

**RENEWING ATHENS:
THE IDEOLOGY OF THE PAST IN
ROMAN GREECE**

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Abstract

In this thesis we explore the period of renewal that Athens experienced during the second century AD. This century saw Athens at the peak of her cultural prominence in the Roman Empire: the city was the centre of the League of the Panhellenion and hosted a vibrant sophistic scene that attracted orators from across the Greek world, developments which were ideologically fuelled by contemporary conceptions of Classical Athens. While this Athenian ‘golden age’ is a standard feature of scholarship on Greek culture under Rome, my thesis delves further to explore the renewal of the urban and rural landscapes at this time and the relationship between that process and constructions of Athenian identity.

We approach the renewal of second-century Athens through four lenses: past and present in the Ilissos area; the rhetoric of the Panhellenion; elite conflict and competition; and the character of the Attic countryside. My central conclusions are as follows:

1. The renewal of Athens was effected chiefly by Hadrian and the Athenian elite and was modelled on an ideal Athenian past, strategically manipulated to suit present purpose; the attractions of the fifth-century golden age for this programme of renewal meant that politically contentious history of radical democracy and aggressive imperialism had to be safely rewritten.
2. Athens and Attica retained their uniquely integrated character in the second century. Rural Attica was the subject of a powerful sacro-idyllic ideology and played a vital role in concepts of Athenian identity, while simultaneously serving as a functional landscape of production and inhabitation.
3. The true socio-economic importance of the Attic countryside as a settled and productive landscape should be investigated without unduly privileging the limited evidence from survey, and by combining all available sources, both literary and documentary, with attention to their content, cultural context and ideological relevance.

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Introduction

Instead of a cultural haven, an imaginary world, or a museum locked in spiritual twilight, Greece under Roman rule must be understood as a society in the process of change, adapting and assimilating itself to a new position within an imperial system – just as countless other subordinate societies have been forced to do throughout the centuries. Alcock (1993) 230.

So concludes Susan Alcock's *Graecia Capta* – thus far the definitive study of Greece as a province of the Roman Empire. The present thesis owes much to Alcock's important work in beginning to challenge preconceptions of Roman Greece. Taking a multi-stranded approach to the history, literature and archaeology of the period, I explore processes of change, adaptation and assimilation in Athens during the second century AD. The cultural revival of Athens that reached its peak in the second century is often talked of in relation to Hadrian or the Second Sophistic movement, but has not been fully explored in the context of Athenian society. Athenian history and the cultural output of Classical Athens were the focal points of education across the empire. Athens played host to famous sophists and eager students in vast numbers. Hadrian established the League of the Panhellenion and placed Athens at its centre. These are accepted facts about second-century Athens, but what was their impact on the city? I argue that the increasing Atheno-centrism of Greek culture from Augustus to Hadrian contributed to the physical and ideological renewal of Athens herself. The underlying premise of this thesis is the simple notion that the primacy of Athenian culture cannot be divorced from life in the city of Athens. In the middle of the second century Herodes Atticus constructed a stadium with a capacity of 50,000 people. Who were these people? What did it mean to be Athenian in the second century? The Athenian past was an integral component of Greek culture across the empire, but what role did it play in the Athenians' own constructions of their identity? These are some of the questions this thesis will venture to answer. Accordingly, we approach second-century Athens through four interconnecting lenses: past

and present in the Ilissos area – a popular literary *locus amoenus* and the district where Hadrian focused his building programme; the characterization of Athens in the rhetoric of the Panhellenion; elite conflict and competition; and, finally, the character of the Attic countryside. A number of thematic threads weave in and out as we proceed, but the most important is renewal.

The renewal of Athens operated on a range of levels, and thus we explore the concept of renewal in the sense of both ‘resuming something after an interruption’ and ‘the replacement and repair of something’ (to borrow definitions from the Oxford English Dictionary). In second-century Athens, the two meanings are intrinsically connected, in that things that needed to be improved or ‘fixed’ were often modelled on an earlier form – such as the constitution given by Hadrian, supposedly based on the *patrios politeia*, or the Olympieion, the figurehead of Hadrian’s building programme, built on the foundations laid in the sixth century BC. The closest parallel in ancient Greek would be ἀνανέωσις, ‘renewal’ (verb: ἀνανεόομαι), used throughout antiquity to convey renewal in a very broadly applicable sense.¹ The renewal of Athens took place in both the physical sphere – the urban or rural landscape, and in the realm of politics, society and ideology. While ‘renewal’ is rather a broad concept its flexibility is particularly appropriate in a thesis which deals with a number of different forms: renewal of the urban and rural landscape, renewal of Athenian cultural hegemony, renewal of Athenian identity.

The past loomed large in Roman Athens, a fact that has unfortunately contributed to the image of the Roman period as the ‘twilight’ of Athens. The notion that the Greeks of the Roman period were continually preoccupied with their own past has become commonplace,

¹ Perhaps the most common usage is renewal of friendship or alliance (e.g. Thuc. 6.82, Str. 13.27); also renewal of the memory of something (e.g. Polyb. 12.6b), or the power to call to memory (Diod. 5.67). Notable usage in the first-third centuries AD includes Plutarch: renewal of treaties (*Amat.* 23), renewal of past calamity (*Brut.* 31); Pausanias: the renewal of a festival and truce (5.4.6, 5.8.5, 8.26.4); Athenaeus: renewal of learning (4.83); Marcus Aurelius: (in a philosophical sense) the renewal of the universe (6.15, 10.7).

and in many ways is supported by the cultural output of the Second Sophistic – a movement defined in part by emulation of the Classical Attic dialect and the performance of declamations on topics from Classical history. Such a simplistic definition of the Second Sophistic would ignore other key aspects of the movement, notably elite competition for status and the construction of elite Greek identity.² Similarly, we must not limit the cultural scope of Roman Athens to ‘nostalgia’ – a concept at the heart of scholarly discussion of Roman Greece for a long time, usually with deeply negative connotations.³ Christian Habicht has said of second-century Greece, “This age looked to the past, was more interested in times long gone than in its own”.⁴ This view poses an unnecessary opposition, suggesting it is not possible for an interest in the past to provide a useful contribution to the present. In this thesis we explore how the past was used to effect renewal in the present in second-century Athens. By systematically manipulating the city’s ancient past – its history, constitutions, ideals – the Athenian elite and the Roman state endeavoured to create a new vision of Athens that reflected its past greatness.

While my focus is firmly on Athens in the second century AD, this thesis also engages with current debate regarding constructions of Greek culture in the imperial period. Anthony Spawforth recently argued that ‘Greekness’ and the promotion of Greek culture under Rome was a top-down process; a design of Augustus which was transmitted to the Greek elite via the administrative hierarchy of the empire.⁵ Spawforth’s vision of the ‘Augustan cultural revolution’ has been criticised for presenting an overly elitist view of Greek culture that relies

² Whitmarsh (2005) 37-8, Anderson (1993) 244.

³ E.g. Bowie (1970) 40-1: “the past was resorted to as an alternative to the present rather than a reflection on it”; Bowersock (1979) 73 suggests that Rome’s encouragement of Classical traditions may have been “political emasculation through nostalgia”. For the opposite side of the argument see, e.g. Alcock (1997) 3-5 arguing that nostalgia was not escapism or powerlessness, but a “weapon in the ongoing Athenian maintenance of its cultural identity.”

⁴ Habicht (1985) 126.

⁵ Spawforth (2012) summarised in that volume at pp. 28-9.

upon a belief in a single Augustan Rome and a single vision of Greekness.⁶ To some extent the ‘elitism’ of Spawforth’s discussion can be defended; his argument relies heavily on buildings and honorific inscriptions because these are the main sources of primary evidence for this period. However, in presenting such a restricted ‘top-down’ model of Greekness Spawforth overlooks the more ephemeral and flexible nature of identity and culture. One of the aims of my thesis is to demonstrate that Greekness could not be disseminated purely from a central authority in Rome, and that local identity developed alongside and in response to Roman rule. Within the scope of this thesis we can only draw conclusions about Athens, but I hope that close examination of Athens will highlight the need for further regional studies in a similar vein. Spawforth addresses the cultural world of Hadrianic Greece as an epilogue to his study of the Augustan period and essentially the culmination of Augustus’ vision. I take the inverse approach, focusing on Hadrianic Athens with occasional recourse to the Augustan period as prologue. Even if we were to see Augustus *aiming at* a top-down construction of Greek culture, by the Hadrianic period we must acknowledge that the picture is far more complex. Spawforth is correct to note Augustus’ influence on Hadrian, evident in Rome as well as Greece; however, in regard to Athens in particular, I do not think the ‘(Augustan) cause’ and ‘(Hadrianic) effect’ model fully acknowledges the important differences in the emperors’ respective approaches to the city. As agents of renewal in Athens and Attica, both Augustus and Hadrian are key figures in this study, but the historical and social contexts in which they were operating required very different approaches and their imperial initiatives garnered very different responses.⁷

⁶ Stewart (2012), review of Spawforth (2012).

⁷ MSt dissertation: ‘Reinventing the City. The Monumental Landscape of Athens: 1st century BC to 2nd century AD’ (Oxford, 2011).

I. Approaching Roman Greece

i. *Challenging the topos of decline*

One cannot begin to write about Roman Greece without first familiarising oneself with the trials and tribulations of those who have gone before. I am lucky to follow the work of scholars such as Susan Alcock, Anthony Spawforth, and Simon Swain – all of whom have advanced the study of Roman Greece dramatically in recent decades. Before Alcock’s *Graecia Capta* (1993) the scholarly orthodoxy of ‘Greece in decline’ had held sway in most major works on Roman Greece; in fact, such was the unpopularity of the topic there had not been many ‘major works’ to speak of since Day’s *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (1942). Finding that modern perceptions of Roman Greece, focused on the double-sided trope of cultural superiority and twilight obscurity, are rooted in the biased pronouncements of ancient writers, Alcock argued for a more nuanced view of Roman Greece. Thus *Graecia Capta* set out to explore the landscapes of Greece – rural, civic, provincial, sacred – and to examine responses to Roman rule in each of these spheres. Alcock’s work has provided inspiration for many important studies in the past twenty years.

My approach to the Attic countryside in chapter four has been inspired by the important work of scholars in gradually overturning the ‘abandoned countryside’ trope – a notion that essentially originated in Polybius’ picture of *oliganthropia* and the degradation and desertion of rural land in Greece in the second century BC:

ἐπέσχευεν ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς καιροῖς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἀπαιδία καὶ συλλήβδην ὀλιγανθρωπία, δι’ ἣν αἱ τε πόλεις ἐξηρημώθησαν καὶ ἀφορίαν εἶναι συνέβαινε, καίπερ οὔτε πολέμων συνεχῶν ἐσχηκότων ἡμᾶς οὔτε λοιμικῶν περιστάσεων.

In our own time the whole of Greece has been subject to a low birth-rate and a general decrease of the population, owing to which cities have become deserted and the land has ceased to yield fruit, although there have neither been continuous wars nor epidemics.⁸

⁸ Polyb. *Hist.* 36.17.5-11 (Loeb trans. 1922).

This image was an essential component of the orthodoxy of decline, and the key *topoi* of this orthodoxy were adopted uncritically by scholars for many decades: a widening gulf between rich and poor, a decline in population, an impoverished countryside, and, perhaps the most powerful, a culture clinging hopelessly to antiquated tradition and the vestiges of a glorious past. While the countryside is largely deserted, cities either thrive or decay depending on the state of their finances and the degree of their historical prestige.⁹ The most notable proponent of the orthodoxy was George Finlay, whose work *Greece Under the Romans* (1844) presented a stark image of a land in decline from the time of the Roman conquest. Finlay was, to quote St Clair, “a romantic Byronist”. Having followed Byron to Greece, he gradually became disillusioned with what he saw as the decline of Greece after independence was won; ashamed of his youthful romanticism, his views turned to cynicism and contempt.¹⁰ As a practitioner of philosophical history, Finlay’s primary interest in the past was for the purpose of present instruction; thus his view of Roman Greece was coloured by the Greece of his own time.

Finlay’s Polybian vision of decline was upheld for a long time, owing in part to the picture formed from archaeological survey. This picture was remarkably consistent across mainland Greece: active rural landscapes in the Classical and Early Hellenistic period, with a drop in the number of rural sites throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods leading to a major scarcity of sites by the Early Imperial period.¹¹ Largely these few sites were interpreted as the scattered villas of the wealthy elite, with the absence of evidence for small scale inhabitation suggesting the poorer classes lived in the city. Although Alcock challenged the orthodoxy, she was burdened by problematic survey data and its inability to reflect the subtleties of rural occupation. In response to the picture from survey, we must take into account that some areas

⁹ Petit de Julleville (1875), Day (1942), Rostovtzeff (1957).

¹⁰ St Clair (1972) 176.

¹¹ Alcock (1993) 48.

of Greece have been surveyed substantially less thoroughly than others; Attica, in particular, suffers in this respect, as we will see below (p.25). Another significant problem with survey is the identification of different periods, typically given as Early, Middle, and Late Roman. As there are no universally accepted boundaries for these periods, comparison between survey results can be difficult. Moreover, attempts to extrapolate from survey data buildings of a specific century then become problematic as – for example – the second century AD is categorised variously as Early or Middle Roman.¹² As these period groups also cover a broad historical context from roughly 50 BC to (in some cases) 400 AD, with a heavily blurred line between them, it is near-impossible for survey to provide nuanced evidence.

The imprecision of survey dating is a factor that must be taken into account with any data from survey – in our study of Attica, we will be using very little. Across Greece, however, several major survey projects have been carried out since 2000, and for these regions there have been some positive developments in the analysis of the countryside of Roman Greece. Archaeologists are now putting forward more nuanced views of the countryside of Roman Greece; in some cases new evidence has come to light, while existing evidence has also been reconsidered. A comparison of various studies on individual regions of Greece reveals significant differences, and highlights above all that we should question the ‘one size fits all’ picture presented by earlier survey. The Boeotian countryside, for example, seems to conform to the accepted picture of large villas worked by peasants who primarily reside in the city, while survey across the Peloponnese has produced evidence of numerous smaller sites and an apparent interest in the cultivation of marginal land.¹³ Within the Peloponnese itself there is a significant amount of regional variation; while Messenia has numerous first/ second century

¹² Stewart (2014) 120 provides a useful table of historical periods as they are classified by different survey projects across Greece.

¹³ *Boeotia*: Bintliff (2004) 216; *Peloponnese*: Stewart (2010) 223-4.

AD villa sites, the Argolid appears to have no elite residences until the Late Roman period.¹⁴ The key theme in all studies is change – the Roman countryside was undoubtedly different from the Classical. As Stewart has observed, change in regard to the Greek *poleis* is usually interpreted as negative, associated with decline and depopulation – something to be resisted, albeit futilely; in fact, Stewart argues, change need not be something bad, just something different.¹⁵

The regional variation within Greece as highlighted by the recent archaeology further supports arguments against Polybius' picture of decline, in which he speaks in very broad terms about "the whole of Greece". As is evident in the modern ecology, as well as in the ancient sources, different regions of Greece were subject to different environmental conditions that contributed to their levels of productivity.¹⁶ Thucydides, for example, describes Thessaly, Boeotia, and most of the Peloponnese as the richest regions in Greece for productive land. Attica on the other hand has poor, thin soil, and Arcadia is singled out as a contrast to the rest of the Peloponnese.¹⁷ It is very difficult to formulate any practical application of Polybius' statement to the actual ecology of Greece. Furthermore, Polybius' view of the decline of Greece is didactic rather than pragmatic history, written primarily for a Greek audience to encourage them to remedy their situation. Polybius attributes the decline of the Greek population and the fruitlessness of the land to the pretentiousness (*ἀλαζονεία*), avarice (*φιλοχρημοσύνη*), and indolence (*ῥαθυμία*) of men – inherently elite vices.¹⁸ It has rightly been noted that in his comments on *oliganthropia* Polybius is likely to have been observing a geographically-restricted phenomenon that affected only the wealthier segment

¹⁴ *Messenia*: Themelis (2010) 101-5; *Argolid*: Forsell (2002) 67-8.

¹⁵ Stewart (2010) 219.

¹⁶ Isager and Skydsgaard (1992) 17: "It would be difficult to find any landscape that would be typical for Greece as a whole, and all scholars agree in emphasizing the differences as being typical."

¹⁷ Thuc. 1.2-5.

¹⁸ Polyb. 36.17.7.

of society.¹⁹ Polybius is not known to have travelled extensively, and may have been basing his observations on Corinth, where the Roman destruction of 146 BC – witnessed first-hand by him – was extensive.²⁰

An exploration of earlier literature demonstrates that the *topos* of decline was not exclusively applied to Roman Greece; Polybius' description of decline was yet another entry in a long-standing tradition dating back to the eighth century BC with Hesiod's degenerating ages of man.²¹ Plato's *Critias* harks back to a legendary Athens with fruitful earth and plentiful population, and contrasts this with fourth-century BC Attica: "the skeleton of a sick man, all the fat and soft earth having wasted away, and only the bare framework of the land being left."²² To some extent, many 'eyewitness' accounts of Roman Greece are subject to another *topos* that contributes to the *topos* of decline: that of reputation versus reality. The image of Greece in myth and history was so striking, its antiquities held in such high repute, that the reality of the country in a later period could never live up to the expectations of foreign visitors.²³ For example, Livy's account of Aemilius Paullus' visit in 167 BC: among Paullus' destinations are Delphi, Athens and Olympia, but Livy describes the landmarks of Greece as "made so famous by repute that they are greater by hearsay than by visual acquaintance".²⁴ Similarly, in a letter to Cicero, Sulpicius described the approach to Athens by sea: "Behind me was Aegina, before me Megara, on my right Piraeus, on my left Corinth, towns at one time flourishing, now lying prostrate and demolished before one's own eyes".²⁵ In this case we should consider that Sulpicius was visiting only 40 years after Sulla's destructive siege of Athens, and before the reconstruction of Corinth as a Roman colony. At such a time we might

¹⁹ Alcock (1993) 26; c.f. Davies (1984) 268.

²⁰ Polyb. 38.9.1-18.12, 39.2.6.

²¹ Hesiod traces the ages of man from the golden race (*W&D* 110-20) to the fifth and final race made of iron (*W&D* 174-80), who "will never cease from toil and misery by day or night".

²² Pl. *Criti.* 111, trans. Jowett (1931).

²³ Alcock (1993) 28.

²⁴ Livy, *Hist.* 45.27.8.

²⁵ Cicero *Ad.Fam.* 4.5.4.

expect that this part of Greece was not at its best, but no doubt Sulpicius' disappointment was amplified by expectation.

This brief summary of archaeological and literary perspectives on Roman Greece highlights the need for more focused regional studies and greater interdisciplinarity in treatments of this era. The *topoi* that formed the basis of early scholarly understanding of Roman Greece have been thoroughly challenged and overturned by both archaeological developments and critical readings of the literary sources. One might reasonably argue that it is not particularly helpful to think of 'Roman Greece'. We rarely think in terms of 'Classical Greece' except in broad historical overview; when we consider the culture, politics, and economy of the Classical period we recognise the peculiarities of separate regions and within these the individual *poleis*. Undoubtedly such differentiation is easier in the Classical period when the prevalence of inter-*polis* warfare reminds us that each *polis* worked to its own agenda. Under Rome, it might seem natural to think of the province of Achaëa as one entity: no longer at war with itself, and under the greater authority of Rome. However, even the briefest overview of Pausanias highlights key differences in regional responses to Roman rule, and to the relative success of the *poleis* as cities of the Roman Empire. In this thesis I offer my take on Roman Athens at its height in the second century AD, trialling an interdisciplinary approach centred on the Athenian people and their city and countryside; an approach that might profitably be applied to other Greek *poleis* of the Roman period – likely with very different results (see p.267).

ii. *The Population of Roman Greece*

Discussion of decline inevitably leads us to the question of population. Firm demographic evidence for Roman Greece in any century is non-existent, and the latest data is decidedly dubious. Athenaeus, drawing on the Chronicles of Ctesicles, tells us that Demetrius of

Phalerum conducted a census of Attica between 311 and 307 BC; this apparently identified 21,000 Athenians, 10,000 metics and 400,000 slaves.²⁶ Athenaeus also tells us that the historian Epitimaeus claimed that Corinth was so wealthy its inhabitants owned 460,000 slaves, and records a fragment of Aristotle claiming that the Aeginetans owned 470,000.²⁷ The Aeginetan figure appears to be guesswork and is highly implausible.²⁸ Certainly in the case of Corinth it seems likely that Epitimaeus was making a moral point on luxury and excess, and not in fact collecting any real figures; the same is likely true of Aegina, hardly large enough to hold so many people. Regarding the figures for Athens, Hansen has suggested that Demetrius was not conducting a population census, but rather a review of citizens fit for military service; therefore, the citizen numbers are credible, but the slave numbers must come from another, inaccurate source.²⁹ However these figures are interpreted, they are certainly not secure, and cannot therefore be employed to any great extent in ascertaining demographic actualities at that time. Important evidence for the population of Greece in the second century AD comes from Plutarch, who says:

τοῦ δὲ μετρίου καὶ ἰκανοῦ καὶ μηδαμῆ περιττοῦ πανταχῆ δ' αὐτάρκους, μάλιστα τοῖς θεοῖς πρέποντος ἔργου, εἰ ταύτην ἀρχὴν λαβὼν φαίη τις, ὅτι τῆς κοινῆς ὀλιγανδρίας, ἣν αἱ πρότεραι στάσεις καὶ οἱ πόλεμοι περὶ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπειργάσαντο, πλεῖστον μέρος ἢ Ἑλλάς μετέσχηκε, καὶ μόλις ἂν νῦν ὅλη παράσχοι τρισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ὅσους ἡ Μεγαρέων μία πόλις ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς Πλαταιέας

Now moderation, adequacy, excess in nothing, and complete self sufficiency are above all else the essential characteristics of everything done by the gods; and if anyone should take this fact as a starting-point, and assert that Greece has far more than its share in the general depopulation which the earlier discords and wars have wrought throughout practically the whole inhabited earth, and that today the whole of Greece would hardly muster three thousand men-at-arms, which is the number that the one city of the Megarians sent forth to Plataea.³⁰

Here we see that demographic evaluation mixed with rhetorical exaggeration presents problems. Plutarch's focus on men fit for military service is another facet of the *polyandria*

²⁶ Ath. 6.272c (Ctesicles: *FGrH* 245 F 1). These figures are accepted by Day (1942) 271.

²⁷ Corinth: Ath. 6.272b (Epitimaeus: *FGrH* 566 F 5); Aegina: Ath. 6.272c-d (Aristotle: fr. 475.1)

²⁸ Hansen (2006) 6-7

²⁹ Hansen (1985) contested by Gallo (1991) 374; cf. Hansen (2006) 40.

³⁰ Plut. *De Defec. Orac.* 8 (trans. Babbitt 1936).

versus *oliganthropia* literary trope we have already discussed (pp. 5-10). Rather than representing the result of any actual demographic study, Plutarch's description of hardly three thousand soldiers left in Greece represents the rhetorical trope of the decline (and fall) of Greece as a military power.

iii. *The Second Sophistic*

Before we proceed further we must introduce an essential component of the cultural backdrop to our study of second-century Athens: the Second Sophistic. The Second Sophistic is the name given to a movement among the elites of the Greek East, centred on a mutual admiration for the Classical Athenian past as a paragon of high culture and traditional ideals: purity, honour, and military valour. It is important to stress that it was not an Athenian movement: sophists were based in a number of cities across the East; Polemo and Rufinus at Smyrna, Damian at Ephesus, and of course Herodes Atticus at Athens. The uniting factor was a shared fascination with the Greek past. The fact that the Greek world was now under Roman domination only encouraged this nostalgia, but that does not mean that nostalgia aimed to promote Greek independence in the face of Rome.³¹ Rather, it was a means of affirming and celebrating the role that Greece, particularly Athens, had come to play within the empire: that of cultural centre. The Greeks were seen by Rome as the foremost experts in civilisation,³² and while their power was restricted to the domain of culture, this was a form of power nonetheless. As a centre of learning, by the second century AD, Athens had risen to a prominent position in the empire: emperors employed sophists as educators for their sons, and, as we discuss in chapter three, the elite of the empire flocked to the city for an immersion in the glorious culture of the past, brought to life in the present day through the Sophistic art of declamation.

³¹ Bowersock (1969) 15.

³² Whitmarsh (2005) 13.

The Second Sophistic is an integral feature of my discussion throughout this thesis; the predominance of an idealised, recreated Greek past in the works of the sophists echoes contemporary Athenian attitudes towards their own past. Additionally, individual sophists appear throughout my discussion as benefactors and participants in the renewal of Athens.

Atticism was a significant part of the sophistic culture. The object of Atticism was “to recreate the literary resources of the fifth- and fourth-centuries BC in Athens, and in effect to revive the language in which to conduct literary imitation”.³³ The Greek language had changed radically since the Classical period and the sophists sought a return to the ‘purer’ form of the language. It was this archaizing dialect that identified those who were ‘Greek’ in the sense of having adopted the cultural identity, not just in terms of ethnicity and national identity.³⁴ The much-lauded Attic dialect was not simply an Athenian dialect but rather one which was believed to originate in rural Attica, where the speech supposedly remained pure and untainted by foreign influence. In chapter one (p.41), we suggest that the prevalence of Atticism in the second century AD contributed to the frequent literary mimesis of Plato’s *Phaedrus*; in the minds of second-century writers, Plato’s Ilissos embodied the ideal philosophic *locus amoenus*. Looking beyond the Ilissos, as we do in chapter four, Philostratus’ *Lives of the Sophists* confirms a broader tendency to look to the countryside for inspiration, and to define linguistic and moral purity as the preserve of rustic country-dwellers (pp.194-5).

³³ Anderson (1993) 88. As Anderson observes, this was essentially an impossible task: one cannot easily shake off modern language, nor rigidly define the language of a certain literary period. Anderson found Aristides to be the most obviously purist Atticist, while noting that even he mixed in *koine* forms (89).

³⁴ Whitmarsh (2001) 273.

II. Approaching Roman Athens

i. Why the second century AD?

The mid-second century AD was the pinnacle of the Roman Empire, with events of the latter part of the century such as the war against the Parthians, the plague of the 160s and the first barbarian raids in Greece signalling the beginning of a long period of crisis.³⁵ The second century was also the pinnacle of Athens' success as a city of the Roman Empire, and this period is often depicted (in ancient and modern sources) as a second 'golden age' for the city.³⁶ Indeed, Athens appears to have thrived as it had not done in many centuries, and a certain amount of this success is owed to Hadrian for whom the city served as a focal point of his philhellenism. Hadrian had held the archonship of Athens before he became emperor, and during his reign he visited Athens three times from AD 124/5-131/2. The Athenians honoured Hadrian by adding a thirteenth tribe named 'Hadrianis' and erecting a statue of Hadrian on the Altar of Eponymous heroes, among other unprecedented honours.³⁷ The reign of Hadrian was a very active period for the city of Athens; it saw the first major building projects since the Augustan period and the establishment of the Panhellenion, Hadrian's league of Greek cities with Athens at the centre. Hadrian's reign also coincided with the rise of Herodes Atticus as the most prominent member of the Athenian elite – a famous sophist and teacher to the future emperor Marcus Aurelius (p.145).

Herodes is a central character throughout this thesis; in addition to his prominence in the history of second-century Athens, his lifetime (c101-c.177) provides a useful timeframe for our study as it spans the best part of the second century and encompasses the Antonine period from Trajan to Marcus Aurelius. When charting cultural phenomena and the development of

³⁵ Habicht (1985) 118-9.

³⁶ E.g. Paus. 1.20.4: Athens flowered again in the reign of Hadrian, also Aristid. *Or.* 13 247-50. Recently Boatwright (2000) 144, Camp (2001) 222.

³⁷ Boatwright (2000) 144-157 summarises Hadrian's relationship with the Athenians.

identity it is not always helpful to enforce strict chronological boundaries, thus we also consider evidence from the first and third centuries where relevant. As we have noted, where archaeological and survey evidence is concerned, the difficulty of defining subcategories of ‘Roman period material’ means that we cannot always be assured of precise dating (p.7) – this must be taken into account in chapter four, in particular, as we address the more recent discoveries in the Attic countryside. In my MSt dissertation, I established my thesis that the Augustan period saw a necessary period of restoration that prefaced the full renewal of Athens and Athenian culture under Hadrian in the second century.³⁸ I also argued that whereas the Augustan period was defined by the imposition of Rome on the landscape of Athens (e.g. the construction of new buildings in the traditionally empty, sacred central space of the Agora), the Hadrianic era was characterised by architectural integration representing Athens’ role as the cultural meeting point of Rome and the Greek East (e.g. the multiple architectural forms evident in Hadrian’s Library). The central arguments of that discussion underpin our treatment of the urban and rural landscapes in chapters one to four.

ii. *The literary source material*

In order to form a comprehensive picture of second-century Athens, we employ a wide variety of source types throughout our discussion. We endeavour to unite literary, documentary and archaeological evidence, but some elements of our discussion are not so well-represented; the Panhellenion for example is known exclusively through inscriptions. The key literary sources for second-century Athens are Pausanias, Philostratus and Aelius Aristides, who – between them – describe at length the built landscape of Athens, the cultural life of the city, and the lives of prominent Athenians. Anecdotal detail from Lucian and Aulus Gellius embellishes our picture of the city, offering rare glimpses into contemporary attitudes

³⁸ See above, p.4 n.7.

and fashions.³⁹ To avoid lengthy digression further on, I here offer a very brief introduction to the backgrounds and interests of these five important writers.

a. Pausanias

Recording the journey of an educated traveller around Greece in the mid-second century AD, Pausanias' account is invaluable for topographical detail and local tradition. In chapter one, we consider Pausanias' description of the Ilissos district (pp. 42-50), while in chapter four we utilise in particular the detail Pausanias provides about local cults and traditions in the countryside. Pausanias' description of Greece is defined by his focus on the history and monuments of Classical Greece; for the most part he ignores Roman buildings and events since the Roman conquest.⁴⁰ While Pausanias was not a sophist himself, in this respect his attitude is a product of contemporary literary fashion. However, it has been noted that unlike the sophists Pausanias does not glorify the Classical past and in fact also seeks to explore and explain pre-Classical history, and trace it back as far as possible.⁴¹ Pausanias' focus on the past rather than the present reflects the designated focus of his enquiry, rather than personal bias or 'nostalgia' for an idealised past. Throughout his description Pausanias reports local tradition and explains what he has discovered about the origins of a building or place – the more recent the building, the less history there is to unravel.⁴² That said, he will mention Roman buildings where he deems there is something interesting to note – in the case of Athens he describes the recently-completed Olympieion in some depth owing to its

³⁹ Plutarch and Dio of Prusa are utilised here for contextual evidence regarding politics and society across the cities of the Greek East, and are introduced in the body of chapter three.

⁴⁰ See discussion in Habicht (1985) 124, Swain (1996) 352, Porter (2001) 68, 82. Pausanias is largely disinterested in the Roman emperors, but while he criticizes the bad emperors (particularly where looting Greek art is concerned) he does praise good emperors such as Hadrian (e.g. 1.3.2).

⁴¹ Arafat (1996) 205, 213.

⁴² Pretzler (2007) 40, discusses Pausanias' collection and assessment of information: "When faced with a monument Pausanias asked about artists and dedicators, the meaning of images or sculptures and the history of the monument."

impressive size and ancient origins, and the Stadium, too, which provides an interesting anecdote regarding Herodes Atticus' supposed exhaustion of the Pentelic quarries.⁴³

Pausanias' account becomes particularly invaluable in chapter four as we explore the Attic countryside. Rural Attica has plenty to interest Pausanias, particularly in regard to his fascination with sacred places and religious tradition. Pausanias does not discuss agricultural production or inhabitation, but then he does not discuss industry or residence in the city either. Pausanias' focus on sacred places is coherent with his approach to cities and ought not to be interpreted as evidence that scattered temples were all that remained. A closer look at Pausanias' Greek countryside reveals a notable number of contemporary festivals and continuing religious practices. Pausanias' description of the sacred landscape is undeniably useful, but in chapter four we also highlight the inhabitants of Attica – the local people who inform Pausanias of local traditions; 'οἱ Μυρρινούσιοι' for example, the people of the Attic deme Myrrhinous.⁴⁴

b. Philostratus

Our second key literary source is Philostratus, whose *Lives of the Sophists* (written in the early- to mid-third century AD) is an invaluable source of biographical detail for the most famous sophists of the second century. Unlike Pausanias, Philostratus' consciousness was strictly in the present day or very recent past: "he was fully alive to the pleasures and pressures the contemporary world offered to the educated elite", and as such focused mainly on the personal lives of the sophists rather than their work.⁴⁵ This is fortunate for us, as we are able to benefit from Philostratus' vivid depictions of the sophistic scene in the cities of the Greek East. The lengthiest of the *Lives* is that of Herodes Atticus, through whom we gain a

⁴³ 1.18.6-8, 20.7: examples which serve to illustrate Pretzler's observation that Pausanias will take into account later periods where this allows him to present little-known facts, (2007) 9.

⁴⁴ 1.31.3.

⁴⁵ Swain (1996) 380.

tantalising glimpse at the intellectual competition rife within sophistic circles; “complex dances of self-presentation and negotiation for status”, as Kendra Eshleman has astutely described it.⁴⁶ Moreover, we gain a sense of second-century Athens as an international sophistic hub. As such, Philostratus comes to the fore in chapter three, as we explore the challenges facing the Athenian elite. The reliability of Philostratus has at times been called into question, but a close look at the *Lives* offers clues to his approach and source material, and more often than not his accounts are corroborated by other evidence – for example in the case of Herodes’ monuments for his adopted sons (chapter four, p.189).⁴⁷

c. Aelius Aristides

In his *Panathenaic Oration*, Aristides illuminates both the mythology revered by Pausanias and the vibrancy of contemporary life as demonstrated by Philostratus. As we will see in chapter two, Aristides views the status of the second-century city as a glorious reward for the achievements of the Athenians throughout their history. Unlike Plutarch and Dio, there is very little resignation in Aristides’ work about the Greek cities’ dependence on Rome.⁴⁸ He is proud of Greek history, and evidently mixes in predominantly Greek circles, but fully accepts Roman control and the opportunities for advancement presented by positive relationships with the Roman authorities. Aristides saw Greece as fully integrated into the Roman *oikoumene* with Athens as the cultural centre, uniting the people of the empire in a shared cultural identity that spread outwards from Athens.⁴⁹ This did not prevent him from also subscribing to a construction of Greekness based on ethnicity; in fact, early in the *Panathenaic Oration* Aristides offers a hierarchy of Greekness: ethnic Greeks have superiority, followed by foreigners who have acquired Greekness through education, and

⁴⁶ Eshleman (2008) 395.

⁴⁷ Roughly a generation younger than his subjects, Philostratus was able to source information from men (e.g. Damianus of Ephesus) who had been taught by certain of the sophists. He also had access to Herodes’ personal letters. Swain, (1991) 148-163, convincingly defends Philostratus against charges of unreliability.

⁴⁸ Swain (1996) 260.

