suffused the Athenian landscape to the point of defining the city well into the Roman period, as we saw above (chapter I). A similarly conservative policy also manifested in the built topography of the city center up to the end of the Hellenistic period, as ancestral boundaries were honored long after such limitations on construction became impractical (chapter II). Therefore, it is remarkable that Mikalson's list of potentially "dangerous" actions coincides more or less precisely with the series of actions witnessed at Athens *after* the sack of 86 BC. In this light, the Athenians presumably would have taken issue with nearly every phase of the Agora transformation project as a matter of traditional religious procedure—that is, if they maintained the attitude of their Hellenistic forebears up to this time. Such a proposition clearly requires further investigation, especially after the sack rendered unrecognizable many of the traditional sacred spaces within which the ancestral rituals would have been performed. In the interest of fleshing out the narrative of these changes, I will demonstrate in this chapter that a promising access point into the motivations and rationalizations of the relevant agents can be found in certain contextual features of the religious and political climate in which such a program would have been conceptualized and undertaken.

[6] Mikalson 1998:4.

In accordance with Mikalson's observations, we possess no record of any kind that indicates the deconsecration or programmatic removal of a cult in Athens. Those that disappear from our view seem simply to have fallen out of popularity and faded slowly into obscurity, leaving behind only the physical remains of their presence in the form of durable sacred objects.[7] Not all sanctuary property was permanently inalienable, of course: consecrated land and some dedications could change status for a few pragmatic reasons, including especially the transaction of leases and sales—as long as the deity in question approved of the transfer.[8] Furthermore, there are oblique literary references implying the application of the term *hosios*, in opposition (or complement) to *hieros*, for previously sacred things that had somehow undergone a process of desacralization.[9] Interestingly, land does not seem to appear among the examples offered in these sources. On the other hand, it is notable that we find no details of an institutionalized ritual for the initial establishment of a Greek *temenos* either. The handful of relevant accounts describe the straightforward erection of an altar and (in many but not all cases) the placement of the *horos* stones around the *peribolos* to "cut off" the land symbolically from other public or private use—

[7] See e.g. Parker 1996: 152–187. Cf. Horster 2010: 444–446; Papazarkadas 2011: 42.
[8] As demonstrated by Rousset 2013, especially 124–125. Similarly, in the Roman context, such a policy is suggested obliquely by the *Lex Aedis Furfensis* of 58 BC, which requires the officiation of an aedile in order to transact the legal lease or sale of sacred land and objects belonging to the sanctuary of Jupiter Liber at Furfo (CIL IX 3513 = CIL I.2 756 = ILS 4906; for the detailed publication of the inscription, see Laffi 1978). However, the law pertains only to specific pieces of cultic property (viz. its fields and dedications, including the hides and other remains of sacrificed animals), which permits us to observe only that these regulations as stated apply to those specific items at that specific time in that specific place. Indeed, the evidence does not allow us to establish a general policy for the application of such deconsecration rituals in either the Roman or Greek context.
[9] See Burkert 1985: 269–70; and Jeanmaire 1945, esp. 69. Cf. Parker 1983: 151–152, 338.

a kind of ritualized action, no doubt, but not one that was defined in such terms.[10] This reflects the persistent ambiguity of any observable Greek customs for the management of sacred property, which stands in stark contrast to the marked Roman concern for clarifying and defining this category of ritual actions.[11] In seeking to identify relevant examples of Greek policies in the surviving sources, we must recognize that all such conventions were rooted in Classical-era notions of sacrality and religious propriety, which, as I have emphasized throughout this investigation, should not be assumed to persist continuously into the changed circumstances of the first century when we possess no such literary discussions.

However, the inscription from Kyme (SEG 18.555) is instructive in this regard: not only does it highlight imperial efforts to prevent the neglect of sanctuaries throughout imperial territory, but it also indicates that some of the sacred property in question had fallen into *private* hands—meaning that its sacred status by definition was no longer recognized.[12] Furthermore, when the text is considered together with the related decree found in Athens, these documents seem to emphasize the expectation that the Greeks should do everything possible to preserve and restore *in situ* their own existing sanctuaries—so any construction strategy involving the cannibalistic *recycling* of those sacred objects presumably should only be deployed as a last resort.[13] As demonstrated in the previous chapter, a close examination of the evidence in context

[10] E.g. as Herodotus describes at Samos: 3.142.2. Cf. the Hippocratic writer's description with regard to pollution: *On the Sacred Disease* 1.110–112. See also Parker 1983: 160–161.
[11] See the sequence of required procedures and appointed officials for the establishment of a temple in Republican Rome as elaborated and examined in Ziolkowski 1992, and especially the ritual of *locatio*, by which officials would search for, identify, and demarcate an appropriate place for a new sacred precinct: Ziolkowski 1992: 203–219.
[12] Cf. Dignas 2002: 127–130.
[13] IG II^2 1035. Cf. Papazarkadas 2011: 223–243. See also pp. 132–133 above.

challenges the archaeologists' initial assumption that dereliction was the sole (or even the best) reason for the reuse of certain architectural features.[14] Again, I do not deny that logistics might have played a role in the projects, but given the social and historical context of these sacred memorial objects, equal consideration must be given to the ideological factors. The Agora architects could have reused certain existing sacred building materials for their new projects as a matter of convenience, but in support of that practice, they also could have pointed to the imperial decrees and claimed to be performing a pious act of restoration for sanctuary property that had become so dilapidated as to no longer be functional or even recognized as consecrated anymore. If the local community could not remember the original circumstances in which certain objects had been dedicated in the first place, much less any special rituals originally attached to them, they likely would condone their reuse in a more prominent position, especially if such a relocation meant increased tourism and patronage from visiting foreigners. Therefore, rather than a "decline" in religious feeling among the Athenians, we might identify here a sort of *revival* of traditional cultic forms—albeit in new, imperial-era guises—as they pragmatically found innovative ways to honor and advertise those gods whose cults were no longer popular or even recognized in their everyday practice of civic religion.[15] What remains to be determined in the absence of literary testimony is how the Athenians might have determined which of those ancestral cults were eligible candidates for this kind of revival.

[14] Camp 2001: 192; Shear 1981: 365; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 160–165; Walker 1997: 72. See further discussion in chapter III above.
[15] Cf. the conclusions of Camia and Rizakis 2017.

To Claim Indulgence from a God

In order to address this chapter's overarching questions, then, it is worth considering the surviving evidence that sheds light on earlier Athenian policies governing the treatment of sacred property. These sources mostly emerge from one of two disparate circumstances: wartime actions and negotiations on the inter-*polis* scale, or private Athenian land leases on the individual level. One of the most important examples in the former category, particularly for determining the contours of any diachronic understanding of these issues, is contained in Thucydides's account of the struggle between the Athenians and Boiotians at Delion in 424 BC.[16] We see in this passage an exchange of indictments between *poleis* that amounts to a debate over the specific implications of certain "unwritten laws." Accordingly, the disagreement stems from each side's self-serving interpretation of precedents for such a situation. Both parties claim that their respective position is "universal" among the Greeks, but Thucydides does not offer (or confirm) the background or sources for any of their arguments. Authorial purpose aside, this stalemate must have exemplified a fairly common problem as individual *poleis* regularly would have cited their own version of a given religious law as the most authoritative—especially in times of conflict over political hegemony. In order to trace relevant threads of Greek religious-legal discourse that might have been commonly recognized in later periods, it is worthwhile to evaluate the statements that Thucydides puts in the mouths of each party and weigh them against real actions taken on the ground as far as we can discern them.[17]

[16] Thucydides 4.97–4.99. See also Nevin 2017: 37–47; Parker 1983: 162; Price 1999: 3–5.
[17] See also the detailed contextual study of Nevin 2017: 41–46.

To kick off the debate, the Boiotians assert the first rule that is supposedly established and recognized by all the Greeks: an invading force in foreign territory would not only be expected to refrain from damaging the sanctuaries of that territory, but also would *stay away from them entirely* (ἀπέχεσθαι).[18] Accordingly, the Athenians had transgressed this universal custom by seizing the sanctuary at Delion and fortifying themselves within Apollo's sacred precinct. Furthermore, the Athenian soldiers allegedly committed sacrilege to an even deeper extent by their consumption of the sacred waters reserved for the ritual activities of the sanctuary. The Athenians defend themselves by explaining that they have not done any damage to the sanctuary, and only fortified it to defend themselves from the Boiotians—who were actually the greater transgressors, first in their attack of the Athenians who had legitimately taken refuge in the sanctuary, and then in their attempt to arrange a "profane" (i.e. non-ritualized, essentially commercial) exchange of dead bodies for sacred property.[19] The Athenians in turn cite an entirely different custom supposedly established and recognized by all the Greeks: an invading force in foreign territory would be entitled to take possession of the sanctuaries in that territory, but also would be obliged to continue all customary cultic activities *as far as possible*.[20] This caveat leaves some room for flexibility, as the reality of the situation certainly demanded.

---

[18] Thucydides 4.97.

[19] Thucydides 4.98.

[20] θεραπευόμενα οἷς ἂν πρὸς τοῖς εἰωθόσι καὶ δύνωνται (Thucydides 4.98). Rhodes (1998: 281) emphasizes the irony of this claim, since the Athenians have not taken possession of the territory or even legitimately taken refuge in the sanctuary but instead have simply fortified it as just another temporary stronghold, technically rendering illegal all their other activities. Cf. the similar series of debates regarding amphiktionies and the (im)proper treatment of sacred property at Delphi during (and as a product of) the Sacred Wars: Lefèvre 1998: *passim*, but esp. 169–171, 229–231; Nevin 2017: 163–168; Parker 1983: 165–166; Rousset 2002: 136–138, 190–192; Sánchez 2001: *passim*, but esp. 115–117, 236–238.

However, a more audacious provision is embodied in the statement, "anything done under the constraint of war and danger might reasonably claim indulgence even from the god."[21] With this facile presupposition, the Athenians essentially absolve from accusation of sacrilege any action that might be committed in the course of war—and assume, without any stated precedent, that the gods will do the same.[22]

In the end, neither party convinces the other of the superior authority of their respective unwritten law, and the issue is finally decided by a Boiotian siege engine that almost certainly would have caused greater damage to the sanctuary than any action taken by the Athenians.[23] Ultimately, then, the Boiotians actually reclaim the site by acting in accordance with the policy that had been presented by the Athenians: they (re)gain possession of the sanctuary by the rule of the spear (i.e. the authority of "might makes right"), and they seem confident that their attack will not offend the god because any damage caused in the process would be understandable within the context of war.[24] Although the Boiotians were the technical winners of this particular contest, it seems that the quasi-universal customs cited by the Athenians are proven more defensible in their implementation. In fact, *contra* the Boiotians' initial statement, we see throughout ancient literature that Greek armies very often took possession of sanctuaries within territory they conquered.[25] Whether they then proceeded to administer these cults "in the traditional manner" is another matter, as some were destroyed, some were dismantled and had

---

[21] Πᾶν δ' εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸ πολέμῳ καὶ δεινῷ τινὶ κατειργόμενον ξύγγνωμόν τι γίγνεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.
[22] Cf. the sympathetic oracular reaction to the occupation of the sacred precinct on the Acropolis during the Persian War: Thucydides 2.17.
[23] Thucydides 4.100.
[24] Cf. Rhodes 1998: 282.
[25] Nevin 2017, *passim*, but especially the concluding remarks at 197–201.

their sacred objects exported, and others were rebranded or repurposed to suit the needs of the conqueror. However, the most important point to take away from this debate is the flexibility of religious law (or at least the application of it) in times of war, as emphasized by Thucydides's Athenians. This bespeaks an assumption that the gods fundamentally sympathize with human predicaments and are willing to overlook potentially sacrilegious actions in situations when the human has no other viable choice (but death). Accordingly, Apollo would suffer the embattled Athenian soldiers to set up a fort on his holy ground when they were facing defeat and annihilation. But could they similarly rationalize the reuse or repurposing of sacred property for other reasons of expediency, without the justification of war?

Destructive events leading to the displacement of cultic activity were commonplace during times of conflict and stasis, of course, and instances of this phenomenon in literature and archaeology are far too numerous to warrant consideration here. The appropriation of land won by the spear, as a "universal law" inherent to human social relations since the beginning of time, needed no legal framework or formally stated accord for its legitimacy. The history of world empires at its most basic is a narrative of lands changing hands from conquered to conqueror—including all of the people and property within them. But what about in peacetime? Should we expect that another set of rules must have applied, in terms of both religious and legal procedures? How different were the Romans' policies from the Greeks' when it came to handling the property of the gods once it had been consecrated, and would this create conflict between them in the Roman governance of Greek cities?

The Romans were famous for allowing and often even encouraging subjects within their imperial territory to practice their ancestral religions as they had done before absorption into the

Empire,[26] and documents like the Augustan sanctuary restoration decree demonstrate that the emperors sometimes even *required* provincials to preserve the traditional physical forms and consecrated property of their local sanctuaries. In the case of Athens, then, the rituals of their famous ancestral cults housed throughout the Acropolis and Agora presumably would have been able to continue largely uninterrupted, albeit with diminished political significance. Furthermore, the local gods associated with those cults effectively remained in possession of that property. However, the question of possession does not always get to the core of the problem we find on the ground. As Mikalson established, anything dedicated to a god legally would remain so designated forever, unless he (via his mortal executors) willed that a specific piece of his property should be transferred to another use (e.g. leased out to raise money for cultic operations). However, it could be argued that the possessions of the patron deity of a community are in essence the possessions *of that community*, since sacred treasuries could at times become functionally amalgamated with civic resources.[27] Whenever sacred funds or resources were requisitioned for use by the *polis*, the Greeks made sure to pay interest on these "loans" and replaced any objects that might have been destroyed or melted down for alternative use.[28] But how applicable are these models for cases like Roman Athens, where the locals decided (with Roman support) to engage in a program of repurposing and sometimes even *rededicating* sacred

[26] For the Greek East, see inter alia the examples presented in Kaizer 2007.
[27] Witness e.g. the Athenians' use of Athena's accoutrements during wartime with the expectation that they would be replaced afterward, as described throughout Demosthenes's indictment of Timarchos (*Or*. 24, *passim* but esp. 111–120). This undoubtedly was one of the main reasons that temples kept such meticulous inventory records (cf. Parker 1996: 244). See Parker 1983: 173–175; but also the qualifying observations presented in Dignas 2002: 25–34.
[28] Dignas 2002: 16–20.

objects to a diverse group of patrons that included both ancestral and untraditional deities—and all during peacetime, when they could not point to the exigencies of war?

Operation, Negotiation, Administration

Here we find ourselves wading into a debate over whether we should consider the human administrators of a given piece of sacred land effectively to be its *owners*. A pragmatic approach to this evidence would tend to disregard the gods as active parties in negotiations pertaining to their property, particularly given their general silence in the records of sacred leases and deeds at our disposal. Certainly, the individuals on both sides of such transactions declared in their contracts that the respective proprietary deities exercised the ultimately authority, as we will see. But even if under the watchful eye of their divine patrons, the Greeks seem to have recognized that human agents nevertheless were the de facto negotiators of any deals that concerned the property in question, just as we must do in painting a holistic picture of these negotiations. For the purposes of a practical examination of the relevant policies, it is often necessary to refer to the mortal administrators as the respective leasing agents, just as they appear in the records. In attempting to identify examples of these parties and their roles, we possess the most substantial evidence for Classical and early Hellenistic Athens, where the negotiations of sacred leases were commonly managed by the archon basileus, the demarchs, and/or the cultic orgeones. The role of each of these official agents in the administration of its respective cult and associated property was idiosyncratic, as particular responsibilities—and levels of authority—varied widely. As a baseline, there seems to have existed a vague set of recognized procedures for establishing the terms of *polis*-administered leases, but these rules did not extend beyond Attica—and perhaps

not even beyond the period in which they were formulated.[29] For example, the demarchs and orgeones apparently maintained a greater deal of authority to negotiate the details on an ad hoc basis and often did so corporately.[30] We should expect this arrangement in the case of most deme-operated *temene*, even if they are only explicitly attested as the leasing agents in a handful of contracts. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that the demarchs generally took responsibility for managing these kinds of local affairs in their capacity as civic magistrates and overseers of deme finances.[31] Similarly, groups like the orgeones that were charged with primary responsibility for the operation of a particular deity's sacred rites also would administer that deity's precinct, so it is logical that these associations would have wielded such authority.[32]

As regards the state-operated *temene*, we are fortunate that the specific duties and privileges of the archon basileus in his capacity as proxy for the gods are famously reported in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia*. This is one of the only pieces of literature that relates any information on the processes or procedures of sacred land leasing in ancient Greece, and a relevant passage provides some ground rules which seem to apply to all contracts for "public

[29] Rousset 2013: 121–125. See also Horster 2010: 439–444.
[30] Osborne 1988: 286. Demes: Papazarkadas 2011: 112–114. Orgeones: Papazarkadas 2011: 191–192; Parker 1996: 109–111.
[31] Papazarkadas 2011: 113; Whitehead 1986: 127. This is also supported by the Demosthenic case of Euxitheos, demarch of Halimous, who apparently earned the enmity of some of his demesmen for demanding overdue payment of *temenos* rent and then returning other funds which had been embezzled from the deme accounts (Demosthenes 57.63).
[32] Cf. Papazarkadas 2011: 202–204.

land."[33] According to the text, the archon basileus was tasked with presenting to the boulē all leases of *temene,* which must be set for terms of ten years with payment collected annually in the ninth prytany.[34] There is some controversy over whether he maintained authority to lease out the state-administered sacred land independently or if he had to consult with the ten *poletai* officials beforehand, but no such arrangement is described in this passage.[35] Each year when a rent payment was made, the basileus was to bring it with the original contract, inscribed on a "whitened tablet," to the ten *apodektai* officials for accounting. If a lessee defaulted on his rent, he was to pay double the amount as penalty or else be taken to prison under the authority of the boulē.[36] Even from this fragmentary picture, we should recognize that the role of the archon basileus was closer to that of a broker than an executor, and these contracts were treated essentially as an agreement between an individual and the state—effectively omitting the deity from the legal calculus.

