

## ATHENS: FROM CITY-STATE TO PROVINCIAL TOWN

AFTER THE MIDDLE of the 2nd century B.C., the power of Rome was the dominating force in Greek lands. The cities and sanctuaries of Greece came one after another to feel the oppression of the Roman legions and the rapacity of their generals, as the Hellenistic world was gradually reshaped and reorganized into the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Among the old cities of classical Greece, the Roman conquest wrought profound historical changes in government, in economic life, and in the conditions and aspirations of the people. Nowhere does this emerge more clearly than in the material remains which form the archaeological record, for these enable us to document in some detail the process of cultural permutation by which a self-sufficient city-state of classical Greece evolved into a provincial town of the Roman Empire. The evolution left many aspects of a city's life unchanged and tenaciously Hellenic, but confronted with these were buildings, artifacts, and a way of life which came eventually to exhibit the international imperial style of the Roman world. In this confrontation of Greek and Roman, of permanence and change, we witness the central fact and fertilizing force of classical civilization as it is revealed to us by the surviving monuments of antiquity.

The gradual fusion of Greek and Roman cultures in the first two centuries of Roman rule appears at Athens as graphically as anywhere in Greece because of the city's unique position in Greek history and culture. Her glorious past as mistress of the Aegean still fired the spirit, while her unrivaled supremacy in the arts and letters, and especially in philosophy, still seduced the mind. The 1st century B.C. was a period of political and economic upheaval in Athens; for the city had sided with Mithradates of Pontus against Rome and for her treachery had been savagely sacked by the army of L. Cornelius Sulla. Athens' recovery from the destruction of 86 B.C. was slow and painful. Sulla looted her statuary and objects of art in great numbers and even dismantled some columns from the Olympieion for shipment to Rome. Moreover, the evidence of both archaeology and literature has made plain the extensive devastation which the legions spread through the western parts of the city and the area about the Agora.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For Sulla's entry into the city by way of a breach in the west wall between the Peiraieus Gate and the Sacred Gate, Plutarch, *Sulla*, 14. For looting of columns from the Olympieion, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi.6.45. Cf. H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972 (= *Agora XIV*), pp. 23, 170, 187–188. For the history of this period, W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London 1911, pp. 415–459. Basic bibliography for Roman Athens during the period here considered is P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, Cairo 1927 (= Graindor, *Auguste*); *idem*, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, Cairo 1931 (= Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*); *idem*, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo 1934 (= Graindor, *Hadrien*); J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York 1942 (= Day, *Economic History*). For a useful summary of the evidence in the light of more recent scholarship, D. J. Geagan, "Roman Athens, Some Aspects of Life and Culture," *ANRW* II, 7.1, Berlin 1979, pp. 371–437. Other special abbreviations used below are as follows:

But even in this period of deep depression the city held a powerful attraction for aristocratic Romans; and the sons of many a Roman senator and numerous eminent men of letters came to sit at the feet of Athenian philosophers.<sup>2</sup> Cicero with his brother Quintus, his cousin Lucius, and his friends T. Pomponius Atticus and M. Pupius Piso came to listen to the lectures of Antiochos, Phaidros, and Zenon.<sup>3</sup> Later the young Horace, together with Marcus Cicero, the orator's son, and M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus studied together in the Athenian philosophical schools.<sup>4</sup> The poets Ovid and Pompeius Macer completed their education at Athens and thence took the "grand tour".<sup>5</sup> Propertius bethought him of an elegiac journey to "learned Athens"; and there, too, Virgil planned to put the finishing touches on the *Aeneid* and to devote himself to philosophy, until he met Augustus in 19 B.C.<sup>6</sup> Most of the great figures of the Roman Civil Wars visited in Athens during the course of their military adventures in the Eastern Mediterranean. In 62 B.C. Pompey richly rewarded the philosophers for their lectures;<sup>7</sup> Julius Caesar after his victory at Pharsalos, and later Brutus, Cassius, and Marcus Antonius were all treated to those adulations of which Athenians were past masters.<sup>8</sup> One senses in all this something of the spirit of pilgrimage and tourism, as if Romans of the ruling classes felt drawn to genuflect at the altars of ancient Athenian culture, to stroll down the groves of the Academy, to view the quaint old buildings and statuary of the Agora, and most of all to learn those arts of rhetoric and philosophy which marked the educated man and moved Horace to observe with irony: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis intulit agresti Latio* (*Epistulae* II.1.156–157).<sup>9</sup>

Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup> = W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., Munich 1931

Kokkou = A. Kokkou. "Ἀδριάνεια ἔργα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας," *Δελτ* 25, 1970 [1971], pp. 150–173

Travlos, *Dictionary* = J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, New York 1971

Ward-Perkins = A. Boëthius and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, Harmondsworth 1970

<sup>2</sup>For Athens' reputation as a center for foreign students, Cicero, *de Or.* III.43. Among many others who studied at Athens, Crassus, Antonius, and Scaevola: *de Or.* I.45–47, 82; III.68, 75; Lucullus: Cicero, *Acad.* II.4.11; Brutus: Cicero, *Brut.* 315.

<sup>3</sup>Cicero, *de Fin.* I.16; V.1–5, 8; *Brut.* 315; *Tusc.* V.22; Nepos, *Atticus*, 2–4. A. E. Raubitschek, "Phaidros and his Roman Pupils," *Hesperia* 18, 1949, pp. 96–103; R. J. Rowland, "Cicero and the Greek World," *TAPA* 103, 1972, pp. 451–461; M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World*, London 1971, pp. 71–78.

<sup>4</sup>Horace, *Epist.* II.2.41–52; cf. E. Fraenkel, *Horace*, Oxford 1959, pp. 8ff.; Marcus Cicero: Cicero, *ad Att.* V.9; XII.32; XIV.7, 16; XV.15; *ad Fam.* XII.14, 16; XVI.21; Messalla: Cicero, *ad Att.* XII.32; XV.17.2.

<sup>5</sup>Ovid, *Trist.* I.2.77–78; *ex Pont.* II.10.21ff.; cf. L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled*, Cambridge 1955, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup>Propertius, III.21.1–2, 25–30; Donatus, *Vit. Verg.* 123ff. (J. Brummer, ed., Stuttgart 1969). Cf. Graindor, *Auguste*, pp. 32ff.

<sup>7</sup>Plutarch, *Pompey*, 42.5.

<sup>8</sup>Caesar: Appian, *Civil Wars*, II.88.368; Cassius Dio, XLII.14.1–3; A. E. Raubitschek, "Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar," *JRS* 44, 1954, pp. 65–75; Brutus and Cassius: Cassius Dio, XLVII.20.4; Plutarch, *Brutus*, 24.1; Raubitschek, "Brutus in Athens," *Phoenix* 11, 1957, pp. 1–11; M. Antonius: *idem*, "Octavia's Deification at Athens," *TAPA* 77, 1946, pp. 146–150.

<sup>9</sup>The spirit is best conveyed by Cicero and his friends strolling through the groves of the Academy, *de Fin.* V.1–5. For Roman attitudes to Greek life, see G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford 1965, pp. 72–84.

The antiquarian interest of eminent Romans in the restoration of Athenian monuments is vividly attested in Cicero's efforts to preserve the house and property of Epicurus,<sup>10</sup> in Pompey's donation of 50 talents toward the restoration of the city,<sup>11</sup> and in the contribution of Appius Claudius Pulcher, friend and correspondent of Cicero, who paid for the construction of the Inner Propylaia of the sanctuary at Eleusis.<sup>12</sup> But nothing illustrates more dramatically the change in Athens' status than the transformation which began to overtake the old Classical market place during the last years of the Roman Republic and the Principate of Augustus. The earliest evidence of a significant change in attitude concerning the function of the Agora in the city's life is to be seen in the construction of a new market building, now generally known as the "Roman Agora", or from its dedication as the Market of Caesar and Augustus, situated some 75 meters to the east of the old market square.<sup>13</sup> Its ruins are among the most familiar antiquities of Athens, consisting of a great marble-paved square, enclosed on all four sides by Ionic porticos lined with shops and market halls. The new market was approached from the Agora by the Doric tetrastyle propylon which bears the dedicatory inscription to Athena Archegetis. Although the fabric of the building reveals a complicated history of renovation and refurbishing, the details of which have never been adequately studied, the dedication itself makes it plain that Julius Caesar donated money for its construction, and the Dictator probably presided over the beginning of building operations during a brief visit to Athens in 47 B.C., when statues were set up in his honor. The building, however, progressed slowly over many years. The funds had to be replenished by a contribution from Augustus on the appeal of an Athenian embassy headed by Eukles of Marathon, and actual dedication of the new market did not take place until the archonship of Nikias in the last decade of the century.<sup>14</sup>

Inauguration of the Agora of Caesar and Augustus marked the removal from the old Classical Agora of one of its primary functions. The commercial market which had flourished within and about the borders of the old square for half a millennium was now relocated on the new site further east. It is interesting to observe, too, that in the latter part of the 1st century B.C. private buildings housing small shops and dwellings were demolished along the north side of the Agora and along the street which led eastward

<sup>10</sup>Cicero, *ad Att.* v.11.6; 19.3; *ad Fam.* xiii.1; cf. Clarke, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), pp. 62–63.