⁴⁹ Richter (2011) 126.

finally by those who do not partake in Greek culture. Aristides himself was born in Mysia in the area where the city of Hadriani was established by Hadrian in AD 131/2; he and his family were likely given citizenship by the emperor at this time.⁵⁰ Perhaps the regeneration of his home town and the gift of citizenship bestowed upon his family contributed to Aristides' positive perspective on the emperor and Rome; at a young age (Aristides was born in 117), he had witnessed firsthand the benefits that a positive relationship with Rome could yield.

d. Lucian

Like Aristides, Lucian also demonstrates a favourable attitude towards Rome; unlike Aristides, Lucian is notably less enamoured of the Greeks and the contemporary fascination with Greek culture. Born in the Syrian city of Samosata between 115 and 125, Lucian grew up at the very edge of the Roman world; while Samosata was Hellenized, the majority of its population was not Greek by blood.⁵¹ Ethnicity aside, Lucian acquired Greek culture and became a rhetor; his works are written in the classicizing Attic prose favoured by his contemporaries. However, his 'outsider' identity is evident throughout his body of work. As such, he is an important commentator on second-century culture and the lifestyles of his contemporaries. His observations are often satirical, and highlight the excesses and extremes of the sophistic lifestyle and the habits of the provincial elite; *Demonax*, in particular, includes a brief but scathing note on the mourning habits of Herodes Atticus:

ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ πᾶν ἐπένηται τὸν Πολυδεύκη πρὸ ὥρας ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἡξίου ὄχημα ζεύγνυσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἵππους παρίστασθαι ὡς ἀναβησομένῳ καὶ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεσθαι, προσελθὼν, Παρὰ Πολυδεύκου, ἔφη, κομίζω σοὶ τινα ἐπιστολήν. ἠσθέντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ οἰθθέντος ὅτι κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις συντρέχει τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰπόντος, Τί οὖν, ὦ Δημόναξ, Πολυδεύκης ἀξιοῖ; αἰτιᾶται σε, ἔφη, ὅτι μὴ ἤδη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄπει.

When the great Herodes was mourning Polydeuces, who died prematurely, and required a chariot to be made ready for him and horses harnessed to it as if the lad were going for a drive, and a meal to be prepared for him, Demonax went to him and said, 'I bring you a message from Polydeuces.' This pleased Herodes, who thought that Demonax, along with everybody else, was sharing his own

⁵⁰ Swain (1996) 256.

⁵¹ Swain (1996) 299.

emotions, and he asked, ‘Well, Demonax, what does Polydeuces want?’, ‘He is finding fault with you,’ was the reply, ‘for not joining him immediately.’⁵²

e. Aulus Gellius

Aulus Gellius was a Latin author and grammarian and a friend of several notable sophists and philosophers, including Herodes Atticus, Marcus Cornelius Fronto, and Peregrinus (the latter most notable for cremating himself on a pyre shortly after giving his own funeral oration at the Olympic games of AD 165). We do not know much of Gellius’ life; from his writings, we can glean that he was a keen traveller, studied with some of the most notable teachers of his time, and at one time served as praetor in Rome – all of which indicates he was born into a family of some status. His only surviving work is the *Attic Nights*, a compilation of the writer’s thoughts on a variety of subjects including philosophy, history, geometry and law. In his preface, Gellius tells the reader he began compiling the *Attic Nights* during a long winter spent “on a country-place in the land of Attica”. The importance of *Attic Nights* for this thesis lays not so much in the content of the work as the environment in which it was written.

During his time in Attica, Gellius was a frequent guest at Herodes’ Cephisia villa, along with “several others of our countrymen who had withdrawn from Rome to Greece in quest of culture.”⁵³ The *Attic Nights* as a whole offers insight into the interests and learned pursuits of a well-to-do Roman. His writings often hint that Gellius saw Greece, Athens in particular, as a cultural haven – an escape from his duties in Rome. The frequent gatherings he describes at Herodes’ villa suggest he was part of a ‘regular crowd’ of Romans temporarily resident in Athens; as such, he offers a perspective quite different from our other key sources.

⁵² Lucian, *Dem.* 24.

⁵³ Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 1.2.1.

iii. *The epigraphic and archaeological source material*

The largest bodies of epigraphic evidence we use are those relating to the Panhellenion and Herodes Atticus. For the most part the inscriptions I utilise in this thesis are well-studied documents with an established purpose and significance. There is one important document, however, which merits introduction here. Throughout chapter four we utilise the ‘Hadrianic property list’, an inscription which provides clues as to patterns of landholding and the use of land in second-century Attica. This document, *IG II² 2776*, can be dated by the mention of certain individuals to AD 120-140.⁵⁴ It is extremely fragmentary, and as the heading is missing the purpose of the inscription is difficult to discern: interpretations have varied greatly, with recent scholarship debating the notion that it records an imperial alimentary scheme.⁵⁵ We might compare the inscription with a late second century proconsular edict from Thisbe in Boeotia, which details the sale of public land to local citizens subject to payment of annual rent to the civic treasury – perhaps the Athenian document represents a comparable measure in Attica.⁵⁶ I do not attempt to pose a solution to the purpose of the inscription in this thesis; while the scholarly debate has been interesting, there is now little more to add. Instead, akin to my approach to the Attic countryside, I look at what is there – not what is missing.

Standing over two metres high, the property inscription was part of a highly visible public monument. It was found in the Agora, and has been identified as belonging to the orthostates of a large monument with an area of approximately 4 x 5 metres; the vast size of the

⁵⁴ For the most part there is scholarly consensus on this dating; for slight variations within this period see Follet (1972) 35-50, Miller (1972) 86-7.

⁵⁵ Alimentary scheme: e.g. Jones (1989) 109, Woolf (1990) 227; although others, reasonably, express doubt: Alcock (1993) 78, Boatwright (2000) 92n.41. For a summary of earlier arguments regarding the purpose of the inscription see Miller (1972) 88-90.

⁵⁶ *Syll.*³ 884; Rostovtzeff (1910) 386; Burton (2004) 334-5.

orthostates and the apparently prominent location suggest a document of some importance.⁵⁷ Land meriting inclusion in such a monument must have held meaning. Whatever the actual purpose of the inscription, at the very least it is clear that it records parcels of property, names, and amounts of money. For clarity, I present a table of these names and properties along with the text of the inscription in Appendix C. While interpretation of the monetary amounts is muddled by the problem of the document's purpose, the properties and names are illuminating in their own right. Whether the named individuals are buying, selling, or leasing, the inscription grants us a glimpse at landholding patterns in second-century Attica. In chapter four, then, the Hadrianic property inscription serves as an important window into a time and place – pieces of land across suburban and rural Attica between AD 120 and 140, and in some cases clues to their purpose.

This particular era in Athenian history has never received very much focused attention beyond specific works on Herodes Atticus (see pp.24-5) or the Panhellenion.⁵⁸ Graindor provided an important early overview of Hadrianic Athens in *Athènes sous Hadrien* (1934) and Follet explored the key families and offices of the era in *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle* (1976). J.H. Oliver has notably shed light on epigraphic source material of this period, particularly in his translation and commentary on Marcus Aurelius' letter to the Athenians in *Marcus Aurelius: Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East* (1970). More recently, Boatwright's *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (2000) explored Hadrianic Athens in the context of Hadrian's further benefactions across the empire. Throughout this thesis, I utilise a number of important catalogues of evidence, which deserve a brief introduction here. For the archaeology of Athens I have drawn largely from Emanuele Greco's *Topografia di*

⁵⁷ Miller (1972) 50-95. It was inscribed on two of four surviving orthostates from what seems to have been a large monument, several large parts of which were built into the two Late Roman towers at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos which formed a gateway in the Post-Herulian Wall. The height of the base blocks varies from 0.614 to 0.645 m, while the height of the orthostates is fairly consistent at 1.610 to 1.615m.

⁵⁸ E.g. Spawforth & Walker (1985); Jones (1996), (1999); Spawforth (1999); Romeo (2002).

Atene: sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III sec. D.C. (2010-11). Greco's study is the most recent catalogue of buildings and monuments in Athens through to the late Roman period, and provides a useful guide to archaeological debate on the identity of certain controversial buildings (e.g. the 'Panhellenion') with more in-depth analysis than earlier works. Travlos' *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1980) remains probably the most influential archaeological account of important Athenian sites, providing useful site overviews and descriptive detail although rather limited in discussion or critique. Camp's *Archaeology of Athens* (2001) in turn is a fast-paced chronological account of the built landscape from the eighth century BC to the Late Roman period; while Camp does not present anything particularly new regarding the archaeology of the city, he does provide useful summaries for rural sites such as Brauron, Marathon and Rhamnous. Recent archaeological discoveries in the Attic countryside have been located in *Archaeological Reports* and *From Mesogeia to Argosaronikos* (2009), a conference volume containing reports from the excavations carried out by the Athenian Second Ephorate to 2003. While these reports provide valuable evidence, further discussion and analysis is hindered by the perfunctory nature of the excavations carried out in preparation for building work. For Roman Imperial gravestones of Athens and Attica the essential catalogue is von Mook (1998) *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit*, a comprehensive study of gravestones and their locations across Attica. As we examine second-century funerary habits in chapter four I supplement von Mook's *stelai* with *kioniskoi* highlighted by Gray (2006) and Herodes Atticus' commemorative monuments as catalogued by Tobin (1997). In regard to identifying the key elite families of second-century Athens this thesis is much indebted to Sean Byrne's *Roman Citizens of Athens* (2003), an indispensable prosopographical study.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ For the most prominent families of second-century Athens, Woloch (1969) remains an important work.

iv. *Herodes Atticus*

Any study dealing with Athens during the second century AD typically has a heavy focus on the life and works of one man: Herodes Atticus. This emphasis is understandable; the wealth of material and literary evidence relating to Herodes is remarkable, and allows us to form a satisfyingly coherent image of this one prominent Athenian. Philostratus' biography of Herodes presents a tantalising glimpse of the life of a man preoccupied with family history and the Athenian past who, beset by tragedy, invested himself in the determined commemoration of his family. Moreover, the archaeological record confirms the validity of Philostratus' account: numerous herms discovered throughout northern Attica confirm the literary depiction of Herodes scattering the countryside with commemorative statues for his adopted sons (see p.189 onwards).

As befits such a famous figure, Herodes has been the subject of a number of exhaustive biographies, most recently Jennifer Tobin's *Herodes Attikos and the City of Athens* (1997).⁶⁰ Tobin's work provides an immensely valuable corpus of evidence for Herodes' life in Athens, as well as his affairs elsewhere in Greece and in Rome, but discussion veers in places towards simplistic associations between Herodes and all signs of second-century activity in rural Attica. Herodes' monuments, buildings and epigrams provide a fascinating insight into a man intimately entangled in the ideology and creative output of the Second Sophistic movement; accordingly, he plays a key role in this thesis. However, the common tendency to attribute too much to Herodes – particularly in regard to buildings in Attica – gives the impression that the whole of Attica was, during his lifetime, Herodes' own personal playground, to decorate and use as he wished. This image needs to be refreshed. In chapter three, while retaining a focus on Herodes, we also use him as a centre-point from which to

⁶⁰ Earlier biographical works include Graindor (1930), Ameling (1983). Pomeroy (2007) takes a similarly biographical approach to Herodes' personal life.

branch out and explore the broader Athenian elite. Woloch's 'Four Leading Families in Roman Athens' (1969) introduced us to the Claudii of Marathon, the Claudii of Melite, the Flavii of Paiania, and the Aelii of Phalerum and their monopolies on the key civic and religious offices of second-century Athens. We explore the complex relationships between these families, the damaging impact of intense rivalry, and the quest for exclusivity among an already exclusive elite. The interactions of these families illustrate at Athens the stubborn traditions of local pride and competition so well-documented by Plutarch and Dio of Prusa across the Greek East.

v. *The archaeological evidence for Roman Attica*

In chapter four, we move beyond the city to explore the Attic countryside of the second century. Attica has not received anywhere near the level of attention granted other regions of Greece; given the vast sprawl of the modern city and the intensity of agriculture in the remaining rural areas, it is unlikely that it ever will. The survey of Attica cited by Alcock covers a total of 25 km² in the area of Atene and Markopoulo; with the exception of islands, this is one of the smallest areas of survey in Greece (compare 3800 km² in Messenia and 5000 km² in Eastern Arcadia).⁶¹ Moreover, Atene was marginal even in the Classical period, and, located on the southern coast at almost the furthest point from Athens, not really comparable with most other areas of Attica. The results of this survey demonstrated the pattern initially posed uniformly for rest of Greece; decline of site numbers during the Late Hellenistic, with signs of re-settlement in the Late Roman period. This picture has been challenged for other regions of Greece (see above, pp. 7-8) but not yet for Attica. How, then, can we ever assess Roman Attica? Are we to ignore it, or base our arguments on fragments of survey work from the 1950's and 1980's?

⁶¹ Alcock (1993) 35, citing Lohmann (1983), (1985) 91-2; see also *Archaeological Reports* (1987/8) 13.

In chapter four I trial an alternative approach, utilising archaeological, literary and epigraphic sources to present an argument from what is there, rather than what is not. A varied collection of second-century AD evidence from or pertaining to rural Attica suggests a level of interest in and engagement with the countryside that prompts us to question the notion of abandonment. Many archaeological studies of Greek landscapes take a diachronic approach, with change over time being the key focus; in chapter four, I explore the Attic countryside not as it relates to the rural past, but the urban present.⁶² We can detect a strong ideological connection with the countryside during the second century AD, particularly in the form of gravestones and other commemorative monuments that stake a clear visual claim to rural identity (p. 189 onwards). An abandoned, unpopulated countryside would have been a poor foundation on which to build an ideology of identity. Epigraphic evidence such as Hadrian's Oil Law and the 'Hadrianic property inscription', as well as the testimony of Pausanias and Lucian and the remains of houses, fountains, and mausolea across the countryside support our proposal that second-century Attica was present enough in the Athenian consciousness that it could play a central role in formulating a renewed sense of Athenian-ness.⁶³

III. Thesis Structure

The structure of this thesis enables an assessment of renewal across different yet interconnected aspects of second century AD Athens, as summarised on p.1, above.

The built landscape is, of course, a particularly important lens through which to view renewal. In the case of Athens much work has already been done in studying the new buildings of the second century. The present study would not benefit from further summary of this sort; instead I explore second-century building projects in context as they relate to my larger themes. The broader concept of 'landscape', however, does figure in its own right: I

⁶² A method inspired, in part, by the approach of Patterson (2006) to city and countryside in Early Imperial Italy.

⁶³ See chapter four and Appendix B for our corpus of evidence.

bookend this thesis with two studies of second-century landscapes. In chapter one we explore the Ilissos district, which provides an intriguing meeting point of legendary associations and Hadrianic building (encapsulated in the dual inscriptions of the Arch of Hadrian), and carries a literary heritage that held a powerful sway over second-century perceptions of the Ilissos. The most important buildings we consider in chapters two and three, e.g. the Olympieion and the Stadium, were located in the Ilissos district, while the area also preserved ancient cults and sacred places more typically encountered in the countryside. Arguing that the Ilissos could be seen as Attica in microcosm – representative of both the city and the countryside – this discussion provides an important prologue to the discussion of rural Attica with which we conclude. By approaching the countryside of Attica following discussion of city life and culture, I aim to contextualise the countryside rather than to treat it as a separate entity. While chapters one to three explore the workings of the Athenian ‘golden age’, chapter four asks whether the countryside shared in this renewal.

Chapters two and three feature prominently a number of more well-trodden paths of scholarship, namely the Panhellenion, elite euergetism in the Greek East, and the life and works of Herodes Atticus. These are essential components of the cultural, social and economic life of second century Athens, and our investigation of renewal enables us to highlight some more unexplored elements of these familiar topics. In chapter two we explore the rhetoric of the Panhellenion and the renewal of the ‘Benefactress’ persona that Classical Athens had once communicated to her empire. We also discuss the role of the Panhellenion in the contemporary quest for exclusivity, a key theme in chapter three, where we encounter this quest for status among the second-century Athenian elite and consider the role of the elite in effecting the renewal of their city. Our discussion of euergetism and financial pressures prompts us to consider in chapter four the socio-economic role of the countryside at this time.

As the title proclaims, this thesis explores the renewal of Athens and the ways in which this renewal was modelled on perceptions of the past. Across four chapters we encounter the use of the Athenian past in a number of guises; literary recreation of Classical landscapes, the re-writing of unfavourable history, the modelling of the constitution on archaic precedent, the preservation of Athenian legend in the local history of the Attic demes, to list but a few. The renewal of Athens was physical and ideological, and within this project the Athenians – and the emperors – looked to the past: they debated it, recreated it, re-designed it if necessary. This was not idle nostalgia, but positive action, with positive results.

*Phaedrus redux?***Interpreting the Ilissos area in the Second Century AD**

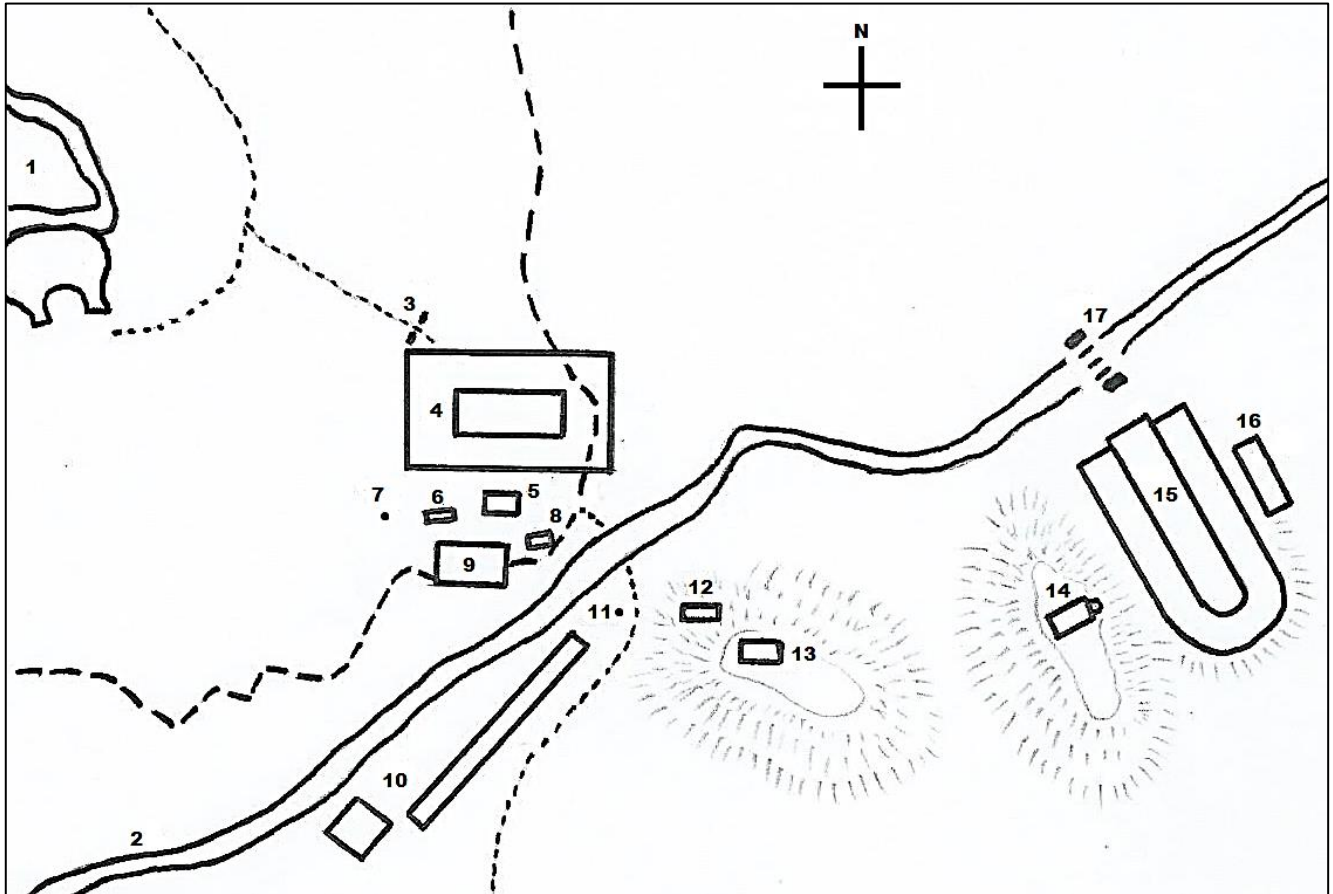
Introduction

In chapter one, we explore how the Ilissos area was reconfigured to suit the narrative of Athenian renewal in the second century, and argue that the building activity in the Ilissos area exemplifies the process of integration that characterises the cultural and physical landscape of Athens in this century.⁶⁴

The space defined as the Ilissos area (henceforth referred to simply as the Ilissos) stretches south from the Olympieion complex and across the Ilissos river to the south bank, as indicated in Map.1. In the Classical era, much of this area was outside the city walls; the Themistoclean Wall remained standing until 86BC. The Ilissos was one of three rivers of Athens, along with the Cephissus and the Eridanos. It flowed along the foot of Mount Hymettus to the southeast of Athens, and was known in antiquity for drying up altogether in the summer; now it is nothing but a dry bed.⁶⁵ The topography of the area ranges from ancient crevices thought to hark back to Deucalion's flood to the public amenities of the Hadrianic era; from sacred spaces marked only by votives to the major public temples built to commemorate the Persian Wars. Prior to the building projects of the mid-second century, the area appears to have remained relatively undisturbed since the Classical period. Thus, the

⁶⁴ A paper based on this chapter was presented at the conference 'Sacred Landscapes: Creation, Transformation and Manipulation' held at University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Lampeter on 5-7th June 2014. An earlier draft of this chapter has been submitted for publication in the conference volume, forthcoming.

⁶⁵ Strabo 9.1.24



Map 1. *Ilissos Area* (adapted from Travlos (1971) No.379, to highlight key places of interest)

Key:

--- Path of Themistoclean Wall

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Acropolis | 10. Gymnasium buildings |
| 2. Ilissos River | 11. Cave of Pan |
| 3. Arch of Hadrian | 12. Temple of Artemis Agrotera |
| 4. Olympieion | 13. Temple of Poseidon Heliconius |
| 5. Delphinion | 14. Temple of Tyche |
| 6. Lawcourts | 15. Stadium |
| 7. Shrine of Olympian Ge | 16. Tomb of Herodes Atticus |
| 8. Temple of Cronus and Rhea | 17. Roman bridge |
| 9. Panhellenion | |

Ilissos allows us to evaluate the renewal and redefinition of an ancient, deeply sacred area during the height of Athens' cultural pre-eminence.

As detailed in my general introduction, 'city' and 'countryside' are not considered in this study as exclusive categories – to divide Attica in such a way would be to misunderstand this uniquely integrated territory. The landscape of the Ilissos district aptly illustrates this: as can be seen in Map 1, the Classical city wall of Athens cut straight through this area, with important sacred sites located on either side. For civic purposes the Ilissos area was urban, situated as it is within the Cleisthenic urban demes, but the cults just outside the city wall on either side of the river have distinctly rural relationships: Artemis Agrotera, Boreas, Pan, Achelous and the Nymphs, the Ilissian Muses – all these deities were housed in the area between Cynosarges and Ardettos. The shrine of Dionysus at Limnai was located in this district, associated with the Horai and the ripening of the grapes. The Ilissian Muses and Aphrodite in the Gardens were also worshipped here. While the state of the city walls by the second century AD is unclear, that the foundations thought to be the Hadrianic 'Panhellenion' lie across the course of the earlier walls suggests that in this area at least the boundary of the city was rather more permeable than it had once been. Plato's *Phaedrus*, c.360BC – the most enduring and influential literary depiction of the Ilissos area – depicted the Ilissos as the ideal philosophical *locus amoenus*. The prestige of this text in the second century AD and its key role in sophistic education make it particularly relevant to understanding perceptions of the Ilissos in the Antonine period. While Plato presented a lasting image of the Ilissos centred on rural imagery, Pausanias, visiting in the second century, focuses on the area's urban identity, thus highlighting the dual nature of the Ilissos and the contradictory experiences of its visitors.

Another interesting feature of the Ilissos area is the integration of old and new in its monumental structures. The Ilissos district was reported by Thucydides to have been the oldest part of Athens next to the Acropolis; whether or not this was true (although the archaeological and textual evidence does seem to corroborate the claim), the value of this statement is that this was believed to be the oldest district of the city.⁶⁶ The vestiges of great antiquity are seen by Pausanias in the second century AD, who records not only the prominent Classical buildings but the archaic shrine of Olympian Ge and the crevice where Deucalion's flood drained out.⁶⁷ By the time of Pausanias' tour, the Ilissos district was home to many new buildings – the Temple of Olympian Zeus, finally completed by Hadrian, is accompanied by the Temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenios and the Temple of Cronus and Rhea, as well as a new gymnasium and bath. Evidence for the cults and landscape of the Ilissos comes from a variety of sources, both literary and archaeological. In compiling the latter, I have used the most recent review of the archaeology of the area, Greco's *Topografia di Atene*.⁶⁸ The literary and epigraphic testimonia provide a wealth of evidence for cult places in this area, but it can be difficult to make decisive identifications on the ground – especially for places that were not associated with a particular building (e.g. the location of votives for Achelous and the Nymphs described in Plato's *Phaedrus*).⁶⁹ Travlos' map includes a number of speculative identifications based on the literary evidence; I include it here to convey an impression of the complex landscape rather than to pinpoint precise locations. A number of the excavated buildings can be securely identified; the Olympeion, of course, but also the Temple of Apollo Delphinios and the Temple of Artemis Agrotera. In chapter two (pp.96-9) I

⁶⁶ Thuc. 2.15.3-6. Thucydides supports this statement of the area's great antiquity by highlighting the fact that the Acropolis is not exclusively the sanctuary of Athena (i.e. other temples had to be located here because this was the extent of the city at one time), and that the majority of temples outside the Acropolis are clustered in the district to the south).

⁶⁷ Paus. 1.18.7.

⁶⁸ *Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d.C. Tomo 2* (2011).

⁶⁹ See the quoted passage, pp.39-40.

present my argument in support of the identification of Pausanias' Temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenius as the building Travlos named the 'Panhellenion' (Map 1, p.30).

In this chapter, we explore the Ilissos area from variety of angles that lay thematic foundations for the next three chapters. In Part I we focus on Plato's *Phaedrus*, looking at the second-century texts which mimic the dialogue's Ilissos setting, and examining its popularity at this time in the context of the contemporary cultural fashions that played such a central role in the renewal of Athens. In Part II we explore the monumental landscape of the Ilissos from a chronological perspective: from the legendary past, to the Persian Wars and beyond. The latter part serves to preface the Persian Wars ideology inherent in aspects of the Panhellenion and contemporary rhetoric. In Part III we examine Hadrian's activity in the Ilissos area in the context of imperial engagement with ancient space in Rome. In Part IV we explore the themes of foundation and re-foundation in the Hadrianic Ilissos area. The emperor's interactions with this ancient and sacred space reveal much about his vision for Athens, and the Athenians' acceptance of Hadrian as a new 'founder' of their city. Here, the works of Hadrian became embedded within a landscape that was heavily associated with Theseus as founder and synoecist, and which in turn enabled the Athenians to cast Hadrian in the same roles: founder of the 'new' Athens, and synoecist of the Greek world through the Panhellenion.

Part I: Plato's *Phaedrus* and Antonine *mimesis*

Plato's *Phaedrus* immortalised the banks of the Ilissos as the ideal locale for philosophical thought and discussion and, moreover, as a deeply sacred *locus amoenus*. Plato's vision of the area stood the test of time remarkably well; the beauty of the text left a lasting impression on travellers even into the nineteenth century. Christopher Wordsworth, despite finding the



Fig.1 Cave of Pan near the Church of Agia Fotini, (image of Pan barely visible on the right-hand rock face).

area “bare and treeless” still felt that it was imbued with beauty and atmosphere owing to Plato’s description, while William Leake thought it easy to imagine the verdure and plane trees of the *Phaedrus*.⁷⁰ Even today, although the area is dominated by the noisy Leoforos Arditou, the green space around the small church of Agia Fotini on the south bank of the dry river-bed evokes some of the peace and quiet of Plato’s scene, and one can still find a cave of Pan nestled amongst the trees (Fig.1). As the dialogue begins, Phaedrus is coming from a gathering in a house near the Olympieion when he meets Socrates. As they exit the city, Socrates suggests sitting down in a quiet spot by the Ilissos, and Phaedrus proposes that paddling in the cool water of the river might be refreshing in the summer heat.⁷¹ They walk on, across the river, and look for the tallest plane tree, where there is a shady spot on the grass with a pleasant breeze:

⁷⁰ Wordsworth (1837) 164; Leake (1841) 275-6

⁷¹ Plat. *Phaedr.* 229a

νή τὴν Ἥραν, καλή γε ἡ καταγωγή· ἢ τε γὰρ πλάτανος αὕτη μάλ' ἀμφιλαφής τε καὶ ὑψηλή, τοῦ τε ἄγνου τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ σύσκιον πάγκαλον, καὶ ὡς ἀκμὴν ἔχει τῆς ἀνθης, ὡς ἂν εὐωδέστατον παρέχοι τὸν τόπον· ἢ τε αὖ πηγὴ χαριεστάτη ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου ῥεῖ μάλα ψυχροῦ ὕδατος, ὥστε γε τῷ ποδὶ τεκμήρασθαι. Νυμφῶν τέ τινων καὶ Ἀχελφου ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κορῶν τε καὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἰκονεῖται. εἰ δ' αὖ βούλει, τὸ εὐπνοῦν τοῦ τόπου ὡς ἀγαπητὸν καὶ σφόδρα ἡδύ· θερινόν τε καὶ λιγυρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τεττίγων χορῶν. πάντων δὲ κομψότατον τὸ τῆς πόας, ὅτι ἐνήρέμα προσάντει ἰκανὴ πέφυκε κατακλινέντι τὴν κεφαλὴν παγκάλως ἔχειν. ὥστε ἄριστά σοι ἐξενάγηται, ὦ φίλε Φαῖδρε.

By Hera, what a lovely secluded spot! This plane tree is very tall and flourishing, the agnus is tall enough to provide excellent shade too, and since it is in full bloom it will probably make the place especially fragrant. Then again, the stream flowing under the plane tree is particularly charming, and its water is very cold, to judge by my foot. The place seems by the statuettes and figures to be sacred to certain of the Nymphs and to Achelous. Or again, if you like, how pleasant and utterly delightful is the freshness of the air here! The whisper of the breeze chimes in a summery, clear way with the chorus of the cicadas. But the nicest thing of all is the fact that the grass is on a gentle slope which is perfect for resting one's head on when lying down. You are indeed a very good guide, my dear Phaedrus.⁷²

Throughout the dialogue the rural and sacred nature of the Ilissos area is not simply mentioned in passing but comes to the forefront; temples, shrines, the chirping cicadas, the rustling trees, and the clear, bright water maintain a strong presence, providing an idyllic context for their philosophical discussion. As they walk, Socrates and Phaedrus note a place sacred to the river-god Achelous and the Nymphs, “the shrine in Agra”, a shrine of the Muses, and an altar to Boreas in the place where he carried off Oreithyia from the riverbank.⁷³ Socrates states that as a φιλομαθής he prefers the city because the country and the trees won't teach him, but the people in the city will.⁷⁴ However, while Socrates never disavows this belief, throughout the text he finds inspiration in the natural environment that surrounds him, for example in the myths of Boreas and Oreithyia and the cicadas and the Muses.⁷⁵ The dialogue concludes with a prayer: “Dear Pan and all gods here, grant that I may become beautiful within and that my external possessions may be congruent with my inner state”.⁷⁶

⁷² 230b-c, trans. Waterfield (2002).

⁷³ Achelous and the Nymphs: 230b, “the shrine in Agra”: 229c, shrine of the Muses: 278b, altar to Boreas: 229c.

⁷⁴ 230d.

⁷⁵ 229c-230a, 259b-c.

⁷⁶ 279c.

Despite the presence of the Themistoclean city wall in Plato's time, the Ilissos district was firmly located inside the Cleisthenic urban demes – the area outside the walls was not immediately classed as 'the countryside', and therefore the Ilissos was essentially an urban space.⁷⁷ The concept of the *pomerium* did not exist in the Greek world – there was no sacred boundary line surrounding the city.⁷⁸ While in reality the wall did not stand as a divisive boundary between city and country, there is evidence that this role may have been played out on an imaginary level. One cannot define individual gods as exclusively 'urban' or 'rural', (after all, both Artemis and Pan also had their place at the heart of the city on the Acropolis), but one cannot deny that the cults located in this relatively small area, when considered as a group, carry a distinctively rural character. A perceived division between city and countryside in this area is evident in the *Phaedrus*: once they leave through the gate, Phaedrus contrasts walking in the city's colonnades with the more refreshing ('ἄκοπος') pursuit of walking the country roads, while Socrates states that he prefers the city for its educational benefits.⁷⁹ The scenery throughout the dialogue, summarised above, characterises the area as distinctly rural: if no identifiable topographical detail had been provided, one might be forgiven for thinking the dialogue was located in a much more remote, categorically rural area.

The reality of the topography presented in the *Phaedrus* has been in question even since antiquity, probably to some extent due to the particular rurality of the dialogue and the contrast between Plato's image and the landscape of later times. For the most part, scholarship on the dialogue focuses on the rhetorical purpose of the scenery, assessing the landscape as a fictional setting rather than a real location.⁸⁰ Despite the philosophical purpose

⁷⁷ Traill (1975) map 2. Much more could be said on this matter, but our second century timeframe prevents further discussion here.

⁷⁸ Polinskaya (2006) 88.

⁷⁹ 227a, 230d.

⁸⁰ Cicero (*De Orat.* 1.28) considered the specific setting of the plane-tree to be a literary fiction; a view deemed unreasonably sceptical by Thompson (1868) 9, who claimed that the description was accurate even down to the tree itself. Wycherley (1963) 91 thought that the overall topography was accurate but that the particular tree or

of the dialogue, there is nothing in Plato's description that causes us to question the reality of the district in which it takes place; the cults in the area, at least, are corroborated by other literary sources and the archaeological evidence. We need not imagine that Socrates' and Phaedrus' walk itself was a historical occurrence, nor that Plato had a specific plane tree in mind; but it is reasonable to interpret Plato's description of a popular religious zone on the outskirts of the city as based on reality and personal familiarity with the area.⁸¹ However, my interest in the *Phaedrus* is not in the accuracy of its topographical detail, nor in attempting to compare the dialogue's setting to a contemporary fourth-century 'reality'. It seems clear that Plato took the real features of the landscape – the river with its tree-lined banks scattered with small cult places – and elevated it into an almost mythical setting, hazy and dream-like, its atmosphere permeated by the workings of divine inspiration. It is this atmosphere and the overall image conjured by the text that we are concerned with; in particular, why might this specific *locus amoenus* have appealed to the writers of the Antonine period?

That Plato's description held a lasting impact on perceptions of the Ilissos is evident in the correspondence of Marcus Aurelius and M. Cornelius Fronto, particularly in letters written around 139AD when the future emperor was studying in Athens. In one notable letter Fronto draws on the content of the *Phaedrus*, and concludes that he intends to show Marcus a particular flower "if we go for a walk outside the city walls as far as the Ilissos".⁸² This is only one example of second century engagement with the *Phaedrus* among the educated elite,

the particular spring were likely literary creations that could well have been any tree or spring in the area. Ferrari (1987) 2-34 explores the ways in which the philosophers' interactions with the natural setting reflect the themes of the narrative; e.g. the walk to the plane tree, initially in the distance, "represents the beginnings of the search within the self that Socrates announces as his aim (229e5-230a1)". For a similar approach to Ferrari's see the commentaries by de Vries (1969) and Rowe (1986).

⁸¹ Rowe, (1986) 135, discusses Plato's imaginative approach to real characters such as Socrates.