The prescribed punishment for missed rent payments to the *polis* might seem severe, but this offense must have been taken very seriously due to the importance of the revenues from these leases for funding cultic functions.[37] Even harsher consequences are prescribed in one of

[33] I generally avoid the loaded and controversial terminology of state-administered cultic land as "public," based on the problematic translation of the term *demosios* in the texts and the ambiguously associated involvement of public officials in the management of various categories of land. I will instead adhere to the slightly more cumbersome but ultimately more useful designations of "deme-/*polis*-/state-operated" *temene* in order to maintain the most coherent distinction. For this terminology, I draw upon the comprehensive and nuanced discussions of these issues in Horster 2010; Isager 1992; Papazarkadas 2011, esp. the introductory chapter, "Sacred and Public Land: Modern Scholarly Responses"; and Rousset 2013.
[34] *Ath. Pol.* 47.4
[35] For discussion, see Papazarkadas 2011: 52–56; Rhodes 1993: 556–557.
[36] *Ath. Pol.* 48.1. See Rhodes 1993: 559.
[37] On the distribution and use of these sacred funds, see Papazarkadas 2011: 75–98.

the few surviving laws governing such contracts, as reported by Demosthenes: "And those not rendering the rents of the *temene* of the goddess and of the other gods and of the eponymous heroes are to be disenfranchised [ἄτιμοι], themselves and their family and their heirs, until they should pay what is due."[38] Disenfranchisement in its particulars could be a rather variable penalty in Athenian legal history, but the famous law read out by Aischines in his accusation of Timarchos gives us a sense of its severity: one might be prohibited not only from public office but also from assembling with the citizen body in *any public place*, including the sanctuaries of civic cults during the performance of rituals or sacrifices—on pain of death.[39] The exclusion from participation in the religious life of the city would be an especially appropriate (and perhaps intentionally symbolic) penalty in the case of the sacred land leases, as the failure of these lessees to furnish their rent could limit the capabilities of the respective civic officials, demarchs, or orgeones to purchase sacrificial victims for those cults involved. Although it might not constitute a *permanent* demotion of status, the loss of citizen rights would affect the defaulter's entire household and their exclusion from community functions would persist at least until

[38] Demosthenes, *Against Makartatos* 43.58: τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδόντας τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν τῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἀτίμους εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γένος καὶ κληρονόμους τοὺς τούτων, ἕως ἂν ἀποδῶσιν.

[39] Aischines, *Against Timarchos* 21: "If any Athenian shall have prostituted his person, he shall not be permitted to become one of the nine archons, nor to discharge the office of priest, nor to act as an advocate for the state, nor shall he hold any office whatsoever, at home or abroad, whether filled by lot or by election; he shall not be sent as a herald; he shall not take part in debate, nor be present at public sacrifices; when the citizens are wearing garlands, he shall wear none; and he shall not enter within the limits of the place that has been purified for the assembling of the people. If any man who has been convicted of prostitution act contrary to these prohibitions, he shall be put to death." (Loeb translation: Charles Darwin Adams, 1919).

payment could be made—although, in terms of lost reputation, we can imagine that the aftereffects of this kind of social ignominy might have lingered much longer.[40]

This passage leaves unexplained the question of whether "what is due" for a late payment would be twice the amount of the original rent, as stated in *Ath. Pol.*, or simply the usual sum. Another reference from Demosthenes stipulates a ten-fold penalty for defaulting on *temenos* rent, but this might be a hollow rhetorical claim.[41] Regardless, all these measures show the gravity with which the *polis* administered sacred leases. We should imagine that a prospective lessee would have evaluated their social and financial prospects soberly when weighing the relative benefits of a contract with a state-operated cult on the one hand, versus one with a private individual—who legally could only stipulate much less severe penalties for default—on the other. It is difficult to identify which of these contracts would be considered more or less of a gamble by a prospective lessee, but at the very least he would have acknowledged that the exaction of the city's stated penalties would be guaranteed in the case of nonpayment. The wrath of the gods, while potentially more dangerous, was far less certain.

Xenophon speaks directly to this issue in his *Anabasis*, where the historian reports that he personally constructed a temple to Artemis at Skillous near Olympia and set up an inscription with instructions for managing the land: "And a stele stood next to the temple bearing this

---

[40] It has been aptly noted that a handful of metics are also found among the records of lessees, and since these resident aliens were by their very nature already considered *atimoi*, this rule could not apply to them. Surely, they could not have been exempt from such penalties, but why are they not addressed here? Possible explanations include a missing clause in the text for metics in arrears, or that non-citizens were not allowed to hold any such leases until a time after Demosthenes. The question must remain open for lack of evidence, but we might imagine that the terms would have been characteristically even more severe for non-citizen groups than we find here described for citizens. See Papazarkadas 2011: 64–65; cf. Andreyev 1974: 43.

[41] Demosthenes, *Against Makartatos* 24.82–83; Papazarkadas 2011: 66–67.

inscription: 'This place belongs to Artemis. The one holding it and enjoying its fruits is to dedicate a tithe each year. And from the excess he is to repair the temple. If anyone does not do these things, *he will answer to the goddess*.'"[42] This allusive threat emphasizes the supernatural ramifications that would be expected to follow the neglect of divine property, the consequences of which could prove much more grievous to the personal interests of the lessee than even those threatened by the civic authorities. In the case of rural properties like this one, there was probably much more frequent abuse of sacred land by those willing to test the gods, as is attested in the sanctuary of Zeus at Aizanoi in Anatolia. In a complicated, four-hundred-year series of events, some land that the kings of Pergamon and Bithynia had dedicated to the god (or possibly gods, since a cult of Meter also appeared there) was rented out piecemeal to locals with perpetual contracts. At some point, the records of the plot sizes were forgotten or otherwise obscured so the descendants of the original lessees began increasingly claiming ownership for themselves and simply stopped paying rent—until the sanctuary administrators appealed to the governor (who then consulted Hadrian) in order to reestablish the lease terms.[43] Similar encroachments on sacred property are recorded across the Greek world (as catalogued by Dignas), so might we identify the same sort of adventurism among the businessmen of Attica?

Gods as landlords would exhibit many of the same characteristics as common absentee lessors of agriculture land, but with a few important provisos: besides never working the soil

[42] Xenophon, *Anab*. 5.3.13: καὶ στήλη ἕστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναὸν γράμματα ἔχουσα· ἱερὸς ὁ χῶρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸν ἔχοντα καὶ καρπούμενον τὴν μὲν δεκάτην καταθύειν ἑκάστου ἔτους. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ περιττοῦ τὸν ναὸν ἐπισκευάζειν. ἂν δὲ τις μὴ ποιῇ ταῦτα τῇ θεῷ μελήσει. My translation and emphasis.
[43] Dignas 2002: 84–94, 178–188.

themselves, they would never actually be seen in person;[44] despite "employing" agents to supervise the administration of the land, they would (almost) never give direct instructions for its use;[45] besides (generally) never wishing to sell the land, they would never die or pass its legal ownership to an heir; and perhaps most crucially, besides having the power to prosecute the lessee's family and household, the gods could inflict punishment on the *entire community* for neglect or misuse of their property (viz. any use other than those explicitly agreed in the contract).[46] While some of these features could prove beneficial for an audacious tenant, the severe nature of the penalties stipulated by the city would have discouraged all but the most intrepid (or incredulous) of lease-seekers. During the Classical period at least, it seems that most ancient Athenians feared divine retribution to the extent that they would be disinclined to enter into any arrangement which might incur the gods' displeasure, especially in such a volatile business as rental contracts. The scarcity of recorded instances of breaches of these agreements, in relation to the otherwise substantial corpus of leases, seems to corroborate such a conclusion. However, as time passed, if the more cautious individuals witnessed their less cautious neighbors committing abuses on sacred land and escaping unscathed, would they adjust their expectation of the gods' tolerance for such actions?

As we see in the leases, human executors of sacred property explicitly acted on the belief that they needed the divine owner's consent to dispose of said property. If they ever held any

---

[44] Cf. Dignas 2002: 28–29.
[45] We do find examples of conditions for maintenance and care of the *temene* in some of the contracts, of course, but often they are simply instructions to keep the property in good repair (as at Rhamnous), which likely would be expected of the tenants regardless: Jameson 1982: 73–74. Cf. Parker 1983: 162–165.
[46] Cf. Isager 1992: 120.

doubt as to the god's will in regard to the execution of her/his estate, the administrators always had recourse to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi (or Dodona, or any other oracular source for that matter, although Delphi seems to have remained the favorite in this period).[47] However, due to the effort involved in making the journey, we should expect that such a consultation would have been beyond the resources of most individual Athenians, and probably a last resort even for those groups who could afford it.[48] If, on the other hand, they were confident that their decision would be acceptable to the god, they could simply take action and then wait for signs of the god's reaction. If such a sign never manifested, then the absence of divine displeasure must have represented the god's consent—as the erstwhile lessees at Aizanoi apparently assumed over the centuries. These executors, emboldened by their successful interpretation of the god's will, then might assume that such actions would be considered acceptable in future situations as well. So we see a system of trial-and-error emerge as a method of communication with the gods regarding the administration of their property. Over time, the omission of perceived "errors" could have led to greater confidence in the actions taken on the gods' behalf, just as those tenants encroaching on the gods' land became bolder in the absence of any repercussion.

While potentially bearing upon the entire community in the event of divine displeasure, commercial deals pertaining to sacred property generally only concerned singular administrative groups and individual lessees/buyers. Furthermore, they generally only existed within the structural stability of political autonomy. We can detect in these contracts the traditional

[47] As exemplified in a dispute at Eleusis in the fourth century BC: IG II^2 204, with Scafuro 1999; *LSCG* 32.23 (cf. *LSCG* 72 and 129); and at Oropos: Hyperides, *In Defense of Euxenippus* 14–17. See also Parker 1983: 160–166.
[48] Isager 1992: 120.

reverence with which the Greeks approached such deals, but how far did that reverence extend? If, as Thucydides's Athenians claimed at Delion, the gods would allow otherwise impious actions in times of crisis, would the community's need to ameliorate relations with a ruler who maintained hostile feelings toward it qualify as such?

Only Following an Old Precedent

The reader undoubtedly will have recognized that I allude to the situation of the Athenians' relationship with the new emperor Octavian in the years immediately following their regrettable support of Antonius, and the city's attempts to earn his favor in potentially innovative ways with both the installation of numerous honorific objects in his name (especially small altars)—and also, potentially, the itinerant temple project.[49] We will consider below a few contemporary comments on the practice of repurposing the *non-sacred* monuments of earlier eras, but if the Greeks ever publicly discussed the strategy of relocating existing cults or reusing cultic property, we possess no evidence of it. The Romans, by way of contrast, cited ancient precedents in justifying their manipulation of sacred property all over the Empire, and these justifications seem to have been adopted by Pausanias in his account of certain Roman interventions in the sacred landscape of Greece. At the end of the description of Arkadia, the travelogue describes the great Tegean Temple of Athena Alea, which was celebrated as "far superior to all other temples in the Peloponnesos on many grounds, especially for its size."[50] Whether in spite of, or because of, this renown, Augustus (still Octavian at the time) apparently removed the statue of Athena and

[49] Geagan 2011: 144: "The reconciliation during the visit of 19 B.C. is the most likely occasion for [the imperial altars'] inaugural use."
[50] Pausanias 8.45.5.

exported it to Rome along with the legendary tusks of the Calydonian boar. This action was taken immediately after the defeat of Antonius and his Arkadian allies, and so occurred within the context of wartime.[51] Still, as if in the victor's defense, Pausanias declares, "It is clear that Augustus was not the first to carry away votive offerings and images of gods from the vanquished, but he was only following an old precedent."[52] He then proceeds to list the most famous of such precedents, beginning with the removal of the wooden Zeus Herkeios after the fall of Troy and then proceeding chronologically through Greek history: the Dorian relocation of an unnamed statue of Daidalos from Omphake to Gela; Xerxes's seizure of the Artemis of Brauron and bronze Apollo from Branchidai; the Argive capture of two images from Tiryns; and, finally, the appropriation by the people of Kyzikos of the golden Mother Dindymene from Prokonessos. The historical veracity of this catalogue is less important than the demonstration that such actions were not only common in war, but also entirely justifiable. For Pausanias's readership, this perception was further corroborated by the fact that none of these groups are reported to have suffered any kind of reprisal afterward.

Pausanias mentions that Augustus set up the ivory statue of Athena Alea in a very prominent position at the entrance to the Forum of Augustus in Rome, but this would mean that the cult did not possess its own sanctuary in the city.[53] Accordingly, it seems most likely that none of the traditional rituals would have been performed in the statue's presence ever again. The native cult left behind in Tegea thus would have become defunct in the absence of the sacred

[51] Cf. Bowersock 2009: 468–469.
[52] Pausanias 8.46.2: φαίνεται δὲ οὐκ ἄρξας ὁ Αὔγουστος ἀναθήματα καὶ ἕδη θεῶν ἀπάγεσθαι παρὰ τῶν κρατηθέντων, καθεστηκότι δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρησάμενος.
[53] Pausanias 8.46.4–5. Cf. Alcock 1993: 175–177.

image of the goddess, constituting a straightforward case of cultic displacement. However, Pausanias offers a surprising and illuminating report of the situation in the old temple during his visit a century and a half later: we learn that the Tegeans replaced the original cult image by simply relocating another statue of Athena that had previously embodied the Athena Hippia of Manthurenses.[54] He even informs us that this version of Athena eventually came to be known as Alea as well, solidifying its role as the new image for the venerable cult. While this outcome provides us with one possible strategy for the management of temples that had been robbed of their original cult images, it further complicates several other questions regarding cultic displacement: would the traditional rituals of Athena Alea have continued as they always had done, as if the original statue had never disappeared? What about the cult of Athena Hippia and its sanctuary at Manthurenses, which now (presumably) had no image? Since the cult of Alea was given the statue, it manifestly was treated as more important than that of Hippia—or was it simply that Tegea was more important than Manthurenses? Why would they not have decided to transfer instead the image of Athena Poliatis, which Pausanias tells us resided in a much closer location within the town of Tegea?[55] Is it possible that Poliatis also was perceived to be more important than Hippia? Surely, politics must have played a role in these decisions, but we must

[54] Pausanias 8.47.1. Unfortunately, the archaeological finds have not provided us with sufficient details to corroborate any of the sequence of statue transfers mentioned in Pausanias's account, except that the Hippia does seem to have replaced the original Alea sometime shortly after Augustus's visit. For the sculpture fragments and votives, see: Stewart 1977: 5–84; Vallois, Berchmans, and Clemmensen 1924; and Voyakis 2002. For the excavations of the sanctuary: Norman 1984; Nordquist 2002; Østby 2002. On the cult of Athena Alea: Jost 1985: 368–374; Stewart 1977: 59–69. On religious life at Tegea immediately following these events: Jost 2010.
[55] Pausanias 8.47.5.

also consider whether some kind of social/religious hierarchy might have obtained among these cults and their associated administrators.

By Pausanias's time two other statues had been added to the sanctuary (Asklepios and Hygeia), indicating that the goddess now shared her property with a growing contingent of other divinities as well.[56] We cannot identify when these other two appeared, nor whether they specifically received cult worship there, but we know the policy of combining statues within a sanctuary was common to both Greek and Roman religion by the time of Augustus.[57] In the Athenian example of the Ares Temple, Stewart has suggested that the original cult statue of Athena Pallenis actually was moved with its original temple to the new location in the Agora, but there it was forced to share its new space with several other cult figures, not just the Ares/Mars Ultor who at least nominally was given primary patronage. Stewart reconstructs the images of four deities inside the temple (or five, if we subscribe to his theoretical positioning of an additional statue of Enyo), in addition to the heroes and other honorific figures clustered in the Agora's center, as we expect to find around most contemporary temples.[58] Two types of Aphrodite seem to have flanked the temple's joint patrons, Ares and Athena, and Stewart observes that such a preference parallels similar arrangements in other contemporary sanctuaries.[59] As the most pertinent example, he entertains the theory that the temple in the Classical Agora at this time was intended to mirror the situation of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus at Rome (an enticing but unprovable hypothesis, on which see chapter III above). But

[56] Pausanias 8.47.1; cf. 1.23.4.
[57] See Nock 1930. Cf. Bresson 2006 with *ILindos* 419 for an exemplary case from Rhodes.
[58] Stewart 2016: 603–613; Pausanias 1.8.2–5. See also Alcock 2002: 56; Dickenson 2016: 168–170; Rous 2016: 99.
[59] Stewart 2016, esp. 612–613.

even if we do not subscribe to that specific motivation behind the project's design, Stewart's claims regarding the associations between these four cult images and the imperial family remain plausible: "Alkamenes' Ares/Mars would have represented the Imperium Augustum and specifically Mars Ultor in his role as its instigator and patron, Lokros's Athena/Minerva the Capitoline triad, and the two Aphrodites/Venuses the Gens Iulia. Since the Romans considered Venus to be Mars's Olympian consort, their juxtaposition in both these temples (the one at Rome dedicated in 2 B.C. and the Athenian by or around then) would come as no surprise."[60] While this would comprise a rather neat set of rationales for the unusual grouping, the assumptions that underpin Stewart's reconstruction require further investigation. The only one of these divine associations that we can confirm with epigraphic evidence *from Athens* is that of Mars Ultor with the imperial heirs Gaius and Drusus, so the reliability of the other identifications hinges upon the presupposition that the Athenians knew of similar associations elsewhere in the Empire. True, the Athenian elites must have been informed about cultural trends and current events at Rome, but does this mean that they necessarily would have been able to trace such elaborate, academic connections between the shifting preferences of the imperial household and their favorite gods?

Indeed, some evidence suggests that perhaps they would, and especially those with robust social networks like our Pammenes of Marathon.[61] Moreover, in the Ares Temple, it would have been significant for the Athenians that Ares and Athena were installed side-by-side on visually equal footing: this would have reflected at some level both Athena's original possession of the temple while it stood at Pallene and also the sharing of cult between the two gods in Ares's

[60] Stewart 2016: 613.
[61] Cf. Bowersock 2009, esp. 469–470, 477–478; Geagan 1997; Spawforth 2012: 38–56. See also above, pp. 58–61.

original (open-air) sanctuary at Acharnai.[62] However, it is noteworthy that the classical establishment of the two gods together at Acharnai apparently necessitated the construction of two separate altars so that they could each receive worship on their own terms, while in the Agora they clearly would have to share the single altar that was transplanted for the new temple.[63] In determining the relative elevation of Ares vis-à-vis Athena here, it would be useful to know which of the two altars was chosen from Acharnai for the purposes of transplantation, but its unfortunate disappearance from the material record denies us any information about cultic priority in this regard. At any rate, the mere occurrence of any partnership and shared cult of these two gods within a single temple remains unique, probably because Ares is often seen as a peripheral deity and appears only rarely throughout Greece, while Athena often features centrally in *polis* cult locations.[64] Similarly, although the singular union of Ares and Aphrodite is well attested,[65] the combination of *two* versions of the goddess in any sanctuary is unprecedented in our evidence. Furthermore, the introduction of even one Aphrodite to a cult of Athena does not occur before this in Athens nor, to my knowledge, anywhere else in Greece.[66] Clearly, the

---

[62] Stewart 2016: 594–595, 601–602. See also Camia and Rizakis 2017: 386; Rous 2016: 88–91; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2008: 25–26.