<sup>11</sup>Plutarch, *Pompey*, 42.6.

<sup>12</sup>For the Latin dedicatory inscription, *CIL* I, 619; III, 547. H. Hörmann, *Die inneren Propyläen von Eleusis*, Berlin 1932; G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, p. 156. Appius' gift, mentioned by Cicero, *ad Att.* vi.1.26; 6.2, suggested to the orator the notion of building such a gateway for the Academy, although this was never carried out.

<sup>13</sup>Graindor, *Auguste*, pp. 184–197; Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 371–374; H. S. Robinson, "The Tower of the Winds and the Roman Market-Place," *AJA* 47, 1943, pp. 291–305; Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 28–36.

<sup>14</sup>Dedicatory inscription: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3175; for the statues honoring Caesar, Raubitschek, *JRS* 44, 1954 (footnote 8 above), pp. 65–75. The embassy of Eukles to secure additional funds from the emperor is probably to be dated in the 20's B.C., Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 32; Day, *Economic History*, p. 137. For the date of dedication in the archonship of Nikias, see W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Temple of Ares at Athens," *Hesperia* 9, 1940, p. 50, note 114 (11/0 or 10/9 B.C.); J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 82 (10/9–2/1 B.C.).

to the new market. Some of these structures had been severely damaged in Sulla's sack and were now expropriated and demolished in order to make way for public buildings.<sup>15</sup> That this activity coincides closely in time with the opening of the Roman market is clear indication of the intention to remove commercial establishments from the Classical Agora.

Architecturally the Market of Caesar and Augustus had no forebears in the city of Athens, but like the monies with which it was built, it represents an infusion of ideas from abroad. In the expansion of public facilities for the civic center of Athens, and in the regularization of commercial enterprise in the new market, we can surely detect the work of the same hand which set its stamp on Rome herself in the laying out of the first of the imperial fora, the Forum of Caesar, to the northwest of the old Forum Romanum. The two projects were closely contemporary, similar in architectural scale, and, as examples of urban development, precisely analogous in conception, except that the Forum Iulium was designated for public business while the Agora of Caesar and Augustus was intended for commerce. Both were porticoed squares, facing inward, and enclosed by high walls in a fashion that was not native to the architectural traditions of either city.<sup>16</sup> Caesar evidently contributed funds for the market at Athens and visited the city in 47 B.C. During the year preceding his visit to Athens, he had inaugurated within a few months of each other two architecturally similar structures at the great Hellenistic capitals of Alexandria and Antioch. Literary descriptions of these lost buildings make it clear that they, too, consisted of great enclosed squares surrounded by four porticos. Each of these buildings was designated the Kaisareion and was devoted to the activities of the newly formed ruler cult. It has been argued that the design of the Alexandrian building, based on earlier Ptolemaic structures of similar purpose, heavily influenced the use of the same architectural forms in other parts of the Empire.<sup>17</sup> The Caesareum at Cyrene is an excellent surviving example of early date,<sup>18</sup> and it is quite

<sup>15</sup>Houses on the north side of the square: *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 138–142; houses along the street leading to the Roman market: *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 346–361 and especially p. 354.

<sup>16</sup>The Forum of Caesar at Rome was conceived as early as 54 B.C., probably begun in 51 B.C., and dedicated on September 26, 46 B.C., although unfinished at Caesar's death. See references in S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1929, pp. 225–227. For the architectural reconstruction, R. Thomsen, "Studien über den ursprünglichen Bau des Caesar-forums," *OpusArch* 2, 1941, pp. 195–218. That the forum was specifically intended for public business is stated by Appian, *Civil Wars* II.102. For the architectural sources in Ptolemaic Egypt and their influence on the Roman building, E. Sjöqvist, "Kaisareion, A Study in Architectural Iconography," *OpusRom* 1, 1954, pp. 86–108, and especially p. 105; Ward-Perkins, p. 461. Note the similarity in over-all dimensions of the two porticoed squares: Athens, Roman Agora, 111 × 98 m.; Rome, Forum Iulium, 131 × 90 m.

<sup>17</sup>The literary descriptions of the Kaisareia at Alexandria and Antioch are discussed in detail by Sjöqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–95. For the building at Alexandria, cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford 1972, pp. 22, 24–25. For Caesar's building at Antioch, see also G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, Princeton 1961, pp. 154–155, 632–640. Cf. also the earlier Ptolemaic sources for the same architectural type, going back as far as the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, and dated ca. 240 B.C., A. J. B. Wace, A. H. S. Megaw and T. C. Skeat, *Hermopolis Magna, Ashmunein*, Alexandria 1959, pp. 4–11, pl. 3.

<sup>18</sup>J. B. Ward-Perkins and M. H. Ballance, "The Caesareum at Cyrene and the Basilica at Cremna," *BSR* 26, 1958, pp. 137–194.

plausible that Hellenistic buildings of this general form served as the source of inspiration for those elements in the Forum of Caesar at Rome which seem non-Roman in conception. What needs to be emphasized is that the new forum at Athens—for such it truly is—conforms closely to the same architectural type. There is, to be sure, no evidence to suggest that a shrine of the imperial cult was a part of the Roman Agora; but only half of the great peristyle has yet been subjected to excavation. It is suggestive that the base of a later statue of Livia, bearing the title *Ἰουλίαν θεὰν Σεβαστὴν Πρόνοιαν* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3238), was seen by Stuart and Revett beside a column of the Gate of Athena; and since it was dedicated by the agoranomoi, it is natural to think that it stood in the commercial agora. Moreover, the statue of Augustus' grandson Lucius Caesar, dedicated by the Demos as the central acroterion of the propylon,<sup>19</sup> shows that the imperial family figured prominently in the adornment of the market. In any event, it can scarcely be attributed to chance that Julius Caesar was the author of four great buildings, simultaneously under construction in Alexandria, Antioch, Athens, and Rome, all of which made use of the same general architectural schema.

During the reign of Augustus (27 B.C.—A.D. 14), the old Classical Agora underwent striking changes reflecting clearly the special quality which the rulers of Rome attributed to Athens, but no less clearly the Athenians' altered image of their own city. The autonomous city-state of the Archaic period had set aside the public square of the Agora as a place where men gathered for political purposes. Defined by its ancient boundary stones, the great square had been kept free of encroachment by private and public buildings alike for five centuries. The oldest civic buildings of the city lined its borders, the Tholos and Bouleuterion, the Stoa Basileios and the law courts, buildings specifically associated with government and the administration of justice.<sup>20</sup> Here those deities had their cults whose special province was the ordering of civic life, Apollo Patroos, Artemis Boulaia, Zeus Agoraios and Eleutherios, and the Mother of the Gods.<sup>21</sup> By their epithets they emphasize the primary civic function of the Agora in the city's life; and by its capacity to accommodate great crowds of citizens, the open square itself palpably symbolized that democratic process which Athenians always considered their most distinguishing characteristic. The builders of the great Hellenistic stoas of the 2nd century not only respected the ancient tradition of the open square but in fact sought to define it more tangibly by placing the Stoa of Attalos and the Middle Stoa precisely at right angles along its borders, and with their approaches at exactly the point where the Panathenaic Way bisected the southeastern angle of the square.<sup>22</sup> Even as

<sup>19</sup>The inscribed base of the acroterion, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3251, now missing, is shown in place by J. Stuart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* I, London 1762, chap. I, pp. 1ff., pl. III.

<sup>20</sup>The state of the Agora in the Archaic and Classical periods can be readily appreciated from the period plans, *Agora* XIV, pls. 4–6.

<sup>21</sup>Evidence for the cults is conveniently assembled by R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957 (= *Agora* III), pp. 50–53 (Apollo Patroos), 55–57 (Artemis Boulaia), 122–124 (Zeus Agoraios), 26–30 (Zeus Eleutherios), 151–160 (Mother of the Gods).

<sup>22</sup>*Agora* XIV, pl. 7.

late as the 1st century B.C., there was a place of assembly in the Agora, and orators harangued the crowds from a speaker's platform erected for the Roman generals in front of the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>23</sup> But to the Agora of the Roman period all this is foreign, for beginning in the reign of Augustus the entire public square came to be occupied by buildings and monuments.<sup>24</sup> It is as clear a statement of the new order in the world as can be made through the medium of architecture. A conquered city had little need for democratic assemblies and a subject citizen little voice in the determination of his destiny. The frenzied assemblies of 88 B.C. had pitched Athens into the turmoil of the Mithradatic Wars on the losing side, and it is almost as if in rejoinder that the builders of the new era seem determined to obliterate that symbol of Athenian democracy, the market square itself, in order to reflect the vanished reality. Citizens of Roman Athens knew that the tides of world politics would never break again on Attic shores.