⁸² *Ep.* 8.9. The correspondence further alludes to a shared identification with the characters and subject matter of the *Phaedrus*, most notably in Marcus' casting of himself and Fronto in the roles of Socrates and Phaedrus (Fronto, *Ep.* 8.9, *Addit.* 7.3). See Taoka (2013) on metaphor and love in the letters of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius.

for whom the dialogue was the centrepiece of a rhetorical and philosophical education.⁸³ In chapter four (p.190) I consider the influence of the *Phaedrus* and its ideal *locus amoenus* on Aulus Gellius and the other guests of Herodes Atticus, who attended philosophical gatherings at Herodes' Cephisia villa. While the themes of the *Phaedrus* – love, destiny, rhetoric, the soul – were popular and much imitated in the second century, I focus here on the cases in which later writers have mimicked the setting of the dialogue, and explore the possibility that the Ilissos setting was in fact an important contributing factor in the dialogue's popularity at this time. The works which reference Plato's Ilissos either directly or indirectly are discussed in depth by Trapp, to whose excellent discussion and index the following brief summary is much indebted.⁸⁴

References to the setting of the *Phaedrus* come in two forms: meetings in sacred groves recalling that of the dialogue, and direct allusions to Plato's text. The most valuable reference comes from Plutarch's *Amatorius*, in which Flavianus urges his companion Autobulus to refrain from extensive descriptions of the natural scenery "...and whatever else poets are so studious to add to their descriptions, imitating with more curiosity than grace Plato's Ilissos, with the chaste tree and the gentle rising hillock covered with green grass."⁸⁵ Plutarch's reference to the setting of the *Phaedrus* asserts that mimesis of the dialogue had become fashionable among second century writers and the tone implies that it had in fact become rather over-used. While we must be careful not to attribute every such scene to the direct influence of the *Phaedrus*, Plutarch's observation suggests that it was considered as the definitive model of the *locus amoenus*.

A similar impression is inferred from another dialogue, ps.-Lucian, *Amores*, in which the speaker ponders Plato's Ilissian plane tree, considering it "more fortunate than the Academy

⁸³ Trapp (1990) 141-173, cf. Taoka (2013).

⁸⁴ For a list of earlier indices see Trapp's introduction to the appendix, p.170.

⁸⁵ Plut. *Amat.* 749a.

and the Lyceum” for it had witnessed Socrates’ and Phaedrus’ dialogue, and pondering that if the tree itself could speak it might echo the philosophers’ sentiments.⁸⁶ The notion of landscape soaking up the wisdom and beauty of the philosophers’ words is an important factor in the second-century fascination with the *Phaedrus* and its setting; as has already been noted, the themes of the dialogue were particularly popular at this time – it follows, therefore, that the Ilissos would become almost synonymous with this Classical paragon of love and rhetoric and the cosmos. Indeed, there is further evidence for the setting of the *Phaedrus* representing the subject matter. Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon* demonstrates the extension of Platonic influence into prose fiction, a genre which flourished during the first few centuries AD.⁸⁷ Like the *Phaedrus* the central concerns of the novel, as summarised by Whitmarsh, are “rhetoric, *eros*, and the form, unity and status of written communication”.⁸⁸ Clitophon relates his story to the narrator who leads Clitophon to a nearby grove, the perfect setting for his ‘erotic fiction’, where they are surrounded by plane trees and cool, flowing water.⁸⁹ This mode of setting the scene illustrates the observation made by Plutarch and locates Clitophon and the narrator in a *locus amoenus* alluding to the *Phaedrus*. In another context we might be more cautious about connecting this rather generic setting to the *Phaedrus*, but the themes of the novel are so evocative of that particular dialogue that it is reasonable to expect that a learned second-century reader would have recognised the allusion, and that this was in fact the intention of the writer.

Turning to the genre of philosophical rhetoric, a notable allusion is made by Dio of Prusa in *Oration 1*, which concludes with a tale of his encounter with an old woman in the Peloponnese:

⁸⁶ Ps.-Luc. *Amor.* 31.

⁸⁷ Whitmarsh (2002), Swain (1999).

⁸⁸ Whitmarsh (2002) xxi; Plato’s influence on *L&C*: Morales (2004), Hunter (2012) 194.

⁸⁹ Ach. Tat. 1. 2.

καὶ δὴ βαδίζων ὡς ἀφ' Ἡραίας εἰς Πῖσανπαρὰ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν μέχρι μὲν τινος ἐπετύγχανον τῆς ὁδοῦ, μεταξὺ δὲ εἰς ὕλην τινὰ καὶ δυσχωρίαν ἐμπεσὼν καὶ πλείους ἀτραποὺς ἐπὶ βουκόλι ἄττα καὶ ποίμνας φερούσας, οὐδεν ἰσυναντῶν οὐδὲ δυνάμενος ἐρέσθαι, διαμαρτάνω τε καὶ ἐπλανώμην μεσημβρία σταθερᾷ. ἰδὼ νοῦν ἐπὶ ὑψηλῷ τινι δρυῶν συστροφῆν οἷον ἄλσος, ὄχρῳμην ὡς ἀποψόμενος ἐντεῦθεν ὁδὸν τινὰ ἢ οἰκίαν. καταλαμβάνω οὖν λίθους τέ τινας εἰκῆ ξυγκειμένους καὶ δέρματα ἱερῶν κρεμάμενα καὶ ῥόπαλα καὶ βακτηρίας, νομέων τινῶν ἀναθήματα, ὡς ἐφαίνετο, ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω καθήμενην γυναῖκα ἰσχυρὰν καὶ μεγάλην, τῆδὲ ἡλικία πρεσβυτέραν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἄγροικον στολὴν ἔχουσαν πλοκάμους δὲ τινὰς πολιοὺς καθεῖτο.

As I walked along the Alpheus on my way from Heraea to Pisa, I succeeded in finding the road for some distance, but all at once I got into some wood land and rough country, where a number of trails led to sundry herds and flocks, without meeting anybody or being able to inquire my way. So I lost my direction, and at high noon was quite astray. But noticing on a high knoll a clump of oaks that looked like a sacred grove, I made my way thither in the hope of discovering from it some roadway or house. There I found blocks of stone set roughly together, hanging pelts of animals that had been sacrificed, and a number of clubs and staves — all evidently being dedications of herdsmen. At a little distance I saw a woman sitting, strong and tall though rather advanced in years, dressed like a rustic and with some braids of grey hair falling about her shoulders.⁹⁰

The similarities with the setting of the *Phaedrus* are quite significant: having wandered the countryside for some time, Dio meets the priestess at midday in a sacred grove marked by humble offerings, later revealed to be a shrine of Heracles. The priestess is thought to speak under divine inspiration as Socrates does once he has come under the influence of the local gods.⁹¹ There are, of course, key differences – Dio’s setting is far more primitive than Plato’s, and the rustic old woman a far cry from the urbane Socrates. However, as Trapp notes, the differences serve a purpose: “The latter episode (*Or.* 1) is surely meant as a piquant transposition of the former (*Phdr.*), trading on the familiar antithesis of Attic and Ionian elegance with the harsher ethos of the Dorians”.⁹² The setting of the *Phaedrus*, then, functions as a paragon of Athenian sophistication, serving to highlight the rusticity and wildness of Dio’s Dorian landscape while imbuing the oration with a recognisably Platonic quality.⁹³ Dio’s use of a different but referential setting highlights the regard in which the *Phaedrus* was held in the second century, and moreover, the extent to which Plato’s *Ilissos*

⁹⁰ Dio, 1.53-54, trans. Cohoon (1932). Another such reference is made in *Or.* 36, which begins with a meeting outside the city walls by the river Hypanis in Borysthenes (1-8).

⁹¹ Dio 1.55; *Phaedr.* 235c, 241e.

⁹² Trapp (1990) 144.

⁹³ Trapp qualifies his interpretation with reference to ancient critical approaches to the *Phaedrus*, e.g. Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 7, Herm. *Id.* 2.4.

had become a centrepiece of ‘sacred grove’ iconography. It also demonstrates a symbolic association of the Ilissos with a distinctively Attic character and elegance.

The texts we have looked at in this section all belong to the period of the Second Sophistic – a cultural movement defined in part by its use of ‘Atticizing’ dialect, an Atheno-centric preoccupation with the Greek past, and *mimesis* of Classical figures and themes (see p.13).

While none of the writers we have discussed here are considered ‘sophists’, I would suggest that the hallmarks of that movement can to an extent account for the dialogue’s popularity in the second century, and thus to contemporary interest in the Ilissos area itself. The *Phaedrus*, after all, boasts a number of features that would appeal to a second-century literary connoisseur: fashionable subject matter, high philosophical pedigree, and a setting in an Attic *locus amoenus*. Plato defined *mimesis* as the assimilation of oneself with another, and in regard to the Second Sophistic, *mimesis* is usually considered as the process of bringing a character to life through words, as sophists were trained to do.⁹⁴ While sophists recreated historical events (real or imagined) for their audiences, our second-century writers repeatedly recreated a famous Platonic scene. The common factor here is Athens, the most popular subject for the sophists and at the heart of the popularity of the *Phaedrus*.

By the middle of the second century AD Athens had reached a new cultural zenith, and the Classical Athenian past had a powerful hold on the contemporary imagination, as we shall explore in chapter two (pp. 84-5). Plutarch illustrates his advice to Greek statesmen on the use of historical examples with cases from Athenian history, urging orators not to use the examples of Marathon, the Eurymedon and Plataea as these “make the common folk vainly to

⁹⁴ Plat. *Rep.* 2.393c. Sophists often inserted themselves into historical situations, e.g. Aristides *Or.* III (‘To Plato: In Defence of the Four’), and *Or.* V (‘On Sending Reinforcements to Sicily’). Polemo and Ptolemy of Naucratis often performed scenarios concerning the Battle of Marathon (Phil. *VS.* II.595). For further examples see Webb (2006) 34.

swell with pride and kick up their heels”.⁹⁵ One can infer from Plutarch’s instruction that stories of the Athenian past were prevalent among the Greek statesmen of his time. The lengthy encomium of the land of Attica to which Aelius Aristides devotes twenty-five chapters of his *Panathenaic Discourse* is intended to highlight the absolute purity of the Athenian race, and the superior qualities bestowed upon them by the land that gave them birth.⁹⁶ Aristides uses the image of “water rising out of springs” to describe the first Athenians rising from the land, a simile that seems strikingly resonant in a land that placed a high ideological value on its rivers. The renaming of rivers in fifth-century Athenian cleruchies – the Ilissos on Imbros, the Cephissus on Scyros – suggests that the Attic rivers functioned as key markers of the landscape’s ‘Athenianness’.⁹⁷ In this vein we should consider also Dionysius of Alexandria’s *Periegesis of the Known World*, a second-century work which encompasses the whole world in fewer than twelve hundred lines. While Athens is not mentioned by name it is evoked by a mention of the Ilissos “where Boreas carried off Oreithyia”.⁹⁸ The allusion to the *Phaedrus* is inherent in this passage, and entirely appropriate given the objective of Dionysius’ work: “to evoke, not so much the places themselves, as the reader’s awareness of them, literary associations and cultural memory”.⁹⁹ In the case of Athens, it is the Ilissos River that evokes the city with the *Phaedrus* as the key literary reference, intrinsically associated in the mind of the reader with the Ilissos and Athens

⁹⁵ Plut. *Praec. ger.* 814b-c.

⁹⁶ Aristid. *Or.* 13, 8-33.

⁹⁷ Moreno (2007) 306, Fredrich (1908) 82. One might also consider the supposed personifications of the Ilissos and the Cephissus on the west pediment of the Parthenon, commonly identified as such although neither has any specific attributes. I have omitted these sculptures from my discussion as it is highly questionable whether the reclining figures should be identified as rivers at all. Gais (1978) 355-70 finds that the representation of a river god as a reclining figure has no precedent in fifth-century art, and that early identifications of the Parthenon sculptures are in fact based on a late Hellenistic creation of the reclining river god type originating in Alexandria. Gais’ comparison of the supposed Parthenon river gods with the reclining Heracles/ Dionysus on the east pediment is particularly convincing (362), and casts significant doubt on the validity of identifying the figures as river gods.

⁹⁸ Dionys. *Per.* 421-5.

⁹⁹ Lightfoot (2014) 5. Oudot (2004) 423-5 first noted the allusion to the *Phaedrus*.

itself.¹⁰⁰ In the use of this allusion, Dionysius confirms the important symbolic role of the Ilissos in the second century, and the ever-present influence of Plato's vision.

In an era that placed such a high value on Hellenism, that commodified *paideia*, and made Athens the focal point of a shared Greek identity, it is understandable that the Ilissos, immortalised so beautifully by Plato, could have become an object of fascination. The river is a powerful presence in the dialogue, and we have seen that the landscape of the *Phaedrus* achieved a status far beyond that of 'backdrop' among second-century writers; rather, it represented the ultimate philosophical idyll and became symbolic of the city itself. Athens in the second century was arguably a city of the imagination; the dissemination of Classical texts throughout the empire, the travelling sophists' performances of Athenian history, the fame of the city's schools – all these factors create the foundations of expectation, and an image of Athens rooted in its Classical past (see pp.9-10, 84-9). The idyll presented by Plato provided for the second-century reader a vision of Classical Athens centred on myth, beauty, and *paideia*.

Depending on individual viewpoint, the Ilissos area could have functioned as either an urban or a rural space. The perceptions of a philosopher such as Plato would have been different to those of the local launderers who dedicated votives to Achelous and the Nymphs at their Ilissos shrine.¹⁰¹ In the mid-second century Fronto and the young Marcus Aurelius, wishing to emulate Socrates and Phaedrus by walking "outside the walls" (p.37-8), will have viewed the area differently from Pausanias, whose tour of the area we address shortly. Moreover, we know that scholars of the Roman period sometimes sought to compare the reality of a place to depictions in literature; we have already encountered this in relation to the *topos* of decline (pp.9-10). Indeed, in composing his *Geography* in the late first century BC, Strabo explicitly

¹⁰⁰ Dionysius uses rivers to represent cities or regions elsewhere in the *Periegesis*, e.g. the Alpheus and Olympia (374) and the Ismenus and Thebes (1165); Lightfoot (2014) 146.

¹⁰¹ *IG II²* 2934, discussed below p. 55.

states that he set out to do just that: “I am comparing the present conditions to those described by Homer”.¹⁰² With these examples in mind, one must consider again second-century visitors to the Ilissos area; it is not difficult to imagine that the *Phaedrus*’ philosophical idyll will have informed expectations and created a vision of rurality. For some the new amenities and the vast Olympieion towering above the shrines and the river to the south may have put paid to their rural imaginings; while for others the beauty of Plato’s dialogue, coupled with the still-flowing river and the cult places along its banks, may have sustained the sense of rurality even if it was, essentially, imagined.

Part II: Layering history: the chronological development of the Ilissos area

Having discussed the role of the Ilissos as a second-century model for the ideal *locus amoenus*, we now turn to the physical landscape of the area. An aerial view of the Ilissos area shows a landscape of tightly packed foundations surrounding and leading south from the Olympieion towards and across the bed of the Ilissos River. Pausanias provides an invaluable account of the monumental landscape as it was in the second century (outlined in Appendix A), and in many cases his account has been matched to the fragmentary structures that remain today. The best way to explore this complex topography is to take a chronological approach: in the following three sections I chart the development of the area from early times to the second century AD.

While Pausanias does not echo Thucydides’ comment about this area being the oldest in Athens next to the Acropolis, the great antiquity of the area is made apparent throughout his description. Pausanias’ account demonstrates that the Ilissos area was considered to be at once the oldest and the newest area of Athens.¹⁰³ Pausanias’ route from the Prytaneion to the

¹⁰² Strab. 8.8.3.

¹⁰³ Given the influence of Thucydides in the Imperial period, it is not unrealistic to imagine that Thucydides’ important statements on this district would have been influential in preserving its identity as a significantly ancient area. On Thucydides’ popularity with Roman writers, see Hornblower (1995) 47.

Olympieion is particularly interesting as it marks the key axis from the Acropolis to the Ilissos district. It has been noted that this axis illustrates the topographical orientation of the growth of Athens as viewed by Thucydides: from the Cave of Aglauros, which dominates the southeast slope of the Acropolis when viewed from the lower city, along the course of the modern Lysicrates Street, past the Prytaneion (or at least its close vicinity), towards the Olympieion and the ancient cult sites of the Ilissos area.¹⁰⁴ More will be said about the significance of this axis in Part IV (pp.62-5).

II.i. Theseus and Early Athens

Pausanias' description of the Ilissos is populated with observation, historical account, and local tradition.¹⁰⁵ The distinctive theme that emerges in Pausanias' account is that of Athens' legendary past: the earliest days of the city, and the deeds of its founding hero and synoecist, Theseus.

In comparison to other Greek city states, Attica unified early – likely between 950 and 700 BC – and, remarkably, maintained this unity.¹⁰⁶ Synoecism was not always permanent: four or five villages in Arcadia synoecised as a refounded Mantinea in the fifth century BC, only to be divided again by the Spartans in 385 BC.¹⁰⁷ Literary sources of the Classical through Roman periods universally identify Theseus as responsible for the synoecism of Athens. The

¹⁰⁴ Thuc. 2.15.15. Growth of Athens: Schmalz (2006) 78, cf. Hölscher (1991) 358-61, Papadopoulos (1996) 127-8. For a long time the Prytaneion was considered to be lost, and its location much debated; however, Schmalz's recent investigation has convincingly located it in the peristyle complex in Agia Aikaterini Square, along Lysicrates Street which leads directly to the Arch of Hadrian (2006) 33-81. Schmalz considers the archaeological evidence alongside Pausanias' topography and finds that the remains in the modern square represent one of the largest building complexes in the city, repeatedly used and rebuilt from the sixth century BC into the Roman period. For a summary of earlier attempts to locate the Prytaneion see Schmalz 43-45.

¹⁰⁵ I classify as 'historical account' those stories which appear to have been drawn from earlier written histories, e.g. Pausanias' mention of Boreas aiding the Athenians in the Persian Wars recalls Herodotus 7.178, 189. 'Local tradition' on the other hand includes stories which have a peculiar local twist, some of which are introduced by Pausanias with "they say..." We cannot assume that all anecdotes prefaced in this way are drawn from oral tradition, but it is one way of flagging up potential examples of this sort of material.

¹⁰⁶ Parker (1996) 10-13. Most regions of ancient Greece went through the process of synoecism for different reasons at different times, for example the formation of Megalopolis in Arcadia in 368/7 BC in response to Spartan threat (Paus. 8.26; Diod. Sic. 15.72.4).

¹⁰⁷ Diod. Sic. 15.12.2

most famous, and lengthy, account is that of Thucydides.¹⁰⁸ Other sources vary in their representation of Theseus' synoecism: some credit Theseus with civilising the people of Attica and organising their scattered settlements into a city-state, while others work on the basis that the Attic people had already been organised into twelve cities by Cecrops – in this version Theseus united the cities into the Athenian *polis* as it stood in the Classical period.¹⁰⁹

Pausanias begins his route to the Ilissos at the Prytaneion, the ancient town hall and council chamber integrally associated with Theseus' synoecism of Attica.¹¹⁰ Both Thucydides and Plutarch describe the independent communities of Attica prior to the synoecism, and how Theseus brought them together and established one common town hall (πρυτανεῖον) in Athens.¹¹¹ Between the Prytaneion and the shrine of Eileithuia on the way to the Olympieion, Pausanias sees “a place where they say Theseus and Peirithous took their oath before they marched together on Sparta and on Thesprotia”, presumably alluding to the story recounted by Plutarch in which Theseus and Peirithous travelled to Sparta to steal Helen.¹¹² The route to the Ilissos area is marked by places associated with Theseus, keeping the founding hero of Athens in the reader's mind as Pausanias approaches the Ilissos.

Following his tour of the Olympieion *temenos*, Pausanias comes to the Temple of Apollo Delphinios, telling his readers that this was the place where Theseus first arrived in Athens.¹¹³ When the unknown Theseus – young, with long hair and a long tunic – first arrived in Athens, the roof of the Delphinion was not yet complete; mocked for looking like a young

¹⁰⁸ Thuc. 2.14.

¹⁰⁹ Version 1: Isocrates, *Helen* 35-6; Diod. Sic. 4.61.8-9; Val. Max. 5.3; Cic. *De leg.* 2.5; Plut. *Thes.* 24.1. Version 2: Theophrastus, *Characters* 16.6; Marmor Parium (*FGrH* 239 fr. A20); Charax (*FGrH* 103 fr. 43); Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 fr. 94); Strabo 9.1.20 (citing Philochorus).

¹¹⁰ Paus. 1.18.3.

¹¹¹ Thuc. 2.15.2, Plut. *Thes.* 24.3. Plutarch demonstrates quite clearly that Theseus was still remembered in the imperial period as having founded Athens through synoecism, as he draws explicit parallels between Theseus and Romulus, the founder of Rome (e.g. *Thes.* 2.1: ... ὁ μὲν ἔκτισε τὴν Ἰώμην, ὁ δὲ συνώκτισε τὰς Ἀθήνας).

¹¹² Paus. 1.19.5, Plut. *Thes.* 31.

¹¹³ Paus. 1.19.1.

girl, Theseus loosed the oxen from the builders' cart and threw them higher than the unfinished roof.¹¹⁴ In a different version related by Plutarch, Theseus' father Aegeus is persuaded by his wife Medea to poison the unknown man, in case he prove dangerous; Theseus proves his identity by drawing his sword, and Aegeus throws away the poisoned cup on the site of the Delphinion.¹¹⁵ The Delphinion was also where Theseus sacrificed the bull of Marathon, where he sacrificed to Apollo before departing for Crete, and where he was tried for the killing of the Pallantidae (reflecting the Delphinion's role as one of Athens' five murder courts).¹¹⁶ It has been suggested that these stories were some of the most ancient versions of Theseus mythology, and that the Delphinion was perhaps one of the oldest places in Athens.¹¹⁷ Apollo Delphinios was connected to ephebic ritual, owing to the myth of the youthful Theseus: once a year, the ephebes would carry a bull to the temple on their shoulders in imitation of Theseus' feat of strength.¹¹⁸ Plutarch tells us that even in his day Athenian maidens were sent to the Delphinion on the 6th Mounichion in recollection of Theseus' sacrifice at the temple.

Continuing the theme of important first arrivals in the Ilissos is Pausanias' identification of the Temple of Artemis Agrotera as Artemis' first hunting place upon her arrival from Delos.¹¹⁹ Unlike Theseus and the Delphinion, this story is unknown from any other source; Artemis Agrotera and her temple by the Ilissos are associated with the Athenian victory at Marathon (see below, pp.50-2), and this is as far as our Classical sources go in providing an explanation for the cult.¹²⁰ Given Pausanias' interest in Classical antiquity it is surprising that he does not record this association – Plutarch some decades earlier recorded the survival of

¹¹⁴ Paus. 1.19.1.

¹¹⁵ Plut. *Thes.* 12.8.

¹¹⁶ *op.cit.* 14.1, 18.1; Paus. 1.28.10; Parker (2005) 405.

¹¹⁷ Bourboulis (1949) 43, Robert (1894) 260.

¹¹⁸ Parker (2005) 436; Graf (2009) 89.

¹¹⁹ Paus 1.19.1, 19.7.

¹²⁰ Xen. *Anab.* 3.2.12, Arist. *AP* 58.1.

the procession, so it is unlikely that the connection to the Persian Wars had been lost altogether.¹²¹ The anecdote is prefaced with “they claim” and concludes with “and for this reason the statue has a hunting-bow”, suggesting that the story was provided by locals in response to Pausanias’ enquiries about the attribute of the statue.¹²² It may be that Pausanias deliberately chose a story that invests the cult with an even greater antiquity, or perhaps that he elected to record an interesting local tradition rather than the more widely-known and well-documented story. The same would appear to be true of Pausanias’ tale about Nisos, the king of Megara who was killed by Minos of Crete and brought to Athens for burial, where a memorial stood behind the Lyceum.¹²³ The more popular version of this myth has Nisos turned into an eagle while chasing down his traitorous daughter, Scylla.¹²⁴ Perhaps Nisos’ burial at Athens was exclusively a local tradition stemming from his identity as the son of Pandion II, the legendary king of Athens.¹²⁵

Regarding the Greek antiquities in the Ilissos area Pausanias provides a wealth of valuable information and curiosities; the location of the death of Codrus, for example, is an interesting piece of local tradition. A notable feature of Pausanias’ account of the Ilissos area is the integration of new Roman buildings with Greek antiquities, and the ease with which Pausanias moves between the two. Within the *temenos* of the Olympieion lies an ancient crevice associated with Deucalion’s flood, into which honey cakes are thrown in an annual rite.¹²⁶ In another story possibly transmitted via local oral tradition, Pausanias notes that “they say” that Deucalion built the ancient sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, and that the hero in fact

¹²¹ Plut. *De Herod.* 26.

¹²² Pretzler (2005) 241 considers that Pausanias’ social status and educated interests may have prompted local informants to attempt to impress him with unusual versions; this could be one such example.

¹²³ 1.19.5.

¹²⁴ Ov. *Met.* 8.90, Hyg. *Fab.* 198.

¹²⁵ Strab. 9.1.6.

¹²⁶ 1.18.7.

lived in Athens not far from this site.¹²⁷ This particular story is unknown in any other source, although Strabo mentions that Deucalion's grave can be seen in Athens.¹²⁸ Again, it is likely we have here a purely local tradition, and possibly even a post-Classical one; no Classical writers associate Deucalion with Athens – even Thucydides in his description of the great antiquity of this area does not include the crevice or any mention of Deucalion.¹²⁹

We have already noted the theme of first arrivals in the Ilissos area; another interesting theme that has emerged in this discussion is the death and burial in this area of legendary kings: Nisus, Codrus, and Deucalion. There is a difference between mythical burial sites for heroes and actual burials for the Athenian people, but the supposed presence of these graves does raise interesting questions about whether the Ilissos ever had a funerary character. Burial in Athens was traditionally outside the city walls (see p.232), as was the Ilissos area until the destruction of the Themistoclean Wall. While the presence of a cemetery has never been determined, grave *stelai* from different eras have been discovered in the vicinity of the Ilissos and Olympieion. The most famous example would be the so-called 'Ilissos *stèle*', discovered in the bed of the river. Dated to c.340BC, the *stèle* depicts a deceased young hunter and his mourning father.¹³⁰ Another, found south of the Olympieion, is the second-century AD 'Artemidorus *stèle*', which also depicts the deceased as a hunter – we discuss this stele in chapter four (pp.239-41). Jeffery catalogued a number of Archaic gravestones from outside the south-east gates of the city, including a stele found near the Olympieion and a *kouros* in the bed of the Ilissos.¹³¹ It is perhaps more likely that these grave markers were moved from other nearby locations such as the suburban demes, rather than providing evidence for a cemetery in the area.

¹²⁷ 1.18.8. On Pausanias and oral tradition see Pretzler (2005) 235-49, and n.32 above.

¹²⁸ Strab. 9.4.2.

¹²⁹ Deucalion typically has Thessalian origins, e.g. Hes. *Cat. fr.* 3 (from Schol. on Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4), Hdt. 1.56.2, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.1085; Strab. 8.7.1.

¹³⁰ Athens, NM 869.

¹³¹ Jeffery (1962) 129. *Stèle*: Athens EM 10646; *kouros*: Athens NM 3687.

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Deucalion's flood marks the beginning of a new age of mankind, following Zeus' decision to destroy the corrupt race of men. Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha survive, and are instructed by the Delphic Oracle to throw the bones of their mother over their shoulders; interpreting this as being the bones of Mother Earth, Deucalion cast down stones, from which the next race of men sprung.¹³² We have already noted that Pausanias does not make any explicit statements about the antiquity of the Ilissos area, but the idea of Deucalion settling in Athens after the flood and building the first Olympieion associates this district of Athens with the first rebuilding and repopulation of Greece following the legendary deluge.

II.ii. Classical building in the Ilissos area

The cults of Artemis Agrotera, Boreas and Pan were three of the major cults established in Athens following the Persian Wars of the fifth century BC. These gods were an integral part of Persian Wars mythology, renowned and honoured for aiding the Athenians in their victory; their cult places were also an integral feature of the landscape of the Ilissos, investing the area with an important commemorative function.

We have already seen that in Pausanias' account the temple of Artemis in Agrai was built in the place where the goddess first hunted when she came to Athens from Delos.¹³³ The more famous biography of the temple and its cult, however, is rooted in the history of the fifth century BC. Xenophon recounts the Athenians' vow before Marathon to sacrifice one goat for every dead Persian to Artemis Agrotera should they win the battle; as it happens, the number of Persian dead was so vast that the Athenian state settled on a fixed number of 500

¹³² Ovid, *Met.* 1.262-433. Many different versions of Deucalion's flood exist in Greek myth and history. Ovid's version gives King Lycaon's attempt to feed Zeus human flesh as the event which incites the anger of Zeus against that generation of man (1.163-261), but there are many more versions too numerous to list here (see Caduff 2014).

¹³³ Paus. 1.19.6.

goats.¹³⁴ The festival of Artemis which celebrated the victory at Marathon is referred to by Plutarch as *charisteria*, ‘thanksgiving’, and was celebrated annually on 6th Boedromion.¹³⁵ Aristotle tells us that the polemarch performed the offering to Artemis Agrotera and Enyalios the god of war.¹³⁶ Parker suggests that the festival and public feast raised the profile of Agrotera in Athens and led to the construction of the temple on the Ilissos in the 440’s, possibly designed by the architect of the Temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis.¹³⁷ The temple has been identified with foundations on the south side of the Ilissos River. Before it was destroyed to provide material for the city wall, the temple (in its third incarnation, a seventeenth-century church) was seen by Stuart and Revett in the 1740’s.¹³⁸ Plutarch’s account, supplemented by a further documentation of the sacrifice by Aelian (late second/early third century AD), strongly suggests that the procession continued in the second century.¹³⁹

The cult of Artemis Agrotera in Athens was closely associated with ephebic training; the ephebes began their military service with a sacrifice to her, and escorted the goats to sacrifice at the *charisteria*.¹⁴⁰ The role of the goddess in ephebic activity reflects her wider associations with the formation of the male community and the skills required in order for

¹³⁴ Xen. *Anab.* 3.2.12.

¹³⁵ Plut. *De Herod. Mal.* 26; Simon (1983) 82.

¹³⁶ AP 58.1.

¹³⁷ Parker (1996) 153. The Ilissos temple was one of a number of structures in the lower city built during Pericles’ *prostasia*, associated with victory over the Persians, along with the Hephaestion and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius.

¹³⁸ There has been much debate over the identity of the destroyed Ionic temple on the south side of the Ilissos; once identified as the Metroon in Agra, general consensus now leans toward identification as the temple of Artemis Agrotera. Pausanias observes a temple of Artemis Agrotera in Agra, but does not mention the Metroon (1.19.5-6). The early debate over the identity of the temple is summarised by Picon (1978) 49n.8. Travlos, (1971) 112, concluded in favour of Artemis, based primarily on the temple’s location in relation to the accounts of Plato and Pausanias, and the suggestion in ancient sources that the Metroon should have been closer to the river (Travlos suggests an alternative set of foundations for the Metroon). Since Travlos, it has been commonplace to identify the Ionic temple as the temple of Artemis; e.g. Cole (2000) 478, Camp (2001) 105.

¹³⁹ Plut. *De Herod. Mal.* 26, *De glor. Ath.* 7; cf. Parker (2005) 462. Aelian (*VH* 2.25) gives 6 Thargelion as the date and 300 goats rather than 500. It is possible that this might reflect changes in the festival by Aelian’s time, but it is perhaps more likely to be a mistake.

¹⁴⁰ *IG* II² 1008.7 (118/7BC), *IG* II² 1011.7 (106/5BC), *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 66 (late second c. BC?); Burkert (1983) 65; Pritchett (1974) 174-5; Simon (1983) 82.

youths to make the transition to manhood, such as hunting and warfare (see pp.228-9). In this context, Artemis represents the border between youth and manhood, but she was also closely associated with physical borders too – particularly those between civilisation and the wilderness – and with the wilderness itself.¹⁴¹ Perhaps it is appropriate, therefore, that Artemis the Huntress stands outside the city walls and, along with the other cults of this area, represents a different set of values than those gods of the civic sphere.

Boreas, the North Wind, is another inhabitant of the Ilissos district whose cult in Athens was a fifth-century foundation associated with victory in the Persian Wars. In the face of the Persian threat in 480, the Delphic oracle advised the Greeks to “pray to the Winds”; later, the Athenian fleet, facing a rising storm off Chalcis in Euboea, sacrificed to Boreas and Oreithyia to come to their aid and destroy the Persian fleet.¹⁴² Herodotus relates that the Athenians decided to sacrifice to Boreas owing to another oracle, which had urged them to appeal for help to their son-in-law. According to legend, Boreas was married to Oreithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus, and therefore connected by marriage to the Athenian race. Oreithyia was stolen away by Boreas from the banks of the Ilissos, and thus Herodotus concludes that when the Athenians returned home they built a sanctuary to Boreas beside the river.¹⁴³ It is worth noting that the Attic element of the myth is still strong in Roman re-telling; Ovid focuses on Oreithyia’s identity as an Attic princess, and Statius describes the Ilissos as a conspirator in Boreas’ plans to abduct her.¹⁴⁴ Pausanias too sets the story on the banks of the Ilissos and appears to follow Herodotus’ account of Boreas destroying Persian ships to aid his Athenian kin.¹⁴⁵ As noted above, Boreas, like Artemis Agrotera, was particularly important in the post-Persian War period; indeed, as Parker notes, in the half-century after Artemisium the seizing

¹⁴¹ Cole (2000) 478; McInerney (2006) 39.

¹⁴² Hdt. 7.178, 189.

¹⁴³ Oreithyia stolen away from the Ilissos: Plat. *Phaedrus*, 229ff; Apol. Rhod. *Argonautica*. 1.212; ps-Apol. *Bibliotheca*. 3.199.

¹⁴⁴ Ovid, *Met.* 6.679ff; Stat. *Theb.* 12.630ff.

¹⁴⁵ Paus. 1.19.5.

of Oreithyia by Boreas appeared on at least fifty Attic vases.¹⁴⁶ We cannot be entirely sure what form the cult of Boreas took in the Ilissos area; Plato mentions an altar, no doubt the same one referred to by Herodotus, but we do not know any particulars about the cult of Boreas in Athens. Pausanias does not mention any physical site along the Ilissos, but he does imply that the river was still considered sacred to Boreas and Oreithyia.¹⁴⁷

Pan appears in two locations along the Ilissos; in the rock-cut chamber on the south side of the river by the church of Agia Fotini (above, p.34), and near the bridge in the place where Socrates and Phaedrus stop to rest. In the chamber a relief of Pan is carved into the southern face, while an inscribed relief of the fourth century, dedicated by a group of launderers, indicates that Pan was worshipped along with Achelous and the Nymphs near the crossing.¹⁴⁸ Rodenwaldt sought to identify the rock-cut shrine as the resting place described by Plato, but this would not suit the overall topography of the dialogue; as Wycherley observes, the place by the crossing is almost certainly the correct location.¹⁴⁹ Herodotus recounts the origins of the cult of Pan in Athens. When the Persians landed at Marathon, the Athenians sent a herald named Philippides to Sparta to call for help. Having received an unsatisfactory response from the Spartans, Philippides was returning through Arcadia when he encountered Pan on Mount Parthenion. Pan instructed him to ask the Athenians why they did not pay any attention to him when he had already been useful for them and would continue to be so in future; following the success at Marathon, the Athenians accordingly established a sanctuary of Pan at the base of the Acropolis.¹⁵⁰ It is notable that in Attica Pan seems to have been closely tied to Artemis; both deities were worshipped for their intervention at Salamis and Marathon, and both are associated quite precisely with moments of epiphany at the decisive turning point of

¹⁴⁶ Parker (1996) 157; cf. Agard (1966) 241-6.

¹⁴⁷ Paus. 1.19.5

¹⁴⁸ Pan by the Ilissos: Rodenwaldt (1912) 141-50; Wycherley (1963) 95-6; Travlos (1971) 289; Goette (2001) 101. Inscribed relief: *IG II² 2934*, found in the nearby Stadium.

¹⁴⁹ Rodenwaldt *op.cit.*; Wycherley (1963) 96.