[63] SEG 21.519, with translation and commentary in Gonzales 2004: 221–225. Cf. Stewart 2016: 594–595.

[64] For a nuanced consideration of their relationship and relative popularity, see Deacy 2000. On the rarity of Ares statues: Stewart 2016: 602. See also the exhaustive examination of material evidence for Ares cult in the unpublished dissertation of Gonzales 2004. Although it does not seem to reflect any particular cult arrangement, the two gods are shown clasping hands on a coin type from fourth-century BC Tegea, probably representing the local emphasis of Athena Alea's role as a war goddess: Mionnet, *Médailles Antiques* vol. 2: 256, no. 72; Stewart 1977: 59, 66–69.

[65] See e.g. the various examples provided in Burkert 1985: 220. For a summary and brief analysis of their partnership, see Pironti 2005. On the strange situation of their shared temple of unknown date outside of Argos: Fusco 2017.

[66] Indeed, Burkert emphasizes the polarity of their positions (one the virgin, the other the lover) as invoked in traditional Greek rituals: 1983: 221.

Temple of Ares and Athena embodied certain innovations in the treatment of cults and cultic property at Athens, and as Stewart suggests, the rationale for these choices must involve the imperial household at some level, whether as dedicators or honorands.

In this light, it is noteworthy that Drusilla, sister of Caligula, would receive honors at Athens as the "new Aphrodite,"[67] just as Augustus's daughter Julia had in other Greek cities, especially Mytilene.[68] But the relocation and rededication of the Ares Temple was completed during the Augustan era, long before Drusilla's elevation, and there is no clear evidence to link Julia specifically to any Aphrodite cult at Athens. Could we imagine here an attempt, imitating what had been done at Mytilene, to initiate some kind of association with the goddess in order to honor Julia?

Two is Company, but also Sometimes a Crowd

We have deciphered some of the effects of the transplantation of monumental objects into the region of the Agora, especially with regard to the visual experience of an Athenian who frequently would have traversed these spaces and interacted with the monuments. In the remainder of this chapter, I will trace some of the semiotic shifts that would have resulted from the transfers of patronage following the reuse of these objects, which I will argue primarily served the purpose of honoring the imperial family. We possess sufficient evidence to identify several of the original locations from which architectural pieces were co-opted (viz. Pallene,

[67] SEG 34 (1984) no. 180 = Schmalz 2009: no. 141, p. 111 = Agora Inv. No. I 4313.
[68] At Mytilene, Julia is called "*Thea Aphrodite*" in one inscription, IGR 4.114; and on one coin in the British Museum, published in Wood 2001, figure 21. For honors received by Julia from other cities, see Fantham 2006: *passim*, but esp. 63–66.

Acharnai, Sounion, Thorikos), and in most of those cases we also can recognize the divine patrons to whom the objects had been dedicated before the transfer (viz. Athena Pallenis, Ares and Athena Areia, Poseidon and Athena Sounias, Demeter). However, in no case can we identify with full confidence the *new* deity(-ies) to whom the objects were rededicated after their relocation into the Agora—besides perhaps Ares, but even this identification takes for granted the equally significant presence of Athena and the Aphrodites in the strange statue group just described. This gap in our knowledge of Athenian history is surprising and frustrating for a number of reasons that I will discuss here, but especially since we still have so little information about where the Roman imperial cult would have been housed in Athens, even after centuries of archaeological investigation. The hunt for a sanctuary in the Athenian landscape dedicated expressly to the emperors is ongoing but so far entirely fruitless, leading some scholars to rather fanciful reconstructions of cult centers for which no reliable evidence exists.[69]

[69] Indeed, there is not even sufficient evidence to confirm that such a shrine ever existed in the first place: Camia and Rizakis 2017: 389–390; Evangelidis 2008, esp. 127–130; Evans 2011, esp. p. 89; Hendrick 2006: 102–127; Walker 1997: 72. In perhaps the most attractive theory, Hoff (1988: ch. 7, "The Imperial Cult at Athens in the Augustan Period"; 1994; and 1996: 195–200) suggests that the "arcuated building" traditionally but inaccurately known as the Agoranomion (the connection with this classical "office of the market officials" was based on an erroneous identification of the inscribed lintel), located just outside the east gate of the Roman Market, could have served as the imperial cult center after the Augustan period, or at least might have housed some apparatus of the imperial cult and therefore been *a* (if not *the*) "Sebasteion" of Athens. This building, which is not fully excavated but resembles a basilica, is raised over the rest of the market, perhaps to provide architectural prominence for its cultic functions, as Hoff speculates. An inscription found nearby implies that the structure was dedicated to Athena Archegetis and the Theoi Sebastoi, and this kind of connection between the patron deity of a city and the Roman emperor could allude to imperial cult activity. Combined with the numerous small altars of the Roman period found in this vicinity, the building seems a possible candidate for the center of the imperial cult. However attractive the theory might sound, though, there is no evidence whatsoever for any kind of cult activity here, in the archaeology or Pausanias or any other source where we would expect to find some trace of it.

Perhaps the search has focused too myopically on a model of imperial cult worship derived from identifiable arrangements in other Greek cities, which might never have coalesced at Athens. Its development during the Roman period was unique in many aspects, but especially in terms of the transformation of the civic landscape—including the unprecedented strategy of repurposing sacred monuments *locally*, rather than the more common Roman practice we find in other conquered Greek cities, wherein the most prominent cult objects would be removed back to Rome, if anywhere. I propose that the association of the Roman imperial family with certain traditional Athenian patron deities, and particularly those who had served crucial functions in the preservation and operation of civic institutions during the glory years of the democracy, would have been sufficient functionally to co-opt their historic religious significance for the ideological purposes of the imperial cult—maybe even to the extent that an additional purpose-built shrine was considered unnecessary.[70] This is represented physically in the sheer proliferation of objects that embodied some aspect of the traditional *polis* gods of the Athenians and the members of the imperial family who had been identified or associated with those gods during the course of the first centuries BC and AD. The majority of these objects were concentrated in and around the Agora, where most of the sanctuaries for those traditional cults had always been located. In many cases the appearance of imperial statues and altars would have drawn the attention of the viewer first to the images of the emperor in front of the most important places of memory from the classical heritage of the Athenians, and in some cases new Roman-oriented objects would have visually obstructed these completely. Therefore, the shroud of ambiguity surrounding the location of emperor-worship in the archaeological record might reflect an equivalent ambiguity

[70] Cf. Hendrick 2006: 126–127.

in actual practice during much of the imperial period, by which the Athenians effectively assimilated the emperor and his family with the patron deities of Classical Athens in their physical cultic forms, ritual apparatus, and ideological roles.

Inscribe, Erase, Repeat

As we have seen, the survival of the city of Athens through centuries of successive imperial conquests was attributable at least partially to the Athenians' persistent efforts to ingratiate themselves with their conquerors.[71] We witness this particularly in the cases of Demetrios and Antigonos, Sulla, Caesar, Antonius, and eventually Augustus. We can identify in the escalation of honors an assumption of reciprocity that might be characterized as a scaled concept of *do ut des*, which is to say, the greater the honors, the greater the expectation of benefaction.

As further context for this strategy, as well as further evidence for the discomfort with which the Romans regarded certain Greek honorific practices, we must consider the reuse of non-cultic votive statues and their dedicatory inscriptions at Athens. While rarely discussed in contemporary Greek literature, the epigraphic evidence offers confirmation of the rise of this trend over the course of the third to first centuries BC, to the point that the propensity of examples defies cataloguing here.[72] Roman authors explicitly described—and condemned—this practice, even taking pains to make sure that their own dedications could not be reused in this

[71] See chapter II above. Geagan (1984: 69) also highlights the contemporary acknowledgement of this fact in Aelius Aristides's *Panathenaicus* (234).
[72] For a detailed consideration of the most important examples from the Acropolis, see J.L. Shear 2007. For a broader analysis of the Athenian strategy behind these reused statues as special honors for Roman benefactors, see Moser 2017.

way.[73] And yet we find this strategy employed frequently in Roman Athens with honors awarded liberally to various members of the imperial family. In some cases, the name of the new honorand literally just replaces that of the earlier one in the inscription, as if erasing the memory of the prior benefactor—including even the most popular emperors. This is especially common with Augustus, whose name featured on many of these objects as the earliest recipient.[74] This strategy of reuse had escalated in the late years of the Hellenistic period when foreign patrons (including especially the Macedonian dynasts) constantly waxed and waned in popularity among the Athenians, as demonstrated in the archaeological footprints left by the frequent substitutions of Eponymous Hero statues in the Agora.[75] Some of those dynasts, like Demetrios, were even given exceptional honors that essentially equated them with deity, but then had them stripped away when the Athenians became disillusioned or felt betrayed.[76] But this cannot be the case with the Roman imperial examples since, as far as we can tell, the golden legacy of Augustus never lost its luster among the Athenians. The evidence for this recycling of honors suggests then a particular understanding of the nature of emperor-cult at Athens: the divinity was not necessarily inherent to the individual man but rather to the office, so that previous emperors

[73] E.g. Cicero *Att*. 115.26 (VI.1.26): "I am really very fond of Athens, the actual city. I want to have some memorial there, and I hate false inscriptions on other people's statues." See also Dio Chrysostom's denunciation of the practice at Rhodes, with an allusion to its occurrence at Athens as well: *Or*. 31.115–116, with J.L. Shear 2007: 224–225 for the specific context of the surviving Athenian examples.
[74] E.g. SEG 18 (1962) no. 80e = Schmalz 2009: no. 151, p. 121–122; and IG II^2 3281 = IG II^2 3229 = Schmalz 2009: no. 154, p. 124 (cf. Geagan 1984: 73–74): this altar was originally dedicated to Augustus, then rededicated to Nero, and later again to Vespasian, and finally at some point the name of Titus was also added to its rear face—all in the course of some eighty years!
[75] Shear 1970: 197–203.
[76] Evans 2011: 87–91.

would not necessarily be forgotten upon the accession of their respective successors, but *would* regularly be replaced in both ritual and physical cultic forms as the Athenians sought to please their new patrons with these same dedications.[77]

One insightful observation by Julia Shear bears on the situation at Athens and the memorial significance of these objects: she identifies at least one group of older statue bases reused for prominent Romans (but not emperors) that bear the names of both the original Greek honorand and also the later Roman addition, sometimes separated by multiple centuries, with the latter inscribed below or next to the former, as if to preserve the record of honors and thus to graft the new figure into the old tradition of Athenian civic service.[78] This would require that the new honorand would not be offended by the patent recycling of the statue, which he would immediately recognize even if the likeness itself were vague enough to resemble him somehow. Since we do find plenty of newly carved statue bases from this same period, Shear proposes that this practice of reuse actually must have constituted some kind of special honor, while it simultaneously served the function of preserving the city's famous material culture. Therefore, the Athenians had multiple strategies for elevating new benefactors while not necessarily forgetting the old, and they could mobilize their memorial objects in order to woo or impress each new benefactor according to the needs of the moment. As Shear aptly concludes, "These dynamics also showed that Athens and her culture were important, but, at the same time, they obscured and ignored the city's total lack of political and military power in a world completely dominated by Rome."[79]

---

[77] Cf. Benjamin and Raubitschek 1959: 83–85; Lozano 2007: 151–152.
[78] J.L. Shear 2007: 233–246.
[79] J.L. Shear 2007: 246.

It is important to note, given this context, that none of the monuments reused for the imperial family preserved their original dedication plaques. While this might be attributable to evidentiary coincidence, Shear postulates that such a decision would have been rooted in the source of the object: the Athenians only kept the inscriptions of those dedications that were originally given *by the Athenian people*, while anything donated by a foreigner was regarded as fair game for recycling without keeping the record of previous donors.[80] This characterizes the context for at least one colossal statue on the Acropolis rebranded in the name of Marcus Antonius sometime before Actium, as well as the relabeling of the so-called Monument of Agrippa just outside the Propylaia, both of which initially had been given to the city by the Attalids and most likely still bore their likenesses.[81] To this list we should also add the rededication of the large monument in front of the Stoa of Attalos in the Agora to the emperor Tiberius, again with erasure of the original dedication.[82] Surely, the great kings of Pergamum who had lavished the city with monuments and extravagant buildings never fell out of favor with the Athenians, so again this practice cannot reflect a desire to erase their memory. Instead, it seems that this was a matter of economy, as these storied patrons by this point had been dead for centuries, and their monuments took up the most valuable real estate in the most important civic spaces. Therefore, since they were not gods by any definition and the Athenians did not have to fear divine repercussions, it would seem an entirely logical choice to rededicate these objects—just as certain universities have been known to do with their buildings when seeking to attract

[80] J.L. Shear 2007: 244. Cf. Moser 2017: 180.
[81] Antonius: Plutarch, *Antonius* 60; Hurwit 1999: 263–264. Agrippa: IG II^2 4122; Dinsmoor 1920; Hurwit 1999: 278.
[82] IG II^2 4209; Vanderpool 1959.

new philanthropist sponsors. Would the repeated application of this strategy at Athens eventually justify the same practice with previously popular *deities* of earlier eras whom the Athenians no longer prioritized, or even remembered? What if, as in their strategy with the statue bases that kept both honorands' names, they could have their cake and eat it too—which is to say, what if the Athenians could devise a system in which they might preserve the record of their earlier divine patrons while simultaneously stroking the egos of their new, quasi-divine benefactors? This strategy, I will now argue, is more or less analogous to the phenomenon we witness in the assimilation of emperors with traditional patron gods at Athens.

The Old Gods and the New

As a fundamental source of their legitimacy, Roman emperors, following their patrician ancestors, frequently claimed relations with the gods through genealogies of fictive kinship and mythological parentage. Many members of the imperial family also acquired titles and epithets that associated them with specific divine attributes, particularly in the context of conquest (e.g. *invictus*, *soter*). However, besides the associations they claimed for themselves, in various cases we witness provincial subjects, like the Athenians, voluntarily bestowing these titles upon the emperors and actively identifying them with their traditional local deities. Therefore, even when we cannot trace precisely when or whence a divine identification was first established, we frequently can gauge how effectively it stuck based on the number of subsequent inscriptions that reference it. Again, it comes as no surprise that the Athenians were very enthusiastic in this regard, and the Julio-Claudians especially seem to have been selected as recipients of such honors. I will now present the evidence for these associations at Athens in the surviving statues

and small altars, the bulk of which unsurprisingly coalesce around the figures of Augustus and Hadrian—precisely those emperors most involved in providing monumental benefactions and developing the landscape of the city.[83] However, we also find other dedications to emperors who never made special donations or even a single visit to the city. Most interestingly, some of the cultic associations that seem to relate to the major structural additions in the Agora pertain to certain members of the imperial family who might not have been honored in these divine terms, or even deified at all, anywhere else.[84]

The early connections follow predictable patterns (see Table 1): Augustus was known to associate himself with Apollo in many contexts, and accordingly, at Athens we have the dedication for a statue from early in his reign (ca. 19 BC) that identifies him as the "New Apollo."[85] Furthermore, we know that the Athenians set up two statues for Augustus in which he is identified as a god (*theos*) in special locations *outside* Athens: first, in the precinct of Apollo at Delphi, and second, on the island of Delos, which was entirely sacred to that same god.[86]

---

[83] For a typical description of the altars, see Geagan 1984: 72–73: "Numerous small monuments bear the name of a ruling emperor, usually in a simplified form of the titulature, in either the genitive or dative case. These monuments come in various sizes and shapes. The smallest would normally be described as *bomiskoi* or *thymiateria*; the largest resemble moderately sized statue bases. Shape is sometimes determined by the nature of available materials, for many are re-used blocks which had served various other functions previously, for examples a well-head, a herm shaft or previous inscriptions." For a more detailed consideration of their types and contexts, see Benjamin and Raubitschek 1959 (Augustan era, Athens); Gros 1991 (Julio-Claudian era, across the empire); and Benjamin 1963 (Hadrianic era, Athens). Cf. the observations of Hendrick 2006: 128–139 (Augustan to Hadrianic eras, Athens).

[84] On the variations among Greek cities in the deification of certain emperors and other members of the imperial family, see Lozano 2007.

[85] IG II^2 3262 + 4725 (two pieces of the same dedication) = Schmalz 2009: no. 127, p. 99. Geagan (1984: 76) also notes the related Athenian decree from around the same time that establishes the rites to be performed on the emperor's birthday and repeatedly makes suggestive references to Apollo: Meritt 1957: no. 98, pp. 260–265.

[86] Geagan 1984: 76; Oliver 1981: 414.

Table 1: Associations of Roman imperial family with traditional Athenian cults (to Hadrian)†

Member of Imperial Family	Number of Known Visits to Athens	Number of Identifiable Statues	Number of Identifiable Altars	Associations with Local Deities
Augustus	3	1	19	"New Apollo"; Zeus Boulaios
Livia (Drusilla Augusta)	0	4	0	Artemis/Hestia Boulaia; Athena Hygeia; Athena Pronoia; Nemesis
Gaius (grandson of Augustus)	1?	1	0	"New Ares"
Tiberius	0	11	2	Apollo Patröos
Drusus (son of Tiberius)	1?	1	0	"New Ares"
Gaius (Caligula)	0	1	1	Apollo Patröos
Drusilla (sister of Caligula)	0	2	0	"New Aphrodite"
Claudius	0	8	1	Apollo Patröos
Nero	1?	0	5	"New Apollo"
Trajan	0	5	0	Zeus Eleutherios
Hadrian	3	46	103	Zeus Olympios; "New Dionysus"

†Counts for statues and altars sourced from Agora publications and inscriptions, especially Benjamin 1963, Benjamin and Raubitschek 1959, Geagan 1984 and 2011, as well as the collections of the Agora Inventory, *IG*, and *SEG*. Monuments that were reused and reinscribed for subsequent imperial honorands are counted as unique instances in the total. It should be noted that we also possess three possible instances of *damnatio memoriae* each for Gaius (Caligula) and Nero, none of which are included in these counts because of their ambiguous nature.