The centerpiece of the Agora of the new era was an Odeion, an impressive marble auditorium rising high above its surrounding buildings and out of scale with the setting. The building was placed with a Roman eye for the dominating axis of a space, pressed hard against the terrace of the Middle Stoa, with the square spreading out on three sides. The costly marble work of its fabric, the classicizing style of its architectural details, and its principles of design, which once again find no precedent at Athens but are more akin to covered theaters of southern Italy, all suggest that the Odeion was the gift of a prominent Roman benefactor. Scholars have assumed that it is to be identified with "the theater in the Kerameikos called Agrippeion" (Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum* II.5.4; 8.3-4), which was the scene of lectures and rhetorical displays in the middle of the 2nd century after Christ. Construction of the Odeion is thus attributable to no less a personage than M. Vipsanius Agrippa, minister and son-in-law of Augustus, who probably saw to the dedication of the building on a visit to Athens in about 15 B.C.<sup>25</sup> It was the perfect harbinger of the new era in the Agora: its placement near the site of the old orchestra of Archaic times displayed a studied antiquarianism which is typically Augustan, while at the same time the splendid concert hall and lecture room celebrated the rich cultural heritage of Athens which Romans most admired. It was a monument to a city where sophists and philosophers had replaced generals and orators as the most notable citizens.

The antiquarian spirit of the age finds still more vivid expression in a group of ancient religious monuments which were physically removed from their original sites in

<sup>23</sup> Athenaeus, v.212 e, f.

<sup>24</sup> *Agora* XIV, pl. 8.

<sup>25</sup> For definitive publication of the architecture, H. A. Thompson, "The Odeion in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 31-141; *Agora* XIV, pp. 111-114; cf. also the remarks of Ward-Perkins, pp. 379-381. For earlier identification with the Agrippeion, W. Dörpfeld, "Die verschiedenen Odeien in Athen," *AthMitt* 17, 1892, pp. 252-260; Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 180; Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 350. It was probably on the occasion of Agrippa's dedication of the Odeion that the Athenians erected his statue and carved his name on the tall pedestal of an earlier Pergamene monument which stands so prominently beside the approach to the Propylaea of the Acropolis. W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Monument of Agrippa at Athens" (abstract of paper delivered at the 21st General Meeting of the AIA), *AJA* 24, 1920, p. 83; cf. *Agora* XIV, p. 111.

various parts of Attica and transplanted in the Agora, so that by the middle of the 1st century after Christ the old market place must have assumed something of the aspect of a museum. Pausanias' later description of the Agora lends color to this picture, for the Roman traveler certainly responded with lively interest to the crumbling Classical buildings cluttered with ancient works of art. Shortly after the completion of the Odeion, the Temple of Ares was erected in the central part of the open square. The Doric peripteral temple, built originally in the 5th century B.C., had been carefully dismantled, and each of its marble blocks was inscribed with letters to assist the masons in reassembling the building in its original form, after its journey to the city, probably from the sanctuary of Ares in the deme of Acharnai.<sup>26</sup> The temple's placement in the Agora betrays an obvious relationship to that of the Odeion. While the auditorium dominated the north-south axis of the square, the Temple of Ares was sited on the east-west axis. Placed as they were almost exactly at right angles, the two buildings defined the open area by establishing a focal point where their axes crossed, and at this point stood the altar of Ares, aligned precisely with the northern entrance on the axis of the Odeion. Thus the temple and the concert hall were linked together architecturally by one of the principles of axial design most favored by Roman architects. Indeed, the relation between the buildings may even express a relation between the persons whom they honored; for it has been suggested with considerable probability that the old temple of Ares was re-erected on this site to serve some aspect of the imperial cult.<sup>27</sup> An inscribed statue base, to be dated about A.D. 2, honored Gaius Caesar, the son of Agrippa and adopted son of Augustus, as the "New Ares"; and this monument should probably be connected with the rededication of the temple.<sup>28</sup> A few years later, Drusus Caesar, son of the Emperor Tiberius, was similarly honored by the epithet "New God Ares" (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3257) on a statue base which is also possibly to be related to the temple in the Agora. By the early years of the 1st century after Christ, the Classical market place had begun to acquire a quite different character, indicative of a substantially altered purpose for the civic center of the city. The dominating position of the Odeion emphasized the prominence of Athenian cultural institutions, and the restoration of the Temple of Ares, in a strikingly literal example of Classical revival, established the ancient market as an appropriate spot

<sup>26</sup>For the architecture of the reconstructed temple, Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* (footnote 14 above), pp. 1-52; M. H. McAllister, "The Temple of Ares at Athens. A Review of the Evidence," *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 1-64. For its original location and removal to the Agora, H. A. Thompson, "Itinerant Temples of Attica" (abstract of paper delivered at the 63rd General Meeting of the AIA), *AJA* 66, 1962, p. 200; *Agora* XIV, pp. 162-165, where the reconstruction is dated at the end of the 1st century B.C., following Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-52. When the temple was re-erected in the Agora, the marble sima of its roof was borrowed from yet another early temple in the Attic countryside, the 5th-century Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., "The Temple of Poseidon: A Missing Sima and Other Matters," *AJA* 78, 1974, pp. 211-238.

<sup>27</sup>Cf. Raubitschek, *JRS* 44, 1954 (footnote 8 above), p. 75; Thompson, "The Annex to the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 35, 1966, p. 183; *Agora* XIV, p. 163.

<sup>28</sup>*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3250 with the improved text of M. and E. Levensohn, "Inscriptions on the South Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia* 16, 1947, pp. 68-69.

where the new cults of the Roman imperial family might plant themselves most visibly in the city.

The imperial cult came to be a vital instrument through which the wealthy aristocracies in the Greek cities expressed their loyalty and support for the rulers of Rome.<sup>29</sup> Thus the degree to which the cults of the emperors flourished provides a useful measure of the process of Romanization. At Athens the combined cult of Rome and Caesar Augustus had been founded on the Acropolis, shortly after 27 B.C., with the construction of the little circular Ionic temple on a site just east of the Parthenon and precisely on its axis. Here again the classicizing taste of the age is all pervasive; for the Ionic order of the new temple was copied in every detail from the columns and moldings of the Erechtheion.<sup>30</sup> The most tangible evidence for the existence of the imperial cult in the lower city is a series of 13 small altars bearing the name of Augustus in the dative or genitive case, which surely implies divinity.<sup>31</sup> Since most of the altars were found in the general vicinity of the Agora, it is no doubt correct to interpret them together with other pieces of evidence which connect various members of the Julio-Claudian family with shrines or monuments in the Agora. A statue base of Livia, bearing the title Julia Augusta, which she assumed in A.D. 14, was found just east of the Metroon and shows that she was assimilated to Artemis Boulaia,<sup>32</sup> in the same way as we have already seen that Gaius Caesar and Drusus Caesar shared the Temple of Ares with its ancient tenant. Three bases for statues of the Emperor Claudius have come from the Agora, and one identifies him with the epithet Apollo Patroos, from which we may infer that he had been assimilated to that deity in his temple on the west side of the square.<sup>33</sup> In like manner, the Emperor Tiberius was honored by an inscription rededicating to him the great bronze quadriga of the 2nd century B.C. which stood on a tall shaft before the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup>See generally L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, Middletown 1931, pp. 181–246; Bowersock, *op. cit.* (footnote 9 above), pp. 112–121.

<sup>30</sup>See G. Kawerau, "Tempel der Roma und des Augustus auf der Akropolis von Athen," *AntDenk* I, 1888, p. 13, pls. 25–26; Graindor, *Auguste*, pp. 30–31, 180–184; Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 494–497; W. Binder (*Der Roma-Augustus Monopteros auf der Akropolis in Athen und sein typologischer Ort*, Stuttgart 1969) attempted to dissociate the temple from the foundation east of the Parthenon.

<sup>31</sup>See A. S. Benjamin and A. E. Raubitschek, "Arae Augusti," *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 65–85.

<sup>32</sup>M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 464–465, no. 12 = *Agora* III, p. 136, no. 427, with the improved reading and interpretation of J. H. Oliver, "Livia as Artemis Boulaia at Athens," *CP* 60, 1965, p. 179. On the associations of the Julio-Claudian family with shrines in the Agora, cf. Thompson, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 182–183.

<sup>33</sup>*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3269, 3273, 3274 were all found in the early excavations in the Agora conducted by the Archaeological Society of Athens. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3274 names the emperor Apollo Patroos and should be read with the textual improvements of A. E. Raubitschek, "Sophocles of Sunion," *ÖJhBeibl* 37, 1948, pp. 35–40; J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, Baltimore 1950, p. 86. Cf. Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, p. 114.