¹⁵⁰ Hdt. 6.105.

battle – Pan, in particular is responsible for the panic that drives enemies into flight.¹⁵¹ Most importantly, they are both gods of the wilderness.¹⁵²

Pan is notable in Attica for being a foreign god, and yet rooted in folk tradition; and for being honoured equally in the city and the countryside. The cave of Pan on the Acropolis became the model for numerous shrines scattered throughout Attica both in form and in votive tradition.¹⁵³ In the cult of Pan and the nymphs, Borgeaud identifies a mediating function between the city and the countryside: the flourishing of these cults from the early fifth to the late fourth centuries BC “coincides with the relatively brief period that saw the affirmation ... of the ideal of the citizen-farmer.”¹⁵⁴ In this reading Borgeaud locates the fifth-century Athenian enthusiasm for Pan in the context of the reforms of Cleisthenes, which aimed in part to overcome the division between town and country. Pan, therefore, along with his accompanying nymphs, is a particularly appropriate deity for the region just outside the city walls; and it is perhaps for this reason that two sacred places of Pan appear in close proximity in the ‘borderland’ of the Ilissos.

The Ilissos area seems to have formed a distinctive ‘community’ of rustic deities. An inscribed relief of the fourth century BC found near the Ilissos riverbank was dedicated to the nymphs and “all the gods” by a group of launderers who worked by the river.¹⁵⁵ The relief is divided into two sections; the upper shows Hermes leading the Nymphs in a dance with Pan and Achelous looking on, while the lower depicts Demeter and Kore, with a bearded man approaching. As Larson suggests, the relief likely acknowledges the “neighbourly relationship” between the Ilissos nymphs and the Lesser Mysteries of Demeter and Kore,

¹⁵¹ McInerney (2006) 39.

¹⁵² They are associated closely in Attic cult; a very specific type of small vase depicting the rites of the Brauronia appears at sanctuaries of both Artemis and Pan: Kahil (1965) 23 n.13, (1976) 126-30, (1977) 86-98.

¹⁵³ For example, Marathon, Piraeus, Phyle, and Vari.

¹⁵⁴ Borgeaud (1988) 160-61.

¹⁵⁵ *IG II²* 2934.

whose initiates bathed in the river.¹⁵⁶ Another marble plaque featuring a number of local gods has been found in the bed of the Ilissos at Callirhoe.¹⁵⁷ The relief depicts a bearded god, possibly Zeus Meilichios, seated on a throne decorated on the side with a bearded face above the inscribed name ‘Achelous’. Three other figures stand in the background: the middle figure is Hermes, while Heracles stands on the right holding an offering for the seated god. The attributes of the female figure on the left are impossible to distinguish, but she may be Callirhoe, the daughter of Achelous, or Meter. The latter suggestion seems preferable considering that the votive unites various deities of the area, as Meter and Zeus Meilichios had shrines in Agrai, while Heracles had a shrine in the Cynosarges.¹⁵⁸ Both these pieces are humble votive offerings that represent a personal level of engagement with the gods of the Ilissos. These votives are reminiscent of the ἀγάλματα (lit. images or ‘pleasing gifts’) seen by Socrates in the Phaedrus, in which κόραι and ἀγάλματα mark the spot sacred to Achelous.

The sanctuary of Aphrodite en Kepois (“in the Gardens”) is seen by Pausanias in this district, and while no physical evidence of the sanctuary has been found it is typically placed on the north bank of the river southeast of the Olympieion.¹⁵⁹ Pausanias notes that one of the statues of Aphrodite near the temple is square like a herm and bears an inscription saying that Aphrodite Ourania is the oldest of those called the Fates. Another statue, however (presumably the cult statue of the temple), is the work of Alcámenes and believed by Pausanias to be one of the most noteworthy things in Athens (1.19.2). It has been noted that Pausanias’ description of the sanctuary as a *naos* suggests that it constituted a conventional built temple rather than a more simple rustic setting.¹⁶⁰ Rosenzweig has suggested that votives found at sanctuaries of Aphrodite on the north slope of the Acropolis and at Daphni

¹⁵⁶ Larson (2001) 128.

¹⁵⁷ *SEG* 56.238.

¹⁵⁸ Vikela (1994) 72-3, followed by Lalonde (2006) 111. Skias (1894) col. 38 suggested Callirhoe and first identified the seated god as Zeus Meilichios (col.139, pl.7), uniting him with the others as chthonic deities.

¹⁵⁹ Judeich (1931) 424, Wycherley (1963) 169, Travlos (1971) 291 fig. 379, Rosenzweig (2004) 32.

¹⁶⁰ Rosenzweig (2004) 31.

might offer clues as to the types of offerings that would have been made at the Ilissos temple.¹⁶¹ The votives, often tucked into rock-cut niches, appear to be primarily connected with fertility – votives in the form of female genitalia are particularly prevalent at both sites. However, neither of these shrines of Aphrodite can be decisively said to share the same epithet as the Ilissos temple, which makes Rosenzweig’s connection quite unconvincing.¹⁶² That said, we cannot rule out that the Aphrodite of the Ilissos temple was connected with fertility and childbearing; she is quite frequently associated in Athens and Attica with the concerns of women and the family.¹⁶³ The cult of Aphrodite Ourania (who also appears in the Ilissos temple) was said to have been established by Aegeus, the father of Theseus, in response to his own childlessness.¹⁶⁴

II.iii. The Hadrianic Ilissos

In the second century AD, the Ilissos area became the focal point for Hadrian’s building programme in Athens, home to the newly completed Olympieion, along with a number of other temples and amenities. Pausanias uses the Olympieion as a jumping-off point from which to list Hadrian’s other Athenian buildings including the Library and the Pantheon – these are located elsewhere in the city, but are described here alongside the Temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenius and the Gymnasium which are both in the Ilissos area. The grouping of these buildings together suggests that Pausanias viewed them as a distinctive Hadrianic

¹⁶¹ These two sanctuaries, as well as the Ilissos one, are grouped together by Rosenzweig (2004) 29-44, but the identity of the Acropolis and Daphni sanctuaries is disputed.

¹⁶² When describing the Arrephoria, which is associated with the Acropolis, Pausanias mentions an enclosure with an underground passage near the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens (1.27.3). When the shrine of Aphrodite was discovered on the Acropolis, it was first thought to be this Aphrodite in the Gardens. Parker (2005) 221 notes that this passage ought rather to refer to the Ilissos temple whose identification with this particular epithet is much clearer, and is more appropriate to the way in which Pausanias mentions it, i.e. in passing, rather than a direct description of a site he has seen on the Acropolis. Likewise, the sanctuary at Daphni is only very weakly identified as Aphrodite in the Gardens: Pausanias mentions a temple of Aphrodite here (1.37.7) and appropriate votives have been found (e.g. *NM* 1598), but the epithet was suggested by Karousou (1956) 172 based on its similarities with the shrine on the Acropolis, whose identity as we have seen is in actual fact quite unclear.

¹⁶³ Parker (2005) 433.

¹⁶⁴ Paus. 1.14.7.

programme with the Olympieion as centrepiece.¹⁶⁵ Home to the vast Olympieion, defined as much by its history as well as its modernity, the Ilissos was a key focal point of the second-century city. The Acropolis was not built on at all in Roman times; with the exception of a few minor interventions, it retained its purely Classical integrity. In contrast, the Ilissos area received numerous new buildings. It was undoubtedly sacred and symbolic, preserving both marks of early times and examples of the finest Periclean architecture, yet not so sacred and symbolic that it couldn't be adapted to suit contemporary needs. Unlike the Acropolis, the Ilissos was able to encapsulate the entire history of Athens – from its earliest days to the Hadrianic present. As we have already noted, the Acropolis and the Ilissos area were linked by an important axis (p.45, discussed further at pp.62-5).

Hadrian's extensive building works prove that the city still functioned in Pausanias' day as a 'living community'; Hutton notes a similar case in Corinth, and suggests that in addition to his interest in antiquities Pausanias is also keen to see the old Greek cities as alive and functional.¹⁶⁶ While Roman buildings are generally sidelined by Pausanias' focus on Greek antiquities, a notable exception is made for the Olympieion and its environs; thus it seems that Pausanias' interest in the Ilissos area is remarkably similar to our own: that it combines local myth and ancient cult with the modern architectural highlights of the Hadrianic period.¹⁶⁷ The Olympieion complex is an exceptional sanctuary, particularly in its sheer size and the opulence of its cult statue and adornments: Pausanias tells us that the whole enclosure is half a mile round and full of statues of Hadrian dedicated by "every city", including a colossus dedicated by the Athenians.¹⁶⁸ Pausanias uses his account of the Olympieion to describe Hadrian's other buildings in Athens; the shrine of Zeus and Hera Panhellenios, the

¹⁶⁵ The Olympieion is discussed in the context of the wider Hadrianic building programme in chapter two, p. 90 ff.

¹⁶⁶ Hutton (2005) 315 refers to Pausanias' observation of baths and an aqueduct built by Hadrian along the Lechaion road (2.3.5).

¹⁶⁷ Disinterest in modern buildings: Porter (2001) 82; alleged resentment towards Rome: Habicht (1985) 120.

¹⁶⁸ Paus. 1.18.6.

Pantheon, the Library, and a gymnasium.¹⁶⁹ The Olympieion may be a remarkable building, but its association with Hadrian is arguably what makes it worthy of mention. It is notable that he does not explain the complex history of the Olympieion, choosing rather to characterise it as a distinctly Hadrianic structure.¹⁷⁰ Pausanias admired Hadrian as best of all Roman emperors, describing him as “the benefactor of his subjects and especially of Athens”, who “did most for the glory of God and the happiness of his subjects”.¹⁷¹ Pausanias enjoys the peace and prosperity of his day and is appreciative of Hadrian’s philhellenism, viewing the emperor’s interventions in Greece as favourable and beneficial to the Greek cities – particularly Athens. Pausanias’ focus, however, remains on Greek antiquities, particularly temples and sacred places through which he aims to understand the history and identity of the cities he visits.¹⁷² In this way Pausanias’ investigation is very much a product of the cultural environment of the second century, written for an audience familiar with Greek literature and tradition.

Across the river from the Olympieion lies another peristyle structure that has been identified as the gymnasium given to the Athenians by Hadrian. While only partially preserved, circumstantial evidence supports the identification: an inscribed copy of a letter of Hadrian to

¹⁶⁹ 1.18.9.

¹⁷⁰ For detailed history and discussion of the Olympieion see for example Greco (2011) 456-465, Camp (2001) 266-268, Boatwright (2000) 151-153, Thompson (1987) 2-3, Travlos (1971) 102. Begun under the Pisistratid tyranny, the building was abandoned with the expulsion of the tyrants in 510 BC. Building was eventually resumed between 175-164 by Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria. Following the death of Antiochus in 164 BC, construction halted once again. Columns were carried off by Sulla in 86 (Pliny *NH* 36.45), and under Augustus “a group of friendly kings” apparently expressed interest in providing funds for the temple’s completion (Suet. *Aug.* 60). It was finally completed by Hadrian and dedicated in 131/2 AD – a Corinthian dipteral temple, over 110 metres long and 43 metres wide, with 104 columns in all. The basic plan remained the same throughout the temple’s history.

¹⁷¹ ...καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός, ἐς ἄλλους τε ὧν ἤργεν εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα ἀποδειξάμενος τὴν Ἀθηναίων (1.3.2); καὶ κατ’ ἐμὲ ἤδη βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ τῆς τε ἐς τὸ θεῖον τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθόντος καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ μέγιστα ἐκάστοις παρασχομένου (1.5.5).

¹⁷² In characterising Pausanias’ approach to Greece and Rome, Swain’s summation is particularly effective: “His historical/ topographical consciousness is totally Greek. However good the Antonine emperors were, Pausanias had not forgotten that Rome was an imperial power in his cultural home”; (1996) 352. See Arafat (1992) 388; Pretzler (2005) 237; Hutton (2005) 293 for discussion of Pausanias’ objectives and his particular interest in sacred sites.

the Athenians regarding the gymnasium was found nearby.¹⁷³ Close to this site lies a contemporary bath, built on the site of a Classical *palaestra* – possibly the site of the Cynosarges, a gymnasium dedicated to Heracles. At present, there is not much more that can be said about these two structures, but the existence of these buildings is significant for our overall understanding of the area as a focal point of Hadrian’s renewal of Athens.

In chapter two we consider the Ilissos area as ‘home’ to the Panhellenion, and I argue in support of the peristyle in this area currently identified as the ‘Panhellenion’ as, indeed, the cult centre of the League (pp.96-9). The Panhellenion was centred, as we shall see, on a distinctively post-Persian Wars ideology of Athenian leadership (pp.84-9). The sacred landscape of the Ilissos held many associations with the Athenian past, the two most notable being the early foundation of Athens and victory in the Persian Wars. Both these factors, I argue, make this area an appropriate ideological landscape for the religious centre of the Panhellenion.

Part III: Imperial building in ancient spaces

The more we learn about the great antiquity of the Ilissos area, the more we understand why this area appealed to Hadrian as the centre of his Athenian building programme. At this point in the discussion we take a detour to Hadrian’s Rome: the emperor’s choice of the most ancient part of Athens for his building works echoes his building and renovation works in the ancient Campus Martius.

The Campus Martius is the level ground between the slopes of the Capitoline, the Quirinal and the Pincian hills, and the Tiber.¹⁷⁴ Like the Ilissos area the Campus Martius has a very long history, and the space underwent a number of changes in nature and purpose throughout

¹⁷³ *IG II²* 1102.

¹⁷⁴ Platner (2002) 91.

the centuries. Also recalling the Ilissos area, the Campus Martius was outside the *pomerium* (the city limits) throughout the Republic and into the imperial period. In early times this *ager publicus*, which had formerly been land belonging to Tarquinius Superbus, was dedicated to Mars as a meadow for horses and a space for the Roman youth to perform military exercises.¹⁷⁵ From the mid-first century BC, the Campus Martius began to be transformed dramatically, contributing to the overall architectural aggrandisement of Rome and becoming essentially the central metropolitan area.¹⁷⁶ It would be beyond our scope to detail every structure built on the Campus Martius from the first century BC; suffice to say, the character of the area was changed dramatically, and under Augustus the Campus became a ‘sacro-idyllic’ landscape, populated with temples, colonnades, theatres, sporting facilities and gardens – both a “villa for the common people”, and yet an important sacred centre, housing cult monuments and tombs, including that of Augustus.¹⁷⁷ By the Antonine period, the whole district except the north-west section was full of buildings.

The Campus Martius can be compared with the Ilissos area in a number of ways. Firstly, it was once an area of quite rural character which lay outside of the city walls, much as the Ilissos was throughout the Classical period. Secondly, both areas underwent a major change in purpose and overall character – from being spacious and open, to being full of buildings and monuments. Finally, the Campus provides an example of how Hadrian approached urban renewal; his works in this area were designed with an eye to preservation of the past while making his mark for the future.¹⁷⁸ Hadrian’s building work in the Campus Martius was extensive, including restorations to the Pantheon, the Saepta, and the Baths of Agrippa – all

¹⁷⁵ Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.*, 5.13.2.

¹⁷⁶ Haselberger (2002) 75.

¹⁷⁷ Haselberger (2002) 77; “villa”: Zanker (1988) 141; sacred space: Purcell (1987) 26-7.

¹⁷⁸ In the Temple of the Deified Matidia (the niece of Trajan and the mother of Hadrian’s wife Sabina), Hadrian established his own family as the third dynasty of Rome (Boatwright (1987) 73).

buildings of the Augustan period.¹⁷⁹ In addition, Hadrian built the Temple of the Deified Matidia, a basilica behind the Pantheon (the “South Building”) and dedicated a restoration of the Divorum. In the northern part of the plain, Hadrian raised the ground level by about 1.80 to 2.90 metres; this area housed Augustus’ Solarium and Ara Pacis. By choosing to engage in particular with the Augustan structures in the Campus Martius, and to restore them in the name of their original patrons, Hadrian established a clear link between himself and Augustus, and proclaimed his support of and desire to maintain Augustan policy.¹⁸⁰ Augustus had also used the ancient landscape of Rome to draw connections between past and present: by choosing to reside on the Palatine near to the site of the Casa Romuli and the Lupercal, Augustus linked himself to Romulus the legendary founder of Rome.¹⁸¹

Augustus’ decision to tap into the symbolic importance of the Palatine and the Casa Romuli neatly illustrates the ability of landscape and building to weave connections across the centuries, to evoke powerfully and yet subtly a deep-rooted tie between Augustus and Romulus that lent credibility and authority to Augustus’ identity as the new founder of Rome. As is stated by Thucydides and heavily suggested by Pausanias, the Ilissos area was the earliest settlement of Athens, as the Palatine was for Rome. In laying claim to this area, in revitalising it and yet maintaining its Classical buildings and associations with the very earliest days of the great city, it is not improbable that Hadrian took his cue from Augustus’ treatment of the Palatine, and his carefully cultivated connection with Romulus. We might also consider the rustic connotations of both the Ilissos and the Palatine. As Rea observes, the Casa Romuli “represented a time when Rome was remembered as a model of pastoral

¹⁷⁹ Hadrian’s building projects in the Campus Martius are discussed extensively by Boatwright (1987) 33-73; in this section I merely summarise the key features of Hadrian’s work in terms of their relevance to my theme of ‘old and new’.

¹⁸⁰ Boatwright (1987) 72.

¹⁸¹ Literary sources locate the hut of Romulus on the south slope of the Palatine near the Domus Augustus and the Scalae Caci. Dio Cass. 53.16.5; Plut. *Rom.* 20.4; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.11; Varro, *Ling.* 5.54.

simplicity”.¹⁸² We are reminded that when imagining the early foundation of cities such as Rome and Athens, we – and indeed the inhabitants of the Imperial period – are harking back to a time when these places were essentially rural. Augustus’ accession to power represented a turning point for Rome, as Hadrian’s reign did for Athens, therefore his appropriation of this archaic, rustic dwelling place as a symbol of his own drive to restore traditional virtues provides interesting food for thought when considering how Hadrian and the Athenian elite might have pin-pointed the Ilissos area as a new focal point for the city. Hadrianic building activity in the Ilissos area is reminiscent of Augustan ideals of restoration, particularly the completion and dedication of the Olympieion, following centuries of looting and the repeated abandonment of construction projects.

Hadrian built upon Augustus’ approach of restoration and renewal in Athens, and took this further in order to encourage the cultural revival of the city. In the Ilissos area, there was no Augustan precedent; Hadrian and the Athenians had a clean slate as far as Roman involvement was concerned. In Athens, as in Rome, Hadrian made his mark by paying heed to the past, and laying the foundations for the future.

Part IV: Foundation and re-foundation: Hadrian and Theseus in the Ilissos area

We have seen that the Ilissos district was an important location in the mythology of Theseus, with the Delphinion the site for a number of versions of Theseus’ first arrival in Athens (pp.46-7). The Delphinion and the Olympieion are closely linked in Pausanias’ account with the former standing “close behind” the new temple, and described immediately after it.¹⁸³ The two temples are indeed very close, with less than 100 metres between the north side of the Delphinion and the Olympieion’s south *temenos* wall (Map 1, p.30), although the Olympieion

¹⁸² Rea (2007) 37. The association of the countryside with rustic virtues is discussed further in chapter four, pp.192-4.

¹⁸³ Paus. 1.19.1.

benefits from a natural ridge to rise above the surrounding structures. If one wished to explore further connections, it has been suggested that a parallel may be found in the comparative states of the temples when Theseus and Hadrian arrived in the city: Pausanias tells us that Theseus found the Delphinion “finished except for the roof”; given the repeated attempts to complete the Olympieion over the previous centuries, it may be that the Olympieion was in a similar state when Hadrian decided to finish it.¹⁸⁴

We have already introduced the important axis that ran between the Acropolis and the Ilissos (p.45). In the second century AD, this axis was marked by the Arch of Hadrian (Fig.2 a, b). The Arch was constructed at the northwest corner of the *temenos* of the Olympieion, likely on the occasion of its dedication in AD 131/2. I am inclined to follow Greco in attributing the Arch to the Athenians rather than Hadrian on the basis of the content of its inscription and the quality of the marble, which is lower than that of Hadrian’s buildings in Athens.¹⁸⁵ One might imagine the Arch as a token of thanks for Hadrian’s generous donations to the city on the occasion of the dedication of the Olympieion and the foundation of the Panhelleion in 131/2, during Hadrian’s third visit to the city. The most notable features of the arch are the two striking inscriptions that adorn the architrave of the east and west façades:

(West) αἶδ’ εἶς’ Ἀθῆναι Θησέως ἢ πρὶν πόλις.

(East) αἶδ’ εἶς’ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ Θησέως πόλις¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Paus. 1.19.1. Arafat (1992) 178 drawing on Wycherley (1963) 166, who notes that Heracleides Creticus (ps.-Dicaearch. *On the Cities of Greece* 1.1) and Strabo (9.1.17) both found the temple “half-finished”. Much of the surviving decoration is thought to date from the Second century BC, with later elements modelled on them (Willers (1990) 39-41). Boatwright (2000) 153 concludes that when Hadrian rededicated the Olympieion the temple retained both the archaic plan and the Hellenistic decoration, and that Hadrian merely added the finishing touches – whether this included the roof, we cannot know.

¹⁸⁵ Greco (2011) 451 cites the *Vita Hadriani* (20.2), which states that Hadrian cared nothing for inscriptions on his public works (*Et cum titulos in operibus non amaret, multas civitas Hadrianopolis appellavit...*) For a full bibliography on the Arch, see Greco p.451.

¹⁸⁶ *IG II²* 5185.



Fig.2a) Looking north-west through the Arch of Hadrian, along Lysicrates Street to the Acropolis and the Cave of Aglauros.

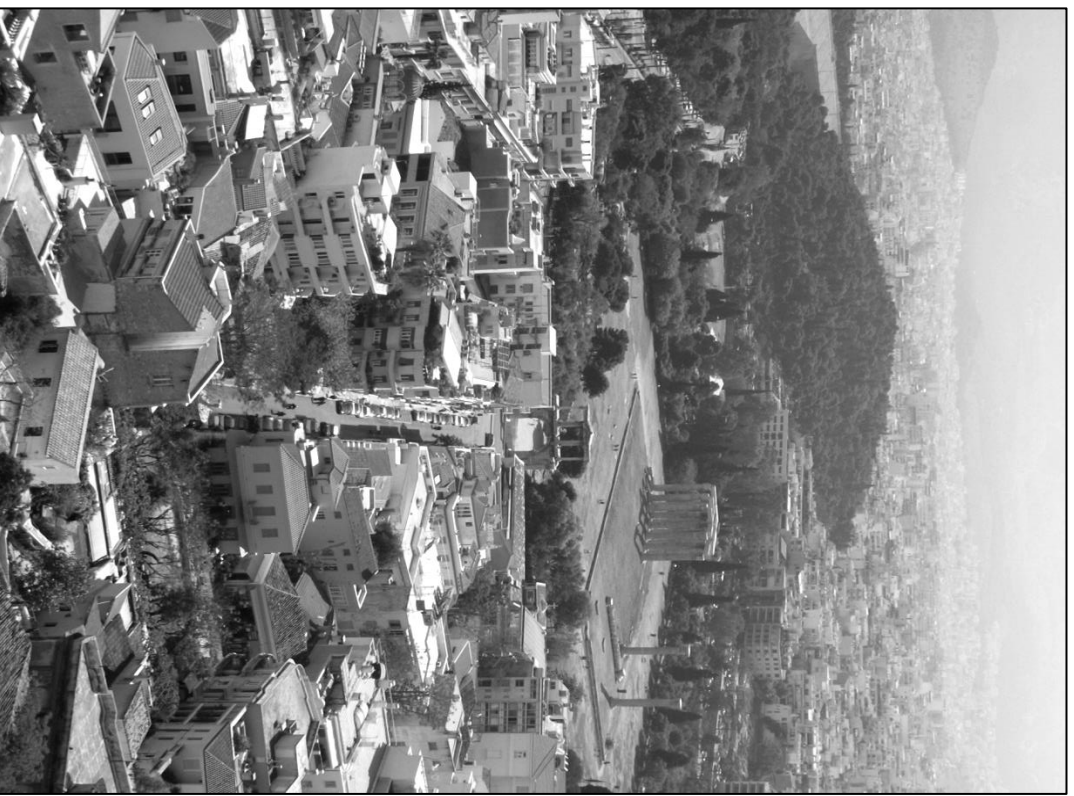


Fig.2.b) View from the top of the Acropolis down Lysicrates Street, to the Arch of Hadrian, with Ardetos Hill and the Stadium in the background. The possible site of the Prytaneion is in the tree-shaded square to the left of Lysicrates Street in the middle-ground of the photo.

The first informs the viewer that they are in the former city of Theseus while the second states that “this is the city of Hadrian, not of Theseus”.

This inscription has been the subject of much scrutiny. For a long time, prevailing opinion viewed the Arch as an entrance in a new extension of the Themistoclean circuit wall, and thus a boundary between ‘the ancient city’ (ἡ πρὶν πόλις) and a new Hadrianic quarter, but this rested heavily on the translation of its inscription, as well as the archaeological context.¹⁸⁷

The translation of πρὶν as ‘ancient’ suggests that one side of the Arch is ancient and the other a new city developed by Hadrian; a reading which cannot be reconciled with the archaeological evidence.¹⁸⁸ As we have seen, the Ilissos area was considered to have been the most ancient district of the city after the Acropolis; likewise, there were many Hadrianic buildings elsewhere in the city – such a distinction is thus rendered meaningless. The more plausible, and now more widely accepted, translation of πρὶν in this context is ‘former’.¹⁸⁹

This brings the focus of the inscription to Hadrian and Theseus and the relationship between these two figures as founders of Athens, wherein the most appropriate interpretation lies.

With πρὶν translated as ‘former’ the inscription can be understood to refer to the whole city, rather than to separate areas demarcated by the Arch: Athens is the former city of Theseus, now the city of Hadrian. This view is supported by the inscription that once stood at the terminus of Hadrian’s aqueduct on the south-east slope of Mt Lycabettus, which describes the aqueduct as standing “*in novis Athenis*” (Fig.3).¹⁹⁰ The terminus was outside the walls but

¹⁸⁷ Curtius (1862) 58-59, Judeich (1931) 163, 381-2; Graindor (1934) 228-9; this view was initially followed by Boatwright (1983) 175-6 but later rejected: (2000) 147. The course of the ancient walls was later found to have run further to the east, where a gate (IX) stood approximately 100 metres from the Arch.

¹⁸⁸ “Ancient”: Travlos (1971) 253; Zahrnt (1979) 393. Greco (2011) 450 translates πρὶν as ‘antica’, but follows Jones’ interpretation of the inscription’s meaning.

¹⁸⁹ “Former”: Oliver (1965) 124; Jones (1981) unpublished, cited by Adams (1989) 11; Boatwright (2000) 147.

¹⁹⁰ *ILS 337 = CIL III 549: imp. Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus / Aug. Pius cos. III, trib. pot. II, p. p., aquaeductum in novis Athenis coeptum a divo Hadriano patre suo / consummavit dedicavitque.* On the aqueduct see below p.22, n.91.



Fig.3. The inscription from the propylon of Hadrian's Aqueduct on Mt. Lycabettus, National Gardens, Athens.

some distance from the Arch of Hadrian; the whole of Athens, then, was 'new Athens' – not just one district. As Theseus was the founder of Athens in legendary times, uniting the towns of Attica in the synoecism (pp.45-6), Hadrian is the new founder, having facilitated through his many benefactions Athens' period of renewal in the mid-second century.¹⁹¹ Aelius Aristides, in his *Panathenaic Oration*, comments on how the cities of Asia pride themselves on the size of their temples or the architecture of their baths, but Athens "...has even these things to an unsurpassable degree, just as a recently founded city might".¹⁹² Even if one were to strip away her great antiquity, Aristides says, Athens would be an exemplary modern city reflecting "today's opportunity and way of life" with magnificent baths, athletic grounds and gymnasia.¹⁹³ One must naturally be cautious with the *Panathenaic Oration*; delivered at the Panathenaic festival of 167, it was designed to present Athens as a city of unparalleled

¹⁹¹ Hadrian's benefactions to Athens are discussed through the ensuing chapters, esp. pp.90-102, 156-158.

¹⁹² Aristid. 13.250.

¹⁹³ 13.246.

greatness.¹⁹⁴ In this, however, Aristides' declarations are not entirely hyperbolic; Hadrian's benefactions were extensive and the Antonine emperors followed suit, if to a somewhat lesser extent.¹⁹⁵ Hadrian's patronage enabled the city of Athens to flourish in the second century, enhancing the landscape of the city in a way that complimented and celebrated her Classical past while providing the necessary embellishments required of a modern city. The remains of the hydraulic building of Hadrian's aqueduct on Mount Lycabettus (completed by his successor Antoninus) are evidence of the up-to-date facilities Hadrian provided for the city.¹⁹⁶ Athens is more than a paragon of antiquity – it is also a new, or rather, renewed city. This is the context in which we must understand the inscription on the Arch of Hadrian; if Theseus founded archaic Athens from the scattered communities of Attica, Hadrian re-founded it as a city of the second century and a cultural centre of the Roman Empire. Considering again Augustus' association with Romulus in Rome (pp.61-2), we might imagine that this powerful association with Theseus in Athens would have greatly appealed to Hadrian.

The Arch, then, reflects its historical context. But there is more to be said on the parallels between Hadrian and Theseus and the notion of Hadrian as a founder. Firstly, the Arch is reminiscent of the *στήλη* said to have been set up by Theseus on the Isthmus with an inscription in an identical format:

τάδ' οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος, ἀλλ' Ἰωνία
τάδ' ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος, οὐκ Ἰωνία

¹⁹⁴ On Aristides and the *Panathenaic Oration* see Oliver (1968); Swain (1996) 288-297; Oudot (2008) 31-49; Richter (2011) 114-6, 124-130.

¹⁹⁵ Later Antonine benefactions, such as the completion of the ornate reservoir by Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius' chair of rhetoric, will be discussed in chapter two.

¹⁹⁶ Leigh (1997) 288-290.

According to Plutarch, Theseus set up this marker to define territorial boundaries after he had joined the territory of Megara to Attica.¹⁹⁷ The Athenian version, on the other hand, was a temporal boundary. If we consider that the Athenians who dedicated the Arch were purposely alluding to Theseus' στήλη, it was the motif of 'Theseus as founder' that was being evoked.¹⁹⁸ The notion of mimicking the precise format of the Isthmus inscription was designed to connect Hadrian with Theseus. Aside from the specific identification of Hadrian with Theseus, further contemporary evidence characterises Hadrian as the founder of Athens.¹⁹⁹ Over one hundred altars of Hadrian are known in Athens, of which the vast majority are dedicated to Hadrian as Ὀλύμπιος, Σωτήρ, Κτίστης.²⁰⁰ Considering the vast number of altars and the regularity of the epigraphic formula, Benjamin suggests that they were dedicated on the official occasion of the foundation of the Panhellenion and the dedication of the Olympieion.²⁰¹ Spawforth and Walker suggest a conceptual link between the Arch and the Panhellenion, based on the discovery of two replicas of the Athenian arch at Eleusis, dedicated at a later date by the Panhellenes (pp.104-6).²⁰² This connection has never been discussed in any detail, but there is a symbolic parallel between Theseus uniting the

¹⁹⁷ Plut. *Thes.* 25.3. Strabo (3.5.5, 9.1.6-7) says the marker was set up as a result of a border dispute between the Ionians and the Peloponnesians – he does not attribute it to Theseus directly, but rather to the heroic period generally. The marker is only known from these sources, and Strabo says it is no longer standing in his day. Around the second half of the first century AD, an arch was set up at the approach to the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, along the route of the coastal road from Attica and Central Greece into the Peloponnese. Gregory and Mills (1984) 427-8 suggest that this arch may have been influenced by Theseus' legendary monument, as Plutarch and Strabo demonstrate a roughly contemporary interest in such a boundary marker.

¹⁹⁸ Also noted by Vanderpool (1970) 44, Spawforth and Walker (1985) 93, Greco (2011) 450.

¹⁹⁹ For Hadrian's extensive founding activities elsewhere see Boatwright (2000) 172-20. Hadrian's fondness for the idea of 'becoming a founder' of an ancient city can be seen in his letter to the Cyrenaeans, in which he urges the people to "become not only residents but also founders of your fatherland" (Reynolds (1978) 111-21 ll. 29-30, cf. Spawforth and Walker (1986) 96-7.

²⁰⁰ Benjamin (1963) 57-86, Spawforth and Walker (1985) 93. In the category of Hadrian as founder one might also consider the imagery of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type. Gergel (2004) 371-409 identifies three sub-groups of this type, one being the "Hadrian Panhellenios" type. There have been many differing explanations for the complex iconography of this statue type, including Wegner's theory that it represents an ideological union of Rome and Athens with a focus on Hadrian as a second founder of Athens (1956) 68.

²⁰¹ Benjamin (1963) 60: the majority share almost exactly the same formula, e.g. *IG II² 3324 – 3370*, which all feature, with minor adjustments, the inscription τῶι κτίστηι | καὶ σωτήρι | Αὐτοκράτορι | Ἀδριανῶ | Ὀλυμπίῳ.

²⁰² Spawforth and Walker (1985) 93, 102. See also Greco (2011) 451. The south-east arch carries the inscription τοῖν θ[ε]οῖν καὶ τῶι αὐτοκ[ρ]άτορι οἱ Πανέ[λλη]νες on both sides (*IG II² 2958*).

cities of Attica with Athens as the communal centre, and Hadrian uniting the cities of the Greek world in a league, likewise, with Athens at its heart.

The Arch of Hadrian is embedded in the heart of both the ancient city of Theseus and the second-century city of Hadrian. Like the many altars of Hadrian in Athens, it represents the Athenians' gratitude to the emperor for the renewal of their city, in terms of both the physical landscape and – as we shall explore in the next two chapters – cultural and economic life.

Moreover, it symbolises their acceptance and, indeed, celebration of Hadrian's rule.

Hadrian's investment in Athens was unprecedented; even Augustus had not done so much for the city. Hadrian's buildings changed the landscape and brought it up to date, enabling Athens to fulfil its role as the centre of the League of the Panhellenion (pp.94-102). The association of Hadrian with Theseus has connotations beyond the city. As we have seen, Theseus' legendary synoecism established the territory of Attica as a single political community with Athens at the centre, and united the inhabitants of Attica as Athenians (pp.45-6). The effects of Hadrian's benefactions likewise extended beyond the city: the construction of the aqueduct will have impacted the countryside between Athens and Mt Parnes, including the construction of a reservoir with a monumental propylon on the south-east slope of Mt Lycabettus.²⁰³ The Oil Law, meanwhile, impacted olive growers throughout Attica in its measures for ensuring an adequate oil supply for Athens, as we shall see in chapter four (pp.213-5).²⁰⁴ These were "civic benefactions with extramural effects".²⁰⁵ Hadrian's Athens, like Theseus', extended beyond the city, and into the countryside of Attica.

²⁰³ *Aqueduct*: Travlos (1971) 242-3, Leigh (1997) 279-90, Boatwright (2000) 167-8 (with further bibliography).

²⁰⁴ Oil Law: *IG II²* 1100.

²⁰⁵ Boatwright (2000) 83.

Conclusion

The Ilissos district was simultaneously a model for the *locus amoenus* of contemporary literature and the focal point of Hadrian's Athens. In Hadrian's vision for Athens, Theseus' legendary synoecism of Attica is recreated on a vast scale with Athens conceived as the centre of the Greek world in the League of the Panhellenion. In chapter two we explore this vast synoecism further. We have seen that the appeal of the Ilissos area to Plato and Pausanias centred on its duality: for Plato it is urban and rural – just outside the city wall, yet with cults and natural landscape evocative of a more remote countryside; while for Pausanias it is old and new – it represents both the greatest antiquity and the most remarkable modernity of the city. The second-century Ilissos area is Athens in microcosm, uniting the city with the countryside and the Roman landscape with the Athenian, bringing together the past, present and future.