Alternatively, a unique dedication from Eleusis describes Augustus as "Zeus Boulaios," an otherwise unattested civic cult but one clearly related to the other divine patrons of the boulē, Athena, Artemis, and Hestia, who all shared the *Boulaia* epithet.[87] This reference is especially

[87] SEG 47 (1997) no. 218 = Schmalz 2009: no. 115, pp. 93–94.

significant because of the subsequent association of the empress Livia with the *Boulaia* goddesses, as indicated by a statue base found in the general vicinity of the Southwest Temple that associates her with Artemis or Hestia, or possibly both.[88] That the *princeps* and *femina princeps* also would be given patronage over the boulē suggests their ideological role in providing the city with the means to meet its day-to-day needs.[89] We find further evidence for the assimilation of these roles in Livia's separate association with Athena Hygeia on one altar,[90] which probably was erected around the same time as another dedication inscription that groups Augustus with Asklepios and Hygeia (here, without explicit reference to Livia).[91] Livia was similarly associated with Athena in a plaque for another statue describing the empress as *Pronoia* ("forethought"), an epithet normally reserved only for the patron goddess of the city.[92]

Also instructive is the variety of other local deities with whom certain members of the imperial household became associated—apparently on the initiative of the people of Athens, for the most part. As we have seen, two dedicatory inscriptions for the same statue base describe first Gaius Caesar, the grandson and planned heir of Augustus, and later Drusus Caesar, the son and planned heir of Tiberius, as "New Ares"—a strange choice at Athens, where the god was

---

[88] SEG 22 (1967) no. 152 = Schmalz 2009: no. 135, p. 107. There is some disagreement about whether to restore the lacuna of the first name before the epithet with "Artemis" (so Oliver 1965; cf. Wycherley 1957: 55–57) or "Hestia" (so Schmalz 2009: 107). Most scholars still adhere to Oliver's original interpretation, but there is another inscription from the Acropolis referring to Hestia, Julia, and Livia that might be suggestive of a broader association between them, even if not necessarily with the shared epithet of Boulaia: IG II^2 5097 = Schmalz 2009: no. 297, pp. 224–225. See also Lozano 2004: 178; Stafford 2013: 219–221; Torelli 1995: 28. For the deification of Livia and her association with Hestia along with a range of other goddesses in Asia Minor, see Kearsley 2005: 106–110.
[89] On the Augustan use of the title *femina princeps* for Livia, see Kearsley 2005: 103–106.
[90] IG II^2 3240.
[91] IG II^2 3176.
[92] IG II^2 3238 = Schmalz 2009: no. 136, p. 107–108; Stafford 2013: 220–221.

never popular in the first place, and all the more so because we do not find the young generals associated with the god anywhere else outside the city of Rome.[93] The original statue seems to have been erected in honor of Gaius's campaign against the Parthians in 2 BC, and then probably reused and reinscribed for Drusus's visit to the city after his command in Illyricum about twenty years later, ca. AD 17–20. Given the nearly contemporary appearance of the Ares Temple in the Agora, archaeologists naturally sought to connect this floating dedicatory inscription, which was found in the Theater of Dionysus on the south slope of the Acropolis, with the relocated temple, which was of course dropped far away in the middle of the Agora. As discussed above (chapter III), recent studies on the temple have challenged this connection, which is based on little more than temporal proximity and the strange similarity of the exceptional references to Ares.[94] However, in this case at least, a direct link between the inscription and the temple is not absolutely necessary to support the notion that the latter would have been associated with the imperial family by nature of their existing association with the god at Rome and elsewhere. It is indisputable that the plaque was carved by Greek hands, so the connection between Gaius and Ares would have been known to the Athenians regardless of whether the newly transplanted temple was erected explicitly in his honor. Nowhere else in the vicinity of Athens do we see an Ares cult in operation during this time, since the classical sanctuary at Acharnai had been robbed of its altar in order to complete the arrangement of the transplanted temple from Pallene in the Agora. If another cult center for Ares existed in Attica at any point in time, its complete absence from the literary and material records certainly suggests that it was not nearly as conspicuous or

[93] Gaius: IG II^2 3250 = Schmalz 2009: no. 129, pp. 100–101; Drusus: IG II^2 3256. See also Dinsmoor 1940: 51–52.
[94] Spawforth 1997: 187; Rous 2016: 82.

durable as the temple in the center of the Agora, and probably nowhere that the imperial family ever would have visited. In qualifying Stewart's hypothesis, then, I propose that the "New Ares" inscription represents the evidentiary link necessary to establish local knowledge of this particular cultic association. But what about the other proposed connections between emperors and certain gods?

Following Augustus and his affinity for Apollo, the Julio-Claudians apparently came to be associated with the specifically Athenian aspect of Apollo Patröos, a cult that preserved and embodied the ancestral heritage of Athens.[95] We can identify a brief period (perhaps fewer than ten years) when the cult of Apollo Patröos and that of the imperial family were explicitly linked, probably representing the initiative of one ambitious priest.[96] However, including that evidence, we possess Athenian inscriptions mentioning the "ancestral Apollo" in relation to Tiberius,[97]

[95] For the history and significance of the cult, see De Schutter 1987 and Hedrick 1988. On the temple in the Agora, see above pp. 83–85.
[96] This was a certain Polycharmos of Marathon who, during the reign of Tiberius, apparently served as both priest of Apollo Patröos and high priest of the imperial cult (as he is described in the honorary dedication of IG II^2 3530 = *I.Eleusis* 344 = Schmalz 2009: no. 169, pp. 133–134; see further discussion at Schmalz 2009: 120). We also identify that members of this family (including Polycharmos's father Eukles) served as priest of Apollo Pythios, with whom the Athenians associated their Apollo Patröos (Hedrick 1988: 200–206; cf. De Schutter 1987: 112–114, 124–125).
[97] IG II^2 3530 = *I.Eleusis* 344 = Schmalz 2009: no. 169, pp. 133–134.

Caligula,[98] and Claudius,[99] plus a further five describing Nero as the "New Apollo."[100] The emphasis on the affiliation of the Julio-Claudians with Apollo is well documented and need not be overstated here, but what is more striking is the connection to this specific instance of classical Apollo cult, which was of such memorial significance in Athens.[101] It seems inevitable that the Athenians would have been aware of Augustus's preference for the god, but the decision to reimagine this idiosyncratic local instantiation of the cult would have been tantamount to replacing its ancestral symbolism with that of the imperial propaganda.

A similar phenomenon seems to have occurred during the refurbishment of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, when we see the original patron goddess replaced, or at least assimilated, with Livia Augusta—at the instigation of the Dēmos, according to the dedicatory inscription.[102] Remarkably, the empress is described as *thea* and there is no mention whatsoever of Nemesis, begging the question of the fate of the original cult after the rededication. This case might not have impacted the lives of many Athenians beyond those who administered the sanctuary and perhaps the few families who lived at Rhamnous, but it deserves recognition for the symbolic usurpation of place that would have resulted from such a transfer. Indeed, we must question the

---

[98] SEG 34 (1984) no.182 = Schmalz 2009 no. 140, pp. 110–111. Geagan (1984: 76 and 2011: no. 283, p. 159–160 with Plate 28) supplies the name of Nero in the lacuna instead, but Schmalz corrects it to Gaius on the basis of the disappearance of the lifetime dual priesthood for Apollo Patröos and the imperial cult sometime before the end of Caligula's reign (it probably lasted through the tenure of Polycharmos's successor, but no further).
[99] IG II^2 3274 = Schmalz 2009: no. 148, pp. 119–120.
[100] IG II^2 3278; SIA I no. 60, SEG 32 (1982) no. 252, and SEG 44 (1994) no.165 (= Schmalz 2009: nos. 152–154, pp. 122–124); plus one unpublished, which is a twin of SEG 32 (1982) no. 252. Another statue base of Julio-Claudian date is dedicated to Apollo and perhaps associated with one of these emperors, but it is too poorly preserved to allow identification of a second name: Agora I 3926 = Geagan 2011: no. V664, p. 340 with Plate 65.
[101] See e.g. Geagan 1984: 76 and Mavrojannis 1995.
[102] IG II^2 3242 = Schmalz 2009 no. 132, pp. 103–105.

motivation behind the choice of this sanctuary for rededication to any member of the imperial family, since the odds of them ever making the trek out to the rural sanctuary seem rather slim. The site had been important to the classical Athenians as a memorial of their victory at Marathon over the invading Persians who were believed to have been punished by Nemesis for their hubris,[103] but the temple seems to have fallen into disrepair by this time, perhaps contributing to its selection for reuse.[104] The dating of this renovation has been hotly contested as it depends entirely upon the interpretation of the names in the dedication, so it would be foolhardy to draw too many conclusions from the current theories.[105] It will suffice for now to recount a few pertinent observations: first, the connection between the "avenging" deities Mars Ultor and Nemesis emerges as an enticing potential rationale for the choice of this temple during the years of Ares's elevation at Rome and in the Agora;[106] second, like the itinerant temples, it seems most

[103] According to Pausanias 1.33. Cf. Miles 1989: 227–235.
[104] It mostly likely had been damaged, along with various other rural sites, during the invasion of Philip V in 200 BC: Miles 1989: 235–236.
[105] See a summary of the debate at Stafford 2013: 206–212. Although it was traditionally (and still is most commonly) believed to have been completed during the reign of Claudius, a recent rereading of the inscription led Fernando Lozano to propose a much earlier date (Lozano 2004). He argues compellingly that the previous timeline has been based primarily on a mistaken assumption that the Athenians would not have called the empress "Thea" until after her formal deification at Rome by Claudius in 41 AD—even though there is clear evidence for her worship in the imperial cult during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Furthermore, even the use of the name "Livia" (rather than Julia, her preferred nickname later in life) indicates an early provenance for this inscription. Therefore, Lozano dates the renovation of the temple to the first half of the Augustan period, when she was officially still known as Livia, and when the hoplite general listed on the inscription originally held the office (rather than his eponymous ancestors, as had been previously assumed). However, while acknowledging the plausibility of this interpretation, Emma Stafford most recently doubled down on the original dating (citing the ambiguity surrounding the eponymous archon, which she claims discounts Lozano's theory about the hoplite general), and asserts instead that an inscription found in the precinct with a reference to Claudius (IG II^2 3275), most likely set up on an imperial altar, should be given greater weight in the estimate, along with the fact that he made other benefactions in Athens.
[106] Kajava 2000: 41–42, 49–52; Stafford 2013: 231–232.

likely that this refurbishment was funded by the imperial household and carried out by the Athenians, who then dedicated it to the new patron whom they found most suitable (perhaps another factor in favor of Claudius's involvement);[107] and finally, it seems that Livia was never given a statue in the sanctuary, despite it being rededicated in her honor, and so apparently did not receive cultic worship there at any point—unless under the guise of Nemesis. Stafford suggests insightfully that this allowed for a complete merger of the empress with the goddess for the purposes of offerings and honors, but also that the ultimate effect of this assimilation seems to have been transient. As evidence for the temporary nature of Livia's presence, we observe that cult worship for Nemesis alone must have been performed into Pausanias's time, as he describes the classical *agalma* in detail but he makes no mention whatsoever of Livia or her patronage.[108] This return to the classical status quo in the performance of cultic ritual at a shared temple is especially significant in light of the other cults that the imperial family assimilated. Should we expect similar transience in the other divine connections?

After the death of Nero, the practice of associating new emperors with old gods suddenly seems to have paused at Athens. Although we possess evidence for a few altars to the Flavians, they expressed very little interest in Athens, and so the Athenians seem to have decided to save their resources for an emperor who would regard them more benevolently.[109] There is no clear connection with local cults again until Trajan—and even then, the evidence for his not-inconsequential identification with Zeus Eleutherios survives only from the Hadrianic era, and

[107] Stafford 2013: 232–233.
[108] Pausanias 1.33; Stafford 2013: 217–218, 233–234. Cf. Hendrick 2006: 111–116.
[109] Oliver 1981: 417–418.

only on one statue base.[110] The reader will recall that the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios on the northwest corner of the Agora historically had served as a place of memory for those Athenians who had died preserving the freedom of the city, embodied in the display of their shields—before Sulla tore them from the facade and toted them back to Rome.[111] Therefore, the association of the Roman emperor with the "freedom" of Greece would have represented a strange inversion of the historical role of the conqueror, which ipso facto suggests that subsequent generations of Athenians in the late first and second century AD derived markedly different (if not diminished) meanings from the symbols of their classical heritage. The newly installed two-room annex in the rear of the stoa almost certainly housed some aspect of the imperial cult, and although it does not seem nearly sizable enough to be a standard cult center, it nonetheless might have been the largest place of emperor-worship at Athens at least until the time of Hadrian.[112]

We have observed that the most famously philhellenic emperor's interest in Greece inspired him to undertake three separate visits and the most expansive urban development program since Perikles, which explains the Athenian motives in honoring him at a greater level than they had any Roman before. It is in this light that we must view the staggering immensity of statues and altar dedications to Hadrian erected during his twenty-year reign, in which we might identify the culmination of the trends I have been outlining here. Besides the larger-than-life statue that still stands prominently (albeit headlessly) in the Agora, we retain dedications for at

[110] IG II^2 3312 + 3321 + 3322 (identified as three pieces of the same inscription by Raubitschek 1945). It is possible, although tenuously so, that Domitian also received this epithet: Geagan 1979: 387.
[111] Pausanias 10.21.6. See further discussion in chapter II above.
[112] Clinton 1997: 168–189; Hendrick 2006: 116–118; Thompson 1966; Wycherley 1957: 26–30.

least twenty similar images of Hadrian within the precinct of Zeus Olympios, along with dedications from other cities across Greece expressing their gratitude for the emperor's benefactions and invoking the divine association between him and the god as well.[113] In fact, it seems that all extant dedications set up after his second visit to Athens in AD 128/129 refer to him explicitly as "Olympios" in a clear association with the massive sanctuary that he brought to completion and the supreme deity in whose honor it was consecrated.[114] Extrapolating from the ancient accounts, scholars have even suggested that the enormous cult statue of Zeus inside the temple might have been designed in Hadrian's likeness.[115]

Although the statue base inscriptions with the "Olympios" epithet were all found in the vicinity of Olympian Zeus to the south of the Acropolis (an obvious choice for such a dedication), the majority of the 103 altars bearing Hadrian's name were uncovered on the north side of the Acropolis, all around the double core of the city's marketplaces. The largest cluster, comprising nearly a third of the total number, actually appears *within* the Classical Agora, where we also found the greatest concentration of altars for Augustus.[116] It has been argued accordingly that these must indicate the visual focus of imperial processions along the Panathenaic Way, into the Agora and through the newly designed city center, so that visiting Romans would have

---

[113] Headless Agora statue: Camp 2008: 87–88 (possibly associated with IG II^2 3296). Other statue bases: IG II^2 3289–3307, 3310. Cf. Pausanias 1.8.6: "The whole circumference of the precincts is about four stades, and they are full of statues; for every city has dedicated a likeness of the emperor Hadrian, and the Athenians have surpassed them in dedicating, behind the temple, the remarkable colossus." See also Benjamin 1963, esp. 58–60; Willers 1990: 48–53.
[114] Price 1984: 153–155. The extensive use of this title for and by Hadrian is also reflected in contemporary coinage: Geagan 1984: 76–77.
[115] Geagan 1984: 77; cf. Hendrick 2006: 126; Nock 1930: 32. Regarding the alternative possibility of a smaller, votive-style statue of Hadrian somewhere in or on the temple (which, as Price shows, seems unlikely), see Price 1984: 153–154.
[116] Geagan 2011: 144–145.

encountered these images first with a romantic backdrop of classical Athenian buildings behind and around them.[117] It is notable that one altar actually describes Hadrian as the "New Dionysos," probably referring to his initiation in the Eleusinian mysteries, which would explain the placement of such a dedication along the Panathenaic Way.[118] However, no matter who was the intended audience for this transformed image of the old Agora, over time it would have become the new normal for native Athenians as well—to the point that their descendants might not even have recognized the imposition of the Roman-oriented objects on the traditional sacred landscape, much less the resultant obfuscation of classical memorial objects. Therefore, I argue, we might identify here an adapted and accelerated version of the Hellenistic practice of reusing honorific memorial objects without erasing their previous honorands. In a variety of instances, the Athenians of the early imperial period effectively transferred some aspect of patronage in their traditional civic cults from the original deity to the emperor or his family members. This was acceptable to all parties involved because, as far as we can tell, the god was not actually erased from the respective dedications and/or images, so that the viewer could identify both/all of the patrons there together—even if s/he would not always have been able to recognize the one to whom the temple originally had been dedicated.

Sharing is Caring: Image and Cult

The Athenians of the Roman period seem generally to have been enthusiastic about the introduction of new deities and deified concepts that would further the development of their

[117] Geagan 1984: 77–78; Burden 1999: 216–217.
[118] IG II² 3323 = SEG 21:802; Benjamin 1963: 71–72.

sacred landscape and, consequently, their reputation for piety (as outlined above in chapter I). If the data considered above for these honorary monuments (as well as the Ares Temple) are representative indicators, the Athenians might have been similarly enthusiastic about adapting existing structures for use in honoring the emperor, even if that meant co-opting their classical civic cults—and recycling the respective deities' property—for this purpose.