<sup>34</sup>E. Vanderpool, "Athens Honors the Emperor Tiberius," *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 86–90. The monument was probably originally dedicated by the Athenians to Attalos II of Pergamon in thanks for the stoa which bears his name. Its subsequent history is thus similar to that of the Agrippa monument (above, footnote 25), cf. *Agora* XIV, p. 107.

Such associations between the imperial family and the Agora have led to the likely suggestion that several structures of this period may have been built to serve the new cults of the emperors. At the end of Augustus' reign, or possibly after his death in A.D. 14, a curious double temple was added as an annex behind the ancient stoa of the 5th century B.C. which took its name from the cult of Zeus Eleutherios. At the same time an earlier structure in front of the stoa was considerably enlarged, probably to serve as an altar for the cult, newly installed in the annex. H. A. Thompson has argued persuasively that the Roman annex of the Stoa of Zeus housed some part of the imperial cult.<sup>35</sup> During the early 1st century after Christ, several Attic temples were partly dismantled and their blocks transported to Athens for re-use in the Agora, in a manner analogous to the Temple of Ares. Two sets of Ionic columns dating to the 5th century B.C. were found built into the Late Roman Fortification Wall south of the Stoa of Attalos; and the blocks of both sets were lettered with masons' marks of the Roman period to assist in reassembly. Although the original provenience of one of these Ionic orders has yet to be identified, the other series of columns came from the Temple of Athena at Sounion. Built into the same wall was a series of Doric columns likewise marked for reassembly and brought into the city from a Classical building at Thorikos, possibly a temple of Demeter.<sup>36</sup> It has recently been shown that the Doric order from Thorikos was re-used together with other materials in a small Roman temple set in the angle between the Odeion and the Middle Stoa.<sup>37</sup> Although the Doric columns had been left unfinished by the original builders, the fluting was carried to completion by Roman masons, who left thereby the telltale signature of their slightly heavier hands. The so-called Southwest Temple exhibits Roman principles of design in that it is to be reconstructed as a podium temple with a single prostyle porch facing westward toward the Tholos. Since the statue base of Livia with the epithet Artemis Boulaia was found in close proximity to the remains of this temple, it has been plausibly suggested that the new shrine was dedicated to her as Artemis Boulaia.<sup>38</sup> Another prostyle temple of podium type was erected at the southeastern entrance to the Agora at about the same time. It, too, borrowed its Ionic columns from a building of the Classical period, the Temple of Athena at Sounion, from which 12 unfluted Ionic columns had been removed and brought to Athens.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup>Thompson, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 171-187; cf. *Agora* XIV, pp. 102-103.

<sup>36</sup>Thompson, *AJA* 66, 1962 (footnote 26 above), p. 200. For the re-used Ionic and Doric columns in the Late Roman Fortification Wall, Thompson, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 350-356, and cf. pp. 341-343, where the Doric columns from Thorikos are attributed to the Southeast Temple; *Agora* XIV, pp. 165-168.

<sup>37</sup>The architectural demonstration that the four Doric columns from Thorikos were re-used in the porch of the Southwest Temple will be presented in a forthcoming study by W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., to whom I am indebted for allowing me to read his article in manuscript.

<sup>38</sup>*Agora* XIV, p. 166.

<sup>39</sup>Attribution of the columns from Sounion to the Southeast Temple will likewise be argued by Dinsmoor in his article mentioned above, footnote 37. For previous discussion of the Southeast Temple, Thompson, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 340-343; *Agora* XIV, p. 167.

Although the evidence for the growth of the imperial cult in various parts of the Agora is less than abundant, a persistent pattern appears to emerge which can scarcely be fortuitous. In the century following Sulla's capture of Athens, when the city's constitutional forms were substantially altered and her political autonomy drastically reduced, the ancient cults of the Agora came gradually to espouse the new rulers of the Roman world. We have seen that Artemis Boulaia, Ares, and Apollo Patroos all lent their epithets to members of the imperial house, while a new double shrine enlarged the facilities of Zeus Eleutherios. Now, too, the open square of the market place was filled with temples and monuments which proclaimed to every citizen both the gifts of Roman patronage and the realities of Roman rule. Almost symbolic of these changes in function and outlook, which overtook the Agora in the early Roman period, is the transfer to the market place of yet another monument: the great marble altar of the 4th century B.C., probably sacred to Zeus Agoraios. The altar seems to have stood originally above the assembly place on the Pnyx, where it would fit perfectly in an extant rock-cut bedding, and whence it may have been moved to the Agora, as we learn once again from the characteristic Roman masons' marks carved on its blocks.<sup>40</sup> It may not be coincidence that Zeus, whose special task it was to govern the political assemblies of the Athenians, should depart the Pnyx at just the time when Augustus is said to have curtailed sharply the powers of those same assemblies.<sup>41</sup> In fact there is little evidence of political life in the city after the death of Augustus. The annual lists of the prytaneis of the Council ceased to be published about that time; and although a new type of prytany document was introduced about the mid-1st century, only a few scattered examples are known.<sup>42</sup> It was a time when Athens' civic life had come to low estate.

The wholesale re-use of building materials from old Classical temples plainly afforded major economies in the costs of construction as much as it appealed to the archaizing tastes of early Roman builders; but the practice implies also that many of the country sanctuaries of Attica were at this time virtually untended, and their ancient monuments in ruinous condition. Thus the group of migratory monuments discussed above should now be brought into relation with a well documented program to restore the sanctuaries and temene of the gods and heroes, which had been damaged in the wars of the Hellenistic period or had fallen into disrepair over the course of time. Fragments of the official decrees have survived<sup>43</sup> empowering the hoplite general, Metrodoros son of Xenon, and the king, Mantias son of Kleomenes, to proceed with the project; and

<sup>40</sup>R. Stillwell, "Architectural Studies," *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pp. 140-148; Thompson, *Hesperia* 21, 1952, pp. 91-93; *Agora* XIV, pp. 160-162.

<sup>41</sup>For punishment of the cities of Greece after Actium, Cassius Dio, *l.c.* 2.1.

<sup>42</sup>S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, *Prytaneis*, Athens 1937, pp. 2-3, 165-193; D. J. Geagan, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XII, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla*, Princeton 1967, pp. 92-94; *idem*, *op. cit.* (footnote 1 above), p. 385.

<sup>43</sup>*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1035; most recently studied and interpreted by G. R. Culley, "The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035," *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 207-223 (text and date); *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 282-298 (commentary).

appended to the decrees is a list, now fragmentary, which catalogued some 80 sanctuaries renovated by the Demos on the island of Salamis, in the Peiraieus, in the Attic countryside, and in the city itself. Attempts to date the inscription have produced little agreement, and proposed dates have fluctuated widely from as early as 100 B.C. to as late as A.D. 200, though the preponderance of recent opinion has favored placing it in the reign of Augustus.<sup>44</sup> Since many of the renovated sanctuaries were on the island of Salamis, it is plain that Athens had once again taken possession of that island, which had been separated from the city after the time of Sulla.<sup>45</sup> The program to restore the Attic sanctuaries is thus closely bound up with the colorful, if somewhat enigmatic, career of Julius Nikanor of Hierapolis in Syria, whose extravagant contributions to poetry, philanthropy, and public service caused him to be dubbed the "New Homer and New Themistokles".<sup>46</sup> The latter title was no doubt bestowed upon him because in an act of flamboyant munificence he had purchased the island of Salamis and had given it back to Athens.<sup>47</sup> Since Julius Nikanor is now known to have served as hoplite general in A.D. 61/2, he can scarcely have been active before the turn of the century, to which period his purchase of Salamis has recently been assigned.<sup>48</sup> Fragments of a decree honoring Nikanor appear to mention estates on Salamis, and the document must surely commemorate his purchase of the island. The same decree refers to his service as agonothetes of the Augustan Games, an office which was apparently held for the first time in A.D. 41.<sup>49</sup> Nikanor's purchase of Salamis, and by implication the program to

<sup>44</sup>For previous discussions of the date, Culley, *Hesperia* 44, 1975, p. 217, note 18; for his own chronological conclusions, between 10/9 and 3/2 B.C., *ibid.*, p. 221.

<sup>45</sup>Graindor, *Auguste*, p. 9.

<sup>46</sup>*PIR*<sup>2</sup> IV 3, 440, which includes references to two men: C. Julius Nikanor of Alexandria and Julius Nikanor of Hierapolis; cf. J. and L. Robert, *BullÉpigr*, 1955, p. 210, no. 79; Bowersock, *op. cit.* (footnote 9 above), p. 96, note 5.

<sup>47</sup>Dio Chrysostom, xxxi.116.