The dynamic nature of the Ilissos area does not stop here; further ideas and ideologies are embedded within the landscape, and we will continue to encounter these as we progress through our study. We have touched on the rustic nature of cults along the Ilissos, as well as the Ilissos as an important commemorative landscape. We return to these themes in chapter four, as we explore further the significance of rusticity in second-century perceptions of Attica, and examine elite engagement with commemorative landscapes.

Imagining Athens: Hadrian's Panhellenion and the Re-Writing of Classical History

Introduction

In chapter one, we explored the layering of history, myth and modernity in the second-century renewal of the Ilissos area. The Olympieion was the figurehead of Hadrian's Athenian building programme, and it was embedded in the ancient landscape of the Ilissos area. The dedication of the Olympieion in AD 131/2 saw representatives from all over the Greek world dedicating statues of Hadrian for the temple. The dedication of the Olympieion is widely thought to have been the occasion upon which Hadrian established the League of the Panhellenion, and the temple seems to have held a central role in the ideology of the league, with Hadrian Panhellenius closely connected to Zeus Olympius.

The Panhellenion, despite being known only from inscriptions, is a well-established feature of scholarship on Greece under the Roman Empire, with scholarly opinion now largely in agreement that the league was an initiative driven by Hadrian, inspired by his travels in Greece, and centred both physically and ideologically on Athens. It is the latter aspect, the central role of Athens, which we explore here.²⁰⁶ When one considers key features of the Panhellenion – Athens standing at the head of a league of Greek cities, the revival of the Eleusinian *aparchai* – it is difficult not to be struck by the similarities to the Athenian Empire of the fifth century BC. The context in which the Panhellenion was established also shares features with the Periclean era, with major building projects once again glorifying the city. In

²⁰⁶ Jones doubted the centrality of Athens, (1996) 47, and considered the league an initiative of the Greeks rather than Hadrian (1996) 46, but revised his views in a second article (1999) in the light of the re-edition of the Thyatiran decree (below, pp.83-4). Spawforth (1985, with Walker), (1999), (2012) has consistently maintained that the league was a Hadrianic initiative, as one might expect given his view of a 'top-down' imperial relationship to Greek culture.

the context of the Roman Empire it is initially surprising to see the establishment of a Rome-approved league that bears such strong echoes of the Athenian Empire. I argue that the creation of the Panhellenion on this model confirms that the Athenian Empire had undergone, and was continuing to undergo, a major change in image and reputation; from an ambitious military enterprise to a beneficent endeavour aimed at spreading peace and prosperity across the Greek world. The most important clue to this change is the Thyatiran decree, which describes Athens, in no uncertain terms, as the centre of the Panhellenion. While it was always widely acknowledged that Athens played an important role in the league, it was only with the re-publication of the Thyatiran decree from the Acropolis that the full extent of Athens' centrality was clarified. The decree refers to Athens as "the Benefactress" who shares with all "the fruit of the Mysteries", a description which bears striking similarities with the description of Athens given by Aelius Aristides in his *Panathenaicus* of AD 167.

In this chapter, we contextualise the Panhellenion within contemporary approaches to the history of Classical Athens, particularly in the works of Plutarch and Aelius Aristides. We explore how the Panhellenion and contemporary revisionist attitudes to the past contributed to the renewal of Athens in the second century, considering the league as a catalyst for Hadrian's building programme in Athens and the re-development of Eleusis throughout the century. While the exact mandate of the Panhellenion is still in debate, it appears to have been primarily a cultural organisation – focused on the preservation and maintenance of Greek culture and identity, and reflecting the contemporary Atheno-centrism of these two entities. Our discussion of the Panhellenion prefaces our study of the Athenian elite in chapter three, establishing the cultural patterns that shaped the world of the Greek elite.

Part I: The Panhellenion: membership and activities

Map 2, p.74, illustrates the member cities of the Panhellenion. It is often observed that the membership requirements of the Panhellenion reflected the contemporary notion that true ‘Greekness’ was rooted in mainland Greece; in the first part of this chapter we examine the development of this idea and its expression in the Panhellenion.

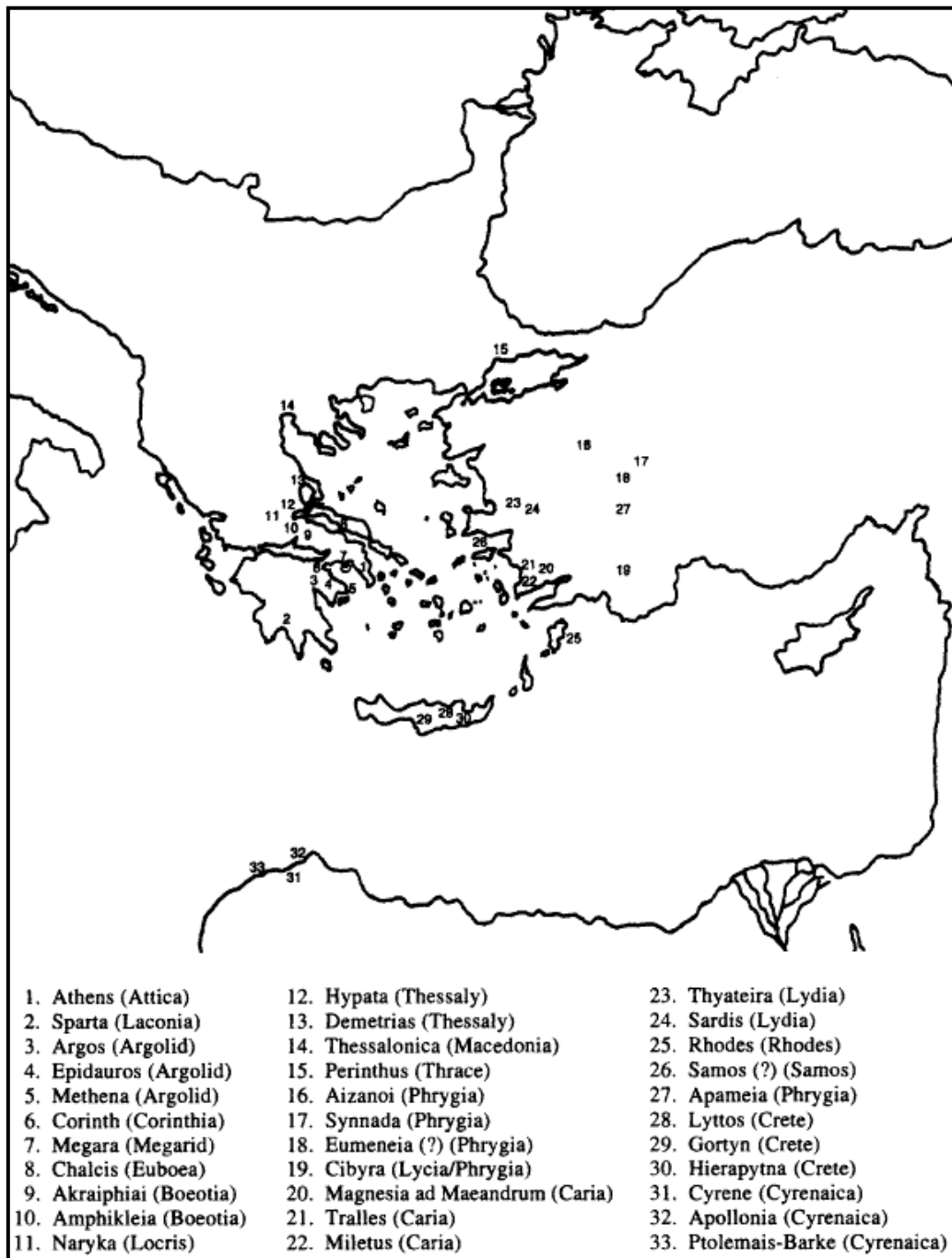
With the increasing prevalence of Greek culture and learning among the elite of the Roman Republic came the danger of decadence and luxury; by the late Republic ‘Greekness’ held connotations of weakness and femininity, and therefore constituted a threat to Roman *mores*. Sallust thought Sulla had softened his Roman troops by indulging them with luxury and idleness during campaigns in Asia, while Livy attributed Roman moral decline to an enthusiasm for looting Greek art and sacred objects which, he says, led to a general disregard for sacred places, even those of Rome.²⁰⁷ However, as Spawforth has demonstrated, Roman attitudes to Greekness were not clear-cut, nor were they exclusively negative; rather, there appears to have been an attempt in the later Republic to develop a more admirable construction of Greece and Greekness compatible with Roman ideals of *humanitas* and *virtus* and centred, inevitably, on the past glories of Athens and Sparta.²⁰⁸ This form of Greekness took its cue from the Classical idea of ‘Greeks vs. barbarians’, and the victory of a ‘masculine’ and independent Greece over a ‘feminine’ and subservient Asia.²⁰⁹ This concept of *Graecia vera*, the true Greece, already evident in the late Republic and the works of Cicero, underpinned Augustus’ attitude to the Greek world.²¹⁰ By the Augustan era Greek

²⁰⁷ Sallust, *Cat.* 11.5-6; Livy, *Ab urb.cond.* 25.40.1-5.

²⁰⁸ Spawforth (2012) 12-13.

²⁰⁹ E.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 232-44, in which the Chorus tell the Persian Queen Atossa of the freedom and valour of the Greeks.

²¹⁰ Cic. *Opt. Gen.* 3; for a later engagement with *Graecia vera* see Pliny, *Ep.* 8.24.2, in which he describes mainland Greece as *illam veram et meram Graeciam*, “that true and pure Greece”.



Map 2. *Panhellenion* member-cities²¹¹

²¹¹ Romeo (2002) 23.

culture and learning were integral aspects of elite society in Rome, and therefore Augustus needed a 'morally acceptable' form of Hellenism to support his programme of moral reform and religious restoration.²¹² Thus Augustus adopted and built on the notion of *Graecia vera*. In this way, philhellenism was made safe and respectable, and any dangerous influences were relegated to the east. Spawforth has argued that Hadrian's approach to the Greek world followed the Augustan formula, promoting the idea of a 'pure' Greekness stemming from the Greek mainland.²¹³ While I do not endorse Spawforth's view of an imperial construction of Greekness informing all aspects of Greek culture in the Roman Empire (see pp.3-4), in the case of the Panhellenion – indisputably an imperial initiative – we do indeed find Hadrian dictating definitions of Greekness. In this chapter I argue that Hadrian took the Augustan formula a step further: while Augustus elevated mainland Greece over the Greeks of Asia, Hadrian elevated Athens over the other cities of the mainland.

Inscriptions pertaining to the Panhellenion indicate that the league regulated its own membership. It is unlikely that every city in the Panhellenion had to go through a formal admissions process; Jones suggests that Athens, Sparta and Argos at least (and perhaps more) must have been 'charter-members'.²¹⁴ As these cities were the primary focal points of claims to Greek ancestry, we ought to expect that their participation in the Panhellenion would have been confirmed from the outset. For the cities of the Greek East, however, admission depended on their ability to successfully prove ties to mainland Greece. Two documents in particular provide clear proof of the key membership requirements: the first is a decree admitting Magnesia-on-the-Maeander (Map 2, No.20), the second a dedication from Cibyra (No.19). Both refer to their Greek ancestries, their good relationship with Rome, and the

²¹² Zanker (1988) 101-167.

²¹³ Spawforth (2012) 235.

²¹⁴ Jones (1996) 41.

benefactions they have received from Hadrian.²¹⁵ The latter, I expect, would not have been a specific requirement, but in the cases of these two cities stands as evidence of current favour with the emperor. Greek ancestry and good relations with Rome were essential. Magnesia-on-the-Maeander was admitted as a colony of Thessaly; in the decree of the Panhellenes, the Magnesians' claim to have been the first of the Hellenes to settle in Asia is acknowledged, as is the city's history of fighting alongside other Greeks, and its good relationship with Rome.²¹⁶ There is some evidence that cities with no ancestral connections to mainland Greece would fabricate colonial ties. In the case of Cibyra, it appears that its Greek heritage as "a colony of the Spartans and related to the Athenians", was a recent creation, developed for the purpose of gaining membership.²¹⁷ While Strabo's Augustan-era description had identified Cibyra as a non-Greek foundation, the new ancestry was perpetuated from the second century, appearing in a Severan document from Oenoanda.²¹⁸ An inscription from Cyrene (Map 2, No.31), dated to 134/5, provides evidence for Hadrian's direct involvement in determining the membership of the league, and documents the reasons behind his allocation of privileges to Cyrene and her neighbouring city, Ptolemais-Barca (No.33). Hadrian decides that as the Cyrenaeans, "whose ancestry is Achaean and perfectly Dorian" (ll.9-10), are sending two delegates, the Barcaeans, also "true-born Greeks" (l.10: ἰθαγενεῖς "Ἕλληνες") should send only one, as their city was also a Hellenistic foundation settled by the Macedonians.²¹⁹

Map 2 shows that the league encompassed only a relatively small portion of the Greek world.

The most prominent cities of Asia Minor – Pergamum, Ephesus, and Smyrna – are missing,

²¹⁵ Spawforth & Walker (1985) 82. Magnesia-on-the-Maeander: Oliver (1970) no.5; Cibyra: Oliver (1970) no.6, *SEG* 53.1090.

²¹⁶ Decree of the Panhellenion about Magnesia-on-the-Maeander: Oliver (1970) no.5. For further discussion of membership requirements, see Spawforth & Walker (1985) 79-82, Jones (1996) 38-40, Spawforth (1999) 347-352, Romeo (2002) 25-6.

²¹⁷ Dedication by Cibyra: Oliver (1970) no.6, *OGIS* II no. 497, *IG* II² 1091.

²¹⁸ Strabo 13.4.17; Oenoanda document: *IGRR* III 500 I.

²¹⁹ Cyrene inscription: Reynolds (1978) 111-21; Oliver (1979) 157-59, (1989) nos.120-4; Jones (1996) 47-53; Spawforth (1999) 349-350.

as are the western Greek colonies, such as Tarentum and Naples.²²⁰ There is evidence that Tarentum (a colony of Sparta) along with Naples and Puteoli developed or maintained ties with Sparta in the Antonine period, but despite these connections there remains no indication that they were member-cities of the Panhellenion.²²¹ If they were indeed absent from the league, their absence might reflect their incorporation into the territory of Rome itself in the period of the Republic. More curious is the absence of Pergamum, Ephesus and Smyrna. It is possible that they were members and we are lacking the proof; the limited evidence for the Panhellenion leaves our view of the league rather open-ended. On the other hand, perhaps these cities were excluded by the parameters of *Graecia vera* and thus never invited to join.²²² However, while Pergamum was a Persian settlement that reached its height during the Hellenistic period, Ephesus was supposedly colonised by the Athenian Androclus, son of Codrus, and Smyrna (in the Antonine period at least) imagined itself re-founded in legendary times by Theseus.²²³ Romeo has noted the dubious claims of the member-city Aezani, purportedly founded by the Arcadian (and therefore not strictly-speaking *Hellenic*) hero Azan, as well as the peculiar ‘reverse-colonisation’ by which Sardis came to attribute Lydian origins to Pelops, eponymous hero of the Peloponnese, and therefore cast itself as the ‘mother-city’ of the Peloponnese.²²⁴ If the strictest parameters were enforced, these cities should not really have been members of the Panhellenion. With this in mind, why exactly Ephesus and Smyrna were not members remains a mystery. Jones suggests that membership required cities to accept the cultural primacy of Athens and Sparta; perhaps these cities – important cultural centres in their own right – did not wish to partake in a league which demoted the cultural achievements of the east to a secondary tier beneath the Greek

²²⁰ On notable absences from the Panhellenion see Spawforth & Walker (1985) 81, Jones (1996) 34-5, Jones (1999) 118, Spawforth (1999) 349, Spawforth (2012) 252-4.

²²¹ Spawforth & Walker (1986) 91-2.

²²² Spawforth (1999) 349.

²²³ Ephesus: Str. 14.1.2, 21; Paus. 7.2.6. Smyrna: Arist. *Or.* 17.5, see also Herrman (1993) 243 n.42, Romeo (2002) 30-1.

²²⁴ Romeo (2002) 29-30.

mainland.²²⁵ That said, any such feelings of injustice did not prevent these cities from fostering close ties with Greece in this period – for example, in the later second-century AD Smyrna issued coins celebrating *homonoia* with Athens and Sparta.²²⁶

Having established as best we can the membership of the league, we turn now to its activities. Spawforth and Walker have discussed “the cultural attraction of Antonine Greece for overseas Greeks”, a phenomenon which is reflected in the Panhellenion.²²⁷ There were strong incentives for seeking membership and, if necessary, creating a new history in order to gain entry. For the cities, membership in the league offered a validation of ‘Greekness’ and, ostensibly, a sense of kinship with mother-cities and fellow colonies. For the elites of these cities, the league presented the opportunity to hold office in a Roman institution, to attach oneself to the cultural life of Athens, and ultimately further one’s career.²²⁸ The latter is most evident in the correspondence of the Panhellenion regarding Eurycles of Aezani, Panhellene in AD 156. Several letters were written by the Panhellenion recommending Eurycles to Antoninus Pius, the city of Aezani, and the Asian *koinon*, in which reference is made to his culture, excellence and fairness, and his friendship with the archon Flavius Cyllus.²²⁹ In the letter to Aezani, which was inscribed and set up in the city, it is observed that Eurycles’ “noble ambition” is a credit to his hometown.²³⁰ The Panhellenion provided a means by which provincial elites could serve their cities, and Eurycles’ recommendations coupled with his successful career demonstrate how an ambitious young Panhellene could gain prestige both for himself and his hometown.²³¹ Aside from managing its membership and providing recommendations for officials, the league’s further activities appear to have been wide-

²²⁵ Jones (1999) 118.

²²⁶ Pera (1984) 110-5, discussed by Spawforth & Walker (1986) 93-4. The concept of *homonoia* between and within Greek cities will be explored in chapter three, pp. 122-133.

²²⁷ Spawforth & Walker (1985) 104.

²²⁸ See Spawforth & Walker (1985) Table 2 for a list of archons and their home cities.

²²⁹ Oliver (1970) nos. 28-30, *OGIS* II nos. 504-7.

²³⁰ Oliver (1970) no.28 l.12.

²³¹ For a detailed summary of Eurycles’ career see Spawforth & Walker (1985) 89-90.

ranging and rather non-specific: epigraphic evidence indicates that the Panhellenion could distribute money, set up dedications, finance building projects, and offer honours to the emperor.²³² Marcus Aurelius' letter to the Athenians, dated to AD 174/5 (discussed further at pp.149-52) demonstrates that the Panhellenion could adjudicate on charges of ineligibility against Panhellenes-elect, and on at least one occasion arbitrated in a private dispute between Herodes Atticus and a fellow Athenian, Athenodorus.²³³ The league's primary religious function was the worship of Hadrian Panhellenius, in whose honour the league administered the Panhellenia festival in Athens; although the Eleusinian goddesses were also particularly venerated by the league.²³⁴

A particularly interesting document dated to AD 137/138 from Naryka in Opuntian Locris (Map 2, No.11) highlights one of the ways in which membership of the Panhellenion could be advantageous. The document is a letter of Hadrian to the Narykians, inscribed in bronze on a pedimental stele featuring a bust of Hadrian. It details the Narykians' claims to *polis* status, as demonstrated by their membership of several Greek leagues, their civic institutions, and their appearance in the work of Greek and Roman poets, who "name certain of the heroes as having started from your *polis*".²³⁵ It is unclear what prompted the letter, which seems to imply that Naryka's status had been doubted (by a rival *polis*?) or perhaps that towards the end of Hadrian's life the Narykians were seeking a final opportunity to gain favour from the emperor.²³⁶ Notably, one of the leagues mentioned by Hadrian is the Panhellenion, to which the Narykians sent one representative to serve as Panhellene (l.12). The letter demonstrates

²³² Spawforth & Walker (1985) 82-84.

²³³ Marcus Aurelius' letter: Oliver (1970) no.1. Cases of ineligibility: ll.15-20, Herodes and Athenodorus: l.23. Jones (1996) 38 suggests that this dispute was a 'financial imbroglio' within the Panhellenion, and therefore arbitrated by the league rather than the courts.

²³⁴ The particular religious focus of the league is confirmed by the recently-discovered portrait head of a Severan Panhellene (Fig.4) wearing a crown decorated with imperial busts, such as is described in an inscription from Aezani published in 1992 (Riccardi (2007) 381-4, Spawforth (2012) 250). The Panhellenion and Eleusis: see below, pp.102-111

²³⁵ Jones (2006) 151.

²³⁶ Jones (2006) 151-162 discuss all possible interpretations of the letter, concluding that the Narykians were primarily hoping to obtain favours.

how membership of the Panhellenion was represented by Hadrian as a key component of polis identity. It may also indicate how Naryka entered the Panhellenion – by invoking the heroes who supposedly originated there. As Jones notes, it is quite difficult to find these heroes in all but the most obscure extant literature, but perhaps it was this obscurity which appealed to Hadrian.²³⁷

Athens' importance within the Panhellenion is made clear by Hadrian's designation of the city as the physical centre and meeting place of the league, but the evidence indicates that veneration of Athens may also have been the essential purpose of the league. In this regard the decree from Thyatira is particularly notable:

“.. both individually and in common the greatest king has been a benefactor of all the Greeks, assembling from them that council, as a common mark of esteem, in the most brilliant city of the Athenians, the Benefactress, which gives to all at the same place the fruit of the Mysteries, and when the Romans approved the most venerable Panhellenion by decree of the senate because of what he proposed.”²³⁸

Dating between 131/2 and 138, the inscription was set up in Athens to mark Thyatira's admission to the league. This inscription confirms two integral aspects of the Panhellenion: that it was a direct initiative of Hadrian, and that Athens, Eleusis and the Mysteries played an integral role in the ideology of the league. The re-editing of the Thyatiran decree to include new fragments in the late 1990's invalidated an earlier notion that the Panhellenion was an initiative of the Greek elite rather than Hadrian, and that the centrality of Athens was over-estimated.²³⁹ Spawforth sums up the Panhellenion thus: “It was an essentially religious organisation paying formal tribute to the culture-bringing role of Athens”.²⁴⁰ As we have already seen, from the time of Augustus the Roman construction of *Graecia vera* centred on

²³⁷ Jones (2006) 158.

²³⁸ Il.12-17, trans. Spawforth (2012), from the revised text of Jones (1999); I include ‘greatest’ in l.12 to reflect more accurately Jones’ edition of the document: μεγίστου βασιλέως.

²³⁹ This is the argument of Jones (1996) 29-56, revised in light of the new edition of the Thyatiran decree, Jones (1999).

²⁴⁰ Spawforth (2012) 249.

the Greek mainland, and as one of the foremost cities of Greece Athens was at the heart of the Roman concept of 'Greekness' (pp.74-5). Of these cities, among which Sparta and Argos were also prominent in the Panhellenion, Athens' particular 'culture-bringing' role ensured its centrality to the ideal of *Graecia vera*.

In Augustus' vision of *Graecia vera*, Athens and Sparta appear to have held equal status as paragons of *humanitas* and *virtus*, respectively. In the second century, however, and certainly in Hadrian's formulation of the Panhellenion, Athens' primacy is unrivalled. This is not to disregard Sparta's prestige in the second century or Hadrian's benefactions to the city, both of which contributed to a period of flourishing civic life, but no city of the Greek mainland could compete with the status and personal favour bestowed on Athens by Hadrian (see pp.94-102, 156-8).²⁴¹ While the favour and subsequent benefactions of Hadrian were an important element in the pre-eminence of Athens in the second century, there is plenty of evidence for a pre-existing Atheno-centrism in the Greek cultural consciousness. Non-Athenian writers and orators engaged frequently with themes from Athenian history, to the extent that by Plutarch's time the great events of Athenian history were standard rhetorical *topoi*, often over-used and capable of inciting a fierce national pride (pp.41-2).²⁴² By and large, this Atheno-centrism originated in the education system. Elite education was rooted firmly in classicism and Atticism, which inevitably geared historical awareness towards events of the Classical period with an Athenian bias. So it was that Athens became the focal point of Hellenism even among non-Athenians, her history providing "both a focus of allegiance and a source of commentary".²⁴³ Classical Athens had produced the majority of famous writers and orators studied by the elite of the Roman Empire, and even Attic local history had become the object

²⁴¹ On Sparta under Hadrian and the Antonines see Spawforth & Walker (1986) 88, 95-6; Spawforth (1989) 105-115.

²⁴² Plut. *Praec. ger. rep.* 814b-c.

²⁴³ Swain (1996) 68.

of enthusiastic interest.²⁴⁴ For the sophists, Athens held supremacy in both language and culture. Atticism – the recreation of the Classical Attic dialect – was a defining feature of the Second Sophistic, and an important marker of elite identity (pp.12-13).²⁴⁵ Sophists such as Herodes Atticus sought the purest Attic dialect and found it deep in rural Attica; thus Philostratus recounts the story of Herodes’ meeting with Agathion, a supposed rustic hero, who tells Herodes that he was educated by the Mesogeia of Attica, where the language is untainted by foreign influence (pp.192-4).²⁴⁶ Developing throughout the Roman period, and culminating in the second century, was the notion that Greekness – at least the sort that connoted education, sophistication, and elite status – was essentially Athenian.

Despite Athens’ apparent monopoly on pure Greek identity, during the period of the Second Sophistic there existed a notion that one could ‘become Greek’ through education, through practicing the Attic dialect and learning from Classical Athenian exempla. Aristides sums this up most effectively at the very beginning of the *Panathenaicus*, when he calls the Athenians the foster-parents of all the Greeks.²⁴⁷ As Richter summarises, “Aristides has constructed a model of Greekness for non-Athenians that flows outward from Athens once it has flowed upward to Athens from the soil”.²⁴⁸ There is an echo of the mission of Triptolemus in Aristides’ view of Greekness: as referenced in the Thyatiran decree, when Demeter first gave the Athenians the gifts of cultivation and her Mysteries, Triptolemus was dispatched to share the knowledge across the world; similarly, while true Greekness might belong to Athens, it is shared through Athens’ beneficence and ‘foster-parent’ relationship with the rest of the Greek

²⁴⁴ Swain (1996) 69; Bowie (1970) 28.

²⁴⁵ Whitmarsh (2005) 43; for further discussion of Atticism and its requirements see Whitmarsh (2005) 43-52, Anderson (1993) 86-100, Bowie (1970) 36.

²⁴⁶ Phil. VS. 552-554. Herodes’ encounter with Agathion is explored further in chapter four, pp.243-4.

²⁴⁷ Aristid. Or. 13. 1.

²⁴⁸ Richter (2011) 126, Saïd (2006) 52-3.

world.²⁴⁹ It is curious that this notion of shared Greekness and the ability to become Greek through culture and learning appears to have been sidestepped by the Panhellenion. By requiring members to prove colonial ties with cities of mainland Greece, the league appears to adhere to a definition of Greekness by blood akin to the views expressed Isocrates' *Panegyricus* and Plato's *Menexenus*, for example, which disparage the 'foster-parent' relationship, claiming that the Athenians are more 'authentically' Greek because their race sprung from the earth: "... we alone of all the Greeks call our city nurse, father, and mother".²⁵⁰ The Second Sophistic trend for acquiring Greekness and Aristides' notion of Athens 'adopting' the rest of the Greek world suggest that the supposed exclusivity of Athenian identity and culture had mellowed during the Roman period. Meanwhile, the Panhellenion adhered to a much more rigid definition of Greekness; it seems to have placed a protective shield over *Graecia vera*, prioritising the concept of colonial ties over the cultural connections that in actuality formed the primary means of preserving Greek identity under the Roman Empire.

Part II: "... in the most brilliant city of the Athenians": Athens at the heart of the Panhellenion

That the Panhellenion was heavily focused on Athens is beyond any doubt, but we have yet to explore how Athens' central role was expressed and justified. How did Hadrian's designation of Athens as the meeting place of the council impact the physical landscape of the city? The decree of Thyatira marks out Athens as 'the Benefactress' (ὁ Εὐεργέτης); did this reflect contemporary attitudes towards Athens? The decree highlights Athens' gift of the 'fruit of the Mysteries' (καρπὸν τῶν Μυστηρίων); to what extent did Eleusis and the Mysteries play a role in the Panhellenion?

²⁴⁹ While Aristides himself does not use the comparison directly at this point, the mission of Triptolemus is an important motif in the *Panathenaicus*, used on a number of occasions to highlight Athens' good deeds towards the Greeks (see part II, below).

²⁵⁰ Isoc. *Panegy.* 24-5; also Plat. *Menex.* 237e-238d.

II.i Athens the Benefactress

The designation of Athens as ‘ὁ Εὐεργέτης’ in the Thyatiran decree carries echoes of Athenian propaganda of the Classical period; as we shall see, the orators made good use of the Eleusinian myth in justifying Athens’ right to hegemony over the Greeks. Another recurrent feature in Athenian rhetoric – particularly within the much older genre of the funeral oration – was the image of Athens as the benefactor and protector of the unfortunate or dispossessed.²⁵¹ In the typical motif, “a group of suppliants turns to Athens for help against a powerful and unjust opponent; Athens respects their rights as suppliants and puts herself at risk by fighting against an evil foe.”²⁵² It has been suggested that this particular aspect of Athens’ self-image, while present in the Persian Wars period, was augmented by Athens’ experience as leader of the Delian League: “the ideology of pity reflects in positive terms Athens’ new role as ruler of the empire.”²⁵³ ‘Athens the Benefactress’ was an essential element of Classical Athenian self-image, and closely related to the ideology of the Athenian empire. Looking to a second-century AD depiction of fifth-century Athens and her empire, Aelius Aristides’ *Panathenaicus*, we find that ‘Athens the Benefactress’ takes a similarly central role.

While the history of Classical Athens was revered, it was not inflexible; sophists and rhetors were able to re-interpret historical events, present alternative versions, and re-imagine historical figures. The goal when dealing with history was to present an idealised sense of the past, not a rigid reality.²⁵⁴ There was no need to cling to established versions such as Thucydides’ history – the skilled rhetor was able to approach the same events from a different viewpoint and manipulate the past to suit the present. In the midst of the second-

²⁵¹ E.g. Thuc. 2.40.5 (Pericles’ Funeral Oration). On this subject generally see Loraux (1986).

²⁵² Tzanetou (2005) 100; Tzanetou discusses this theme at length, focusing on the myth of the Heracleidae. See also Christ (2010) 254, Ziolkowski (1981) 102-5.

²⁵³ Tzanetou (2005) 105.

²⁵⁴ Swain (1996) 79, Anderson (1993) 126.

century veneration of Athens, enhanced by Hadrian's designation of the city as the centre of the Panhellenion, certain elements of fifth-century history had to be adapted to suit the status and character of the city within the Roman Empire. Nowhere is this more evident than in Aelius Aristides' *Panathenaicus*, which provides an excellent insight into the characterisation of Athens and the Athenian past in second-century rhetoric.

Oudot, in her analysis of the *Panathenaicus*, found that Aristides uses the history of Athens to demonstrate two patterns of political behaviour: 1) Athens as “a paradigm of the perfect ruling power, a power which avoids being aggressive, but works through gentle attraction”; and 2) Athens as “the model of the Greek subject city within the empire”, because it is able to handle its own internal problems and thus avoid Roman interference.²⁵⁵ The first pattern deliberately recalls Aristides' praise of Roman rule in his *Roman Oration* of AD 155.²⁵⁶ The second echoes Plutarch's *Precepts of Statecraft*, in which he urges Greek cities to address their domestic troubles and avoid Roman intervention. Delivered at the Panathenaic festival of AD 167, the *Panathenaicus* was designed to appeal to the gathered Athenians and (no doubt) many important visitors. As one might expect, Aristides presents Athens as a city of unparalleled greatness, shaping his history to support an image of the Athenian past that centred on a peaceful and benevolent nature, and a desire for *homonoia* among the Greeks. Oudot has shown that, while Aristides admired Thucydides, in the *Panathenaicus* he constructs a double reversal of Thucydides' work: “imperial Athens of the fifth century – which is depicted by the historian as an increasing power – is now the model of a pacifism aimed at universal concord.”²⁵⁷ We see how Aristides manipulates Athenian actions and

²⁵⁵ Oudot (2008) 43-4, Saïd (2006) 50. We see in chapter three that second-century Athens did, at times, require Roman intervention (p. 143 ff).

²⁵⁶ E.g. *Or.* 14. 97: “As on holiday the whole civilised world lays down the arms which were its ancient burden and has turned to adornment and all glad thoughts with power to realise them”, cf. 69-71, 103.

²⁵⁷ Oudot (2008) 47. Oudot's study of Aristides and Thucydides and their approaches to history, (2008) 31-49, is the primary scholarship on the relationship between these two sources. I utilise Thucydides here only to

carefully balances certain qualities in order to paint the Athenians in a more sympathetic light; in short, Aristides provides a definitive example of the ‘idealised sense of the past’ so favoured in the Second Sophistic.

The most striking characteristics in Thucydides’ portrayal of the Athenians – appearing frequently in his narrative and in the mouths of Spartans, Corinthians, Syracusans and the Athenians themselves – are courage (ἀνδρεία), daring (τόλμα), and an innovative spirit (νεωτεροποιός).²⁵⁸ Aristides neutralises Thucydides’ portrayal of the Athenians with milder qualities such as fairness (ἐπιείκεια), gentleness (πραότης), piety (εὐσέβεια), and magnanimity (μεγαλοψυχία). Thus Aristides’ Athens rises to power because it was appointed, and proves itself lenient, unselfish and moderate, sharing its constitution with others and – in some cases – receiving no thanks for its fairness.²⁵⁹ Aristides’ Athenians are keen and daring, but also restrained and gentle; and, moreover, “they conquered their foes with weapons and with fairness their friends.”²⁶⁰ The echoes of Virgil’s Roman *artēs: parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos*, (“to show mercy to the conquered and to subdue the proud”), is striking: Aristides’ Athenians are the pioneers of this ideal of Roman imperialism.²⁶¹ In their determination for justice and their endeavours for the protection of the Greeks, Aristides compares the Athenians to Triptolemus: “He went around doing good to all in common; they went around chastising those from whom it was necessary to exact a penalty, in the belief that it was profitable to the human race as a whole...”²⁶² In employing this comparison, Aristides harks back to an earlier passage in the *Oration*, in which he relates Athens’ role in

highlight the ways in which a second-century AD version of the Athenian empire differs substantially from a Classical account.

²⁵⁸ E.g. Thuc. 1.75.3; 2.102.3; 7.21.3.

²⁵⁹ *Or.* 13. 217.

²⁶⁰ E.g. *Or.* 13. 186-7, 271; quote: 108.

²⁶¹ Virgil, *Aen.* 6.850.

²⁶² *Or.* 13.149.

dispatching Triptolemus to spread news of Demeter's gift to mankind.²⁶³ By equating the Athenians' fifth-century deeds with Triptolemus' "divine mission" (ὁ θεῖος πομπεύς), Aristides not only emphasises their goodness and virtue, but locates the Athenian Empire in an established history of Athenian munificence and sacred duty.²⁶⁴ Aristides' Athenians are bold and brave, but only as far as is necessary for the good of all the Greek world; they work tirelessly to protect their friends, but receive in return criticism and revolt. Their intercessions in the political life of individual cities or in inter-city quarrels are borne out of a desire to teach and encourage *homonoia*: "They thought it necessary not only to save the Hellenes from their enemies, but also to reconcile them when they were sick with dissension..."²⁶⁵

To contextualise this treatment of fifth-century Athens and the Athenian Empire, it is important to note that the most important Athenian quality is, for Aristides, the Attic language and way of life. Having spoken at length on Athenian history, Aristides turns rather abruptly to language and culture: "For all the cities and all the races of men have turned toward you and your way of life and your language" (δίαιτα καὶ φωνή) – this, according to Aristides, is Athens' great victory, to which no military success can compare.²⁶⁶ In this way, Aristides is able to show that Athens' true greatness continues to his day, and her achievements – at least the ones which really matter – reside in the present as well as the past: Athens' administrative duties are over, but her happiness is equal to that of the days of her empire, because the Romans and all Hellenes recognise the Athenians as "teachers and foster-parents" (διδάσκαλοι καὶ τροφοί).²⁶⁷ In his survey of the works of Aristides, Swain has demonstrated that Aristides was content with the Roman system and did not pine for the days of a free Greece; he mostly avoided public life, his only political concern being the quarrels

²⁶³ *Or.* 13.35; see above, p.86.