Nearly ninety years ago, Arthur Darby Nock first mused on the topic of temple-sharing, in which an image of a ruler would be installed in an existing sanctuary alongside the older patron deity(-ies) without supplanting them. Nock carefully distinguished two categories in the literary descriptions of these images, generally indicated by the use of the term ἄγαλμα versus εἰκών: in most cases, *agalma* refers to a cult statue, specifically and explicitly created for the purposes of receiving worship and offerings as *cultus*; *eikon*, on the other hand, designates a votive image of the emperor *dedicated to a god* as an offering on behalf of the imperial family, but not for the stated purpose of worshipping them.[119] In examples of the former category, he labeled the newcomer σύνναος θεός, "same-temple god," and stipulated that ritual activity generally would be performed in honor of both "divinities" within the sanctuary. Such arrangements were relatively common in certain regions of the eastern Mediterranean during the later Hellenistic period, but in most of those cases the king tapped into an existing framework for local ruler cult

[119] Nock (1930: 3ff.) supplements the literary evidence with references to surviving inscriptions, in which the intent of honoring the god (not the emperor) is often stated. So Pausanias I.40.2: the temple at Megara contained an *agalma* of Artemis Soteira as well as *eikones* of Roman emperors, so therefore the latter were presumably dedicated to the goddess on behalf of the rulers. Simon Price (1984: 176–180) has qualified these labels, which do not represent rigid distinctions in the ancient literature or epigraphy, with the third term *andrias* (ἀνδριάς) for a non-cultic statue of an emperor, rendering it essentially synonymous with *eikon* but (by definition) with greater emphasis on the *human* aspect of the likeness.

rooted in the practices of earlier regimes, such as the pharaonic-style deification of the Ptolemies in Egypt. Ultimately, Nock concluded that the practice was never employed by any ancient ruler in a systematic or programmatic fashion, and that a greater concentration of temple-sharing in specific areas, such as we find in the cities of Asia Minor, usually represents local initiative as provincial subjects attempted to win the favor of the ruler in question.[120]

Nock's observations were preliminary and based on a narrowly circumscribed set of evidence, but many of his conclusions remain viable after nearly a century of archaeological discoveries. Most significantly, we can identify the Athenians as one group of locals who embraced this system on their own initiative when it became expedient to do so during the wars of the late fourth and third centuries BC. This is exemplified most saliently in the unprecedented honors bestowed upon Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes. As Nock stipulated, and as indicated in the frequent authorship of the dedicatory inscriptions by the Dēmos and private Athenians, the emperors whose images we find in greatest numbers across the Athenian landscape probably did not commission most of them (if any at all).[121] Therefore, the staggering number of dedications to Augustus and especially Hadrian can be regarded as the manifestation of an important Athenian political strategy. However, it generally seems that the actual honor bestowed was only an identification of the emperor with local deities, not a true temple-sharing arrangement in which cult worship would be offered to both individually within the same sacred space.[122] The escalation of this practice during the imperial period would produce dedications that fell somewhere between the categories of the cultic *agalma* and the

[120] Nock 1930: 37–42. Cf. Price 1984: 177–179.
[121] Cf. Hendrick 2006: 178–207.
[122] Cf. Nock 1930: 40–42; Price 1984: 146–156; Stafford 2013: 221–227.

votive *eikon*, and within this context we witness increasing numbers of objects that are dedicated to the emperors and their families encroaching upon, and occasionally even occluding, the oldest and most venerated images of local gods.

Given the sparse evidence for the mobility of associations between imperial family members and traditional deities, or put another way, the fact that we generally cannot trace whether certain honors awarded to Livia as Artemis Boulaia in Athens would be mirrored or even acknowledged in Thessaloniki, I will not venture to claim that any specific connection between a local Athenian god and a member of the imperial family might be established as universal. And yet, when we consider the context of these dedicatory inscriptions, which patently display local recognition that the particular gods chosen would be especially meaningful to the imperial family, it seems inevitable that the average Athenian viewer would have been aware of certain divine associations—particularly when the cult of one of the most popular traditional gods was co-opted in this way. It is also crucial to keep in mind that the vast majority of these statue bases and small-scale altars were declared to be the products of local initiative, meaning that the Athenians actually wanted to assimilate their Roman rulers with their most historic *polis* deities. With only the vague information provided in the plaques, we cannot identify any of these now-missing statues categorically as an *agalma*—one that would have been installed in a sanctuary for the express purpose of receiving cult worship. In this light, the *eikones* of the imperial family could be claimed to serve and honor the local gods with whom they were associated, and in whose sanctuaries they resided, without explicitly usurping the deities' honor or position in the cultic landscape of Athens. However, I propose that over time any sanctuary belonging to that traditional god could have undergone a semiotic shift to represent the ruler and

deity concomitantly. In other words, after perennial encounters with cultic objects (re)dedicated to both figures, the locals might have come to think of Livia whenever they encountered a sacred object of Artemis Boulaia.

Perhaps the ambiguity we identify here might never have been made explicit even in ancient times, and perhaps this is why the imperial cult was able to thrive in a city like Athens with such deeply embedded but persistently adaptable networks of divine patronage, originating from the early attribution of quasi-divine honors to the living successors of Alexander.[123] While it has been demonstrated that we cannot identify secure evidence for the ritual performance of imperial cult activity at any of these sites, I propose that the question of whether or not they actually accommodated such rituals in the name of the imperial family is of subsidiary importance. The Athenians chose to honor the imperial family in the forms of their ancestral deities and, to some extent, assimilated their names—and thence perhaps even their images. After some time and some number of encounters with these pairings, it would have been sufficient for the observer consistently to view the imperial symbols next to, aligned with, and in front of the sacred classical buildings, and thus eventually to associate the roles of the *divi* and the *dei* there displayed.

As we have seen, the choices of cults that were assimilated to the imperial household in this way reflect the most important aspects of the Agora's traditional civic functions.[124] So, following Augustus and Livia, Apollo Patröos came to symbolize the emperor and Artemis

[123] Cf. Nock 1930: 39–50.
[124] Alcock 1993: 195–196; cf. Shear 1981: 365. Relevant but beyond the scope of this study are the honors bestowed upon Julia Domna as Athena Polias after she took up the cause of the city: IG 2^2 10; Stafford 2013: 226–227. See also Nock 1930: 34–35; Lozano 2007: 150–152.

Boulaia (among other local goddesses) represented his wife. Zeus Eleutherios became associated with Trajan and thence the imperial household, as the annexes of his stoa likely housed some aspect of their collective cult. Zeus Olympios, the patron of the only temple in the city larger than the Parthenon, became linked in cult and image with Hadrian, arguably the all-time greatest foreign patron of the Athenians. Ultimately, this process signaled an implicit transfer of the traditional roles of civic gods in the operation and prosperity of the city to the household of the emperor, the only source of patronage the Athenians now required.

In this context, it is bewildering that we remain unable to identify with any confidence the location of a purpose-built imperial cult center, even during the time of Hadrian. I find it highly implausible that such a shrine did not exist, but perhaps it was not significant enough in size or impact to have warranted a comment from Pausanias, much less a central location that would be recognizable in the archaeology. I propose in conclusion that the sheer quantity of sacred objects, and especially altars, that were dedicated to the emperor and/or the imperial family could have rendered redundant the creation of another cult center exclusively for the performance of imperial cult. The category of objects in question also might include those monuments that preserved (at least nominally) the patronage of a more traditional Greek deity but had been altered or overshadowed by the introduction of a new feature alluding to Rome. It is precisely in this light that I believe we must view the relationship between the transplanted temples and altars that comprised the core of the Agora transformation projects and the older Athenian structures that lingered in their long, heavy shadows.

Without overtly appropriating the existing sanctuaries of the ancient city center for Roman ruler cult, “the imperial presence aimed to control the civic space” through implied but very

recognizable associations between emperor and deity.[125] Accordingly, we might imagine the overall effect of the transformed Agora to exhibit an unmistakable assertion of Roman sovereignty—but cloaked conscientiously in the guise of a *shared piety*. Without precluding the future discovery of a dedicated sanctuary for the imperial cult in Athens, this arrangement would explain the staggering profusion of shrines and altars to the emperor throughout the open spaces of the city, and particularly in the age of Hadrian. Therefore, the transitional period of the first century AD, when we see the appearance of these inscriptions directly associating the imperial family with the traditional civic gods, could mark the development and testing of a strategy that eventually would come to be implemented all across the Greek world. Rather than simply repurposing, co-opting, or assimilating the centuries-old cults and sanctuaries of the Greeks, the Julio-Claudian emperors tapped into an existing framework of honors within which it was ritually acceptable to be portrayed in the accoutrements of local patron gods. Given the history laid out above, it should come as no surprise that a place like Athens, an epicenter for religious innovation, would facilitate the emergence of a new arrangement between traditional cults and imperial ideology. Furthermore, the Athenians had been among the first Greeks to vote divine honors to living rulers when it suited their immediate needs, so their enthusiasm for this new system of assimilating emperor with patron deity fit into the pattern of their cultic adaptability.

What remains to be determined is the length of time it would have taken for the Athenian community to become so accustomed to seeing the two figures associated that they would regard them as "assimilated," in the sense that the two would *always* be regarded as a pair—and if this effect would take so firm a hold that they might even be considered "coessential." I do not

[125] Alcock 1993: 196; cf. Alcock 2012: 92–93.

believe that our evidence allows us to discern such a transition, nor that it ever could without direct testimony. But an experience-oriented reconstruction of the visual perspective of the Athenian on the street during the mid-second century reveals that after just a few generations, the images and attributes of the local gods and the imperial family in tandem would have been deeply and pervasively embedded in the landscape and, accordingly, in the local cultural memory. By the time of Hadrian, the Athenians had become accustomed to receive most of their divine communication via the imperial family, and even the local gods at whose sanctuaries they continued to perform rituals and offer sacrifices had been assimilated or identified with members of the emperor's household. By this point, provincials undoubtedly found it more practical (and more efficacious) to pay honors directly to Hadrian, who would often repay them in kind with political recognition and frequent gifts, rather than to the traditional gods, who might take years to respond to such offerings—if they ever did at all.

If Religio *Does Not Prevent It*

So much for the Athenian justification of these projects and the manipulation of sacred property they entailed. But did the Romans involved in these projects maintain the same understanding of these new cultic arrangements? Even if they did not necessarily initiate the manipulation and transfer of sacred property in this way, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that they participated at the level of financial sponsorship if nothing more, as we see in the Ares Temple. How would they have regarded the creative honorific tactics of the Athenians? Given the emphasis of the sanctuary restoration decrees, would the emperors have wanted the locals to

repurpose their traditional sacred objects in this way, rather than restoring them in their ancestral places?

A concise but crucial letter preserved among the correspondences of Pliny the Younger comprises a simple request for clarification from the emperor Trajan regarding such local manipulation of sacred property in the provinces. As governor of Bithynia and Pontus ca. 110 AD, Pliny was called upon to approve the ongoing construction of a new forum in Nikomedia that required the relocation of the old temple of Kybele.[126] Pliny was a scrupulous magistrate, as his letters amply demonstrate, so it makes sense that he would seek to secure in writing the consent of the emperor in his arbitration of local religious issues, and also that he would preserve the exchange among his other records.[127] What is more surprising is Pliny's own shock at the realization that Anatolian consecration rituals and local laws pertaining to the treatment of sacred property would differ starkly from those of the Romans, or that they would not exist at all—a kind of ambiguity that we now would expect to find across much of the Greek world, based on the precedents (or lack thereof) in the cases above.

The primary request presented in the letter is suggestive of his concern: "Discern then, Lord, if you believe that the temple, to which no law speaks, can be transferred without violation of *religio*. This would be most convenient, if *religio* does not prevent it."[128] First, Pliny speaks of "*religio*" in the nominative as if it were an active agent in the matter, and his greatest concern is to avoid upsetting her. I have left the word untranslated in order to highlight again the complex, multifarious nature of the concept of "religion" in ancient discourse. In this particular instance,

[126] Pliny *Ep*. 10.49–50; cf. Sherwin-White 1998: 631–632.
[127] Cf. Dignas 2002: 129–130.
[128] Pliny *Ep*. 10.49.2. My translation.

Pliny's notion of *religio* seems to encapsulate the amorphous body of religious laws, observances, and scruples that governed such policies at this time, and he clearly seeks to absolve himself of the potential perception of any transgression of the rules. Fundamentally, though, the question is about the *religio* of the Nikomedians, as Pliny's proactive investigation into local practices for consecrating and deconsecrating land represents.

In this context, the emperor's response is especially revealing: "You can, my dearest Pliny, without concern for *religio*, move the temple of the Mother of the Gods to whatever place is more accommodating, if the situation of space seems to require this. Nor should you worry if no law of dedication is found, since the land of a foreign state is not capable of dedication according to our law."[129] This authoritative judgment shines substantial light upon the matter, and at least informs our understanding of the most likely *modus operandi* of Roman officials during, and probably before, the first century AD. If *all* foreign land was free from any application of Roman religious law, then this sort of thing was simply not his problem. The caveat that Pliny should not worry "if no law of dedication is found" (*quod lex dedicationis nulla reperitur*) can only refer to local *religio*, since Trajan's concluding statement emphasizes that any potentially relevant Roman rituals would not apply regardless. While the governor should encourage the Nikomedians to preserve and uphold their own local rituals and religious laws, it was not his duty to arbitrate or enforce them, much less become personally involved in construction activities that would manipulate their city's traditional sacred property. This, then, is the context in which we might imagine the Romans to have viewed the Athenian Agora projects, and the implicit understanding that there would be no danger of religious transgression

[129] Pliny *Ep*. 10.50. My translation.

on the part of either locals or their foreign sponsors. It follows, then, that Roman governors also would not have concerned themselves with matters such as the rededication of those sacred objects, no matter how distasteful they might have considered the practice—it was not sacrilege, and so it was not their problem.

The Coalescence of New Sources for Imperial Policy and Local Identity

To sum up: the case of Roman Athens is unique because the major sacred construction projects relocated certain cults and certain sacred objects during peacetime within Athenian territory that had become unrecognizable in their original consecrated forms, so their manipulation would not have been problematic according to either Athenian or Roman tradition. Therefore, returning to the question of local resistance, we should not expect signs of civil unrest in the first place: the Athenians were clearly involved in these projects at some level, and the elites even seem to have initiated some of them after securing Roman funding. But what about the Classical-era expectation that the possessors would continuously administer the cultic *rituals* of sanctuaries as closely to their traditional forms as possible? This stipulation might have given certain parties fuel for rhetorical dissent, but surely the flexibility inherent to the unwritten laws could have been interpreted in the initiators' favor—particularly when they could claim that they were operating in the interest of the Athenians and the preservation of their religious heritage by engaging in the "restoration" of derelict sacred objects. These features seem to have rendered the Agora projects acceptable to both Athenians and Romans: the materials could be claimed to have come from sanctuaries that were either unfinished or in disrepair and therefore not recognizable as sacred, and as a result, there were no local laws against repurposing these objects in this way.

So what, then, of the religious identity of the Athenians, which was so deeply rooted in their traditional claim to the physical symbols of religion that characterized their city? Perhaps, rather than a decline in piety or a deterioration of traditional religious practice at Athens, a shift in lived experience occurred after the sack of 86 BC and subsequent reconstruction fundamentally reshaped the image of the sacred landscape for its inhabitants—with the result that the mark of the city was no longer inherent to those specific ancestral forms. Accordingly, the transformation of the Agora during the Roman period—or at least those aspects of it that were initiated by the Athenians—instead might be characterized as an embrace, gradually and collectively amnesiac, of their predetermined place in the new world order.

Conclusion: How to Move a God

We have seen at several crucial historical moments that the famous ancestral religion of the Athenians earned them a greater measure of admiration among Roman-era foreigners than that of any other culture in the Roman world, and this esteem persisted long after they had fallen under imperial control—indeed, perhaps even peaking during the age of Hadrian.[1] The admiration of foreign benefactors might be identified in the elevation of certain more idealized classical elements in the sacred landscape, rather than those which the contemporary Athenians themselves might have regarded as "truly," or at least more locally, traditional. But regardless, that Roman elites and emperors continued to demonstrate their esteem for the Greeks of their own period is encapsulated in both the archaeology and literature of the time. At the beginning of the second century AD, Pliny the Younger wrote another letter to a colleague who was en route to take up the post of *corrector* of the province of Achaia that reveals a great deal about the reasoning behind their high regard for the Athenians' ancestral religion:

> "Remember that you have been sent to the province of Achaia, to genuine and pure Greece, where civilization and literature, and agriculture, too, are believed to have originated; and you have been sent to set in order the constitution of free cities, and are going to free men who are both men and free in the fullest sense, for they have maintained their natural rights by their bravery, merits, and friendship, and finally by treaty and sanction of religion. Respect the gods their founders and the names they bear, respect their ancient glory and their very age, which are venerable in man, sacred in cities. Pay regard to their antiquity, their heroic deeds, and the legends of their past. Do not detract from anyone's dignity, independence, or even pride, but always bear in mind that this is the land which provided us with justice and gave us laws, not after conquering us but at our request; that it is Athens you go to and Sparta you rule, and to tear away from them the shadow and name of freedom, which is all that now remains to them,

[1] This connection may have been further perpetuated during the Imperial period (and especially during the reigns of Augustus and Hadrian) thanks to the popularity of myth and the perceived ancestral connection via the Trojan colonization of Italy (so Scheid 2016: 59–61).