<sup>48</sup>*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1723 + E.M. 13215, lines 14–17 (M. Th. Mitsos, 'Αρχ'Εφ, 1972, pp. 55–57, with the restoration of E. A. Kapetanopoulos, "Gaius Julius Nikanor, Neos Homeros kai Neos Themistokles," *RivFil* 104, 1976, pp. 375–377). This document shows that Julius Nikanor "New Homer and New Themistokles" was hoplite general in the same year in which Tiberius Claudius Theogenes of Paianeia was herald of the Areopagus. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1990, line 2 lists Theogenes as herald in the archonship of Thrasyllus, A.D. 61/2. This date is thus to be regarded as a *terminus ante quem* for Nikanor's purchase of Salamis, for his acquisition of the title "New Themistokles", and for the restoration of the sanctuaries on the island. Kapetanopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 376, proposed to restore the missing letters at the end of *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1723 + E.M. 13215, line 16, as τ[ο<sup>v</sup>β], meaning that in this year Theogenes held the office for the second time, although Mitsos (*op. cit.*, p. 56) had read the end of the same line as τ[ι] [τος(?)]. It seems preferable to restore the line with abbreviations of Theogenes' Roman names τ[ι] [β<sup>v</sup>Κλ], a possibility which Kapetanopoulos admitted, and to date the inscription in Theogenes' known year of office as herald (A.D. 61/2), rather than some years later as required by Kapetanopoulos' restoration. Nikanor's purchase of Salamis should thus be dated before, and not after, A.D. 61/2. It is difficult to know how to square this date with Strabo's statement (ix.1.10, C 394) that the Athenians held the island at the time of his writing.

<sup>49</sup>For the decree honoring Nikanor, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1069 + *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 68–71, no. 13. A statue base of the Emperor Claudius datable to A.D. 41 names Novius son of Phileinos, later Tiberius Claudius Novius, as "first agonothetes of the Augustan Games," *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3270, lines 4–5. For discussion of the games, see E. A. Kapetanopoulos, "Παρατηρήσεις εἰς ἀττικάς ἐπιγραφάς," *Δελτ* 30, 1975 [1978], pp.

restore the sanctuaries of the island, should thus be removed from the age of Augustus and reassigned to the period from A.D. 41 to A.D. 61.

In the context of the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41–54), the restoration of the Attic sanctuaries finds its appropriate place, and the spirit which moved the Demos to refurbish its ancient shrines may well have begun with the emperor himself. A series of dedications hails Claudius as “savior and benefactor”,<sup>50</sup> titles which Athenians normally remitted only in payment for specific benefactions received; and, indeed, evidence for some of these benefactions may be recoverable from the archaeological record. Pausanias (x.27.3) and Cassius Dio (LX.6.8) report that Claudius, upon ascending the throne, restored to the Greek cities many of the statues and works of art which had been looted from Greece by his predecessor, Caligula. At Athens, bases for no less than seven such statues have come to light, and their inscriptions specifically state that they were restored by the gracious favor of the emperor.<sup>51</sup> To the early years of Claudius’ reign belongs also the monumental remodeling of the approaches to the Acropolis. The old ramp leading up to the Propylaia, never completed in the Classical period, was now replaced by a broad marble stairway in order to enhance Mnesikles’ building with a grandiose frontality which appealed to Roman architectural instincts.<sup>52</sup> A dedication to Claudius mentions the prominent Athenian, Tiberius Claudius Novius son of Phileinos, who took charge of some imperial construction in A.D. 42, and this is possibly to be associated with the stairway of the Propylaia.<sup>53</sup> In any event, the expensive marble work of this project seems a certain indication of imperial patronage. The new stairway on the Acropolis, however, may well have inspired the Demos to undertake a similar but less costly project, in the Agora; for sometime toward the middle of the 1st century after Christ, a monumental flight of poros steps was built into the hillside of the Kolonos Agoraios.<sup>54</sup> Placed as it was precisely in line with the front of the Hephaisteion, the Roman stairway provided for the first time a grand, axial approach to the temple from the market place below. Evidence for the restoration at this time of yet another ancient

122–123; for Novius, S. Follet, *Athènes au II<sup>e</sup> et au III<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1976, pp. 160–161; D. J. Geagan, “Tiberius Claudius Novius, the Hoplite Generalship and the *Epimeleteia* of the Free City of Athens,” *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 279–287.

<sup>50</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3269, line 3; 3271, line 4; 3272, line 3; 3274, line 7.

<sup>51</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 5173–5175; 5176 + *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 45–46, no. 53; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 5177, 5178 + *Δελτ* 25, 1970 [1971], pp. 202–203; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 5179 + *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 246–247, no. 7 (= *SEG* 23, 1968, 130); cf. P. Graindor, “Inscriptions attiques d’époque romaine,” *BCH* 51, 1927, pp. 256–260.

<sup>52</sup> The marble stairway of the Propylaia is discussed by Graindor, *Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 160–163; Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 215. Construction of the stairway is mentioned in two partially preserved lists of the gatekeepers of the Acropolis, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2292, lines 49–51; 2297, lines 11–12. In the former inscription, the entry refers to a year not long after A.D. 37/8. Although much of the Roman stairway was removed some 20 years ago, when the modern approach to the Propylaia was constructed, its remains may be studied in the actual-state plan of R. Bohn, *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin 1882, pl. II, and cf. the section, pl. X; and the stairway appears prominently in earlier photographs of the Propylaia, see C. Picard, *L’Acropole: l’enceinte, l’entrée, le bastion d’Athéna Niké, les Propylées*, Paris n.d., pls. 31–32; N. Balanos, *Les monuments de l’Acropole*, Paris 1936, pl. 2.

<sup>53</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3271, lines 4–5.

<sup>54</sup> H. A. Thompson, “Buildings on the West Side of the Agora,” *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 221–222.

shrine comes from the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous, where in A.D. 45/6 the Doric temple of the 5th century B.C. underwent considerable repair of its east façade and was rededicated to the deified Empress Livia, as we learn from the inscription carved on its central architrave.<sup>55</sup> These public works are very much in the same spirit as the renovation of shrines decreed by the Demos, whose rededication in its own name of the temple at Rhamnous suggests that that project may even have been a part of the over-all program. Taken together the transplanted and rededicated temples, the refurbished sanctuaries, the re-used building materials, scavenged from dilapidated monuments, all this evidence reveals a clear, but gloomy, picture of the state of Athenian culture in the 1st century after Christ. Moreover, comparison of this picture with contemporary architectural developments in Italy itself, or for that matter in the great capitals of the eastern provinces, such as Antioch and Ephesus, will bring into sharp focus the stark reality of Athenian decline.

Until the end of the 1st century after Christ, it is possible to detect rather little in the architecture of the city of Athens which could be termed specifically Roman. Only the earliest Roman buildings, the Market of Caesar and Augustus and the Odeion of Agrippa, show the influence of architectural ideas from other parts of the Empire; and even the market is deeply conservative in the design of its orders, which clearly hark back to Classical prototypes. To be sure, we have seen in the siting of such buildings as the Odeion and the Temple of Ares, or in the monumental approaches to the Propylaea and the Hephaisteion, concepts of axial and frontal design in the handling of spaces which were inspired more by Roman tastes than by Greek; but in these limited efforts one feels the work of architects grappling with the hopeless task of imposing a Roman sense of order upon a city which had grown in haphazard fashion for 500 years. All other aspects of Athenian building in the early Roman period cling tenaciously to the traditions of the Classical past in style, in materials, and in methods of construction, a conservatism which, of course, was heavily reinforced by the free borrowing of Classical blocks and by the actual reconstruction of ancient buildings.

At the beginning of the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98–117), there was introduced into Athens for the first time one of the most versatile forms in the vocabulary of Roman civic architecture, and one which quickly became ubiquitous in the provincial cities of the Empire. This was the colonnaded street. These broad avenues, flanked by matching porticos, often paved in marble and punctuated by arches, formed continuous threads of monumental architecture which sewed together the patchwork of the urban fabric. They could be used to provide a uniform façade for shops and houses, and for buildings of

<sup>55</sup>For Roman repairs to the temple, see M. M. Miles, *The Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous*, diss. Princeton 1980, pp. 162–164. The date in A.D. 45/6 for the inscription and rededication has been most fully discussed by W. B. Dinsmoor, "Rhamnountine Fantasies," *Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 186–194, following the restoration proposed by J. H. Oliver, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 83, note 23a; *idem*, *op. cit.* (footnote 33 above), p. 85, note 18. A later date was proposed by O. Broneer, "Greek Inscriptions of Roman Date," *AJA* 36, 1932, pp. 397–400 and followed by Kirchner, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3242. See now the discussion by Miles, *op. cit.*, pp. 164–170.

disparate height and size, as at Athens and Corinth. They lent decorative embellishment to the *cardo* and *decumanus* of an orthogonal city plan, as at Timgad and Djemila in Africa, or at Gerasa in Syria. They could be lengthened indefinitely to give processional direction to the main street of an irregular city, as at Pergamon and Antioch, or to create a monumental approach to forum or agora, as at Leptis Magna, Ephesus, and Corinth.<sup>56</sup> Their appearance at Athens, about A.D. 100, introduces to the city the first universally recognizable element in the common language of imperial provincial design, which can be observed in all parts of the Roman world.