²⁶⁴ We might also note that the term φιλανθρωπία is used quite extensively throughout the *Oration* – it is notable that while it appears 18 times here, it does not appear once in Thucydides' history.

²⁶⁵ *Or.* 13.190.

²⁶⁶ *Or.* 13.225-6.

²⁶⁷ *Or.* 13.232.

between the Asian cities and the need to control the masses.²⁶⁸ In the *Panathenaicus*, Aristides demonstrates that Athens is as much the centre of the Greek world as it was in Classical times, and that it is in fact the cultural centre of the Roman Empire. Aristides' reconfiguration of the Athenian Empire serves to offer a positive example from the Classical past: the Athenians of the fifth century worked tirelessly for the cause of *homonoia*, encouraging unity in the Greek world and teaching by example; in the second century, with no empire to administer, to teach and spread wisdom is now, in Aristides' opinion, the primary role of the Athenians – and the Greek world with its many inter-city rivalries should learn from Athens' past, or finally accept this benevolent guidance.

The *Panathenaicus* is the only extant second-century source that directly addresses the Athenian Empire and attempts to explain and justify Athenian actions in that period, but others stand on the periphery. Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* (AD 90-120) presents the fifth-century statesman as a model of leadership. He is credited with similar virtues as those Aristides gives to the fifth-century Athenians collectively: gentleness (πραότης), and an irreproachable nature (καθαριότης). Aristides used a revised version of the Athenian past to extol the virtues of *homonoia*, as does Plutarch: *Precepts of Statecraft* (which we will explore in more depth in chapter three, pp. 126-130) was written during the same period as the *Pericles*, and the advice offered in that treatise is mirrored in the biography of Pericles: a statesman ought to manage carefully the unruly *demos* and not allow himself to be persuaded or pressured, while factional strife should be avoided at all costs.²⁶⁹ A significant portion of Plutarch's knowledge of Pericles appears to come from Thucydides, but Plutarch is much more interested in Pericles' personal qualities and is therefore required to embellish Thucydides' sketch of the man with material from a wide variety of other sources.²⁷⁰ On

²⁶⁸ Swain (1996) 260, 297.

²⁶⁹ Stadter (1989) xxxiii.

²⁷⁰ Stadter (1989) lx-lxi, de Romilly (1988) 23-28.

occasion, Plutarch appears to use what he knows of the Roman system to explain an Athenian phenomenon: he claims that Pericles established cleruchies to relieve Athens of its “mob of lazy and idle busybodies”.²⁷¹ This picture contradicts the Classical sources, and seems to be drawn instead from the Roman practice of relocating the urban poor in colonial settlement programmes.²⁷² Representing Pericles as taking action against the troublesome mob also corresponds with Plutarch’s wish to use Pericles as a model for the second-century statesman (see pp.92-94); thus history is manipulated to suit a rhetorical purpose.²⁷³

In the *Panathenaicus* and the *Pericles*, fifth-century Athens emerges as an irreproachable force for good among the Greeks. The propaganda of Classical rhetoric seeps through in second-century depictions of Athens, tempered somewhat to suit Roman rule, but with key themes – most notably ‘Athens the benefactress’ – remaining prominent. In the case of both the empire and the Panhellenion, Athens’ justification for gaining hegemony is the same: an innate excellence springing from the Attic soil, embodied in its language and culture, and combined with the desire to share her gifts with the rest of the Greek world.

II.ii. Hadrian, Pericles and the Athenian building programmes

Augustus’ building and restoration work in Athens was significant: centred on the Agora and environs, the programme included the Odeion of Agrippa, the Temple of Ares, and the Market of Caesar and Augustus. However, it was perfunctory in comparison to the Hadrianic programme; unlike the latter, Augustus’ programme was born largely out of the emperor’s need to establish Roman authority in a previously turbulent Athens. The most important precedent for Hadrian’s building programme, therefore, was not that of Augustus, but the

²⁷¹ Plut. *Per.* 11.6.

²⁷² Moreno (2007) 93 n.78, Stadter (1989) 142.

²⁷³ The Athenian Empire and the events of the Peloponnesian War were also significant themes for declamatory speeches, e.g. Aristides’ *On Sending Reinforcements to Sicily* and *The Opposite Argument*; Plutarch’s *On the Glory of the Athenians*. On sophistic declamation see Swain (1996) 168, Anderson (1993) 114-115.

programme initiated by Pericles in the fifth century BC; in terms of scale, and also in regard to similarities between Pericles' and Hadrian's visions of Athens – not historical similarities, it must be noted, but rather ideological similarities crystallised in second-century sources like Plutarch's *Pericles*.²⁷⁴ We have already seen that the design of the Panhellenion closely resembled the second-century image of the fifth-century Athenian empire; in this section, we consider this imagined Periclean Athens as a model for the Hadrianic city.

Construction on a vast scale took place in the third quarter of the fifth century BC, following Pericles' decision to use the contributions of the Athenian allies to rebuild the temples destroyed by the Persians.²⁷⁵ Pericles' programme was extensive, with building taking place on the Acropolis, in the lower city, and in the countryside.²⁷⁶ Thucydides famously imagined that should Athens become deserted and only her temples and foundations remain, future generations would believe the city to have been twice as powerful as it actually was, so great were the buildings she possessed.²⁷⁷ It was the Periclean programme that transformed Athens in this way, and the monumental landscape of the Acropolis in particular that preserved the memory of Athens in its fifth-century heyday. Six centuries later Hadrian's programme had a similarly transformative effect while consciously maintaining the Periclean landscape of the Acropolis. Hadrian did not build on the Acropolis; as we have seen in chapter one, the Ilissos area was the primary focus of Hadrian's programme, with the Olympieion as the centrepiece (pp.95-6). These two spaces are connected by Thucydides' assertion that the Ilissos is the

²⁷⁴ The restorative measures of the Augustan programme, detailed in a decree dated to c.10/9-2/1 BC, may also invite comparison to Pericles' programme, which aimed in part to rebuild the temples in Athens and Attica burned by the Persians. Augustan decree: *IG II² 1035 = SEG 26.121 = SEG 31.107 = SEG 33.136*.

²⁷⁵ This appears to have nullified the oath apparently sworn at Plataea in 479 which specified that no temples destroyed by the Persians would be rebuilt, but would remain as memorials (Lyc. 1.81, Diod. Sic. 11.29.3).

²⁷⁶ The centrepiece of the programme was the Parthenon, with further works including the Erechtheion and the Temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis, the Odeion of Pericles and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius in the Agora, and the temples of Poseidon and Athena at Sounion. For a full overview of Pericles' programme see Camp (2001) 72-116.

²⁷⁷ Thuc. 1.10.2.

oldest space in Athens next to the Acropolis.²⁷⁸ The axis from the Acropolis to the Ilissos area, monumentalised by the Arch of Hadrian and symbolising Hadrian’s status as the ‘new founder’ of Athens (pp. 63-70), could also be seen to visually connect Hadrian’s building programme with that of Pericles – drawing a line from the Periclean landscape of the Acropolis to the Hadrianic landscape of the Ilissos. The preservation of the Periclean Acropolis compared with the treatment of the Lycurgan Stadium highlights how the importance placed on the Athenian past was selective. A second-century restoration of the Stadium on Lycurgus’ model could be considered as engagement with the Classical past, but (with the possible exception of the tunnel) the Lycurgan structure was entirely demolished and superseded by Herodes’ rebuilding (see pp. 158-9).²⁷⁹

Here we arrive at another important feature in these remarkable periods of Athenian history: the personal agency of Pericles and Hadrian. While the echoes of the Athenian Empire in the Panhellenion have hitherto been relatively unexplored, there has been some interest in parallels between Hadrian and Pericles. Hadrian’s foundation of the Panhellenion has been described as “bringing the abortive programme of Pericles to fruition”.²⁸⁰ A passage of Plutarch’s *Pericles* (c.75AD) describes the ‘Congress Decree’, the outline for which brings to mind the basic formation of Hadrian’s Panhellenion.

ἀρχομένων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄχθεσθαι τῇ αὐξήσει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαίρων ὁ Περικλῆς τὸν δῆμον ἔτι μᾶλλον μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μεγάλων αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν πραγμάτων, γράφει ψήφισμα, πάντας Ἑλληνας τοὺς ὀπίποτε κατοικοῦντας Εὐρώπης ἢ τῆς Ἀσίας παρακαλεῖν, καὶ μικρὰν πόλιν καὶ μεγάλην, εἰς σύλλογον πέμπειν Ἀθήναζε τοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν, ἃ κατέπρησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἃς ὀφείλουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ὅπως πλέωσι πάντες ἀδεῶς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγωσιν.

When the Lacedaemonians began to be annoyed by the increasing power of the Athenians, Pericles, by way of inciting the people to cherish yet loftier thoughts and to deem it worthy of great achievements, introduced a bill to the effect that all Hellenes wheresoever resident in Europe

²⁷⁸ Thuc. 2.15.3-6.

²⁷⁹ On the tunnel, see Miller (2001) 211-222. Interestingly, the ‘starting post’ of the Stadium was listed for restoration in the Augustan restoration decree, but I would doubt whether such an apparently minor improvement constitutes Augustan-era engagement with the Stadium.

²⁸⁰ Birley (1997) 219.

or in Asia, small and large cities alike, should be invited to send deputies to a council at Athens. This was to deliberate concerning the Hellenic sanctuaries which the Barbarians had burned down, concerning the sacrifices which were due to the gods in the name of Hellas in fulfillment of vows made when they were fighting with the Barbarians, and concerning the sea, that all might sail it fearlessly and keep the peace.²⁸¹

The aim of this decree is to gather representatives of the Greeks to discuss the sanctuaries damaged by the Persians, the sacrifices owed to the gods for the victory, and safe commerce upon the sea; as MacDonald has summarised, “Athens was making a claim for leadership of all the Greeks”.²⁸² Plutarch concludes that ultimately no such council was convened owing to the opposition of the Spartans. The authenticity of this decree is particularly controversial; at best, scholars largely agree that no argument ought to be based on it, and it is viewed by some as a fourth-century forgery.²⁸³ Plutarch is vague on the date of the decree, and the conclusion of the passage – that he has cited the incident “to demonstrate (Pericles’) disposition and the greatness of his thoughts” – may suggest some doubt as to the absolute historicity of this council.²⁸⁴ It is tempting to consider the possibility that Plutarch, who frequently urged the Greeks of his day to foster friendship rather than rivalry, may have included – and perhaps embellished – this decree as an illustration of Pericles’ similar concern for Greek unity. Hadrian will have been familiar with Plutarch’s work; it is possible that the emperor and the scholar were personal acquaintances.²⁸⁵ It would be too simplistic to say that Plutarch’s biography directly influenced Hadrian’s foundation of the Panhellenion, but Hadrian’s awareness of the *Pericles* may have contributed a certain inspiration and precedent for the notion of uniting the Greeks under Athenian leadership.

²⁸¹ Plut. *Per.* 17.1, trans. Perrin (1916).

²⁸² MacDonald (1982) 121.

²⁸³ Forgery: Seager (1969) 129-141, Bosworth (1971) 600-616. Meiggs, (1972) 512-5, argues for its authenticity but acknowledged the grounds for doubt, while Stadter, (1989) 201-4, supports the decree’s authenticity and gives it a *terminus ante quem* of 447. For a detailed summary of the debate see Samons (2000) 155.

²⁸⁴ Plut. *Per.* 17.4.

²⁸⁵ Swain (1991) 318-330, Birley (1997) 62.

A further parallel between Hadrian and Pericles lies in the use of the title ‘Olympian’, which (as we saw in chapter one, p.68) was a common epithet for Hadrian in Athens. Plutarch mentions ‘Olympian’ as an epithet of Pericles on two occasions; in the first instance he attributes the epithet to the “blending in him of many high qualities”, including his oratorical ability, his skill as a statesman and general, and his great building works.²⁸⁶ The epithet could have mocking connotations too: Aristophanes used it after Pericles’ death to cast him as an impetuous Zeus bringing chaos to Greece with his thunder and lightning.²⁸⁷ In Athens and the Greek East, Hadrian’s extensive building work is accompanied by widespread use of the epithet ‘Olympius’ (see also p. 68, 115). According to the *Historia Augusta*, Hadrian was particularly gifted in the skills of oratory, statesmanship and military command – as would be expected of the Roman emperor.²⁸⁸ Once again we might consider Plutarch’s Pericles as a model for Hadrian. Stadter comments that Plutarch’s Pericles can be seen as “an inspiration for all, but a model especially for the Roman emperor”: the monarchical power of Pericles could not be imitated by local statesmen under Roman rule, but could be an inspiration for the emperor himself.²⁸⁹

The connections between Hadrian and Pericles are an interesting aspect of the echoes of fifth-century Athenian imperialism in the Panhellenion. We must, naturally, be very careful to divide the connections with firm roots in antiquity from those which seem apparent from a modern viewpoint. I would hesitate, therefore, to endorse Birley’s assertion that Hadrian was “playing the part of a re-born Pericles”.²⁹⁰ Hadrian does not appear to have been directly

²⁸⁶ Plut. *Per.* 8.1-2, 39.2. On the further use of this name for Pericles and later honourees see Stadter (1989) 103.

²⁸⁷ Aristoph. *Ach.* 1.530.

²⁸⁸ SHA, *Had.* 3.1, 7.

²⁸⁹ Stadter (1989) xxxiv. It is worth noting that attempts have been made to see Pericles as a model for Hadrian’s appearance: Hadrian’s beard (a much-debated topic) has been described as “worn in the style of Pericles” (Walker (1995) 91). While this is an intriguing possibility, it is less convincing than the associations with the bearded Zeus or Jupiter; see discussion by Vout (2006) 107.

²⁹⁰ Birley (1997) 306.

identified with Pericles in antiquity, but we may consider Pericles or, more accurately, Plutarch's vision of Pericles, to have been an important influence for the emperor.

Hadrian's gift of new buildings to Athens was entirely unprecedented and utterly transformative. The scale and quality of the building projects marked out Athens' privileged status and the unparalleled favour of the emperor. While Athens' cultural importance within the empire may be expected to have earned benefactions for the city, the extent of Hadrian's gifts is best understood in the context of the establishment of the Panhellenion: Athens had to be made fit to serve as the centre of the league. In general the building programme is characterised by elements of the 'Late Hadrianic Style', seen also in Rome, combined with local features.²⁹¹ It has been suggested that the blend of Roman, Athenian and Hellenistic Greek elements may have been Hadrian's intention, symbolising Athens' role as the centre of a Panhellenic League founded by a Roman emperor.²⁹² Familiar Roman or Hellenistic architectural features may have served to give visitors to Athens a connection with the city, while local elements ensured that the city maintained its Athenian identity; as the centre of the Panhellenion, Athens needed to appear at the same time distinctive and yet representative of a wider vision of Greece. Pausanias lists Hadrian's buildings in Athens as the Olympieion, the Temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenius, the Pantheon, the Library, and a gymnasium. In addition, we know that he provided the city with an aqueduct and ornate reservoir (of which the remains of the hydraulic building can be seen on Mount Lycabettus), and built a bridge over the Cephissus River.²⁹³

²⁹¹ 'Late Hadrianic Style': Strong (1953) 118-51; combining features: Walker (1979) 103-29, Shear (1981) 376, Spawforth & Walker (1985) 93.

²⁹² Spawforth & Walker (1985) 93, citing Hadrian's interest in architecture as documented by Dio. Cass. 64.4, *SHA Hadrian* 19.9-13.

²⁹³ Paus. 1.18.9. *Reservoir and hydraulic building*: Leigh (1997) 290.

A full treatment of each of Hadrian's building projects in Athens is beyond the scope of this chapter, but in considering how the city was shaped for the establishment of the Panhellenion a few particular architectural highlights must be addressed.

The most remarkable Hadrianic structure in Athens is the Olympieion, which appears to have been closely tied to the Panhellenion. The Olympieion was dedicated by Hadrian on the same occasion as the foundation of the Panhellenion in AD 131/2.²⁹⁴ The passage of Pausanias describing the statues within the Olympieion *temenos* has been the subject of much interest, particularly for the ambiguous comment on a group of bronze statues: χαλκαῖ δὲ ἐστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν κίωνων ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἀποίκους πόλεις, “before the pillars stand bronze statues which the Athenians call colonies”.²⁹⁵ It has been suggested that ‘ἀποικοὶ πόλεις’ refers to members of the Panhellenion which were colonies of mainland Greek cities.²⁹⁶ Alternatively, one might consider the possibility that the statues represented all member-cities of the Panhellenion, and the Athenians thought of these cities as ‘colonies’. Pausanias proceeds to mention the numerous portraits of Hadrian at the Olympieion, dedicated by ‘πόλις ἐκάστη’. It has been suggested that these statues ought to be associated with member-cities of the Panhellenion, but the 23 inscribed bases that survive – none of which are associated with known members of the Panhellenion – contradict this claim.²⁹⁷ They appear instead to represent a much broader group of cities from the near east, and are therefore more likely to have been set up by delegations attending Hadrian's dedication of the temple. The many statues dedicated in the *temenos* characterise the panhellenic nature of Zeus Olympius; this temple was not only for the Athenians, but was intended as a focal point for the cities of the

²⁹⁴ Oliver (1970) 132. For a brief history of the Olympieion see chapter one, p.51 n.127.

²⁹⁵ Paus. 1.18.6, trans. Jones & Ormerod (1903), followed closely by Levi (1971).

²⁹⁶ While Benjamin, (1963) 58-9, thought the statues to be images of Hadrian dedicated by these cities, Spawforth and Walker, (1985) 93-4, proposed that they were in fact personifications of the ‘colonies’ themselves. In the light of the renewed importance of colonial ties in the membership requirements of the Panhellenion, the latter interpretation seems the more appropriate.

²⁹⁷ Spawforth (1999) 348n.49.

Greek east. According to Pausanias, the Athenians outdid these cities by erecting ‘τὸν κολοσσὸν ... ἄξιον’, (‘the great colossus’), behind the temple. The Athenians’ assertion of pre-eminence in surpassing their fellow Greeks is particularly relevant in the context of the establishment of the Panhellenion and is a clear indication, even at the moment of the league’s foundation, of the superiority of Athens in Hadrian’s vision of the Greek world. Of the many altars of Hadrian in Athens, the vast majority are dedicated to Hadrian as Ὀλύμπιος, Σωτήρ, Κτίστης.²⁹⁸ Along with the evidence already addressed, these altars contribute to the notion that the Olympieion was closely bound up with the Panhellenion: as Zeus Olympius – the ruling god – presided over the Greek world, so Hadrian presided over the Panhellenion. Benjamin suggested that Zeus Olympius was the deity of the Panhellenion in the early years after the league’s foundation, but recent evidence has shown that the chief deity was in fact Hadrian Panhellenius and there is no reason to doubt that this was so from the time of the league’s foundation.²⁹⁹ The Thyatiran decree, dating to the mid-130s, hails Hadrian as ‘Zeus Olympius Panhellenius’, confirming that Hadrian Panhellenius and Zeus Olympius were closely intertwined in the Panhellenion from the league’s earliest days.³⁰⁰ It is clear that the *temenos* of the Olympieion was a significant venue for the promotion of Hadrian’s vision of the Greek world, with statues asserting both the commonality of the Greeks and the innate superiority of Athens.

A league such as the Panhellenion, with delegates coming to Athens from across the Greek world, will have required a meeting place – but where was it? This question has been problematic for many scholars of the league, and is likely to remain without a definitive

²⁹⁸ Benjamin (1963) 57-86, Spawforth and Walker (1985) 93.

²⁹⁹ Benjamin (1963) 60, working on the suggestion put forward by Judeich (1931) 101 n.5 that the Temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenius in the Ilissos area was completed later in Hadrian’s reign.

³⁰⁰ Ll. 9-10. Reference to the Panhellenion, as well as to Hadrian as emperor, locates the decree between the foundation of the league in 131/2 and the death of Hadrian in 138. Jones (1999) 4 confirms that the career of Mettius Modestus, also honoured in the decree, corresponds to this period.

answer.³⁰¹ To complicate matters, the literary evidence for a physical ‘Panhellenion’ is frustratingly vague. Pausanias tells us that Hadrian constructed the Temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenius in Athens, while Dio claims that Hadrian gave ‘the Greeks’ permission to build a shrine named the ‘Panhellenion’.³⁰² It has been suggested that the latter may have housed the cult of Hadrian Panhellenius – the central cult of the league – but it is by no means clear that the temples described by Pausanias and Dio were actually different entities; it is possible that we simply have varying attributions for one Temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenius called the ‘Panhellenion’, perhaps incorporating Hadrian Panhellenius.³⁰³ To some extent, whether these were separate temples or one and the same is a moot point. The names clearly indicate a connection with the league, and both temples are connected closely with Hadrian – the league’s founder – in the literary record. We now know that Hadrian Panhellenius was the chief deity of the league, but it would be obtuse to consider this particular cult entirely different from that of Zeus Panhellenius; as noted above, the Thyatiran decree address Hadrian as ‘Zeus Olympius Panhellenius’. In the temple(s) of the ‘Panhellenion’, as in the Olympieion, Hadrian and Zeus were likely inextricable.

In seeking the Panhellenion we ought not to neglect the building south of the Olympieion that has since the 1960’s been called the ‘Panhellenion’. Dio describes his ‘Panhellenion’ as a *sekos*, which would be a suitable description for this temple, which has been named the ‘Panhellenion’ since its discovery, despite a lack of material evidence proving this identity.³⁰⁴ Circumstantial evidence marks it as an important candidate: its materials and ground plan give it a Hadrianic date, while its size – much larger than the temples surrounding it –

³⁰¹ Jones, (1996) 36, suggested that the Temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenius was a benefaction of Hadrian to Athens separate from the league, and that a ‘headquarters’ of the league was located elsewhere – possibly Eleusis, while Spawforth and Walker, (1985) 96, proposed that a site east of the Roman Agora, thought to be Hadrian’s Pantheon, may have provided a suitable venue for a gathering of the delegates (on the identification of this building as the Pantheon, see Boatwright (1983) 175).

³⁰² Paus. 1.18.9; Dio. Cass. 69.16.1-2.

³⁰³ Same: Boatwright (1994) 428; different: Jones (1996) 32-3.

³⁰⁴ The building was discovered in Travlos’ 1962 excavations.

signifies a building of some importance. The structure is formed of a large peristyle (approx. 65 x 45 m.) oriented east-west, with a propylon at the eastern end and a rectangular exedra in the middle of the north side most likely mirrored on the south side, which lies under Odos Diakou. Inside the peristyle to the western end lies a small Corinthian temple (approx. 11 x 15 m.).³⁰⁵ Travlos, arguing for the temple's identity as the Temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenius, noted that the small temple would be large enough to hold two cult statues.³⁰⁶ I would argue that the physical context of the building supports its identification as the (or 'a') Panhellenion temple: it is at the heart of the Ilissos district, which as we demonstrated in chapter one is an area characterised in part by 'Panhellenic' themes, and emblematic of Hadrian's renewal of Athens. As we have discussed, the ideal of Greek unity expressed in the Panhellenion harks back to the Athenian-led ideals of the post-Persian Wars period; a period well-represented in the cult landscape of the Ilissos (pp.50-54). Moreover, the 'Panhellenion' is aligned directly with the fifth-century Temple of Apollo Delphinus, where Theseus 'first arrived' in Athens. We have already seen the parallels between Theseus and Hadrian as founders of Athens and the importance of the Ilissos area as a symbolically shared space (pp.65-69); this area was shared between Hadrian and Theseus as founders, but also between Hadrian and Zeus as supreme rulers, as echoed in their common titles of Olympius and Panhellenius. Whether it was a temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenius, of Hadrian Panhellenius – or of a trio of Panhellenic gods – one might reasonably expect the cult centre of Hadrian's Panhellenion to be located in this space, and the building known as the Panhellenion would fit the bill.

Whether this building could also have been a meeting place for the league is a different matter: while the dimensions could house a large group, the small temple within indicates that the peristyle enclosed a temple courtyard rather than an assembly room. Spawforth and

³⁰⁵ Greco (2011) 470.

³⁰⁶ Travlos (1971) 429.

Walker have suggested that the Hadrianic building east of the Library and Roman Agora known as the ‘Pantheon’ may in fact have housed the league’s assemblies, estimating a capacity of at least 700.³⁰⁷ This structure, reminiscent of both a Roman basilica and Pausanias’ description of the ‘Phokikon’ where the delegates of Phocian cities gather, meets the criteria for an assembly building.³⁰⁸ The dimensions of the ‘Pantheon’ (64 x 40 m.) echo those of the ‘Panhellenion’ (65 x 45 m.), but the internal structure of each marks them for different functions. Where identification remains vague, context can be helpful. The Ilissos district was a deeply sacred landscape, its buildings – both Classical and Roman – primarily religious in function (pp.46-55). While the Ilissos context is ideal for the sacred centre of the Panhellenion, the area north of the Acropolis is particularly suitable for the league’s assembly hall, placing it in the vicinity of several notable places for meeting and doing business (Hadrian’s Library, the Roman Agora, the Hellenistic Stoa of Attalos). Just as Athens was vital to the Panhellenion, so the Panhellenion was vital to Athens, offering as it did a renewal of purpose and importance. If, as I argue, Hadrian’s building programme was in part motivated by the establishment of the Panhellenion, we ought to expect the league to have been thoroughly catered for, and not confined to one building or one part of the city.

Last but not least, the Library: one of the most impressive and significant of Hadrian’s contributions to Athens. Constructed in AD 132, it is roughly contemporary with the Olympieion. In the Library we see a building of the High Imperial period paying heed to a Roman structure now about two centuries old – the Market of Caesar and Augustus, which the Library matches in architectural scheme, scale and orientation.³⁰⁹ We might also note the echoes of the Imperial *fora* of Rome, and a distinct trace of the Hellenistic “Marble Hall”

³⁰⁷ Spawforth & Walker (1985) 97.

³⁰⁸ Paus. 10.5.1-2.

³⁰⁹ Shear (1981) 374.

tradition, typically found in the gymnasia of the Greek East.³¹⁰ Thus the Library encompasses the blend of architectural influences prevalent throughout Hadrianic Athens. Spawforth has speculated that the Library may have knowingly referenced the ancient belief that Pisistratus created the first library in Athens; an interesting suggestion, but extrapolated only from Aulus Gellius' brief reference to Pisistratus' library.³¹¹ Considering the Library alongside the Olympieion, the first concept of which can be attributed to Pisistratus, this is an interesting notion suggesting a sense of continuity in Hadrian's building programme – once again drawing connections between past and present. Akin to Hadrian, Pisistratus too (along with his sons) had a humanistic reputation as a provider of *paideia* to the Athenians.³¹² The Library most likely served a broad purpose as an “arts centre” of sorts; as well as noting that books are kept there, Pausanias considers the Library notable for its pavilions and gilded roof, as well as its statues and paintings.³¹³ In plan the Library is a very close copy of Vespasian's Templum Pacis in Rome.³¹⁴ The exact purpose of the Templum Pacis is not known, but it was perhaps designed primarily for leisure of a cultural and educational persuasion – a description which could be shared by its Athenian counterpart.³¹⁵ The Templum Pacis was built by the emperor in commemoration of a military victory and celebrating peace in the empire. The Library too is perhaps evocative of the rewards of peace – characterising Hadrian's reign (in Greece at least, and certainly in Athens) as a time for enjoying the flourishing of Greco-Roman culture. We should remember, however, that the Library was not just a monument,

³¹⁰ Boatwright (2000) 156.

³¹¹ Spawforth (2012) 247, Gell. *NA*, 7.17.

³¹² E.g. Plat, *Hipparch*. 228b-228e: Pisistratus' eldest son Hipparchus is credited with bringing the poems of Homer to Attica, and embarking on a mission to educate all Athenians in the city and countryside.

³¹³ Paus. 1.18.9; Thompson (1987) 10, Camp (2001) 203.

³¹⁴ Ward-Perkins (1981) 269, Thompson (1987) 10. Begun by Vespasian following the capture of Jerusalem in 71 AD, the Templum Pacis was dedicated in 75 AD. It housed a library (possibly only from the second century), treasures from Jerusalem, and a collection of Greek art (Gell. *NA*, 5.21.9; Plin. *NH*, 12.94; 34.84; 35.102, 109; 36.27; Paus. 6.9.3.) The complex consisted of a large colonnaded square, with a set of rectangular rooms along the southeast end of the square; a plan followed almost precisely by the architects of the Athenian building.

³¹⁵ Noreña (2003) 27, considers that the building was primarily designed for cultural and educational leisure activity, but acknowledges that it may have had certain utilitarian purpose also (e.g. as a private bank – Herod.1.14.2).

but a functional building. Boatwright has commented on the educational role of the Library, suggesting that Hadrian recognised that “the Athenians themselves, as scholars, sophists, teachers, and students, were essential to the preservation and transmission of the glorious Hellenic past.”³¹⁶ It was, no doubt, a venue for the elite, and will have attracted the many visitors who flocked to Athens to learn (to be discussed at pp.163-169). In this way, the Library was an expression of the ‘culture-bringing’ role of Athens celebrated by the Panhellenion and yet another example of Hadrian equipping the city for its central role in the league.

Hadrian’s building programme was comprehensive, including both monumental sacred and cultural spaces and amenities to enhance the quality of life in the city. Aristides, as I have already noted in chapter one (p.66), described Athens as having the best of both ancient and contemporary architecture and amenities; hyperbole aside, Aristides’ statement summarises what must have been the aim of the programme.³¹⁷ In its monumental landscape, second-century Athens represents not only a broad geographical sphere, incorporating Roman elements and Hellenistic styles popular in the Greek East, but also a broad history, evoking the past and the present. The process of integrating a variety of architectural styles within the Athenian landscape in a way that preserved and acknowledged the character of Athens is what sets Hadrian’s programme apart from earlier Roman building activity in Athens. While the new structures of the Augustan period may have demonstrated a similar variety of architectural influences, they were often sandwiched into the city in ways which permanently changed the ancient landscape. The Odeion of Agrippa, for example, intruded on the characteristically open space of the Agora, which came to resemble a Roman forum – particularly with the contemporary addition of the Temple of Ares (pp.253-4). Where

³¹⁶ Shear (1981) 375-6, Boatwright (2000) 157.

³¹⁷ Aristid. 13.246, 250.

Augustus' programme in Athens had been designed to convey a message of domination, Hadrian's was a product of an established empire. Whether explicit or implicit, the Panhellenion is an ever-present feature of Hadrian's programme, with panhellenic sensibilities and the culture-bringing role of Athens at the forefront of design and function.

II.iii. Eleusis and the Panhellenion

Having explored the Panhellenion in Athens, we now turn to another key location for the league's activities. As the Thyatira decree suggests, Eleusis appears to have been an important focal point for the Panhellenion. It is notable that the decree does not actually name Eleusis; the Mysteries are presented as an Athenian gift to the Greeks. In this respect, the Thyatiran decree continues a long tradition. While the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* made no mention of Athens, once Eleusis was subsumed into Athenian territory in the seventh century BC the myth gradually developed an Athenian focus.³¹⁸ We have already noted that during the fourth century BC Isocrates used the Eleusinian myth to justify Athens' claims to hegemony over the Greeks; I quote the passage here in full:

Δήμητρος γὰρ ἀφικομένης εἰς τὴν χώραν ὅτ' ἐπλανήθη τῆς Κόρης ἀρπασθείσης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης ἐκ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἃς οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς μεμνημένοις ἀκούειν, καὶ δούσης δωρεὰς διττὰς αἴπερ μέγιστα τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι, τοὺς τε καρπούς, οἳ τοῦ μῆθηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἴτιοι γέγονασιν, καὶ τὴν τελετὴν, ἣς οἱ μετασχόντες περὶ τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν, οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔσχεν, ὥστε κυρία γενομένη τοσοῦτων ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἐφθόνησε τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' ὧν ἔλαβεν ἅπασιν μετέδωκεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν δεῖκνυμεν, τῶν δὲ συλλήβδην τὰς τε χρείας καὶ τὰς ἐργασίας καὶ τὰς ὠφελίας τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γιγνομένας ἐδίδαξεν.

When Demeter came to our land, in her wandering after the rape of Kore, and, being moved to kindness towards our ancestors by services which may not be told save to her initiates, gave these two gifts, the greatest in the world—the fruits of the earth, which have enabled us to rise above the life of the beasts, and the holy rite which inspires in those who partake of it sweeter hopes regarding both the end of life and all eternity, our city was not only so beloved of the gods but also so devoted to mankind that, having been endowed with these great blessings, she did not begrudge them to the rest of the world, but shared with all men what she had received. The mystic rite we continue even now, each year, to reveal to the initiates; and as for the fruits of the earth, our city has, in a word, instructed the world in their uses, their cultivation, and the benefits derived from them.³¹⁹

³¹⁸ Date of takeover: Camp (2001) 26. Parker, (1996) 25, doubts that the Eleusinian cult had ever existed outside the framework of Athenian religion.

³¹⁹ Isoc. *Paneg.* 28-9, trans Norlin (1980).

Isocrates defines Demeter's gifts to the Athenians as "the fruits of the earth" and "the holy rite"; blessings which appear to have been combined in the Thyatiran decree as "the fruit of the Mysteries".³²⁰ The myth is also related by Aelius Aristides in his *Panathenaicus* where, again, Athens takes the central role, with the Athenians as the first inhabitants of the earth who sent the Eleusinian Triptolemus to teach agriculture to the rest of mankind.³²¹

Classical and Roman literary tradition ties Eleusis and the Mysteries inextricably to Athens, and this link is reflected in the built landscape of the second century AD. There is no definitive Hadrianic building programme at Eleusis; the building projects occur gradually throughout the second century under Hadrian and his successors. As such, the landscape of Eleusis allows us to chart the enduring appeal of the Eleusinian cult through this century, and to examine the connections between Eleusis and the Panhellenion. While the building programme at Athens seems to have been tied up in the foundation and early years of the Panhellenion, Eleusis offers us a glimpse at the established league.

The building works carried out at Eleusis in the second century were extensive.³²² It has been noted that a distinctive feature of the new buildings was the copying or adaptation of Athenian monuments.³²³ The Propylaia are copies of the Mnesiclean propylaia on the Athenian acropolis, while the fountain house next to the eastern arch borrows features from the Library of Hadrian. The effect is summarised most effectively by Clinton:

"We therefore could conclude that the facade of the sanctuary has not been Romanized so much as Athenianized. Major monuments of central Athens reappear at Eleusis and dominate the forecourt of the sanctuary. The effect is to unite Eleusis visually, through architecture, with the centre of the city. The visitor cannot help but be reminded of the Acropolis and Hadrianic Athens."³²⁴

³²⁰ Spawforth (2012) 249.

³²¹ Arist. *Or.* 13.35. Hellenistic evidence for the Athenian focus of the Eleusinian myth comes from a decree of the Amphictyons at Delphi (*IG II²* 1134), while Cicero later described the Mysteries as the greatest gift Athens has given to mankind (*Leg.* 2.36).

³²² For complete lists of building works see Spawforth and Walker (1985) 102-3, Camp (2001) 208-13.

³²³ Spawforth & Walker (1985) 103, Clinton (1997) 176, Camp (2001) 208.

³²⁴ Clinton (1997) 176.