> would be cruel, savage, and barbarous. (Illness is the same in a slave as in a free man, but you will have observed how a doctor will treat the free man with more kindness and consideration.) Remember what each city was once, but without looking down on it for being so no longer; do not allow yourself to be hard or domineering, and have no fear that you will be despised for this."[2]

Both his tone and specific admonitions shine valuable light on the contemporary thinking that underpinned this deeply entrenched respect for Greek heritage, and this pregnant series of reflections offers us unique and valuable information regarding the place of Greece and Greek culture in the imperial Roman imaginary. First of all, without attempting to decipher the idiosyncrasies of constitutional arrangements made on the ground after each Greek city acquiesced to Roman rule, we still can assume the question of whether Greece actually remained "genuine and pure" ("*veram et meram*") after centuries of foreign influence would have been hotly contested among certain intellectual circles of the Empire. This laudatory descriptor seems more formulaic than substantial, and again bespeaks an idealized notion of Greece's timeless glory that would not have been reflected in much of the actual Greek landscape (witness Pausanias's palpable disappointment). Similarly, the assertion that Greek men were both "maximally manly" and "maximally free" (*ad homines maxime homines, ad liberos maxime liberos*) would have rung hollow among those of Pliny's contemporaries familiar with the ignominious demise of the Greek confederacies that had defied Rome in the second and first centuries BC. Indeed, in light of the involuntary annexation of Greek states into the Empire, a series of historical events which we can assume would have been familiar to nearly all Greeks and Romans at the time, it seems almost laughable that Pliny in sobriety could attribute the free status enjoyed by many Greek cities to "their bravery, merits, and friendship." Rather than

[2] Pliny *Ep*. 8.24. Trans. Betty Radice, 1969. See also Sherwin-White 1998: 477–480.

reading these lines as indicative of a rehabilitation in the political reputation of the Greeks under Rome, I believe they underscore the dichotomy that I have been tracing throughout this study between the Greeks' and the Romans' respective images of contemporary Greece—both rooted in a particular conception of the past, but the latter in an idealized version that probably never existed outside the reconstructions of the cultural hive mind of imperial writers.[3]

The other two factors to which Pliny ascribes the successful preservation of Greek freedom are both more interesting and more pragmatic: first, treaties, often negotiated on an ad hoc basis by the general in the field and then presented to the senate for ratification ex post facto, were the mechanism by which Rome incorporated countless existing states, including most of Greece, into the imperial administrative structure. And secondly, the notion of "the sanction of religion" (which is Betty Radice's informed translation of the multifarious term "*religione*") pinpoints precisely the Roman assumption that the Greeks' traditional "religion," embodied in the timeless (read: archaic) mythology and cultic rituals passed down to them by their ancestors, warranted them a level of cultural respect that outweighed (nearly) any sin they might have committed in Pliny's day. As we saw in chapter I above, their established *reputation for piety*—or "superior religiosity"—underlay the contemporary Greeks' perceived role as the philosophers and educators of the Empire. Pliny posits here that the mere antiquity of a religious institution earned it a significant measure of esteem among the Romans, but that esteem also extended to the institutions' administrators: these aspects of religious practice are considered "venerable for the men who preserve them, and sacred for their cities" (*quae in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra*). Pliny not only seems to regard the gods of the Greeks as unique and seminal, to the

[3] Cf. Alcock 2001, esp. 330–331, 345–348.

extent that even the names of the traditional Greek deities deserved veneration, but he also portrays them as *older than*—which is to say, ontologically prior to—those of Rome. He describes these Greek formulations of religion as precursors or forerunners for those of the Empire, and therefore this connection necessitated reverence for their ancestral cults—whether or not they still held the vigor that they had exhibited in Greece's glorious past.[4]

Given this perceived kinship between Greek and Roman customs, we might expect Greek traditions to maintain pride of place over other ancient cultures that were brought into the imperial sphere. Such an expectation is supported by Pliny's comment that any act that could be perceived to "tear away from them the shadow and name of freedom, which is all that now remains to them, would be cruel, savage, and barbarous."[5] While Pliny acknowledges that the Greek "freedom" he had affirmed in the previous statements is little more than a "shadow and a name," he also asserts that it would be inappropriate and barbaric for the Romans finally to take that illusion away from them. Just as a doctor treats a free man with greater care than he does a slave, an upright Roman governor will show greater care in his management of affairs in Greece than he would do elsewhere. Pliny goes on to indicate that an example of this lesser "elsewhere," an archetypal "slave" culture, would be nearby Bithynia, where the letter's addressee apparently had executed the office of quaestor (and did so admirably) in the past.[6] Although it was relatively ancient and had been incorporated into the Empire shortly after the cities of Greece, Bithynia represents for Pliny a primitive fringe society by comparison. Without offering any historical

---

[4] Pliny *Ep*. 8.24.2–4.
[5] Pliny *Ep*. 8.24.5: *quibus reliquam umbram et residuum libertatis nomen eripere durum ferum barbarum est.*
[6] Cf. Sherwin-White 1998: 479.

justification, the Roman casts the two groups as symbolic of the two major categories of nations in the Roman world: Greece was "near to Rome" and a land of "free men," while Bithynia was a "remote province" characterized by "servile men."[7]

Therefore, due to a perceived connection between their most ancient traditions, Pliny's model imagines Greek culture at a higher level of proximity to the Romans' own than that of any other (non-Italian) group—and maintains that their gods and customs should be esteemed accordingly. Other, lesser cultures within the Empire were less worthy of respect, and so required fewer scruples on the part of the governing magistrate. In practice, as revealed by the archaeology, magistrates seem to have allowed locals to rearrange and renovate sacred objects in any way they wanted, as long as they could find a way to afford it. Accordingly, enterprising local agents like the several successive generations of the family of Herodes of Marathon sought to develop the built environment along certain potentially profitable lines. At Athens, the most prominent of these agendas seems to have been the replication of the idealized image of Classical Greece that was still being promulgated across the Empire thanks to the Romans' perennial admiration. This attitude is encapsulated powerfully in Pliny's ironic advice: "Remember what each city was once, but without looking down on it for being so no longer."[8]

I have identified in the development of the pre-Roman landscape a concerted effort on the part of both Athenians and foreign benefactors to maintain generally the appearance and form of

---

[7] Pliny *Ep*. 8.24.9.

[8] Pliny *Ep*. 8.24.5: *Recordare quid quaeque civitas fuerit, non ut despicias quod esse desierit*. Alcock (2002: 42–43) suggests that this passage reflects not only the perceived division between glorious past and unworthy present, but also the relationship between the two in the influence of the former on the latter, asserting that in the Roman administration of Greece, antiquity often overcame contempt.

the traditional landscape as it survived from the end of the Classical period. Notable modifications, such as the stoas of the Attalids and the other major structural additions surrounding the core of the Agora, do not demonstrate a marginalization or obstruction of those classical features, but rather a more monumental framing as the commercial space was updated functionally according to the models pervasive throughout the rest of the Greek world at this time. However, the construction programs undertaken between Augustus and Hadrian embody no such plan to preserve the earlier image of the city center—somewhat ironically, since each formulation of the civic landscape demonstrably involved preexisting classical elements, whether reframed in situ or transplanted from elsewhere. The transformed image of the Agora bespeaks a priority on highlighting certain recycled features that could be repurposed for imperial ideology in the process—a program that clearly was accomplished by local and Roman agents in cooperation, for as we have seen, none of the individual groups possessed the requisite resources *and* local knowledge to execute such a symbolically meaningful redevelopment. In the end, I have traced how the Athenians after several generations came to embrace the new image of their civic landscape and enthusiastically adapted their traditional practices and the old forms of their honorific dedications to new Roman trends.

According to this model, the Athenians conscientiously preserved the Classical image for over two hundred years but then, after Sulla, they apparently abandoned the effort within the course of another one hundred and fifty. Given the relative timeframes of the pre-Roman and post-Roman development programs, this argument might seem inconsistent with regard to the durability and transmission of community memory. But in this case, the material evidence speaks for itself: as far as objects can transmit messages, the state of their preservation can be linked

directly to the relative level of importance they were perceived to hold, and so it becomes a cyclical and symbiotic process. As long as the Athenians could *see* the forms of their classical preeminence and cultural heritage on display all around them, they continued to prize the collective image of the landscape in their ongoing building efforts. Then, suddenly, the sack of 86 BC smashed that image in myriad places, and the slow, multi-generational process of reconstruction meant that those Athenians involved in the Augustan projects would have been an entirely different group of locals than those who had actually experienced the Roman destruction. Although untestable, we might expect the persistence of some community memory passed orally from ancestors to descendants—and especially the painful memories of that violent event, which would have been perpetuated by the visible scars in the cityscape itself (for example, in the ruins of the "South Square"). And yet, the enthusiasm with which the Athenians of the first century AD seem to have embraced the efforts to rebrand certain aspects of that image in light of imperial preferences (for example, in the ubiquitous erection of small altars to the emperors), we must acknowledge that their contemporary understanding of their new place in the Roman world was only partially contingent upon the physical forms of the specifically classical objects for which their ancestors had earned such a glorious reputation.

Just as I have suggested that a preponderance of sacred objects referring either explicitly or by assimilation to the imperial family could have obviated the installation of a purpose-built temple for the imperial cult, I propose that Hadrian might have chosen a book repository for the prominent position at the head of his Library where we would otherwise expect to find a temple—and, based on the parallel layout in Rome, a temple specifically dedicated to Roma and/or the Augusti. However, we have seen that the temples installed during the Augustan era all

seem to have sported symbols of the imperial cult, the Olympieion functionally had become a temple to Hadrian's own genius, and there were literally hundreds of altars bearing the emperors' names throughout the Agora and all other public spaces of the city. Given his personal familiarity with local citizens and taking into account that the greatest distinction of the city within the contemporary social and cultural framework of the Empire lay in its educational and philosophical prestige, Hadrian simply might have deemed an academic facility to be a more useful and appropriate gift to the Athenians of his day.

In banishing the specter of the declinists, I must again emphasize that I do not argue here for any process of "decay," but simply one that might be characterized as adaptation or, at its most provocative points, rationalization. The Athenians of the Hadrianic period, while possibly diminished in number relative to the citizenry of the fourth century BC, patently remained proud of their place in the world, as exemplified in the rhetoric of the Second Sophistic. But theirs was a different sort of pride: rather than predicating their social, cultural, and religious identities entirely on that ancient glory achieved in the classical *oikoumene*, they now came to emphasize to an equal if not greater extent their role as educators, philosophers, and cultural conservators in the world of Hadrian's Empire. Therefore, we must recognize their role in assisting with and to some extent even initiating the transformative projects of the first and second centuries AD. But at the same time, we observe their own less emphatic but equally symbolic efforts to promote certain areas and monuments according to their own *living* image of the city—demonstrated most saliently in the places where they could accomplish both objectives simultaneously, as in the transitional elements around the Classical Agora.

We have seen in the adaptation of honorific monuments and the novel erections of small but ubiquitous altars to the most important imperial patrons that the Athenians willingly and artfully adjusted their religion—or at least its physical manifestations—to accommodate the needs of their society. In this case, those needs initially were survival under the new Roman regime, so they adapted to Roman imperial preferences in the transformation of their landscape. But eventually, while they embraced these priorities and established ever more connections between traditional local cults and the imperial family, their city garnered fame for a very particular type of "religious" experience—that of the philosophical schools. As Roman Athens came to flourish in the wake of these adaptations—culminating in the realization of the generous building program sponsored by Hadrian, which demonstrably emphasized precisely these elements—this new source of the Athenians' imperial identity might have become primary, and so the memory of the classical cityscape was adjusted accordingly.

The goal of this project has been to identify changes in the lived religious and social experience of the Athenians that inevitably resulted from Roman intervention. More ambitiously, I have sought to provide some foundational observations that will allow future projects to address with firmer context the conundrum of why it took so long for the "extremely religious" Athenians to embrace the Christian message after so many other Greek cities had joined the fold of the Church. Clearly, such a question could not be answered satisfactorily in a single manuscript—or possibly in any number of them, since it requires a fair amount of psychoanalytical speculation far beyond the available evidence. Therefore, in recognition of the limitations of the evidence, I profess to offer in this study only a more robust integrative platform from which we might imagine certain trends in the Athenian conception of their social and

religious identity during the era in which Paul brought his message to the Agora, and from there to the Areopagus.

Ultimately, this is a dissertation about people. It might seem facile, but such a reminder is necessary for both reader and writer as we emerge from the shadowy depths of imaginative reconstructions and gaze upon the stark reality of the landscape that surrounds us today. The framework for analysis that I outline here ought not be viewed as constrained only to the theoretical, untestable realm of ancient society, but might be applied comparatively to the lived experience of various other forms of religion, and particularly in cases of imperial intervention. I believe that valuable lessons can be learned from an analogous examination of the relationship between local landscape and religious identity in nearly every period of human history, with a contextually sensitive adjustment of lens for the respective circumstances of the viewer and her perspective. Relevant lines of inquiry continue to emanate from projects like this, which tread often on familiar ground while striving to peel back the layers underneath our feet—and our preconceptions of the image of the world before we arrived.[9] Through a comparison of the evidence that I have presented here for the built environment of those earlier pedestrians on the streets of Athens with information that can be derived from the experience of walking the modern avenues above them, we might even recognize similarities in the sources of personal identity across cultural and temporal landscapes—just as we witnessed in 2011 when the modern Athenians debated how to move the Twelve Gods.

[9] Cf. Dickenson 2016: 401–404.

Bibliography

Albrecht, Janico, Christopher Degelmann, Valentino Gasparini, Richard Gordon, Maik Patzelt, Georgia Petridou, Rubina Raja, Anna-Katharina Rieger, Jörg Rüpke, Benjamin Sippel, Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli, and Lara Weiss. "Religion in the making: the Lived Ancient Religion approach." *Religion* (March 2018): 1–26. https://doi-org.proxy.uchicago.edu/10.1080/0048721X.2018.1450305

Alcock, Susan E. *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Alcock, Susan E. "Greece: A Landscape of Resistance?" In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, edited by D. J. Mattingly, 103–115. Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997.

Alcock, Susan E. "The Problem of Romanization, the Power of Athens." In *The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*, edited by Michael C. Hoff and Susan I. Rotroff, 1–7. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997.

Alcock, Susan E. "The Reconfiguration of Memory in the Eastern Roman Empire." In *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, edited by Susan E. Alcock, 323–350. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Alcock, Susan E. *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Alcock, Susan. E. "Spare Values: The Decision Not to Destroy." In *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World*, edited by John K. Papadopoulos and Gary Urton, 90–96. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2012.

Allamani-Souri, Victoria. "Brief history of imperial Thessaloniki as derived from epigraphic and archaeological evidence." In *Roman Thessaloniki*, edited by Demetrios V. Grammenos, 80–91. Thessaloniki: Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum Publications, 2003.

Allamani-Souri, Victoria. "The Imperial Cult." In *Roman Thessaloniki*, edited by Demetrios V. Grammenos, 98–119. Thessaloniki: Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum Publications, 2003.

Ameling, Walter. *Herodes Atticus*. 2 vols. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1983.

Ammerman, Albert J. "The Eridanos Valley and the Athenian Agora." *American Journal of Archaeology* 100, no. 4 (1996): 699–715.

Anderson, Greg. *The Athenian Experiment: Building an Imagined Political Community in Ancient Attica, 508-490 BC*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.

Ando, Clifford. *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.

Ando, Clifford. "Exporting Roman Religion." In *A Companion to Roman Religion*, edited by Jörg Rüpke, 429–445. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007.

Ando, Clifford. "The Rites of Others." In *Roman Literary Cultures: Domestic Politics, Revolutionary Poetics, Civic Spectacles*, edited by Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith, 254–277. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.

Andreyev, V. N. "Some Aspects of Agrarian Conditions in Attica in the Fifth to Third Centuries B.C." *Eirene* 12, no. 1 (1974): 5–46.

Anttonen, Veikko. "Landscapes as Sacroscapes: Why Does Topography Make a Difference?" In *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space*, edited by Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink, 13–32. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2013.

Atran, Scott. *In Gods We Trust: The Evolutionary Landscape of Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Barker, Graeme, and John Lloyd, eds. *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region*. London: British School at Rome, 1991.

Barrett, Justin L., and Jonathan A. Lanman. "The science of religious beliefs." *Religion* 38, no. 2 (2008): 109–124.

Barrett, Caitlín E. "Archaeology of Ancient Religions." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*. Oxford University Press, 2016. https://doi-org.proxy.uchicago.edu/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.48.

Bell, Catherine. "Response: Defining the Need for a Definition." In *The Archaeology of Ritual*, edited by Evangelos Kyriakidis, 277–288. Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, 2007.

Bell, Catherine. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Benjamin, Anna. "The Altars of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian's Panhellenic Program." *Hesperia* 32, no. 1 (1963): 57–86.

Benjamin, Anna, and Antony E. Raubitschek. "Arae Augusti." *Hesperia* 28, no. 1 (1959): 65–85.

Boatwright, Mary T. “Further Thoughts on Hadrianic Athens.” *Hesperia* 52, no. 2 (1983): 173–176.

Bowersock, Glen W. *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Bowersock, Glen W. “Augustus and the East: The Problem of the Succession.” In *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, edited by Fergus Millar and Erich Segal, 169–188. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

Bowersock, Glen W. “The New Hellenism of Augustan Athens.” *Annali Della Scuola Normale Superiore Di Pisa. Classe Di Lettere E Filosofia*, Serie IV, 7, no. 1 (2002): 1–16.

Bowersock, Glen W. “The Cities of the Greek World under Augustus.” In *Augustus*, edited by Jonathan Edmondson, 468–482. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009

Bowie, Ewen L. “Greeks and Their Past in the Second Sophistic.” *Past & Present* 46 (1970): 3–41.

Bowie, Ewen L. “The Hellenic past of the Philostratean sophist.” In *Costruzione e uso del passato storico nella cultura antica: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze 18-20 settembre 2003*, edited by Paolo Desideri, Sergio Roda, and Anna Maria Biraschi, with the collaboration of Andrea Pellizzari, 357–377. Alessandria: Edizioni Dell’Orso, 2007.

Bowie, Ewen L. “The Sophist as Historian.” In *Lo storico antico: mestieri e figure sociali: atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 8-10 novembre 2007*, edited by Giuseppe Zecchini, 199–212. Bari: Edipuglia, 2010.

Boyarin, Daniel. *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Boyarin, Daniel. “Rethinking Jewish Christianity: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category (to which is Appended a Correction of my *Border Lines*).” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 99, no. 1 (2009): 7–36.

Boyer, Pascal. *Religion Explained: The Evolutionary Origins of Religious Thought*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.

Bresson, Alain. “Relire la Chronique du temple lindien.” *Topoi* 14.2 (2006): 527–551.

Burden, Jeffrey Christopher. “Athens Remade in the Age of Augustus: A Study of the Architects and Craftsmen at Work.” Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1999.

Burkert, Walter. *Greek Religion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985. Originally published as *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1977).

Camia, Francesco, and Athanase Rizakis. "Cambiamenti, adattamenti e novità: la fondazione dei luoghi di culto nelle province romane di Acaia e Macedonia." In *Quand naissent les dieux: Fondation des sanctuaires antiques : motivations, agents, lieux*, edited by Sandrine Agusta-Boularot, Sandrine Huber, and William Van Andringa, 383–396. Rome and Athens: École française de Rome; École française d'Athènes, 2017.

Camp II, John McK. *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986.

Camp II, John McK. "The Philosophical Schools of Roman Athens." *Bulletin Supplement (University of London. Institute of Classical Studies)*, no. 55 (1989): 50–55.

Camp II, John McK. *The Archaeology of Athens*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Camp II, John McK. "The Agora Excavations: A Summary of Recent Work on Roman Athens." In *Η Αθήνα κατά τη ρωμαϊκή εποχή: Προσφάτες ανακαλύψεις, νέες έρευνες. Μουσείο Μπενάκη 4° Παράρτημα / Athens during the Roman Period: Recent Discoveries, New Evidence. Benaki Museum Suppl. 4*, edited by Stavros Vlizos, 87–97. Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008.

Camp II, John McK. "The Archaeology of the Agora: A Summary." In *The Athenian Agora: New Perspectives on an Ancient Site*, edited by John McK. Camp II and Craig A. Mauzy, 11–38. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2009.

Camp II, John McK. and Craig A. Mauzy, eds. *The Athenian Agora: New Perspectives on an Ancient Site*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2009.

Camp II, John McK. *The Athenian Agora: Site Guide*. 5th ed. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2010.

Camp II, John McK. "Excavations in the Athenian Agora, 2008–2012." *Hesperia* 84, no. 3 (2015): 467–513.