Both Pausanias (1.2.4) and later Himerios (*Orationes*, III.12) describe the great street of the Panathenaia, which began at the Dipylon Gate, half a kilometer to the northwest of the Agora, bisected the market square, and wound its way up hill to the Propylaia of the Acropolis. Both authors specifically mention the stoas lining the street on either side as far as the Agora, and Himerios speaks of the commercial establishments incorporated in the colonnades. Portions of these stoas have come to light in excavations on both sides of the Panathenaic Way, just outside the northwestern entrance to the market square. The colonnade along the northern side of the street is known in only one small section, where it was found in excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1970;<sup>57</sup> but the southern colonnade has been investigated in some detail where it terminated behind the Stoa Basileios.<sup>58</sup> The remains reveal a complicated architectural history, for the building shows signs of heavy damage at the hands of both the Herulians in A.D. 267 and of the Visigoths in A.D. 396; and in their present condition the remains date to a reconstruction of the 6th century after Christ. Nevertheless, the original form of the stoa is readily discernible and consisted of two open colonnades, of the Doric order, placed back to back and sharing a common median wall. The northern portico flanked the Panathenaic Way itself, while its southern counterpart bordered the narrow street which skirted the foot of the Kolonos Agoraios and came to an end behind the Stoa of Zeus. As a result of this, the building terminated in an open passage in the form of a propylon which allowed pedestrian traffic to move freely from one street to the other. A date at the beginning of the 2nd century for the original construction of the stoa is indicated by the fragmentary pieces of pottery

<sup>56</sup>For the use of colonnaded streets in the provincial cities of the Empire, at Timgad: Ward-Perkins, p. 480, pls. 251–252; at Djemila: *ibid.*, p. 487, pl. 254; at Gerasa: C. H. Kraeling *et al.*, *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, pp. 153–157, plan I; at Pergamon: O. Ziegenaus and G. de Luca, *Altortümer von Pergamon*, XI, ii, *Das Asklepieion*, Berlin 1975, pp. 44–53, pl. 84; at Antioch: J. Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, V, *Les portiques d'Antioche*, Princeton 1972, *passim*; Downey, *op. cit.* (footnote 17 above), pp. 173–176, figs. 6–11; at Leptis Magna: R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Leptis Magna*, Rome 1964, fig. 1; M. F. Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, Basel 1966, p. 96, plan I; at Ephesus: E. Reisch, *Forschungen in Ephesos III*, Vienna 1923, pp. 18–39; at Corinth: H. N. Fowler and R. Stillwell, *Corinth*, I, *Introduction, Topography, Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass. 1932, pp. 148–158, pls. X, XI.

<sup>57</sup>Y. Nikopoulou, *AAA* 4, 1971, pp. 1–9; O. Alexandri, *Δελτ* 27, 1972, B' 1 [1976], pp. 23–27.

<sup>58</sup>For a preliminary account of the excavation of the building, *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 260–261; *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 370–382. Another section of the same colonnade was cleared in the excavations of 1936, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 338–339, pl. IX. The building has appeared on all recently published restored plans of the Agora, e.g. *Agora XIV*, pl. 8.

recovered from beneath its floor.<sup>59</sup> This period is also suggested by the simplicity and economy of the building's construction. Its two stylobates, columns, superstructure, and the orthostates of the median wall were entirely made of poros limestone, while the floors of the colonnades were of beaten earth, just as the broad avenue of the street itself (22 meters wide) was surfaced only with gravel throughout its history. Such homely construction and conspicuous lack of opulence make it clear that the building should be attributed to the Demos itself and not to some wealthy benefactor.

In this respect, the stoas on the Panathenaic Way contrast sharply with a second colonnaded street added to the civic center of Athens at exactly the same time. We have already seen that the Market of Caesar and Augustus removed the bulk of commercial activity from the Agora at the end of the 1st century B.C. Excavation of the block lying between the new Roman market and the old square has now revealed precise evidence for the program of urban development which sought to link together in a suitably monumental fashion these two vital areas of the city. From early times, a narrow street had led eastward from the Panathenaic Way at a point just south of the Stoa of Attalos. From the 5th century B.C. until the sack of Sulla this street had been lined with small shops and private dwellings, which seem to have been systematically demolished in the 1st century B.C. when the Market of Caesar and Augustus was under construction.<sup>60</sup> It is an accurate measure of the city's depressed economic conditions that much of this neighborhood seems afterwards to have lain vacant and unoccupied for a full century before any construction was undertaken. It also says much for the city's adoption of Roman tastes and of international imperial style that the builders of about A.D. 100 made use of an architectural schema which had already become a fashionable device of provincial urban design.

An inscription carved on the lintel of the building's main door names the donor, T. Flavius Pantainos, who styled himself priest of the philosophical muses, and it specifies that his gift was dedicated to Athena Polias, to the Emperor Trajan, and to the city of Athens. The form of the emperor's name, with the cognomen Germanicus, but not yet Dacicus, places the date between A.D. 98 and 102. Moreover, the inscription informs us in unusual detail exactly what construction Pantainos donated: "the outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with its books, and all the embellishment therein."<sup>61</sup> Since its discovery in 1933, this inscription and another concerning regulations for the use of the books have caused the building to be known as the Library of Pantainos, although full exploration of the site has now made it clear that the library was only one part of a

<sup>59</sup> *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 377, and note 35. A date in the Augustan period proposed earlier (*Hesperia* 40, 1971, p. 261) was based on insufficient evidence and has had to be altered.

<sup>60</sup> *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 346–365, and for the date of demolition of the buildings, pp. 354–355.

<sup>61</sup> For the dedicatory inscription, B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15, 1946, p. 233, no. 64; and concerning Pantainos, see further A. W. Parsons, "A Family of Philosophers at Athens and Alexandria," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, *Commemorative Studies in Honor of T. Leslie Shear*, Baltimore 1949, pp. 268–272; J. H. Oliver, "Flavius Pantaenus, Priest of the Philosophical Muses," *HTHR* 72, 1979, pp. 157–160.

more complex structure.<sup>62</sup> All those elements mentioned in the dedication can be readily identified among the preserved remains. The “peristyle” refers to the columnar court in the western block of the building, and the large hall separated from the peristyle by a screen of columns is almost certainly to be identified as the “library with its books”. The “outer stoas” were the three Ionic colonnades bordering the streets and forming the marble façades of the building, of which the principal front was turned westward toward the Panathenaic Way.

In the context of the present study, however, particular interest attaches to the colonnades which flanked the street leading to the Roman market. The shorter was set at an oblique angle in order to allow for a wider passage between it and the south end of the Stoa of Attalos; and the original exterior stairway of the Hellenistic stoa was dismantled at this time to create a more spacious approach to the colonnaded street. The irregular area south of the stoa was now paved with marble slabs, and the whole south wall was encrusted with marble revetment to give added richness to the architecture. A marble arch marked the formal entrance to the street and limited access to pedestrians, to whom it gave a commanding sense of direction as they approached the Roman market, and for whom it framed the view of the Doric gateway at the east end of the street. Upon passing through the arch, the pedestrian was confronted by a long corridor of monumental architecture. The marble-paved street ran eastward for a distance of 75 meters where it ascended a broad flight of steps leading up to the Gate of Athena. The southern side of the street was lined for its entire length by another Ionic colonnade, which formed the third “outer stoa” of Pantainos’ building and provided a covered and porticoed sidewalk along the street. There is some evidence that the rooms behind the colonnade may have accommodated shops; but one of the largest rooms, equipped with a special temple façade and marble paved within, was very likely a shrine of the imperial cult, before which stood statues of Trajan dedicated by his high priest, Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes of Marathon, father of the celebrated sophist and millionaire, Herodes Atticus.<sup>63</sup>

There can be no doubt that the construction of two colonnaded streets in Athens about A.D. 100 represents an infusion of new architectural concepts from abroad. Such

<sup>62</sup>For excavation of the building’s remains, see *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 144–146, 385–398; *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 332–345. The brief treatments of the library in Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora* XIV, pp. 114–116 and Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 432–435 need to be altered in the light of full excavation of the site. For the inscription regulating use of the books, *Hesperia* 5, 1936, pp. 41f.; Wycherley, *Agora* III, p. 150, no. 464.