The drawing of connections between Eleusis and Athens must have been the intention of such direct architectural emulation. That Eleusis was undoubtedly Athenian by the Roman period is not in question, but the measures taken in the second century to adorn the sanctuary and its surroundings in a distinctly Athenian mode represent a particular need to strengthen these ties and emphasise the ancient connection between the two. This need was spurred by the foundation of the Panhellenion and the vital role of Eleusis and the Mysteries in Athens' position at its centre. In AD 125 the Sacred Way was enhanced by Hadrian with the construction of a bridge over the Cephissus.³²⁵ This road had led initiates from Athens to Eleusis since early times, and one might imagine that with the establishment of the Panhellenion the Sacred Way became an even more important thoroughfare. The sanctuary at Eleusis was located in the Thriasian plain, "some of the finest cornland of Attica".³²⁶ Departing from Athens, Panhellenes would traverse the Attic countryside before arriving in Eleusis, where the landscape carried visual echoes of Athens itself.

For our purposes the most significant additions to the sanctuary in the second century are the two monumental arches. These stood opposite each other at the points of entry to the forecourt from the northwest and southeast roads, each inscribed 'τοῖν θεῶν καὶ τῷ αὐτοκ[ρ]άτορι οἱ Πανέ[λλη]νες'; 'The Panhellenes to the goddesses and to the emperor'.³²⁷ These arches, it has often been observed, are replicas of the Arch of Hadrian in Athens and, as such, adhere to the contemporary theme of 'Athenianizing' in Eleusis.³²⁸ There is a lack of consensus regarding the particular emperor referred to in the inscription, interpretations varying between Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.³²⁹ I am inclined to follow

³²⁵ Camp (2001) 208.

³²⁶ Parker (1996) 25.

³²⁷ *IG II²* 2958.

³²⁸ Spawforth & Walker (1985) 102, Jones (1996) 36, Clinton (1997) 174, Camp (2001) 210, Galimberti (2010) 72.

³²⁹ *Hadrian*: Clinton (1989) 56-68, (1997) 176, followed by Galimberti (2010) 72-3; *Antoninus Pius*: Camp (2001) 211, on the basis of statues bases in the close vicinity interpreted by Camp as honouring the family of

Clinton's argument that the arches were begun during the reign of Hadrian, and therefore that the ἀὐτοκράτωρ of the architrave inscription is Hadrian.³³⁰ As the arches are copies of the Athenian Arch of Hadrian, it is reasonable to expect that Hadrian – along with Demeter and Kore – was the intended honorand of the Eleusinian arches. This argument finds further support in the evidence for Hadrian's personal interest in the Mysteries and association with the Two Goddesses, such as the silver coins which depict Hadrian as Ploutos holding a sheaf of corn, and the Eleusinian statue base on which a priestess of Demeter praised the wealth (πλοῦτος) that Hadrian had given all cities, especially that of the Athenians, the famous descendants of Cecrops (κλεινῆς δ' ἔξοχα Κεκροπίης).³³¹

The dedication of these arches is an act of the established League of the Panhellenion; an effort to assert the presence of the league in Eleusis, and monumentalise the league's devotion to the Two Goddesses and their Mysteries, as well as to the emperor. If the anonymous ἀὐτοκράτωρ causes difficulty in ascertaining the specific individual, it may be that the title was intentionally vague so the inscription would stand as an eternal symbol of the league's veneration of the emperor – not only Hadrian, but all future emperors.³³² The inscriptions relating to Thyatira and Cyrene demonstrate that the 'admissions process' was well underway within a few years of the league's establishment in 131/2. Given the relatively short-lived existence of the Panhellenion, the early decades from its establishment into the reign of Marcus Aurelius in the 170s should be regarded as the heyday of the league. Considering the importance of the Sacred Way in the journey from Athens to Eleusis, it is perhaps surprising that the arches of the Panhellenes did not stand on this axis, but at the

Antoninus; *Marcus Aurelius*: Mylonas (1961) 166, Spawforth & Walker (1985) 102 (based on the significant amount of building activity undertaken by Marcus at Eleusis).

³³⁰ Clinton (1989) 61-2. Addressing suggestions that the arches were dedicated to Marcus Aurelius, Clinton raises an interesting point: "why would anyone attempt to honour Marcus Aurelius with a copy of an arch that was made for Hadrian?"

³³¹ Coins: Kienast (1959/60) 61-9, pl. II.1, statue base: *IG II²* 3375; for full discussion see Clinton (1989) 57-8.

³³² Clinton (1997) 176.

entrances from the northwest and southeast roads. As Athens was the centre of the Panhellenion it seems logical to expect that the main route of arrival for the Panhellenes would be the Sacred Way. However, Eleusis was first and foremost an Athenian possession, and the Panhellenion's attachment to Eleusis was a component of the central importance of Athens in the league. Neither Eleusis nor the Mysteries belonged to the Panhellenion but to Athens, therefore it would not have been fitting to mark the chief route to the sanctuary with arches naming the Panhellenion.

Moving beyond the built landscape, further evidence for the Panhellenion's connection with Eleusis comes from the recently-discovered bust-crown of a third-century Panhellene (Fig.4, p.107). Comparing the crown of the Panhellene with the myrtle wreath worn by an Eleusinian hierophant, Riccardi has found that the leaves are depicted in a very similar manner, indicating that a myrtle wreath may have been part of the crown of the Panhellenes.³³³ If so, this would suggest that the Panhellenes held a significant role at Eleusis that went beyond the one-off dedication of the arches. The embedding of Eleusinian iconography within the crown of the office might indicate that the Panhellenes were involved in the administration of the sanctuary and the Mysteries. In support of this theory, one might note that the league's appropriation of the *aparchai* (see below) indicates a certain level of influence over the administration of the sanctuary.

Second-century dedications from Eleusis tell us that member cities were required to contribute the first fruits of grain to the Eleusinian goddesses.³³⁴ This could be either a continuation or a direct emulation of the fifth-century practice of *aparche*, documented by a

³³³ Riccardi (2007) 387.

³³⁴ *IG II² 2957*: dated to 177-89 by Oliver (1970) no.15 and Follet (1976) 128; *IG II² 2956* (Oliver (1970) no.16) is undated.

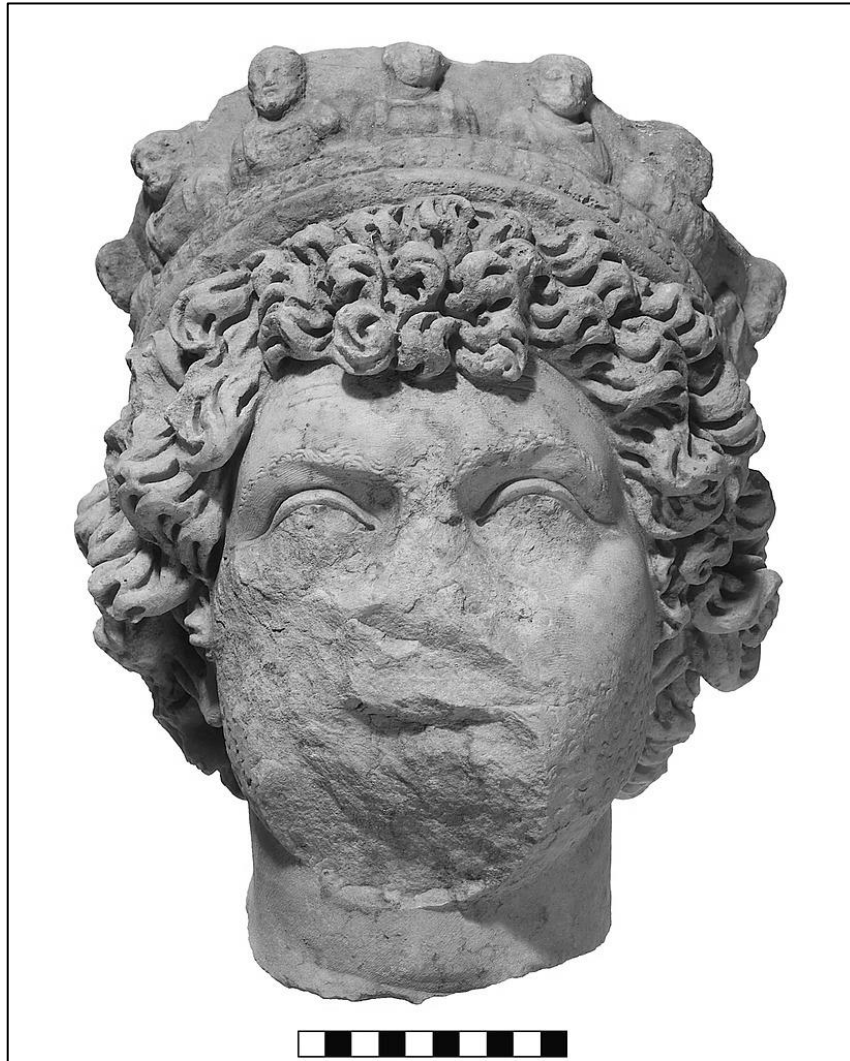


Fig.4. Roman Portrait Head of a Panhellene, early third century AD

decree of the 430's BC.³³⁵ The decree instructs that in addition to the contribution of the Athenians, first fruits are to be collected from the allies and delivered to Eleusis, where an official record should be kept. All other Greek cities are also invited to make similar offerings.³³⁶ The latter is not compulsory, but references to ancestral custom and the Delphic oracle underscore the importance of participation.³³⁷ While the 'tradition' of this offering is insisted upon throughout the decree, Athens' ability to make such requirements of the Greek

³³⁵ *IG I³ 78* = Meiggs & Lewis (1969) No.73. Dating: Cavanaugh (1996) 29-95, Papazarkadas (2009) 69. Emulation: Spawforth & Walker (1985) 100; Spawforth (2012) 250.

³³⁶ *Athenian contribution*: ll.4-10; *allies*: ll.14-21, 26-30; *Greek cities*: ll.30-6.

³³⁷ Papazarkadas, (2009) 69, notes the politeness of the request, highlighting 'ἐὰν βόλονται' – 'if they wish' (l.33).

cities with the support of the Delphic oracle is clearly a product of her position of power at this time.³³⁸ The Delian League had been established under the hegemony of Athens following the victory over Persia in 479, and by the 430's the league had been thoroughly transformed into an Athenian empire, with the treasury moved from Delos to the Athenian acropolis (in 454 BC), and allies paying tribute to Athens. In the mid-430's BC the Athenian empire was at its height, having survived several revolts, with the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War yet to come. In this context Athens was able to demand the first fruits contribution from her allies and request the same from the rest of the Greek world.³³⁹ Returning to the second century AD, Aristides explains that the first fruits were “the memorial and proof of that divine mission and benefaction to all men”, i.e. the Athenians’ transmission of agriculture to the rest of the world through the mission of Triptolemus.³⁴⁰ The one roughly dateable dedication (AD 177-189) was made in the archonship of Flavius Amphicles, known to have been a student of Herodes Atticus.³⁴¹

- 1 οἱ ἐπὶ Φλαοί-
ου Ἀμφικλέ-
ους ἄρχοντος
Πανέλληνες
5 ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Δη-
μητρίου καρ-
ποῦ ἀπαρχῆς.

It would be wise at this juncture to question whether the *aparche* was actually re-introduced in the second century, or whether it had in fact continued since Classical times. Both surviving inscriptions regarding the second-century *aparche* record dedications by the Panhellenes “from the first fruits of Demeter’s harvest”: certainly the Panhellenes appear to have become involved in the administration of the *aparche* in the second century, but this

³³⁸ Parker, (1996) 143-4, suggests that the first-fruits offering may initially have been tradition only for Athens and the Attic demes.

³³⁹ Isocrates (*Paneg.* 31) claimed that the *aparchai* were indeed offered by most cities and that the oracle enforced participation.

³⁴⁰ *Or.* 13. 35.

³⁴¹ *IG II²* 2957, see above n.44. Flavius of Chalcis: Phil. VS. II.8.1-2; the connection was made by Graindor (1934) 104 n.3.

alone does not indicate that the Panhellenion re-introduced the practice. There is also the matter of Aristides' description of the *aparche* as an ancient, and not a current, custom: "the yearly offerings of the first fruits of the seed, which came here in former times (ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων χρόνων) from the Greeks".³⁴² As the only dateable inscription documenting the *aparchai* of the Panhellenes can be dated to 177-89, it may be that the *aparche* was introduced as a requirement later in the century, after Aristides' *Panathenaicus* of 167. Can Aristides' description alone prove that the *aparche* had ceased some time before the second century? In support we might consider three factors: 1) there is no epigraphic evidence for the *aparche* between the late-fourth century BC and the two second-century inscriptions we have discussed; 2) we might expect Aristides, in a speech addressed to the Athenians, to strive for accuracy where Athenian traditional practices are concerned; 3) the continuance of the *aparche* in his day would surely interest Aristides as a tangible connection between Classical and Roman Athens. On the other hand, there is no decisive evidence for the re-introduction of the *aparche* in the second century, or for its eradication at an earlier stage. Alternatively, we could approach Aristides' problematic description from a different angle altogether. To examine the quote more closely, maybe we should focus on 'from the Greeks' rather than 'in former times'; it is possible that the practice of *aparche* had continued, but without the participation of other Greek cities – or maybe even that it always existed but had remained uncollected for centuries. The Classical *aparche* had certainly diminished much earlier: a financial account detailing the *aparche* of 329/8 BC indicates that contributions at that time came only from Athens and her cleruchies; this is in contrast to the "very many" Greek cities who participated around 380 BC when Isocrates described the *aparche* in his *Panegyricus*.³⁴³ It is plausible that it was only when the Panhellenion became involved in the administration of the *aparche* in the later second century (after the *Panathenaicus*) that the institution

³⁴² *Or.* 13. 35.

³⁴³ Account inscription: *IG II²* 1672 ll.263-300; Clinton (2005) 2. Isoc. *Panegyricus* 31.

regained its former glory and reach. While the Panhellenion inscriptions do not explicitly mention the *aparchai* coming from the Greek cities, the involvement of the Panhellenes themselves implies ‘panhellenic’ contributions.

If we consider that the *aparche* had perhaps continued in a low-key form since the fifth century BC, to be renewed as a Panhellenic activity by the Panhellenion in the second century, one question remains: what was the purpose of the second-century *aparche*? In the later fifth century BC, the first fruits delivered to Eleusis were used for sacrifices and votive offerings with the surplus then sold to fund dedications; the second-century inscriptions indicate that the procedure retained its Classical form.³⁴⁴ The fifth-century decree is remarkable for the way in which it demonstrates how Athens could “press her claims on the rest of the Greek world”.³⁴⁵ No second-century decree exists to detail the operation of the *aparche* at this time, but it seems to have been administered by the council of the Panhellenion, which was based in Athens and formed of the archon and the annually-elected Panhellenes. Whether a continuation or a re-introduction, it is clear that the second-century *aparche* was drawn from the fifth-century practice which, as we have seen, was a product of the Athenian Empire at the peak of its powers. At some point in the second century, the Panhellenion took control of the process. What was the appeal of the *aparche* to the Panhellenes? Economic significance has been attached to the practice based on the notion that contributions of first fruits of grain would have created a readily available reserve at Eleusis for Athenian use.³⁴⁶ Grain was a constant concern for the Athenians, although by the 170s Hadrian’s annual gift of grain to the city will have alleviated pressure on Athenian supplies.³⁴⁷ It is unlikely that there was any direct economic motivation for the Panhellenion

³⁴⁴ *IG I³* 78 ll.36-44; Clinton (2005) vol.2, 3-7; Spawforth & Walker (1985) 100; Spawforth (2012) 250.

³⁴⁵ Parker (1996) 143.

³⁴⁶ Spawforth & Walker (1985) 100, based on Jameson (1983) 10-11.

³⁴⁷ Dio. Cass. 69.16.2. Spawforth & Walker, (1985) 100-1, rightly observe that the late dates of the Panhellenion inscriptions rule out any direct connection between the *aparchai* and Hadrian’s grain dole.

in taking over the *aparche*; we should understand it as a symbolic rather than a practical measure. The *aparche* of the second century was a means of connecting the Panhellenion and its functions with the venerated sanctuary of Eleusis, and a way to honour Athens' role in the transmission of the Mysteries via a well-known fifth-century practice denuded of its imperialistic overtones. Participation in the *aparche* represented a Classical form of Greek unity and collective action, and was therefore a suitable expression of the Panhellenic nature of the league.

Such is the importance of Eleusis in the ideology and activity of the Panhellenion, it has been suggested that we ought to look to Eleusis for the temple that Dio calls the 'Panhellenion'.³⁴⁸ As we have already discussed, conclusive identification of the Panhellenion temple is currently impossible. Pausanias tells us that Hadrian built the Temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenius in Athens – if this is the same as Dio's 'Panhellenion' we should expect it to be in the city. While Eleusis was fully subsumed into Athens by this period, in the context of Pausanias' account we would expect Eleusinian monuments to be discussed in his chapters on Eleusis, not inserted without signposting or obvious digression into the summary of Hadrian's buildings in Athens. However, if there was indeed a separate temple, perhaps Eleusis ought to remain high on the list of possible locations.

Part III: “Foster-parent of the Greeks”: Athens and her Milesian population

We can profitably turn here to Athens' link to Miletus in the second century for a case study of how the ideal of *Graecia vera* played out in practical terms during this period.

The contradictory nature of the league's membership requirements – i.e. the notion of inclusivity thinly concealing an exclusive, limited, membership, mirrors to some extent the nature of Athenian society. While Athens claimed to offer friendship and sanctuary to all,

³⁴⁸ Jones (1996) 36.

access to Classical Athenian society was notoriously exclusive. Foreigners were allowed to live and work in Athens as metics; they paid a tax (the *μετοίκιον*), but did not have any civic rights unless they were granted the status of *isoteles* or *proxenos*. Metics were forbidden by Athenian law to own land or houses in Attica, unless they were honoured with a grant of *enktesis*. As has recently been demonstrated by Niku, this state of affairs continued through the Hellenistic period.³⁴⁹ The rhetoric of autochthony perpetuated Athenian superiority, and necessarily excluded non-citizens. As we have already seen, Athens' role as benefactress is one facet of her identity as the home of a superior race whose responsibility it is to protect and teach the rest of the Greeks, who, while characterised as friends and neighbours, are essentially inferior groups who must follow Athenian guidance. As we have seen, Aristides' *Panathenaicus* and documents pertaining to the Panhellenion confirm that this ideology was still dominant in the second century AD. However, there is evidence to suggest that Athens was more accessible to foreigners by the Roman period – evidence which further highlights the contradictory nature of both Athenian society and the Panhellenion.

Changes begin to appear in the Hellenistic period. The metic status appears to have declined and then disappeared altogether during the third century BC, while intermarriage between Athenian citizens and foreigners was first legalised early in the second century BC.³⁵⁰ The most interesting group of foreigners resident in Athens from this time is the Milesians, who feature more prominently in cases of intermarriage than any other group of foreigners in Athens.³⁵¹ In the second century BC, Milesians constituted 7.4% of the foreigners attested on gravestones in Attica, rising sharply to 25% in the period from 100 BC to AD 200.³⁵² The Milesian population also have a particularly strong presence in ephebic lists; on the list of AD

³⁴⁹ Niku (2007) 64.

³⁵⁰ Whitehead (1977) 166-7, Niku (2007) 50-1.

³⁵¹ E.g. *IG II²* 6311, the gravestone of Sophia, daughter of Agapetos of the deme Keiriadai and Eucarpus, son of Euporus, a Milesian; cf. Gray (2011) 58, Niku (2007) 66-70.

³⁵² Vestergaard (2000) 82, 90.

111/12, 79 youths are listed under the heading ‘Milesioi’ alongside only 24 Athenians.³⁵³

Graindor put forward the theory that the term ‘Milesioi’ was used for all non-Athenians, but Vestergaard has shown that this theory cannot be upheld; epitaphs make it clear that other foreigners still used their own ethnics, and with the exception of this particular ephebic list the term is not used in any other potentially ambiguous context.³⁵⁴ The level at which Milesians appear to have been integrated into Athenian society is striking, but the exact nature of their status in the city, and why so many settled there, is still unclear. One possibility that has not been considered to date is that the increase in residents identified as ‘Milesioi’ does not in fact reflect an increase in immigrants from Miletus, but rather an increase in the population resident in Athens from earlier times. With the legalising of intermarriage between Athenians and foreigners in the second century, it would have been possible for Milesians to gain Athenian citizenship for their children and descendants. It is possible that certain of the ‘Milesians’ we find in second-century Attica were in fact Athenian citizens of Milesian origins who chose to retain their community identity. There is precedent for foreign groups granted Athenian citizenship retaining their identity as an ethnic group, for example the Plataeans and Samians, as follows.

According to Thucydides, when the Thebans were attacking Plataea in 431 BC the Athenians came to the aid of the Plataeans, bringing provisions and taking the women and children back to Athens; later, the Plataeans tell the Spartans that they were granted Athenian citizenship.³⁵⁵ Apollodorus describes the terms and conditions attached to this grant: the Plataeans were awarded citizenship in acknowledgment of their good will and service to Athens (presumably referring to the Persian Wars), but each man was required to be examined in court in order to ascertain that they really were Plataeans and friends of Athens – once their status was

³⁵³ *IG II²* 2024; cf. Vestergaard (2000) 91.

³⁵⁴ Graindor (1931) 88; Day (1942) 217; Baslez (1989) 24; Vestergaard (2000) 91.

³⁵⁵ Thuc. 2.6, 3.55.

confirmed, the citizenship granted to these men was documented in a marble inscription set up on the Acropolis, and the right was extended to their descendants.³⁵⁶ According to Lysias the Plataeans who remained in Athens met once a month at the cheese market.³⁵⁷ Osborne has argued that these Plataeans accepted Athenian citizenship because they had no alternative at the time, and that they therefore retained their identity as a separate ethnic group in the city; similarly, Steinbock discusses the presence of the Plataeans in Athens and their preservation of their Plataean identity as a means to “perpetuate the memory of Plataean patriotism and Theban medism”.³⁵⁸ An inscription dating to 403/2 BC, meanwhile, records a grant of citizenship made in 405 to all the Samians.³⁵⁹ Again, the grant is made in gratitude for Samian loyalty and commendable behaviour towards Athens.³⁶⁰ Athenian citizenship was here extended to all the Samians whether they relocated to Athens or not, but we have evidence that some did.³⁶¹ A gravestone of the late fourth or early fifth century names Heragoras Herodotou who retained his Samian ethnic while his sons took the demotic Kephisieus.³⁶² Shipley notes that “even if Heragoras was habitually called a Samian, this does not necessarily imply that he had not become an Athenian”.³⁶³ This suggestion is worth considering for our Milesians also. It is possible that in addressing the large numbers of apparent Milesians we are actually looking at Athenian citizens of Milesian origin, who retain the name ‘Milesian’ as a community identifier. This explanation would account for the

³⁵⁶ Apollodorus [= Dem.] 59. 104-7; Canevaro (2010) has convincingly demonstrated that the text of the “Decree regarding the Plataeans” included in the speech is actually a post-Classical forgery; however, the surrounding paragraphs, in which Apollodorus summarises the decree, are genuine and explain thoroughly the terms of the grant as would be expected from contemporary grants of citizenship.

³⁵⁷ Lys. 23.6.

³⁵⁸ Osborne (1982) 15; Steinbock (2013) 123.

³⁵⁹ *IG II² 1 = GHI* no.94 pp.283-7 = Fornara (1983) no.166. The grant of citizenship is just one feature of this document, which also grants the Samians autonomy and lays out provisions for the relationship between Athens and Samos in the future.

³⁶⁰ *LI*.9-11.

³⁶¹ Shipley (1987) 130-1 with n.12; Cargill (1983) 322 demonstrates that citizenship was offered to all citizens, and not, as had been thought, only to those who came to live in Attica (as suggested by Gomme *HCT* 1. 240 n.2).

³⁶² *IG I² 6417*.

³⁶³ Shipley (1987) 131.

strikingly high numbers, as well as the funerary sculpture that appears to depict certain ‘Milesians’ as landowners (a right traditionally reserved for Athenian citizens) – more will be said regarding these gravestones in chapter four (pp.234-44). In terms of inter-city relationships, it is still interesting to consider why Milesians appear to have settled so successfully in Athens.

Strabo characterises Miletus as one of “the best and most famous cities” of Ionia.³⁶⁴ The city’s fame and prominence was likely boosted during the Roman period by its claim on the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, and its oracle, which had been placed under Milesian control during the 330’s BC, echoing Athens’ control of Eleusis.³⁶⁵ Miletus was a fairly typical provincial city in the imperial period, benefitting from the contributions of emperors: by the second century it was adorned with the benefactions of Trajan and Faustina – the Baths of Faustina and the Nymphaeum were constructed in the city, and the sacred way to Didyma was improved.³⁶⁶ Hadrian visited Miletus in 129 AD and was honoured as ‘Olympian, saviour, founder’ at Didyma (as in Athens, see p. 68), and later in 135 he accepted the honorary office as prophet of the temple, as had Trajan before him.³⁶⁷ One prominent citizen of Miletus at this time was the sophist Dionysius of Miletus, also known as T. Claudius Flavianus, to whom Hadrian granted the rank of knight, procuratorships and membership of the Mouseion of Alexandria.³⁶⁸ Miletus and Athens shared a number of similarities: Miletus’ control of the oracle at Didyma echoes Athens’ control of Eleusis, both cities had positive relationships with the second-century emperors, and both were home to famous sophists. We can imagine how a citizen of one city might be able to adapt to life in the other but, to some

³⁶⁴ Strabo 14.1.4, 6.

³⁶⁵ Johnston (2008) 84.

³⁶⁶ Gorman (2001) 242.

³⁶⁷ Birley (1997) 222, Boatwright (2000) 70-1; honours: Rehm (1958) nos. 254, 356; Trajan: *IDidyma* 318, 407.

³⁶⁸ Phil. VS 1.22; Birley (1997) 216-17.

extent, the same could be said of any two prominent cities of the Greek East under the Roman Empire.

However, as the ‘mother-city’ of Ionia and the foremost Ionian city respectively, Athens and Miletus had shared a very specific connection since at least the early sixth century BC, and Herodotus testifies to the close ties between the two cities on numerous occasions.³⁶⁹ A fragment of Solonian poetry, transmitted through Aristotle, refers to Athens as “Ionia’s oldest land”.³⁷⁰ While in the fifth century the Athenians distanced themselves from Ionian origins in favour of promoting themselves as an autochthonous race, the motif of Ionian kinship was still necessary to ensure the support of their tribute-paying allies; thus the tradition of the Ionians as Athenian colonists was developed.³⁷¹ Vestergaard has successfully demonstrated the continuation of close ties between Athens and Miletus during the late Hellenistic/ early Roman period.³⁷² Evidence includes the sending of Athenian ambassadors to encourage a treaty between the Milesians and Magnesians, the honouring of both religious embassies and individual Milesians in Athenian decrees, and the granting of Athenian citizenship to Milesian *theoroi*.³⁷³ A decree of the late second or early first century BC from Miletos appoints the Athenian *Menedemos* as *proxenos* in Miletus for his ‘good deed’; Vestergaard notes the temptation to speculate that this man was honoured for his services to the increasing Milesian community in Athens.³⁷⁴ While we do not have much in the way of evidence for the cities’ relationship throughout the Roman period, we know that Miletus was a member of the

³⁶⁹ Founding of Miletus: Hdt. 9.97 (also Hellanikos *FGrH* 4.125, Paus. 7.2.1-2); Athenian grief over the fall of Miletus: Hdt. 6.21.1-2.

³⁷⁰ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 5 (Solon fr.28).

³⁷¹ Hall (1997) 55; Ionian cities as *apoikiai*: Hdt. 7.95, 9.106; Thuc. 1.2.6, 1.12.4.

³⁷² Vestergaard (2000) 99.

³⁷³ Athenian ambassadors: McCabe and Plunkett (1984) no. 60, Habicht (1997) 229; Milesian representatives at the Eleusinian mysteries: *IG II²* 992, Habicht (1997) 229-30; Milesian *theoroi* granted citizenship: *SEG* 42.1072. All the above are cited in Vestergaard (2000) 99-100 n.59-62.

³⁷⁴ Vestergaard (2000) 100.

Panhellenion; and while we do not have documentation of Miletus' claim, it is likely that it rested on ancestral ties with the Athenians through the early colonisation of Ionia.³⁷⁵

Early connections between Athens and Miletus were also recalled by Plutarch and Pausanias. Plutarch includes among his list of positive rhetorical historical exempla the Athenians' fining of Phrynichus for staging a play about the fall of Miletus: the Athenians mourned for Miletus and fined the playwright for renewing their grief, thus demonstrating their care and compassion for friends and allies.³⁷⁶ Pausanias records the legend of Miletus' foundation by an Athenian, Neleus, whose grave can be seen near one of the city gates.³⁷⁷ In an interesting parallel, in the Attic countryside at Potamoi Pausanias sees the grave of Ion and reports that the Athenians tell of Ion living among them and commanding them in the war with Eleusis.³⁷⁸ The grave of Ion at Potamoi explicitly locates the founder of the Ionian race in the Attic countryside. Given the contemporary obsession with ancestry (pp.76-80, 169-78), we might reasonably expect that memory of these early connections remained strong in the second century AD, forming the basis of kinship and cohabitation between Athenians and Milesians.

Conclusion

The organization of the Panhellenion proves that even under Rome debates regarding Greek identity were vital and important. The Greeks were constantly redefining what it meant to be Greek and where to draw the lines that separated them from others. Did Greek identity require blood ties with the cities of the Greek mainland, '*Graecia vera*'? Or could the educated elite of any city become Greek through *paideia*? In the case of Naryka, it seems that association with heroes named in the works of the great poets was proof enough of Greek identity.

³⁷⁵ Spawforth & Walker (1985) 80.

³⁷⁶ Plut. *Praec. ger. rep.* 814b.

³⁷⁷ Paus. 7.2.1-7.

³⁷⁸ Paus 1.31.2; Ion's death at Potamoi is mentioned again at 7.1.2.

That the Panhellenion required members to prove Greekness by blood is at odds with the ideology of *paideia* that played such an integral role in the life of the Greek cities at this time. The fairly dubious claims to Greekness made by certain member cities highlight the hypocrisy of this particular membership requirement. The strict requirements of the Panhellenion also seem incongruous with the league's interest in the Eleusinian Mysteries, which had for long time been open to foreigners.³⁷⁹ The notion of inclusivity promoted by the name 'Panhellenion' masked a culturally elitist league centred on the supremacy of Athens.

So why did the Panhellenion attempt to foster exclusivity? Spawforth & Walker initially suggested that Rome was reluctant "to permit the permanent union of a large part of the Greek world within an organization administered by the Greeks themselves" – an interesting notion, but one that implies a fear of the Greeks that is incongruous with the emperor's personal agency in the creation and administration of the league.³⁸⁰ Published before the re-editing of the Thyatiran decree, this argument can now be largely nullified. The answer (or part of it) may lie in the enduring influence of *Graecia vera*. Romeo approaches this through the influential role of the sophist Polemo of Laodicea within Hadrian's circle. In contrast to many of his contemporaries (but reminiscent of Isocrates and Plato, see p. 83), Polemo defined authentic Greeks as a pure and moderate race, as opposed to foreigners who are drawn to Greece by the lure of culture and a comfortable life.³⁸¹ Polemo had the ear of Hadrian during the years preceding the foundation of the Panhellenion and, moreover, it was Polemo who performed the inauguration speech at the dedication of the Olympieion in 131/2 – most likely the moment of the league's foundation.³⁸² Polemo may have played a role in the early development of the Panhellenion, his ideas about Greekness feeding into Hadrian's

³⁷⁹ Parker, (1996) 98, discusses the accessibility of the Eleusinian Mysteries and the significance of the myth of Heracles in ascertaining early attitudes to the initiation of foreigners.

³⁸⁰ Spawforth & Walker (1985) 81.

³⁸¹ Polemo, *Physiognomica* 35.11-21, cited by Romeo (2002) 34.

³⁸² Romeo (2002) 34-5.

own. The Cyrene inscription (p.76) proves that Hadrian took an active role in determining the membership requirements of the league, and while Hadrian's philhellenic attitude was wide-reaching his attentions fell largely on Athens and the mainland.

In this chapter, we have focused largely on Hadrian as the primary agent responsible for the Panhellenion, as well as the design and enforcement of its strict rules. We would be wrong, however, to assume that the concept of the Panhellenion belonged to Hadrian alone. In chapter three (pp.169-78), we will see how the old families of the Athenian elite sought to use proclamations of famous ancestry to set themselves apart among an elite that was, out of necessity, expanding to include the wealthier portion of the non-elite class (pp.139-41). How else could the elite display an elite identity if traditional exclusive identifiers such as offices or membership of groups should become more inclusive? The evidence suggests that the Athenian elite (for a definition of 'elite' see pp.122-3 below) turned to genealogy and association with legendary ancestors. In an era where almost anyone with the right education could 'become Greek', perhaps it is only natural that those who were Greek by blood would feel compelled to further limit the requirements of Greekness in order to distinguish themselves from those who had simply 'acquired' Greekness. For cities beyond the mainland, this sparked a quest for colonial ties or else, in the case of the wealthiest and most successful cultural centres of the Greek East (Pergamum, Smyrna, Ephesus), the rejection of an institution that promoted such a limited definition of Greek identity.

What of the Panhellenion after Hadrian? The evidence suggests that the league's success was very much connected to Hadrian's influence and that after his death began the gradual decline of the organisation. A later inscription pertaining to the Panhellenia festival laid out imperial policy regarding athletes who had won other contests but did not enter the Panhellenia: they were to be stripped of their rewards won elsewhere, and forbidden to enter any future sacred

contest. The emperor is not named but the first-person plural used in the letter may suggest co-rulers – most likely Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, or, later, Commodus.³⁸³ This letter precedes one from Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the Panhellenes in which this policy is renewed.³⁸⁴ These documents suggest that the popularity and importance of the Panhellenion had declined since the death of Hadrian. It would seem that the emperors were keen to maintain the institution, but that – in actuality – member-cities were losing interest.

Ultimately, the Panhellenion's exclusivity and Atheno-centrism may have been its downfall. While the history and cultural output of Athens were admired and emulated throughout the Greco-Roman world, the idea of Athens holding a privileged role at the centre of a league of Greek cities may have been uncomfortably reminiscent of older versions of the Classical Athenian Empire (e.g. that of Thucydides). It was, I would argue, what Plutarch might have considered an improper use of historical exempla (p.127), bringing too much glory and pride to one city rather than cultivating *homonoia* across the Greek world. As we shall see in chapter three, inter-city rivalries and debates over identity and cultural primacy were an inimitable aspect of Greekness – an aspect that was not quelled or nullified by the overall rule of the Roman Empire (pp.121-2). Asking Greek cities to pay homage to Athens was not a sustainable arrangement. As Romeo has noted, “it was often the smallest and less relevant communities who appealed to claims of pure Greek descent in order to be admitted to that potentially prestigious organization.”³⁸⁵ For some smaller cities the Panhellenion presented an opportunity to join a meaningful institution that validated their Greekness. Nevertheless, the Panhellenion's focus on Athens as the cultural home of the Greeks ignored a reality in which the driving force of the Second Sophistic movement came from the major cities of Asia Minor.

³⁸³ Oliver (1989) no.188 = *IG* II² 1106. 1.9: καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ταῦτα τῇ συνόδ[ῳ δηλώσομε]ν...

³⁸⁴ Oliver (1989) no.245.

³⁸⁵ Romeo (2002) 36.