Cartledge, Paul. *After Thermopylae: The Oath of Plataea and the End of the Graeco-Persian Wars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Chaniotis, Angelos. "The Dynamics of Ritual Norms in Greek Cult." In *La norme en matière religieuse en Grèce ancienne: Actes du XI^e colloque du CIERGA (Rennes, septembre 2007)*, *Kernos* Supplément 21, edited by Pierre Brulé, 91–105. Liège: Centre International d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique, 2009.

Chankowski, Véronique, and Pavlos Karvonis, eds. *Tout vendre, tout acheter. Structures et équipements des marchés antiques: Actes du colloque d'Athènes, 16–19 juin 2009*. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 2012.

Clinton, Kevin. "Eleusis and the Romans: Late Republic to Marcus Aurelius." In *The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*, edited by Michael C. Hoff and Susan I. Rotroff, 161–181. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997.

Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Conwell, David H. *Connecting a City to the Sea: The History of the Athenian Long Walls*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008.

Corso, Antonio. "Vitruvius and Attic Monuments." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 92 (1997): 373–400.

Cresswell, Tim. *Place: A Short Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004.

Culley, Gerald R. "The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica: I.G., II^2, 1035." *Hesperia* 44, no. 2 (1975): 207–223.

Culley, Gerald R. "The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica, II." *Hesperia* 46, no. 3 (1977): 282–298.

Daly, Kevin F. and Lee Ann Riccardi, eds. *Cities Called Athens: Studies Honoring John McK. Camp II*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2015

Deacy, Susan. "Athena and Ares: War, violence and warlike deities." In *War and Violence in Ancient Greece*, edited by Hans van Wees, 285–298. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2000.

De Schutter, Xavier. "le culte d'Apollon Patrôos à Athènes." *L'Antiquité Classique* 56 (1987): 103–129.

Dickenson, Christopher Paul. "The Agora as Political Centre in the Roman Period." In *The Agora in the Mediterranean from Homeric to Roman Times: Proceedings of an International Conference held on Kos, 14-17 April 2011*, edited by Angeliki Giannikouri, 47–57. Athens: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Τουρισμού, Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου Αιγαιακών Σπουδών, 2011.

Dickenson, Christopher Paul. "On the Agora: Power and Public Space in Hellenistic and Roman Greece." Ph.D. diss., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2012.

Dickenson, Christopher Paul. “Looking at Ancient Public Space: The Greek Agora in Hellenistic and Roman Times.” *Groniek* 198 (2014): 85–95.

Dickenson, Christopher Paul. *On the Agora: The Evolution of a Public Space in Hellenistic and Roman Greece*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Dignas, Beate. *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Dinsmoor, William Bell. “The Monument of Agrippa at Athens.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 24 (1920): 83.

Dinsmoor, William Bell. “The Temple of Ares at Athens.” *Hesperia* 9, no. 1 (1940): 1–52.

Dinsmoor, William Bell. “Observations on the Hephaisteion,” *Hesperia Supplements* 5 (1941): 1–171.

Dinsmoor, Jr., William Bell. “Anchoring Two Floating Temples.” *Hesperia* 51, no. 4 (1982): 410–452.

Dontas, George S. “The True Aglaurion.” *Hesperia* 52, no. 1 (1983): 48–63.

Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. Translated by Willard R. Trask. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959. Originally published as *Das Heilige und das Profane* (Reinbek: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1957).

Elsner, Jaś. *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Elsner, Jaś. “Material Culture and Ritual: State of the Question.” In *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*, edited by Bonna D. Wescoat and Robert G. Ousterhout, 1–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Engels, Donald. *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Engels, David and Peter Van Nuffelen, eds. *Religion and Competition in Antiquity*. Brussels: Éditions Latomus, 2014.

Evangelidis, Vasilis. “The Architecture of the Imperial Cult in the Agoras of the Greek Cities.” *Egnatia* 12 (2008): 125–144.

Evangelidis, Vasilis. “Οι Αγορές των Πόλεων της Ελλάδας από τη ρωμαϊκή Κατάκτηση ως τον 3ο αι. μ.Χ.” Ph.D. diss., University of Thessaloniki, 2010.

Evangelidis, Vasilis. “Agoras and Fora: Developments in the Central Public Space of the Cities of Greece during the Roman Period.” *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 109 (2014): 335–356.

Evans, Nancy. “Embedding Rome in Athens.” In *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult*, edited by Jeffrey Brodd and Jonathan L. Reed, 83–97. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.

Fantham, Elaine. *Julia Augusti: The Emperor’s Daughter*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Ferguson, John. *Among the Gods: An Archaeological Exploration of Ancient Greek Religion*. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.

Follet, Simone. “Julius Nicanor et le statut de Salamine.” In *L’Hellénisme d’époque romaine: Nouveaux documents, nouvelles approches (1er s. a. C. IIIe s. p. C.)*, edited by Simone Follet, 139–170. Paris: De Boccard, 2004.

Forte, Bettie. *Rome and the Romans as the Greeks Saw Them*. Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1972.

Foschia, Laurence. “La réutilisation des sanctuaires païens par les chrétiens en Grèce continentale (IVe–VIIe s.).” *Revue des Études Grecques* 113, no. 2 (2000): 413–434.

Frantz, Alison. “From paganism to Christianity in the temples of Athens.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965): 185–205.

Fusco, Ugo. “The Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Ares (Paus. 2.25.1) in the Periurban Area of Argos and Temples with a Double Cella in Greece.” *Tekmeria* 13 (2017): 97–124.

Gargola, Daniel J. *Lands, Laws, & Gods: Magistrates & Ceremony in the Regulation of Public Lands in Republican Rome*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Garland, Robert. *Introducing New Gods: The Politics of Athenian Religion*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Geagan, Daniel J. “The Athenian Constitution after Sulla.” *Hesperia Supplements* 12 (1967): 1–242.

Geagan, Daniel J. “Greek Inscriptions.” *Hesperia* 40, no. 1 (1971): 96–108.

Geagan, Daniel J. “Roman Athens: Some Aspects of Life and Culture I. 86 B.C. – A.D. 267.” *ANRW* II, no. 7.1 (1979): 371–437.

Geagan, Daniel J. “Imperial visits to Athens: the epigraphical evidence.” In *Πρακτικὰ του Η΄ Διεθηνούς Συνέδρια Ελληνικές και Λατινικές Επιγραφικές (Athens 3–9 Oct. 1982),* edited by A.G. Kalogeropoulou, 69–78. Athens: International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, 1984.

Geagan, Daniel J. “A Family of Marathon and Social Mobility in Athens of the First Century B.C.” *Phoenix* 46, no. 1 (1992): 29–44.

Geagan, Daniel J. “The Athenian Elite: Romanization, Resistance, and the Exercise of Power.” In *The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*, edited by Michael C. Hoff and Susan I. Rotroff, 19–32. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997.

Geagan, Daniel J. *Inscriptions: The Dedicatory Monuments*. The Athenian Agora XVII. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2011.

Gell, Alfred. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Goette, Hans Rupprecht. “Athena Pallenis und ihre Beziehungen zu Akropolis von Athens.” In *Kult und Kultbauten auf der Akropolis. Internationales Symposion Berlin vom 7. bis 9. Juli 1995 in Berlin*, edited by Wolfram Hoepfner, 105–118. Berlin: Kommissionsvertrieb Wasmuth, 1997.

Goldhill, Simon, ed. *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Gonzales, Matthew Paul. “Cults and Sanctuaries of Ares and Enyalios: A Survey of the Literary, Epigraphic, and Archaeological Evidence.” Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2004.

Grammenos, Demetrios V., ed. *Roman Thessaloniki*. Translated by David Hardy. Thessaloniki: Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum Publications, 2003.

Gray, Patrick. “Athenian Curiosity (Acts 17:21).” *Novum Testamentum*, 47, no. 2 (2005): 109–116.

de Grazia Vanderpool, Catherine and Paul D. Scotton. “Contending with the Past in Roman Corinth: The Julian Basilica” In *Strategies of Remembering in Greece Under Rome (100 BC - 100 AD)*, edited by Tamara M. Dijkstra, Inger N.I. Kuin, Muriel Moser, and David Weidgenannt, 49–67. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2017.

Greco, Emanuele, ed. *Topografia di Atene: Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d.C.* 5 vols. Athens and Paestum: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene and Pandemos: 2010–2015.

Grijalvo, Elena Muñiz. “Elites and Religious Change in Roman Athens.” *Numen* 52, no. 2 (2005): 255–282.

Gros, Pierre. “Les autels des *Caesares* et leur signification dans l’espace urbain des villes julio-claudiennes.” in *L’espace sacrificiel dans les civilisations méditerranéennes de l’antiquité: Actes du colloque tenu à la Maison de l’Orient, Lyon, 4–7 Juin 1988*, edited by R. Étienne and Marie-Therese Le Dinahet, 179–186. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1991.

Gros, Pierre. *L’architecture romaine: du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire*. Vol. 1. Paris: Editions A&J Picard, 1996.

Gustafsson, Gabriella. Evocatio Deorum: *Historical and Mythical Interpretations of Ritualised Conquests in the Expansion of Ancient Rome*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum 16. Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2000.

Habicht, Christian. “Athens and the Ptolemies.” *Classical Antiquity* 11, no. 1 (1992): 68–90.

Hall, Jonathan M. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Hall, Jonathan M. *Artifact & Artifice: Classical Archaeology and the Ancient Historian*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2014.

Hamdorf, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der vorhellenistischen Zeit*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1964.

Hansen, Mogens Herman, and Kurt A. Raaflaub, eds. *Studies in the Ancient Greek* Polis. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995.

Harris-Cline, Diane. “Archaic Athens and the Topography of the Kylon Affair.” *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 94 (1999): 309–320.

Hedrick, Jr., Charles W. “The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 92, no. 2 (1988): 185–210.

Hendrick, Kieran Andrew. “Roman Emperors and Athenian Life, from Augustus to Hadrian.” Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2006.

Himerius, and Robert J. Penella. *Man and the Word: The Orations of Himerius*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Hoff, Michael C. “The Roman Agora at Athens.” Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1988.

Hoff, Michael C. “Civil Disobedience and Unrest in Augustan Athens.” *Hesperia* 58, no. 3 (1989): 267–276.

Hoff, Michael C. “The Early History of the Roman Agora at Athens.” *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 36, no. S55 (1989): 1–8.

Hoff, Michael C. “The so-called Agoranomion and the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Athens.” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 109 (1994): 99–117.

Hoff Michael C. “The Politics and Architecture of the Athenian Imperial Cult.” In *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*, edited by Alastair Small, 185–200. Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Studies, 1996.

Hoff, Michael C. “*Laceratae Athenae*: Sulla’s Siege of Athens in 87/6 B.C. and its Aftermath.” In *The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*, edited by Michael C. Hoff and Susan I. Rotroff, 33–51. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997.

Hoff, Michael C. “An Equestrian Statue of Lucius Caesar in Athens Reconsidered.” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 4 (2001): 583–599.

Hoff, Michael C. “Athens honors Pompey the Great.” In *The Statesman in Plutarch’s Works: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of the International Plutarch Society,* edited by Lukas de Blois, 327–336. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Hoff, Michael C. and Susan Rotroff, eds. *The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997.

Horster, Marietta. *Landbesitz griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, vol. 53. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004.

Horster, Marietta. “Religious Landscape and Sacred Ground: Relationships between Space and Cult in the Greek World.” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 227, no. 4 (2010): 435–458.

Humphreys, Sarah C. *The Strangeness of Gods: Historical perspectives on the interpretation of Athenian religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Hurwit, Jeffrey M. *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Hurwit, Jeffrey M. *The Acropolis in the Age of Pericles*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Insoll, Timothy. *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

Insoll, Timothy, ed. *The Archaeology of Identities: A Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.

Isager, Signe. "Sacred and Profane Ownership of Land." In *Agriculture in Ancient Greece: Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 16-17 May 1990*, edited by Berit Wells, 119–122. Stockholm: Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, 1992.

Jameson, Michael H. "The Leasing of Land in Rhamnous." In *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History, and Topography presented to Eugene Vanderpool, Hesperia Supplement 19*, 66–74. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1982.

Jeanmaire, H. "Le substantif "hosia" et sa signification comme terme technique dans le vocabulaire religieux." *Revue Des Études Grecques* 58, no. 274/278 (1945): 66–89.

Jones, Christopher P. "Three Foreigners in Attica." *Phoenix* 32, no. 3 (1978): 222–234.

Jones, Christopher P. "An Athenian Document Mentioning Julius Nicanor." *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 154 (2005): 161–172.

Jones, Christopher P. "Julius Nicanor Again." *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 178 (2011): 79–83.

Jost, Madeleine. "La vie religieuse en Arcadie à l'époque du Haut-Empire." In *Roman Peloponnese III: Society, Economy and Culture under the Roman Empire*, edited by A.D. Rizakis and C.E. Lepenioti, 291–308. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 2010.

Jost, Madeleine. "Pausanias et le témoignage des monnaies sévériennes en Arcadie." *Revue Archéologique* 50 (2010/2): 227–257.

Kaizer, Ted. "Religion in the Roman East." In *A Companion to Roman Religion*, edited by Jörg Rüpke, 446–456. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007.

Kajava, Mika. "Livia and Nemesis." *Arctos* 34 (2000): 39–61.

Karivieri, Arja. "The So-Called Library of Hadrian and the Tetraconch Church in Athens." In *Post-Herulian Athens: Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens A.D. 267–529*, edited by Paavo Castrén, 89–113. Helsinki: Suomen Ateenan-instituutin Säätiö, 1994.

Kallet-Marx, Robert Morstein. *Hegemony to Empire: The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 B.C.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.

Kearsley, Rosalinde A. “Women and Public Life in Imperial Asia Minor: Hellenistic Tradition and Augustan Ideology.” *Ancient West & East* 4, no. 1 (2005): 98–121.

Keener, Craig S. *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary, Volume 3: 15:1–23:35*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014.

Kellogg, Danielle L. “The Place of Publication of the Ephebic Oath and the “Oath of Plataia”.” *Hesperia* 82, no. 2 (2013): 263–276.

Ker, James and Christoph Pieper, eds. *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World: Proceedings from the Penn–Leiden Colloquia on Ancient Values VII*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2014.

Kleiner, Diana E.E. *The Monument of Philopappos in Athens*. Archaeologica, vol. 30. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1983.

Korres, Manolis. “Από τον Σταυρό στην Αγορά.” *Horos* 10-12 (1992–1998): 83–104.

Kourouniotes, K., and Homer A. Thompson. “The Pnyx in Athens.” *Hesperia* 1 (1932): 90–217.

Kralidis, Apostolos. “Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Thessalonica in the First Century C.E.” *ΚΟΣΜΟΣ - Επιστημονικό Περιοδικό του Τμήματος Ποιμαντικής και Κοινωνικής Θεολογίας* 2 (2013): 87–102.

Krentz, Peter M. “The Oath of Marathon, Not Plataia?” *Hesperia* 76, no. 4 (2007): 731–742.

Kuin, Inger. “Political Change in Post-Sullan Athens.” In *Strategies of Remembering in Greece Under Rome (100 BC - 100 AD)*, edited by Tamara M. Dijkstra, Inger N.I. Kuin, Muriel Moser, and David Weidgenannt, 157–167. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2017.

Kyriakidis, Evangelos, ed. *The Archaeology of Ritual*. Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, 2007.

Laffi, Umberto. “La *lex aedis Furfensis*.” In *La Cultura Italica: Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia (Pisa, 19 e 20 dicembre 1977)*, edited by Società Italiana di Glottologia, 121–144. Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori, 1978.

Latour, Bruno. *Pandora’s Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.

Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Lawall, Mark L. “The Temple of Apollo Patroos Dated by an Amphora Stamp.” *Hesperia* 78, no. 3 (2009): 387–403.

Lefèvre, François. *L'Amphictionie Pyléo-Delphique: Histoire et Institutions*. Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 1998.

Lozano, Fernando. "Thea Livia in Athens: Redating "IG" II² 3242." *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 148 (2004): 177–180.

Lozano, Fernando. "Divi Augusti and Theoi Sebastoi: Roman Initiatives and Greek Answers." *The Classical Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (2007): 139–152.

Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1960.

Ma, John. "Hellenic honorific statues and their inscriptions." In *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World*, edited by Zahra Newby and Ruth Leader-Newby, 203–220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Ma, John. *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Macready, Sarah and F.H. Thompson, eds. *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*. London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1987.

Makrides, Vasilios N. *Hellenic Temples and Christian Churches: A Concise History of the Religious Cultures of Greece From Antiquity to the Present*. New York and London: New York University Press, 2009.

Marcus, Joyce. "Rethinking Ritual." In *The Archaeology of Ritual*, edited by Evangelos Kyriakidis, 43–76. Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, 2007.

Markantonatos, Andreas. *Oedipus at Colonus: Sophocles, Athens, and the World*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007.

Martin-Mcauliffe, Samantha L. and John K. Papadopoulos. "Framing Victory: Salamis, the Athenian Acropolis, and the Agora." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 71, no. 3 (2012): 332–361.

Mattingly, D. J., ed. *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*. Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997.

Mavrojannis, Theodoros. "Apollo Delio, Atene e Augusto." *Ostraka* 4 (1995): 85–102.

McAllister, Marian Holland. "The Temple of Ares at Athens: A Review of the Evidence." *Hesperia* 28, no. 1 (1959): 1–64.

McCauley, Robert N. and E. Thomas Lawson. “Cognition, Religious Ritual, and Archaeology.” In *The Archaeology of Ritual*, edited by Evangelos Kyriakidis, 209–254. Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, 2007.

Meritt, Benjamin D. “Greek Inscriptions.” *Hesperia* 15, no. 3 (1946): 169–253.

Meritt, Benjamin D., A. G. Woodhead, and George A. Stamires. “Greek Inscriptions.” *Hesperia* 26, no. 3 (1957): 198–270.

Mikalson, Jon D. *Athenian Popular Religion*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.

Mikalson, Jon D. *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998.

Mikalson, Jon D. *New Aspects of Religion in Ancient Athens: Honors, Authorities, Esthetics, and Society*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016.

Miles, Margaret M. “A Reconstruction of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous.” *Hesperia* 58, no. 2 (1989): 133–249.

Miles, Margaret M. “Burnt Temples in the Landscape of the Past.” In *Valuing the Past in the Greco–Roman World: Proceedings from the Penn–Leiden Colloquia on Ancient Values VII*, edited by James Ker and Christoph Pieper, 111–145. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2014.

Miles, Margaret M., ed. *Autopsy in Athens: Recent Archaeological Research on Athens and Attica*. Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2015.

Miles, Margaret M. “The Vanishing Double Stoa at Thorikos and its Afterlives.” In *Autopsy in Athens: Recent Archaeological Research on Athens and Attica*. Edited by Margaret M. Miles, 163–180. Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2015.