<sup>63</sup>The imperial cult is likely to have occupied Room 3 of the stoa, see the plan, *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 377, fig. 6 and p. 388. For the base of the statue of Trajan which stood in the colonnade before this room, p. 175, and pl. 39:h. The imperial title shows that the dedication is contemporary with the library inscription, i.e. before A.D. 102. Fragments of another imperial portrait statue of heroic scale were found in an adjacent room, pp. 404–405, and pl. 75:c. Since this depicted the emperor with a kneeling Dacian prisoner at his feet, it must be later than the first Dacian campaign, and thus later than the statue in the colonnade, but it is still undoubtedly to be associated with the cult in Room 3.

monumental avenues seem to have begun, not surprisingly, in the hot lands along the Syrian coast, to which the architecture is supremely well adapted. The earliest example of which we have record was the broad street with which Herod the Great adorned the city of Antioch-on-the-Orontes for a distance of 20 stades, in the last years of the 1st century B.C.<sup>64</sup> By the 1st century after Christ, a colonnaded street formed the principal approach to the agora at Ephesus; and soon thereafter they appeared at other cities of Asia Minor, such as Pergamon, Nicaea, and Hierapolis. During the reign of Claudius, the idea was introduced into Greece, when the Lechaion Road at Corinth was embellished with a similar porticoed approach to the Roman forum;<sup>65</sup> and at about the same time as the Athenian buildings were under construction, the same form of street appeared at the new military colonies in North Africa, Djemila (founded in A.D. 96 or 97) and Timgad (founded in A.D. 100). It is important to observe that the early examples in the eastern provinces functioned in the urban plan exactly as did the Athenian buildings. They expressed in monumental form the basic processional function of a city's major street, just like the stoas on the Panathenaic Way; or they drew the visitor to the heart of a city by directing his path along a grandiose approach to the forum, in the same way as the marble street at Athens was an artery connecting two vital organs of the civic center. In the case of the latter, there may be a more specific reference to its predecessor the Street of Herod at Antioch. Josephus in his descriptions of that colonnaded avenue calls it ἡ πλατεία, the "broad" street, on the analogy of the earlier street at Alexandria; while at Athens, an inscription on the epistyle of Pantainos' stoa proclaimed to passers-by that the Demos had dedicated from its own funds the marble-paved street which is likewise referred to as ἡ πλατεία.<sup>66</sup> We have seen that the Athenians in the early Roman period seldom built with such costly materials as marble when the expense was to be borne by the public purse. Although they were doubtless prompted to do so here in an effort to respond handsomely to Pantainos' private munificence, nevertheless the prominent dedicatory inscription for the "broad" street itself shows that the city attached considerable importance to its construction.

Between the death of Augustus and the accession of Hadrian, there is little evidence of imperial benefactions to the city of Athens. Only Claudius concerned himself with the restoration of statuary, and possibly of some monuments as well. At the beginning of the 2nd century, it would not be an exaggeration to describe Athens as a provincial backwater by comparison with the great capitals of the eastern provinces at Antioch, Ephesus, or even at Corinth. Thus when Hadrian's extensive building pro-

<sup>64</sup>Josephus, *Jewish War* 1.425; *Antiquities* xvi.148. The street begun by Herod of Judaea seems to have been completed under Tiberius, and the archaeological remains show that it underwent numerous subsequent vicissitudes, see Downey, *op. cit.* (footnote 17 above), pp. 173–176; Lassus, *op. cit.* (footnote 56 above), pp. 143ff.

<sup>65</sup>For early colonnaded streets in Asia Minor, Ward-Perkins, p. 395, and cf. p. 417; for Corinth, *ibid.*, p. 371; Stillwell, *op. cit.* (footnote 56 above), pp. 148–158.

<sup>66</sup>*Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 389, no. 3; cf. the usage of Josephus, *loc. cit.* (footnote 64 above); for the "broad" street at Alexandria, Diodorus, xvii.52.3; Strabo, xvii.1.10, C 795.

gram at Athens is set against the background of century-long depression, as we have tried here to reconstruct it, the enormous outlay of imperial funds for lavish buildings takes on its proper proportion as a truly staggering reversal in the city's fortunes.

The register of Hadrianic building projects is as well known as it is long and need not here be rehearsed again in detail.<sup>67</sup> Most celebrated was the emperor's completion and dedication in A.D. 131/2 of the huge Temple of Olympian Zeus with its colossal gold and ivory statue; and the many altars and votives dedicated to Hadrian with the epithet Olympian show that the emperor was assimilated to the cult of Zeus and that the new temple became the center of a greatly revived imperial cult.<sup>68</sup> The same year saw the inauguration of the Panhellenion, or the temple of Hera and Zeus Panhellenios, as Pausanias refers to it (1.18.9). The very ruinous remains of a great peristyle court enclosing the foundations of a small podium temple have recently been identified as the Panhellenion.<sup>69</sup> This proposal brings the sanctuary into close association with the Olympieion since the remains in question occupy the site between it and the Ilissos River. Among the sacred buildings, Pausanias (1.5.5; 18.9) also mentions a temple common to all the gods, or Pantheon, where the emperor's official inscription recorded "The sanctuaries of the gods which he either built from the beginning or adorned with votive offerings and other furnishings, and the gifts which he bestowed on Greek cities and even sometimes on foreigners who asked him . . . ." Parts of the Pantheon have possibly come to light in the massive foundations recently discovered to the east of the Market of Caesar and Augustus, where the remains suggest a gigantic podium temple, larger than the Parthenon, and certainly of Hadrianic date.<sup>70</sup> In addition to the temples, Hadrian greatly augmented the city's water supply by the construction of an aqueduct and reservoir on the lower slopes of Mt. Lykabettos; and he contributed to Athens' cultural life by the gift of a gymnasium together with its furnishings and an endowment for its maintenance.<sup>71</sup>

In the light of such splendid munificence, it has become commonplace to describe Hadrian as the most philhellenic of Roman emperors. The buildings at Athens proclaim his feelings publicly, while his borrowing of Athenian names for various parts of the

<sup>67</sup>See Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 214–252; Kokkou, pp. 150–173. For useful recent discussions of Hadrianic Athens, Follet, *op. cit.* (footnote 49 above), pp. 107–135; Geagan, *op. cit.* (footnote 1 above), pp. 389–399.

<sup>68</sup>For the Olympieion, Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 218–225; Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 402–411; Kokkou, pp. 154–157. For the imperial cult under Hadrian, Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 165–171; Oliver, *op. cit.* (footnote 33 above), pp. 73–101; cf. references to Hadrianic dedications assembled by Geagan, *op. cit.* (footnote 1 above), pp. 429–430.

<sup>69</sup>For the Panhellenion, Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 429–431; Kokkou, pp. 157–159.

<sup>70</sup>For the Pantheon, Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 439–443; Kokkou, pp. 159–161.

<sup>71</sup>For the aqueduct and reservoir, Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 242–243; Kokkou, pp. 169–171; and for the Latin dedicatory inscription, *CIL* III, 549. For the gymnasium, Kokkou, pp. 165–167; Travlos, *AAA* 3, 1970, pp. 11–13. The gift was conveyed by an imperial letter partially preserved in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1102, which mentions (lines 13–14) a sum of money possibly for the furnishing and endowment of the gymnasium, Th. Sauciuc, "Ein Hadriansbrief und das Hadriansgymnasium in Athen," *AthMitt* 37, 1912, pp. 183–189.

imperial villa at Tibur just as clearly reflects the emperor's private feelings.<sup>72</sup> Pausanias lauded his benefactions to Greece specifically; and the Athenians responded with their characteristic outpouring of enthusiasm, which is vividly attested in the dozens of recorded statues of Hadrian, in the 94 altars dedicated to him from all parts of the city, and in the creation of the tribe Hadrianis in his honor.<sup>73</sup> For our present purpose, however, the degree to which Hadrian's building program also transformed the civic center of Athens needs to be especially emphasized. On a site immediately adjacent to the Market of Caesar and Augustus, the Hadrianic builders erected a great four-sided peristyle, the familiar ruins of which have come to be known as the "Library of Hadrian", ever since Leake's identification of the structure in 1816.<sup>74</sup> The general architectural scheme, the scale of the building, and its orientation are based closely on the Roman market across the street to the south. The symmetrical garden enclosure was surrounded by four porticos with small exedrae opening behind the colonnades on the long sides. The plan was designed about a dominating central axis, expressed by a long pool down the center of the garden; the tetrastyle propylon offered the only entrance at the west end of the axis, while the central hall of a symmetrical suite of rooms commanded the east end. The exterior façade on either side of the projecting propylon consisted of Corinthian columns, raised on freestanding pedestals, above which the entablature and cornices broke forward from the wall behind. A plain attic originally rose above the cornices and provided a background for statues placed above each column.

We began by observing how the earliest external influences to affect Athenian buildings of the Roman period inspired the design of the Roman market by Julius Caesar's architects, and how the same influences may also have been felt in the Forum of Caesar at Rome. Now after the same architectural schema had developed in the capital itself for a century and three quarters, through a progression of imperial fora which constitute antiquity's greatest civic architecture, the enclosed Roman *quadruplicus* was re-introduced to Athens by the architects of Hadrian. It is important to recognize that the Library of Hadrian was closely modeled on the Templum Pacis in Rome,<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup>Spartianus, *Vit. Hadr.*, 26.5: "His villa at Tibur was marvellously constructed, and he actually gave to parts of it names of provinces and the most celebrated places, as for example Lyceum, Academia, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poecile, and Tempe. And in order not to omit anything, he even created Hades."