Miller, Stephen G. “Old Metroon and Old Bouleuterion in the Classical Agora of Athens.” In *Studies in the Ancient Greek* Polis, edited by Mogens Herman Hansen and Kurt A. Raaflaub, 133–156. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995.

Mills, Barbara J. and William H. Walker. *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008.

Mitchell, Stephen. *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor, Vol. 1: The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Mitchell, Stephen. *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor, Vol. 2: The Rise of the Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Momigliano, Arnaldo. "Religion in Athens, Rome and Jerusalem in the First Century B.C." *Annali Della Scuola Normale Superiore Di Pisa*. Classe Di Lettere E Filosofia, Serie III, vol. 14, no. 3 (1984): 873–892.

Morris, Ian. *Archaeology as Cultural History: Words and Things in Iron Age Greece*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

Moser, Muriel. "Reused Statues for Roman Friends: The Past as a Political Resource in Roman Athens." In *Strategies of Remembering in Greece Under Rome (100 BC - 100 AD)*, edited by Tamara M. Dijkstra, Inger N.I. Kuin, Muriel Moser, and David Weidgenannt, 169–181. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2017.

Mueller, Hans-Friedrich. *Roman Religion in Valerius Maximus*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Nevin, Sonya. *Military Leaders and Sacred Space in Classical Greek Warfare: Temples, Sanctuaries and Conflict in Antiquity*. London and New York: I.B. Taurus, 2017.

Niederer, Frances J. "Temples Converted into Churches: The Situation in Rome." *Church History* 22, no. 3 (1953): 175–180.

Nock, Arthur Darby. "Σύνναος θεός." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 41 (1930): 1–62.

Nora, Pierre. *Les Lieux de Mémoire*. 7 vols. Paris: Gallimard, 1984–1992.

Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire." *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24.

Nordeide, Sæbjørg Walaker and Stefan Brink, eds. *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2013.

Nordquist, Gullög C. "The Ancient and Sacred Greek Landscape." In *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space*, edited by Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink, 141–186. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2013.

Nordquist, Gullög C. "Evidence for pre-Classical cult activity beneath the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea." In *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11–13 June 1994*, edited by Robin Hägg, 149–158. Motala: Motala Grafiska, 2002.

Norman, Naomi J. "The Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea." *American Journal of Archaeology* 88, no. 2 (1984): 169–194.

Notopoulos, James A. “Studies in the Chronology of Athens under the Empire.” *Hesperia* 18, no. 1 (1949): 1–57.

Oliver, James H. “Julia Domna as Athena Polias.” *HSCP* Special Volume (1940): 521–530.

Oliver, James H. “The Main Problem of the Augustus Inscription from Cyme.” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 4 (1963): 115–122.

Oliver, James H. “Livia as Artemis Boulaia at Athens.” *Classical Philology* 60, no. 3 (1965): 179.

Oliver, James H. “On the Hellenic Policy of Augustus and Agrippa in 27 B. C.” *The American Journal of Philology* 93, no. 1 (1972): 190–197.

Oliver, James H. “Roman Emperors and Athens.” *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 30, no. 4 (1981): 412–423.

Osborne, Robin. *Classical Landscape with Figures: The Ancient Greek City and its Countryside*. London: George Philip, 1987.

Osborne, Robin. “Social and Economic Implications of the Leasing of Land and Property in Classical and Hellenistic Greece.” *Chiron* 18 (1988): 279–323.

Østby, Erik. “Recent excavations in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea: results and problem.” In *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11–13 June 1994*, edited by Robin Hägg, 139–147. Motala: Motala Grafiska, 2002.

Papadopoulos, John K. “The Original Kerameikos of Athens and the Siting of the Classical Agora.” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 37, no. 2 (1996): 107–128.

Papazarkadas, Nikolaos. *Sacred and Public Land in Ancient Athens*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Parker, Robert. *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Parker, Robert. *Athenian Religion: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Parker, Robert. *Polytheism and Society at Athens*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Parker, Robert. *On Greek Religion*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.

Parsons, Arthur W. “A Family of Philosophers at Athens and Alexandria.” *Hesperia Supplements* 8 (1949): 268–272+462.

Pironti, Gabriella. “Aphrodite dans le domaine d’Arès.” *Kernos* 18 (2005): 167–184.

Price, Simon. *Rituals and Power: The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Price, Simon. *Religions of the Ancient Greeks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Price, Simon. “Memory and Ancient Greece.” In *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World*, edited by Beate Dignas and R.R.R. Smith, 15–36. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Purcell, Nicholas. “The Nicopolitan Synoecism and Roman Urban Policy.” In *Nicopolis I: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Nicopolis (23–29 September 1984)*, edited by Euangelos Chrysos, 71–90. Preveza: Municipality of Preveza, 1987.

Raubitschek, Antony E. “Hadrian as the Son of Zeus Eleutherios.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 49, no. 2 (1945): 128–133.

Raubitschek, Antony E. “Greek Inscriptions.” *Hesperia* 35, no. 3 (1966): 241–251.

Renfrew, Colin. “The archaeology of religion.” In *The ancient mind: Elements of cognitive archaeology*, edited by Colin Renfrew and Ezra B. W. Zubrow, 47–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Renfrew, Colin. “The Archaeology of Ritual, of Cult, and of Religion.” In *The Archaeology of Ritual*, edited by Evangelos Kyriakidis, 109–122. Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, 2007.

Rhodes, P. J. *A Commentary on the Aristotelian* Athenaion Politeia. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Thucydides, and P.J. Rhodes. *History IV. 1 – V. 24*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1998.

Rogers, Guy MacLean. *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.

Rogers, Guy MacLean. *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos: Cult, Polis, and Change in the Graeco-Roman World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

Rous, Sarah Adler. “Ancient Upcycling: Social Memory and the Reuse of Marble in Athens.” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University 2016.

Rousset, Denis. *Le Territoire de Delphes et la Terre d’Apollon*. Athens: École Française d’Athènes, 2002.

Rousset, Denis. “Sacred property and public property in the Greek city.” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 133 (2013): 113–133.

Rüpke, Jörg. “Lived Ancient Religion: Questioning “Cults” and “Polis Religion”.” *Mythos* 5 (2011): 191–206.

Saïd, Suzanne. “The rewriting of the Athenian past: from Isocrates to Aelius Aristides.” In *Greeks on Greekness: Viewing the Greek Past under the Roman Empire*, edited by David Konstan and Suzanne Saïd, 47–60. Cambridge: The Cambridge Philological Society, 2006.

Sánchez, Pierre. *L’Amphictionie des Pyles et de Delphes: Recherches sur son rôle historique, des origines au IIe siècle de notre ère*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001.

Sanderson, Stephen K. “Adaptation, Evolution, and Religion.” *Religion* 38, no. 2 (2008): 141–156.

Scafuro, Adele C. “IG II^2 204: Boundary Setting and Legal Process in Classical Athens.” *Symposion* (1999): 123–143.

Scheid, John. *The Gods, the State, and the Individual: Reflections on Civic Religion in Rome*. Translated by Clifford Ando. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. Originally published as *Les dieux, l’État et l’individu: Réflexions sur la religion civique à Rome* (Paris: Seuil, 2013).

Schmalz, Geoffrey C. R. “Public Building and Civic Identity in Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens.” Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1994.

Schmalz, Geoffrey C. R. “Athens, Augustus, and the Settlement of 21 B.C.” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 37, no. 4 (1996): 381–398.

Schmalz, Geoffrey C. R. “Inscribing a Ritualized Past: The Attic Restoration Decree IG II^2 1035 and Cultural Memory in Augustan Athens.” *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 8-9 (2007–2008): 9–46.

Schmalz, Geoffrey C. R. *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens: A New Epigraphy and Prosopography*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998.

Shear, Julia L. “Reusing statues, rewriting inscriptions and bestowing honours in Roman Athens.” In *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World*, edited by Zahra Newby and Ruth Leader-Newby, 221–246. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Shear, Jr., T. Leslie. “The Monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the Athenian Agora.” *Hesperia* 39, no. 3 (1970): 145–222.

Shear, Jr., T. Leslie. “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971.” *Hesperia* 42, no. 2 (1973): 121–179.

Shear, Jr., T. Leslie. “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1972.” *Hesperia* 42, no. 4 (1973): 359–407.

Shear, Jr., T. Leslie. “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1973-1974.” *Hesperia* 44, no. 4 (1975): 331–374.

Shear, Jr., T. Leslie. “Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town.” *Hesperia* 50, no. 4 (1981): 356–377.

Shear, Jr., T. Leslie. “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980-1982.” *Hesperia* 53, no. 1 (1984): 1–57.

Shear Jr., T. Leslie. “Bouleuterion, Metroon, and the Archives at Athens.” In *Studies in the Ancient Greek* Polis, edited by Mogens Herman Hansen and Kurt A. Raaflaub, 157–190. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995.

Shear Jr., T. Leslie. *Trophies of Victory: Public Building in Periklean Athens*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Sickinger, James P. *Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Smallwood, E. Mary. “The Legislation of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius against Circumcision.” *Latomus* 18, no. 2 (1959): 334–347.

Smith, Jonathan Z. “Native Cults in the Hellenistic Period.” *History of Religions* 11 (1971): 236–249

Smith, Jonathan Z. *Map is not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.

Smith, Jonathan Z. *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Smith, Martyn. *Religion, Culture, and Sacred Space*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Spawforth, Antony J. S. “The Early Reception of the Imperial Cult in Athens: Problems and Ambiguities.” In *The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*, edited by Michael C. Hoff and Susan I. Rotroff, 183–201. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997.

Spawforth, Antony J. S. *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Spawforth, Antony J. S., and Susan Walker. “The World of the Panhellenion. I. Athens and Eleusis.” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1985): 78–104.

Sourvinou-Inwood, Christiane. “What is *Polis* Religion?” In *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, edited by R. G. A. Buxton, 13–37. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Stafford, Emma J. “‘The People to the goddess Livia’: Attic Nemesis and the Roman imperial cult.” *Kernos* 26 (2013): 205–238.

Stefanidou-Tiveriou, Theodosia. “Tradition and Romanization in the Monumental Landscape of Athens.” In *Η Αθήνα κατά τη ρωμαϊκή εποχή: Προσφάτες ανακαλύψεις, νέες έρευνες. Μουσείο Μπενάκη 4° Παράρτημα / Athens during the Roman Period: Recent Discoveries, New Evidence. Benaki Museum Suppl. 4*, edited by Stavros Vlizos, 11–40. Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008.

Stek, Tesse D. *Cult Places and Cultural Change in Republican Italy: A Contextual Approach to Religious Aspects of Rural Society After the Roman Conquest*. Amsterdam Archaeological Series 14. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009.

Steuernagel, Dirk. “Romanisierung und Hellenismos: Drei Fallstudien zur Gestaltung und Nutzung griechischer Tempel in den römischen Provinzen Achaia und Cyrenaica.” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 124 (2009): 279–345.

Stevens, Gorham P. “Architectural Studies Concerning the Acropolis of Athens.” *Hesperia* 15, no. 2 (1946): 73–106.

Stewart, Andrew F. *Skopas of Paros*. Park Ridge: Noyes Press, 1977.

Stewart, Andrew F. “The Borghese Ares Revisited: New Evidence from the Agora and a Reconstruction of the Augustan Cult Group in the Temple of Ares.” *Hesperia* 85, no. 3 (2016): 577–625.

Stroud, Ronald S. “The Athenian Grain-Tax Law of 374/3 B. C.” *Hesperia Supplements* 29 (1998): iii–140.

Sourlas, Dimitrios. “L’agora romaine d’Athènes: Utilisation, fonctions, et organisation intériere.” In *Tout vendre, tout acheter. Structures et équipements des marchés antiques: Actes du colloque d’Athènes, 16–19 juin 2009*, edited by Véronique Chankowski and Pavlos Karvonis, 119–138. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 2012.

Tasia, A., Z. Lola, and O. Peltekis. “Θεσσαλονίκη—Ο υστεροαρχαϊκός ναός.” *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη* 14 (2000): 227–246.

Thakur, Sanjaya. “Identity under Construction in Roman Athens.” In *Negotiating the Past in the Past: Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research*, edited by Norman Yoffee, 104–127. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2007.

Thompson, Dorothy Burr. “The Garden of Hephaistos.” *Hesperia* 6, no. 3 (1937): 396–425.

Thompson, Homer A. “Buildings on the West Side of the Agora.” *Hesperia* 6, no. 1 (1937): 1–226.

Thompson, Homer A. “The Excavation of the Athenian Agora Twelfth Season: 1947.” *Hesperia* 17, no. 3 (1948): 149–96.

Thompson, Homer A. “The Odeion in the Athenian Agora.” *Hesperia* 19, no. 2 (1950): 31–141.

Thompson, Homer A. “Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1951.” *Hesperia* 21, no. 2 (1952): 83–113.

Thompson, Homer A. “Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1959.” *Hesperia* 29, no. 4 (1960): 327–68.

Thompson, Homer A. “Itinerant Temples of Attica.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 66, no. 2 (1962): 200.

Thompson, Homer A. “The Annex to the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora.” *Hesperia* 35, no. 2 (1966): 171–187.

Thompson, Homer A. “Athens Faces Adversity.” *Hesperia* 50, no. 4 (1981): 343–355.

Thompson, Homer A. “The Impact of Roman Architects and Architecture on Athens: 170 BC–AD 170.” *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (1987): 1–17.

Thompson, Homer A., and R. E. Wycherley. *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center*. The Athenian Agora XIV. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1972.

Torelli, M. “L’immagine dell’ideologia augustea nell’agorà di Atene.” *Ostraka* 4 (1995): 1–32.

Townsend, Emily D. “A Mycenaean Chamber Tomb under the Temple of Ares.” *Hesperia* 24, no. 3 (1955): 187–219.

Travlos, John. *Pictorial Dictionary of Athens*. New York: Praeger, 1971.

Travlos, John. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*. Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1988.

Travlos, John (as Ιωάννης Τραυλός). *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις των Αθηνών: από των προϊστορικών χρόνων μέχρι των αρχών του 19ου αιώνος*. 2nd ed. Athens: Kapon, 1993.

Tsakirgis, Barbara. “Living near the Agora: houses and households in central Athens.” In *The Athenian Agora: New Perspectives on an Ancient Site*, edited by John McK. Camp II and Craig A. Mauzy, 47–54. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2009.

Tziovas, Dimitris. “Introduction: Decolonizing Antiquity, Heritage Politics, and Performing the Past.” In *Re-imagining the Past: Antiquity and Modern Greek Culture*, edited by Dimitris Tziovas, 1–26. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Vallois, R. Charles Dugas, Jules Berchmans and Mogens Clemmensen. *Le sanctuaire d’Aléa Athéna à Tégée au IVe siècle*. Paris, P. Geuthner, 1924.

Vanderpool, Eugene. “Athens Honors the Emperor Tiberius.” *Hesperia* 28, no. 1 (1959): 86–90.

Vanderpool, Eugene. “Metronomoi.” *Hesperia* 37, no. 1 (1968): 73–76.

Vlizos, Stavros, ed. *Η Αθήνα κατά τη ρωμαϊκή εποχή: Προσφάτες ανακαλύψεις, νέες έρευνες. Μουσείο Μπενάκη 4° Παράρτημα / Athens during the Roman Period: Recent Discoveries, New Evidence. Benaki Museum Suppl. 4*. Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008.

Voutiras, Emmanuel (as Εμμανουήλ Βουτυράς). “Η Λατρεία της Αφροδίτης στην Περιοχή του Θερμαίου Κόλπου.” In *Αρχαία Μακεδονία VI : ανακοινώσεις κατά το Έκτο Διεθνές Συμπόσιο, Θεσσαλονίκη, 15-19 Οκτωβρίου 1996: στη μνήμη της Ιουλίας Βοκοτοπούλου / Ancient Macedonia VI: papers read at the Sixth International Symposium held in Thessaloniki, October 15-19, 1996*, edited by The Institute for Balkan Studies, 1329–1343. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1999.

Voyakis, Mary E. “An analysis of votive types recently found at Tegea.” In *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11–13 June 1994*, edited by Robin Hägg, 159–168. Motala: Motala Grafiska, 2002.

Walker, Susan. “Athens under Augustus.” In *The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*, edited by Michael C. Hoff and Susan I. Rotroff, 67–80. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997.

Wallace, Robert W. *The Areopagos Council, to 307 B.C.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

Wescoat, Bonna D. and Robert G. Ousterhout, eds. *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Wesler, Kit W. *An Archaeology of Religion*. Lanham: University Press of America, 2012.

Walbank, Michael B. "Leases of Sacred Properties in Attica, Part IV." *Hesperia* 52, no. 2 (1983): 207–231.

Whitehead, David. *The Demes of Attica 508/7-ca. 250 B.C.: Political and Social Study.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Whitmarsh, Tim. *The Second Sophistic*. Greece & Rome: New Surveys in the Classics No. 35. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Whitmarsh, Tim. *Beyond the Second Sophistic: Adventures in Greek Postclassicism*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2013.

Willers, Dietrich. *Hadrians Panhellenistisches Programm: Archaologisches Beiträge zur Neugestaltung Athens durch Hadrian*. Basel: Vereinigung der Freunde antiker Kunst, 1990.

Wood, Susan E. *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 B.C.–A.D. 68*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Woodhead, A. Geoffrey. *Inscriptions: The Decrees*. The Athenian Agora XVI. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1997.

Woolf, Greg. "Becoming Roman, Staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilizing Process in the Roman East." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 40 (1994): 116–143.

Wycherley, R. E. *The Agora of Athens: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*. The Athenian Agora III. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1957.

Wycherley, R. E. *How the Greeks Built Cities*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 1962.

Wycherley, R. E. "The Olympieion at Athens." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 5 (1964): 161–179.

Wycherley, R. E. "St. Paul at Athens." *The Journal of Theological Studies* 19, no. 2 (1968): 619–621.

Wycherley, R. E. *The Stones of Athens*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Yasin, Ann Marie. *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult, and Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Yoffee, Norman, ed. *Negotiating the Past in the Past: Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2007.

Yoffee, Norman. "Peering into the Palimpsest: An Introduction to the Volume." In *Negotiating the Past in the Past: Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research*, edited by Norman Yoffee, 1–9. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2007.

Ziolkowski, Adam. *The Temples of Mid–Republican Rome and their Historical and Topographical Context*. Saggi di Storia Antica 4. Rome: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 1992.