<sup>73</sup>For altars of Hadrian, A. S. Benjamin, "The Altars of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian's Panhellenic Program," *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 57-86; for statues, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3286-3322; Geagan, *op. cit.* (footnote 1 above), pp. 398-399, 429-430. For the creation of the tribe Hadrianis, Pausanias, 1.5.5; Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 19-21, 80-86; and for the date, J. A. Notopoulos, "The Date of the Creation of Hadrianis," *TAPA* 77, 1946, pp. 53-56.

<sup>74</sup>See M. A. Sisson, "The Stoa of Hadrian at Athens," *BSR* 11, 1929, pp. 50-72; Graindor, *Hadrien*, pp. 230-245; B. Götze, "Antike Bibliotheken," *Jdl* 52, 1937, pp. 237-238; Ch. Callmer, "Antike Bibliotheken," *OpusArch* 3, 1944, pp. 172-174; Travlos, *Dictionary*, pp. 244-252; Kokkou, pp. 162-165.

<sup>75</sup>The restoration of the Templum Pacis depends heavily on surviving fragments of the Severan marble plan of Rome, one of which preserves part of the identifying inscription. See A. M. Colini, "Forum Pacis," *BullComm* 65, 1937, pp. 7-40 and especially pls. 3, 4; G. Carettoni, A. M. Colini, L. Cozza and G. Gatti, *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica, Forma Urbis Romae*, Rome 1960, p. 73. For comparison of the Templum Pacis and the Library of Hadrian, Colini, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37; Ward-Perkins, pp. 219-220, 383.

erected by Vespasian between A.D. 71 and 75. The two buildings were very similar in over-all dimensions and precisely analogous in the conception of an enclosed garden square surrounded by porticos with small exedrae behind. Both buildings were strictly symmetrical designs about a central axis at the ends of which the main entrance and the principal apartment were disposed; and the columnar façade of the library was plainly studied from the more elaborate Corinthian order, parts of which still stand in the Forum Transitorium.<sup>76</sup> This evident architectural relation between model and prototype materially affects our understanding of Hadrian's contribution to the civic center of Athens. Indeed, our modern nomenclature, the "Library of Hadrian", has tended to obscure the true nature of the building, which emerges from examination of its architectural relatives. This is not to say that the building has been incorrectly identified, for assuredly it has not; nor does it mean that the building was not a library, for assuredly it was. It is illuminating, nevertheless, to bear in mind that Pausanias did not specifically call it a library; his description is less precise and more correct: "But most splendid of all are one hundred columns: walls and colonnades alike are made of Phrygian marble. Here, too, is a building adorned with a gilded roof and alabaster, and also with statues and paintings: books are stored in it." (1.18.9).

Set in its proper architectural context, the building we know as the "Library of Hadrian" should take its place beside the numerous imperial fora in many provincial cities of the Empire. The plan is based on principles of design and the architecture is influenced by developments specifically attributable to the capital at Rome. Like the imperial fora at Rome, Hadrian's *porticus* at Athens provided a great public square adorned with gardens, embellished with statuary and works of art, and equipped with library and lecture halls. In this respect it differed little from the Templum Pacis, and the Fora of Caesar and Trajan;<sup>77</sup> and as an imperial donation in the provinces it may be compared with the later forum which Septimius Severus built for his native town of Leptis Magna.<sup>78</sup> These comparisons are useful because they also bring into sharp focus the outstanding difference between the other imperial fora and the Library of Hadrian, that is the absence at Athens of the podium temple placed frontally on the axis of the

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Their similarity of scale may be seen in the over-all dimensions: Templum Pacis 135 × 110 m.; Library of Hadrian, 125 × 76 m.

<sup>76</sup>The extant portions of the façades may be compared conveniently in Travlos, *Dictionary*, p. 248, fig. 319 (Library of Hadrian) and E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 2nd ed., I, London 1968, p. 436, fig. 533 (Forum Transitorium).

<sup>77</sup>Public libraries were an important element both in the imperial fora and in others of the many porticoed squares of Rome. See C. E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome*, Chicago 1915, where the ancient evidence is conveniently assembled for the libraries in the Templum Pacis, pp. 16–17, and the Forum of Trajan, pp. 17–19. Cf. also references in Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.* (footnote 16 above), pp. 244–245, 386–388. R. Thomsen, *op. cit.* (footnote 16 above), pp. 196–218, has argued that the famous library of Asinius Pollio in the Atrium Libertatis was incorporated into the southeast side of the Forum Iulium. For the library, Boyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–5; Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–57. The Porticus Octaviae, the great colonnaded square built by Augustus around the Temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno, also contained both Greek and Latin libraries, Boyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–10; Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85, 427.

<sup>78</sup>See Squarciapino, *op. cit.* (footnote 56 above), pp. 95–110; Ward-Perkins, pp. 475–479.

square. At Rome, such temples formed the dominating architectural features of the Fora of Caesar and Augustus, of the Templum Pacis, and of the Forum Transitorium, and one had been added by Hadrian himself to the Forum of Trajan. At Athens, however, the central position in the design was occupied by the library, always a subsidiary part of the Roman fora. 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.

The view here taken of Hadrian's construction at Athens suggests that the library should be related to the old civic center of the city in much the same way as the imperial fora at Rome were related to the old Forum Romanum; and the Library of Hadrian was thus the natural outgrowth of the program of urban development begun by Julius Caesar in the Roman market. In this interpretation, Hadrian's architects may be thought to have understood their creation and its neighbor to the south as a pair of matching imperial fora which introduced a conscious Romanization into the center of the old city. The correctness of this view is clearly demonstrated by the other major Hadrianic construction in the Athenian Agora. Its remains are so tantalizingly fragmentary that it is easy to overlook its importance in the architectural history of the city. This is the basilica which has come to light in recent excavations at the northeast corner of the market square.<sup>79</sup> Its concrete foundations, decorated marble revetment, and the evidence of its construction filling date the building to the reign of Hadrian. The basilica was of elongated plan with three aisles and an ambulatory colonnade, and it had its entrance at one end of the long axis, where it was approached from the Agora through a colonnaded portico. Although only one end of the building has been cleared, both the design of its plan and its disposition with respect to the Agora invite comparison at once with the North Basilica built at Corinth late in the 1st century B.C., and with the much older basilica at Pompeii.<sup>80</sup> Even if the architectural ancestry of the Athenian basilica relates it to southern Italy rather than to Rome itself (where the basilicas were normally laid out parallel to one side of the forum), nevertheless it shows a characteristically western type of building, and one specifically associated with the administration of justice and the conduct of public business.

It is important to notice that the basilica was laid out precisely parallel and aligned with the façade of the library, some 165 meters distant to the east. Although there is no

<sup>79</sup> *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 261–265; *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 134–138, and the plan, p. 135, fig. 2. The southeast corner of the exterior colonnade was uncovered in the earlier excavations and referred to as the "Northeast Stoa", see *Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 213; *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pp. 53–56.

<sup>80</sup> For the North Basilica at Corinth, see Stillwell, *op. cit.* (footnote 56 above), pp. 193–211, and the plan, fig. 131; for the basilica at Pompeii, R. Schultze, *Basilika*, Berlin 1928, pp. 1–34, pls. 1–6. Cf. Ward-Perkins, p. 373, and note 6, who emphasizes the rarity of basilicas in the eastern provinces of the Empire. This underscores the importance of the basilica in the Agora at Athens as an indication of Italian influences on the Hadrianic builders.

evidence to indicate how the intervening space was handled, it seems likely that the two buildings bore some relation to each other. Taken together as imperial forum and Roman basilica, they represent the two most characteristic types of public building in the Roman world. More than that, in the symbolic language of the architecture, such buildings express the physical presence of Roman rule in every province of the Empire, by using architectural forms which Romans traditionally associated with the functions of government. In the light of this discussion, it may seem paradoxical that such notions should be attributed to Hadrian, lover of Athens, benefactor of Greece, champion of that culture which Athenian tradition most epitomized. He it was whose portrait in the Agora<sup>81</sup> showed on the cuirass Athena, with her victories, standing on the wolf of Rome, in that most vivid iconographical expression of the old Horatian tag. He it was also whose architects adorned the city with the most Roman of Athenian buildings, built in a style which would be at home anywhere in the Roman provinces. There is here at work the eclectic spirit which could fuse together disparate elements of the two classical cultures and through that fusion could produce the distinctive cultural amalgam of the High Empire.

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<sup>81</sup>E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, I, *Portrait Sculpture*, Princeton 1953, pp. 71–74, pls. 36, 37. The appropriateness of the iconography of the cuirass as an expression of Hadrian's philhellenism accounts for its frequent use on his portrait statues; *ibid.*, p. 73, note 2 for a list of nine other known examples.