The Price of Renewal? The Athenian Elite and the Problem of Euergetism

Introduction

In AD 100 Dio of Prusa led a delegation to Trajan in the hope of winning imperial benefactions for his home city.³⁸⁶ While he appears to have won some favours, his enemies later claimed he had failed and that another man would have returned with more. Dio addressed the outcome of his embassy to Trajan in two speeches, one shortly after his return (*Or.* 40), the other some years later (*Or.* 45); the fact that he felt the need to revisit the topic suggests that his opponents had to some extent succeeded in smearing his reputation.³⁸⁷ Before embarking on his embassy, Dio had further exercised his euergetic responsibilities by initiating a building project in Prusa – sometimes described as a portico, but possibly along the lines of a colonnaded street. Over the course of the frequently-delayed construction project, Dio was accused of destroying historic landmarks, attempting to back out of financial responsibility, and desecrating the emperor's image by locating it in the same building as his family burials.³⁸⁸ Dio, one of the second century's greatest proponents of *homonoia*, found himself embroiled in vicious feuds with the Prusan elite which contributed to a long period of civic discord. In Athens, the Ilissos district became the setting of a similarly controversial building project – Herodes Atticus' Stadium, which he built using money owed to the Athenians (pp.158-9), and which contributed to a comparable period of discord in the city.

³⁸⁶ Dio, *Or.* 40.13-15.

³⁸⁷ Bekker-Nielsen (2008) 125.

³⁸⁸ Pliny, *Epist.* 10.81.2. Pliny was the governor of Bithynia at the time of Dio's trial, and reported on it in a letter to Trajan.

On the surface *homonoia* and euergetism may appear to be complementary entities: ideally, *homonoia* within and between cities can be brought about by the good deeds of the elite, whether through direct benefactions of games or festivals bringing the people together, or through their endeavours in brokering beneficial friendships with other cities. In chapter two we saw that the defining quality that justified Athens' hegemony over the Greeks in both the past and present was the city's role as *euergetes* (pp.83-87). In Aristides' *Panathenaic Oration*, Athens' greatest act of euergetism is spreading the gift of *homonoia* among the Greeks (pp. 86-87). But the role of *euergetes* also presupposes the superiority of that individual (or city) over those who receive their benefactions; the relationship is necessarily unequal – *euergetai* are able to perform benefactions because they have the means, be it wealth or power (and usually both), to do so. In reality, then, euergetism promoted a competitive attitude among the elite which could result in vicious quarrels; it also enabled exceptionally wealthy individuals to elevate themselves even beyond the status of the city elite, into something resembling – and sometimes described as – tyranny. Thus Dio found himself embroiled in endless controversy over his embassy and building project for Prusa, and Herodes Atticus' overbearing euergetism in Athens contributed to his summons to Marcus Aurelius on charges of tyranny (p.144-50).

At the outset of this chapter we ought to establish our definition of 'elite'. Aristotle defined the characteristics of elite citizens as πλοῦτος (wealth), εὐγένεια (noble birth), ἀρετή (virtue), and παιδεία (education).³⁸⁹ Broadly speaking, these are the criteria by which we define the Athenian elite of the second century AD. To some extent we can locate members of the elite by exploring the holders of the foremost civic and religious posts: archon eponymous, *Ceryx* of the Areopagus, hoplite general, *hierophant* and *daduch* of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and the Imperial priesthood. We must also consider those individuals who took on the role of

³⁸⁹ Arist. *Pol.* 1291b.25.

agonothetes – a position which required great wealth, and was increasingly important in a city that has been described as “the agonistic centre of the Greek world”.³⁹⁰ It has been demonstrated that during the last two centuries BC the governing class of Athens could be categorised into five overlapping elite sets: the political elite, religious elite, liturgical elite, military elite and the cultural-educational elite.³⁹¹ Geagan, exploring the *Statii* of Cholleidai and their quest for status in the second century AD, found that these categories continue to hold true throughout the imperial period.³⁹² On occasion through this chapter we have cause to differentiate between these elite sets, but overall the overlaps between categories among the second-century elite are too frequent for categorisation to be particularly helpful. As we shall see throughout this chapter, elite status in second-century Athens came to rely increasingly on money – a situation which was challenged by those families of the ‘old elite’ who strived to prioritise *εὐγένεια* as the most exclusive elite characteristic and far superior to *πλοῦτος*.³⁹³ The meaning of ‘elite’ was very much in question in second-century Athens; as such we maintain a deliberately flexible definition of the term throughout this chapter.

Our study of the renewal of Athens has thus far explored two aspects: 1) the reconfiguration of the Ilissos area, which exemplified the importance of ancient space and foundation myths in the second-century renewal of Athens, and 2) the establishment of the Panhellenion, an important catalyst for renewal of both the built landscape of the city and the historic notion of Athens as the benefactress of the Greek people. In this chapter we assess the contribution of the Athenian elite (in particular the ‘super-euergete’ Herodes Atticus) to the renewal of Athens, and evaluate the interests and concerns of the ruling class in the second century.

Through disputes between Herodes Atticus and his enemies we explore how euergetism,

³⁹⁰ Spawforth & Walker (1985) 91; see p.165.

³⁹¹ Fisher (1986) 5-8.

³⁹² Geagan (1991) 146n.3.

³⁹³ The ‘old elite’ were the families whom we know to have been established members of the elite since at least the Augustan era. These include the Claudii of Marathon and the Claudii of Melite.

theoretically a force for good in the ancient city, could actually contribute to damaging rivalries among the elite. Finally, we consider the elite response to increasing competition; namely, a marked interest in promoting famous ancestry and establishing family connections beyond their own city.

Part I: *Homonoia* and euergetism in the second century AD

As briefly outlined above, *homonoia* and euergetism were primarily elite concerns.

Delegations to neighbouring cities or to the emperor and negotiations for beneficial inter-city friendships were the responsibility of the ruling elite of the city, as was the provision of buildings, festivals, entertainments, and other necessities of urban life. In the context of the High Roman Empire this is to be expected; politics, religion, and the whole infrastructure of civic life were dominated by the elite. *Homonoia* and euergetism held a powerful sway over the fortunes of the city and could bring both unity and strife to the people.

Homonoia is often equated with concord, but also holds broader connotations of amity and understanding; in a sense, “*homonoia* was the international equivalent of *philia*, a bond that could bring together otherwise unrelated or unallied groups of people.”³⁹⁴ It is an important theme among second-century orators and writers; indeed, as Swain has noted, during this period “a whole ideological industry was established around this word”.³⁹⁵ As we shall see, orators often urged Greek cities to put aside rivalries and focus on friendship and common ideals in order to avoid the unwanted interference of Roman officials in city life. That is not to say that invocations of *homonoia* always indicate prior dispute; the term is found frequently on coins and inscriptions of the Roman period where it usually refers to general goodwill, or perhaps the negotiation of diplomatic ties or shared privileges – for example, the coins of Smyrna we saw in chapter two, celebrating friendship with Athens and Sparta (p.77).

³⁹⁴ Smith (2011) 124; see also Jones (1978) 83.

³⁹⁵ Swain (1996) 181.

In second-century rhetoric, however, *homonoia* chiefly stands for the avoidance of *stasis* within the city or rivalry between cities. Traditionally, *homonoia* also stood for the preservation of national solidarity against external threats, and provided a basis for solidarity against a shared enemy.³⁹⁶ The most significant of these shared enemies was Persia, and the memory of fifth-century Greek *homonoia* in the face of Persian threat remained powerful into the Roman period, notably in the form of the cult of *Homonoia* of the Hellenes at Plataea, which commemorated the Greek victory. *Homonoia* presented both an opportunity and a challenge for Greek provincials and the Roman administration: a peaceful, united Greek world could be beneficial to Greek cities and the empire, but the pride and ambition of Greek cities was such that petty disputes and rivalries broke out very easily.³⁹⁷ In the second century AD *homonoia* was promoted in two key ways. On an international level the Panhellenion, with its stress on good relations with Rome as well as a shared Greek identity, can be seen as an attempt to harness the power of *homonoia* for the mutual benefit of the Roman emperor and the Greek elite. On the city or regional level we find prominent provincials such as Plutarch, Dio of Prusa and Aristides urging cities to put aside individual vanity in favour of friendship.

Dio of Prusa is responsible for most of our knowledge of city politics in the first and second centuries AD: his Bithynian speeches provide an invaluable insight into the problems and practices of local government under the empire. Dio's home province of Bithynia is his chief focus but comparisons with Plutarch, who wrote more generally about city life across the empire, confirm that Dio's observations are relevant to most provincial cities. Like Plutarch,

³⁹⁶ Sheppard (1984) 229. My discussion of *homonoia* in this chapter is firmly located in the second century AD; for further reading on *homonoia* in the Classical world see Sheppard (1984) 229n.1.

³⁹⁷ Jones, (1978) 85, discusses how the Roman system of administration, whether deliberately or not, encouraged inter-city quarrels: emperors played on cities' vanities, granting or withdrawing honours as marks of favour or displeasure, while the imperial cult in the provinces fuelled rivalries over precedence.

Dio wrote from an elite perspective, but also as a philosopher.³⁹⁸ The context for most of Dio's speeches was the assembly, at which he was often invited to speak even beyond his own city. *Homonoia* is a prominent theme in Dio's work, most notably in his *Nicomedian Oration*, in which Dio addresses the Nicomedians on the subject of their longstanding feud with Nicaea over the right to the title *πρώτη*, 'first'. Disputes over titles and privileges appear to have been a common feature of Greek inter-city relationships in this period, and Dio shames the Nicomedians by telling them that the Romans call such rivalries 'Greek failings'.³⁹⁹ Dio reprimands his audience by using an example from Greek history, reminding them that the Athenians and Spartans went to war over another rivalry and that "in struggling with one another for the primacy they both lost it".⁴⁰⁰ Borrowing from the panhellenic rhetoric of the Classical period, Dio's speeches predicate Greek unity on the basis of united hostility to an outsider.⁴⁰¹ By warring with each other, Athens and Sparta left themselves vulnerable to the tyranny of external powers; while Dio does not frame Rome as a hostile force, the message he conveys to the Nicomedians is that stasis and conflict between cities leaves them susceptible to harsher rule from Rome.⁴⁰² As well as its instructive purpose regarding *homonoia*, Dio's example of Athens and Sparta illustrates the differences between the Greek world 'then' and 'now': "their doings were not mere vain conceit but a struggle for real empire – though nowadays you may fancy somehow that they were making a valiant struggle for the right to lead the procession".⁴⁰³

The concept of a shared past was an important element in encouraging *homonoia* among the Greeks. In the period of the Second Sophistic, 'the Greek past' "functioned as a common framework of communication between the Greeks and their rulers" – it was an ideological

³⁹⁸ Jones (1978) 95.

³⁹⁹ *Or.* 38.38.

⁴⁰⁰ Dio *Or.* 38.25.

⁴⁰¹ Richter (2011) 119.

⁴⁰² Richter (2011) 118-9.

⁴⁰³ Dio *Or.* 38.38.

formation, and as such, governed by the interests of both parties.⁴⁰⁴ The most important work addressing the proper use of historical example is Plutarch's *Precepts of Statecraft*, written at the beginning of the second century for a young man named Menemachus, who has asked Plutarch for advice on public life.⁴⁰⁵ Among the advice Plutarch offers is a set of guidelines on the use of examples from history in public speeches. Famous deeds of the past could be used by orators and statesmen to mould the character of their contemporaries; history, particularly Athenian history, provided numerous positive models.⁴⁰⁶ But certain historical examples, such as the great victories of the Persian Wars, could cause the people to become insolent (φρυάττεσθαι); these examples, says Plutarch, are the preserve of the sophists, and have no place in political life.⁴⁰⁷ Plutarch feared the unrest that could be caused by a crowd stirred by particularly patriotic history – such stories would not necessarily incite rebellion against Rome, but could fuel internal political dissent or inter-city rivalries. Plutarch's attitude to competition and rivalry is further highlighted in *On the Malice of Herodotus*, in which he castigates Herodotus for his depiction of the Greeks feuding over rank and honours after the Battle of Salamis.⁴⁰⁸ Plutarch warns that Herodotus' account is tainted by slander and envy, and that readers must be careful not to “entertain absurd and false opinions of the most excellent and greatest cities and men of Greece.”⁴⁰⁹ Plutarch cannot tolerate the suggestion of competition, as it is detrimental to the ideal of *homonoia*.

It is clear from the *Precepts of Statecraft* that the Persian Wars was a prominent, and rather over-used, theme in first- and second-century Greek rhetoric. This impression is also conveyed by Lucian in the satirical *A Professor of Public Speaking*, in which he advises

⁴⁰⁴ Swain (1996) 67.

⁴⁰⁵ Plut. *Praec. ger. rep.* 798B.

⁴⁰⁶ 814B.

⁴⁰⁷ 814C.

⁴⁰⁸ Plut. *De Herod. Mal.* 40-3, Hdt. 8.122-5

⁴⁰⁹ Plut. *De Herod. Mal.* 43: ... ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ἐν ῥόδοις δεῖ καθαρίδα φυλάττεσθαι τὴν βλασφημίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κακολογίαν, λείοις καὶ ἀπαλοῖς σχήμασιν ὑποδεδυκῖαν, ἵνα μὴ λάθωμεν ἀτόπους καὶ ψευδεῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ μεγίστων, τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων καὶ ἀνδρῶν δόξας λαβόντες.

orators to “cap everything with references to Marathon and Cynegirus, without which you cannot succeed at all.”⁴¹⁰ While the Persian Wars may have been a rather tired theme in the rhetoric of provincial statesmen, commemoration of the Greek victory still had an important role to play in promotion of *homonoia* on a religious level. A joint cult of *Homonoia* of the Greeks and Zeus Eleutherius at Plataea is first attested in an inscription dating 261-46 BC and continued to be celebrated in the Roman period.⁴¹¹ In respect to *homonoia*, Plataea was a particularly ‘charged’ location: the site of the final land battle of the Persian Wars won by an allied Greek force, but also the target of a significant breakdown of *homonoia* in the post-Persian Wars period. In 427 BC, the Spartans and Thebans executed at least 200 Plataean men, enslaved the women, and razed the city to the ground; the destruction of *homonoia* is highlighted in Thucydides’ account as he first reminds the reader of the pacts made between the Greeks at the time of their victory over the Persians.⁴¹² In AD 61/2 the Athenian T. Claudius Novius served in the Plataean post of ‘high-priest of Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus and Zeus Eleutherius by appointment from the Hellenes’, while in the later second century AD, the Athenian P. Aelius Themisos held the priesthood of Hadrian and *Homonoia* of the Greeks at Plataea.⁴¹³ These appointments indicate that the cult of *Homonoia* was still active in the second century, and that it had been combined with a cult of the emperor (although the role of Zeus Eleutherius in the second century cult is in question, as he is notably absent from the priesthood of Themisos). The addition of the imperial cult carries echoes of the Panhellenion’s requirement that members demonstrate good relations with Rome: *homonoia* among the Greeks is to be encouraged, so long as their loyalty to Rome is

⁴¹⁰ Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.* 18. Cynegirus was an Athenian, the brother of Aeschylus, who died at Marathon. According to Valerius Maximus (3.2.22), his heroic death was commemorated frequently in Greek literature.

⁴¹¹ Smith (2011) 124.

⁴¹² Thuc. 3.68.

⁴¹³ Novius: *IG II²* 1990. The ‘Hellenes’ of the inscription are the council that congregate at Plataea (*Syll³* 393) to celebrate the *Eleutheria* games in memory of the battle of 479 BC. For discussion see Spawforth (1994) 235-6. Career of Novius: Geagan (1979) 279-287. Themisos: *IG II²* 3623. For the career of P. Aelius Themisos see Byrne (2003) 28 no.131.

not in doubt (pp.75-76). These two appointments also contribute to the impression that Athens controlled the Plataean cults at this time.⁴¹⁴ In light of the Atheno-centrism of the Panhellenion and contemporary education (pp.81-2), this is unsurprising and symbolic of the Athenian hold over Greek history. The commemoration of the Persian Wars in the Roman period was in the hands of the elite and, for eminent Athenians such as Novius and Themisos, the cult at Plataea presented the opportunity not only to enhance their careers, but to weave themselves into the traditional narrative of Greek victory and *homonoia* by acting as its representatives on a panhellenic stage.

The priesthood of *Homonoia* at Plataea was a largely symbolic engagement with the notion of friendship among the Greeks, but the cultivation of good relationships with other cities and the preservation of *homonoia* within the city were very real elements of political life and, indeed, among the foremost responsibilities of the ruling class.⁴¹⁵ Towards the conclusion of the *Precepts of Statecraft*, Plutarch claims that the greatest blessings a state can enjoy are “εἰρήνη, ἐλευθερία, εὐετηρία, εὐανδρία, ὁμονοία”: peace, liberty, plenty, abundance of men, and *homonoia*.⁴¹⁶ When it comes to preserving *homonoia* in the city, Plutarch places responsibility firmly in the hands of the elite: he warns Menemachus that it is the greed and contentiousness of the elite that attract the interference of Rome in the political life of Greek cities.

ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ χωρὶς ἰατροῦ μήτε δευτεῖν μήτε λούεσθαι συνεθισθέντες οὐδ' ὅσον ἡ φύσις δίδωσι χρῶνται τῷ ὑγιαίνειν, οὕτως οἱ παντὶ δόγματι καὶ συνεδρίῳ καὶ χάριτι καὶ διοικήσει προσάγοντες ἡγεμονικὴν κρίσιν ἀναγκάζουσιν ἑαυτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ βούλονται δεσπότης εἶναι τοὺς ἡγουμένους. αἰτία δὲ τούτου μάλιστα πλεονεξία καὶ φιλονεικία τῶν πρώτων: ἡ γὰρ ἐν οἷς βλάπτουσι τοὺς ἐλάττονας ἐκβιάζονται φεύγειν τὴν πόλιν ἢ περὶ ᾧ διαφέρονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐν τοῖς πολίταις ἔχειν ἕλαττον ἐπάγονται τοὺς κρείττονας: ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ βουλή καὶ δῆμος καὶ δικαστήρια καὶ ἀρχὴ πᾶσα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀπόλλυσι.

⁴¹⁴ Robertson (1986) 88-102.

⁴¹⁵ 808C: delegations to present honours to foreign rulers, or to negotiate agreements of friendship are among the duties Plutarch lists as suitable to delegate to a trusted friend.

⁴¹⁶ 824C.

For just as those who have become accustomed neither to dine nor to bathe except by the physician's orders do not even enjoy that degree of health which nature grants them, so those who invite the sovereign's decision on every decree, meeting of a council, granting of a privilege, or administrative measure, force their sovereign to be their master more than he desires. And the cause of this is chiefly the greed and contentiousness of the foremost citizens; for either, in cases in which they are injuring their inferior, they force them into exile from the State, or, in matters concerning which they differ among themselves, since they are unwilling to occupy an inferior position among their fellow-citizens, they call in those who are mightier; and as a result senate, popular assembly, courts, and the entire local government lose their authority.⁴¹⁷

Homonoia in the city depended on good relations between members of the local elite but among a small circle of wealthy men vying for titles and honours it was clearly difficult to quash the disruptive influence of personal ambition. Plutarch's belief in the elites right to rule is predicated on the notion that the elite are in essence 'better' and can therefore rule the *demos* by example; thus, he finds greed and petty rivalries especially frustrating.⁴¹⁸

Competition was rife among the local elites of the empire, particularly in the sphere of euergetism – the linchpin of provincial society. Plutarch and Dio disapprove of those who engage in easy, crowd-pleasing acts of euergetism such as doling out food and money or staging gladiatorial shows, but ultimately such acts were an effective means of gaining popularity.⁴¹⁹ 'Enticing the mob', as Plutarch terms it, was not true leadership; it led to the formation of factions and fostered an environment rife with competition and rivalry.

The phenomenon of elite euergetism had a long history in the Greco-Roman world: with roots in the aristocratic gift-exchange of Homeric and Archaic Greece, we see euergetism develop through the liturgies of Classical Athens and into the Hellenistic period, at which point it became a central feature of civic life. In the Roman Empire, civic euergetism was integral to the functioning of provincial cities, and responsible for "the maintenance of social harmony and political stability."⁴²⁰ The system of euergetism in Greek cities was supported by the Roman authorities as it ensured the privileged position of the elite on whom the

⁴¹⁷ 814F-815A, trans. Fowler (1936).

⁴¹⁸ 821A-B; Swain (1996) 181-183.

⁴¹⁹ Dio, *Or.* 66 (*On Glory*); Plut. *Praec. ger. rep.* 802D.

⁴²⁰ Zuiderhoek (2009) 5.

Romans relied as a means of local control.⁴²¹ The extent to which a city benefited from euergetism depended on the prosperity of the city, the size of the population, and the proportion of citizens able to afford the costs. A successful city might experience liturgies and benefactions on a particularly grand scale: Bekker-Nielsen uses the example of Ephesus, which benefitted greatly from its status as the leading city of a rich province, and its large and prosperous population.⁴²²

Euergetism took various forms. Simple forms of euergetism such as distributing food or money may have been considered crass by Dio and Plutarch, but it was the simplicity and popularity of such acts that made them appealing. Dio and Plutarch approved of acts that brought honour to a man's city, and not merely glory for the donor himself.⁴²³ A letter from Antoninus Pius to the people of Ephesus suggests that the emperor shared this view. A member of the Ephesian elite, Vedius Antoninus, had written to Antoninus Pius asking for assistance in his public building projects; in his letter to the people, the emperor chides them for not properly appreciating Antoninus' generosity and tells them: "Now I have granted him all that he asked, appreciating that he prefers to make the city more majestic not in the customary manner of public figures, who for the sake of immediate popularity expend their generosity on spectacles and distributions and the prizes of games, but in a manner that looks to the future."⁴²⁴ Building and restoration were popular forms of euergetism – Herodes Atticus, for example, far outdid his contemporaries in this respect (pp.156-9) – while some used their position to undertake embassies to the emperor on behalf of their city. Public offices or priesthoods were essentially another form of euergetism, for the men elected to the post were required to fulfil the obligations of the position at their own expense. In this respect public office was, at this time, comparable with Classical liturgies. Those who held the office

⁴²¹ Camia (2008) 36.

⁴²² Bekker-Nielsen (2008) 68.

⁴²³ Jones (1978) 111.

⁴²⁴ *IE* 1491 ll.14-17; trans. Kalinowski (2002) 111.

of *panegyriarchus* at Eleusis, for example, were responsible for great expenses during the *panegyris* of the Mysteries.⁴²⁵ An important inscription of the Hadrianic period from Oenoanda shows that a man named Iulius Demosthenes had subsidised the food supply, built a new food market and created the *Demostheneia* festival – the very name of which indicates the level of personal glory which could be gained for those with the money to spend, and may prompt us to question how well the *Demostheneia* was received by the people.⁴²⁶

Dio claims that for him the praise of the people was enough, but also takes pride in the many rewards granted to his illustrious family in the past.⁴²⁷ There were certainly rewards for those willing and able to take on such expenses, and it is this element of euergetism which has been much debated in recent scholarship; in particular, the question of whether elite benefactions were gifts without expectation of return, or rather a form of exchange. While Paul Veyne argued that benefactions did not require any reciprocity, more recent studies have rightly emphasized the importance of non-material rewards in the forms of status and prestige.⁴²⁸ The key term to emerge from this scholarly debate is ‘symbolic capital’, coined by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, but its vagueness prompts certain questions, particularly: why did the ancient elite require such capital, and how did euergetism help them acquire it?⁴²⁹

Zuiderhoek argues convincingly for a relationship between euergetism and the legitimization of power:

The exchange of gifts for honours between the ruling elite and the non-elite citizenry generated an elaborate discourse of praise, centred on the notion of elite moral excellence, which was rooted deeply in ancient Greek ideas of good and just behaviour of the rich man towards his community. According to these ideas, the morally excellent rich man was someone who used (part of) his wealth for the benefit of the whole community. Such men might justifiably claim, and were accorded, social and political influence.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁵ Plut. *Quest. Conv.* 679b.

⁴²⁶ Wörrle (1988), trans. Mitchell (1990) 183-187.

⁴²⁷ Dio, *Or.* 44.1-5: his father was honoured for being a good citizen and his mother was granted a shrine, while his ancestors received “numerous statues and state funerals and funeral games and many other precious marks of distinction”.

⁴²⁸ Gordon (1990), van Nijf (1997) 111-20, *contra* Veyne (1976) 230, 237, 319.

⁴²⁹ Bourdieu (1977), cited by Zuiderhoek (2009) 114.

⁴³⁰ Zuiderhoek (2009) 150-1.

Euergetism provided the wealthy elite with a means of demonstrating their excellence and civic pride: giving to the city and the people justified their right to rule. In this way, euergetism ensured the continuance of the oligarchic political system in the Greek east.⁴³¹ In one sense, this is an accurate observation; euergetism did function as a justification of the elite right to rule: honorific inscriptions confirm this, expressing the many good qualities of elite benefactors in an established discourse of virtue and moral excellence. Such inscriptions use terms such as φιλοτιμία (love of honour) and φιλοπατρία (love of one's country); moreover, they demonstrate their εὔνοια (goodwill) towards the city and the people. But while euergetism upheld the oligarchic system in the short-term, it could also place it in jeopardy through political friction and financial depletion, 'eating away' at the elite upon whom the city depended. Three aspects of euergetism were particularly injurious to cities and their system of elite rule: 1) the competition fostered by euergetism was detrimental to *homonoia* and progress; 2) in acting as *euergetai* elites faced a great number of risks including bankruptcy, accusation of tyranny, or suspicion of treason; and 3) those who were wealthy enough to survive the risks were increasingly tempted away from their home cities by wider horizons of political ambition and the promise of imperial recognition (pp.172-4). Antoninus Pius himself praised Iulius Demosthenes for his φιλοτιμία, while the council and people of Oenoanda resolved to send a testimonial to the provincial governor on his behalf; thus the local benefactor's deeds became known on a wider stage.⁴³²

It is also helpful to locate the risks of euergetism in the context of other contemporary concerns. As with almost any ruler or ruling class throughout history, a major concern for the Greco-Roman elite was continuity – of family name, status, and wealth.⁴³³ An inscription of the 160s AD from Gythium in Laconia, in which the deceased outlines how he is to be

⁴³¹ Zuiderhoek (2009) 150.

⁴³² Wörrle (1988) II.1-5, 105-110.

⁴³³ Hopkins (1983) 43-44.

remembered – for his generous gift to the local gymnasium – aptly illustrates this concern: “My idea is that I shall be immortal by virtue of this just and kindly gift.”⁴³⁴ Average life expectancy in the Roman Empire was relatively short, typically thought to be between 20-30 years (although, as Scheidel has demonstrated, the variables of time, location and status generally invalidate any notion of a ‘typical’ mortality rate).⁴³⁵ If we imagine a relatively short life expectancy and factor in the age of entry for public office and council membership – 30, and that membership required wealth, one can see the potential difficulties in maintaining a substantial elite class.

We have little to no evidence for the population of Athens in the second century AD; nor indeed for Athens or Greece in the Roman period generally (as discussed, pp.10-12). As such, attempts to estimate the size of the euergetic class are next to impossible. We do have one interesting figure: the capacity of Herodes Atticus’ Panathenaic Stadium, completed for the Panathenaic Festival of 143/4, was 50,000.⁴³⁶ This is equal to the capacity of the Colosseum at Rome, commissioned c.AD 70 by the emperor Vespasian, and symbolic of the distinctly Roman form of spectacle that came to be staged at the Panathenaic Stadium.⁴³⁷ If, for example, we use Storey’s population estimate of c.450,000 for imperial Rome, could we extrapolate a population figure for Athens based on comparison with Rome?⁴³⁸

Unfortunately, the differences between the two cities create far too many variables. For example, while the city of Rome covered approx. 13.86km², Athens covered approx.

⁴³⁴ *IG* V 1.1208; Hopkins 249-50.

⁴³⁵ Scheidel (2001) 1-26.

⁴³⁶ Goette (2001) 105.

⁴³⁷ Welch (1998) 133. E.g. *HA Hadr.* 19.3: Hadrian staged a *venatio* (wild beast show) of 1000 beasts in the old Panathenaic Stadium.

⁴³⁸ Storey (1997) 966-976: based on a combination of various factors such as the ethnohistoric record of Rome, archaeology of urban sites, the density of pre-industrial cities, and the house-by-house population count of Pompeii and Ostia. Storey’s estimate tallies reasonably well with Morley’s discussion, which sets a maximum population of 1,000,000 and a minimum of 250,000, (2013) 35-36.

2.2km².⁴³⁹ While it is interesting that Athens had a Stadium with the same capacity as the Roman Colosseum, this likely reflects Athens' status as a cultural centre with many non-permanent residents such as students and Panhellenes (pp.78-9, 163-5), rather than offering any clear indication of the local population. That Athens experienced difficulties in maintaining a wealthy elite class is confirmed by various imperial interventions into Areopagus membership requirements, as we shall see (pp.139-40).

Herodes Atticus is an excellent example of the problems facing the very wealthy. Of his six children and three adopted sons only one survived, and Atticus Bradua was considered such a disappointment that when Herodes died he did not leave anything to him.⁴⁴⁰ Bradua inherited his mother's wealth and estate on the Appian Way and appears to have had a successful career in Rome. But the line of the great Claudii of Marathon as Athenian nobles and benefactors ended with him; in essence, given that Bradua was disowned by his father, it really ended with the death of Herodes himself. The desire for continuity and the gradual elimination of his many heirs perhaps sheds some light on Herodes' mourning practices for his children, often considered (by both ancient and modern commentators) to have been excessively theatrical.⁴⁴¹ Beyond Herodes and his tendency to inscribe his grief on a dramatic scale, concern for continuity has been posited as a motivation for the general prevalence throughout the empire of honorific inscriptions, and the popularity of building as a means of euergetism: once set in stone, the generous deeds of an individual were, one would hope, preserved for posterity, either as basis for the honorific claims of descendants, or long after the family itself was gone.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁹ McEvedy (2011) 'Athens', Morley (2013) 33. Based on the territories within the Aurelian and Valerian Walls, respectively.

⁴⁴⁰ Phil. VS II.558; Tobin (1997), Pomeroy (2007) 148.

⁴⁴¹ E.g. Lucian, *Demonax* 24; Phil. VS 558-9.

⁴⁴² Zuiderhoek (2011) 192.

While carrying the appearance of a ‘win-win’ situation, beneath the surface the picture is quite different: not only could euergetism cause serious problems for those burdened with the responsibility, it also enhanced and perpetuated an ever-widening gap between the very rich and the very poor. The institutionalisation of euergetism as an integral feature of economy and city politics normalised this vast division.⁴⁴³ Benefactions and the discourse of excellence used in honorific inscriptions, as we have seen, justified the elite right to rule: the wealthy could contribute to the life and survival of the city in ways the poor could not, and therefore could be considered legitimately superior. In the context of this rationalisation of elite power, one might expect there to have been proper arrangements in place for the wealthy to provide direct aid to the poor, but (with the exception of imperial alimentary schemes) no ‘poor-relief’ system seems to have existed.⁴⁴⁴ Distributions of food and money were random and given, it would appear, to citizens alone – a category which will have excluded some of the poorest residents of cities. It has been noted that intervention by governors or emperors into provincial building usually takes the form of new paving, drains, or baths – the basic amenities perhaps overlooked by benefactors seeking to make the most elaborate impression on their city.⁴⁴⁵

Part II: Euergetism and the Athenian Elite in the Second Century

Having looked at contemporary euergetism generally, we now explore how it worked in Athens: to what extent was Athens a typical city of the empire in this respect? And how did elite euergetism contribute to the renewal of the city in the second century? As one might expect, Herodes Atticus has largely dominated studies of the Athenian elite in the second century AD. Herodes is undoubtedly a remarkable figure; an exceptionally wealthy benefactor, famed in antiquity for his career as a sophist and his notorious quarrels, and a

⁴⁴³ Zuiderhoek (2008) 173-7, (2009) 116.

⁴⁴⁴ Reynolds (1988) 38.

⁴⁴⁵ Reynolds (1988) 38.

powerful presence in what remains of the built landscape of Athens today. While Herodes and his family are at the centre of the following discussion, I aim where possible to contextualise Herodes within the broader circle of the Athenian elite of the second century – beginning with his extensive circle of friends and enemies.

Examining the Athenian constitution from the first century BC, Habicht observes: “after Sulla’s time the number of families belonging to ruling circles and occupying all the important offices in Athens was in fact quite small, meaning that to the extent that Athens’ own citizens controlled its fate, it was in the hands of an oligarchy.”⁴⁴⁶ This situation is reflected in the increasing powers of the Areopagus from this time – traditionally a strictly elite body, its importance had been limited under the democracy.⁴⁴⁷ Our evidence for the Athenian constitution of the second century AD is limited, and complicated by the fact that there appears to have been a constitutional change under Hadrian, who apparently developed laws recalling those of Draco and Solon.⁴⁴⁸ From this we can deduce that Hadrian was playing into the old rhetoric of restoring the *patrios politeia*, and the limited evidence suggests that Hadrian’s constitution had made the Athenian state more elitist and distinctly more archaic. As Swain observes, this was a mutually beneficial situation: Rome was able to rule through an established elite, who in turn were able to enjoy a stronger hold on power.⁴⁴⁹ While the Classical *boule* had 500 members, 50 from each tribe, who served for a year and were chosen by lot, in the second century AD we see an increasing number of men serving second, and even third, terms; considering that the surviving prytany lists do not give a full picture these are rather striking occurrences.⁴⁵⁰ It is notable also that membership in the *boule* begins to be mentioned in the *cursus honorum* at this time, suggesting that membership had

⁴⁴⁶ Habicht (1997) 327.

⁴⁴⁷ Geagan (1967) 48.

⁴⁴⁸ Eusebius (198 Helm²) and Syncellus (659 Dind.); Graindor (1934) 73, Swain (1996) 75.

⁴⁴⁹ Swain (1996) 75.

⁴⁵⁰ Geagan (1967) 75: Vibullius Theophilus of Paiania served as prytanis three times, once in the 150s (*Ag.* 15.364, 6) and twice again before 167 (*Ag.* 437, 13; 369, 13).

become a matter of significant prestige.⁴⁵¹ (The fact that there was a *cursus honorum* at all is notable, since it is anathema to Classical practice). Along with the elevation of the Areopagus, we can deduce that a very small number of individuals were gaining access to office in the second century. Increasing elitism in the political sphere was matched in the religious sphere. Certain priesthoods (e.g. Hierophant of the Eleusinian cult) had always been life-long positions, but a few had traditionally been elected annually. An inscription from the mid-second century AD refers to a lifelong priest of Artemis Calliste, yet documents from the third century BC confirm that this priesthood had earlier been elected annually by lot.⁴⁵² The most famous example of increasing exclusivity in Athenian cult is the cult of Asclepius, which had been controlled by the Athenian state since the fourth century BC as a ‘democratic’ priesthood. The office acquired lifetime tenure around the beginning of the first century AD, and gradually became attached to a small number of families – in the second century the Statii of Cholleidai attempted to exert ancestral control over the cult (pp.169-71).⁴⁵³

What of the *demos*? In studying dedications from Roman Athens, Geagan observes that for much of the Roman period before and after Sulla, the role of the *demos* remained the same as before. The title “the Boule and *demos* of the Athenians” continued to appear in dedications – typically the award of wreaths or crowns. It is notable that the Areopagus did not usually share in making these awards, perhaps highlighting the increasingly separate and exclusive nature of this body. In the corpus of dedications, the *demos* fades out of the picture entirely by the end of the second century, suggesting that the people at large no longer played a role in either dedication or approving dedications. Interestingly, the membership of the boule

⁴⁵¹ Geagan (1967) 81.

⁴⁵² Second-century inscription: *Hesp.* 10 (1941) no.42, dated to “after the constitutional reforms of the Hadrianic period” owing to the document’s reference to the Council of the Five Hundred. Third-century inscriptions: *IG* II² 788, 789.

⁴⁵³ Muñiz Grijalvo (2005) 271-3, Aleshire (1991) 49-70.

appears to have increased to 750 in the early part of the third century; an indication, perhaps, that measures were taken to counteract the repetition of service noted above. The decline of the *demos* as a constitutionally-active body may have been mitigated slightly by the expansion of the boule, enabling more citizens to participate at a higher level.

While steps to make the Athenian constitution more archaic and elitist may have, at first, been beneficial for both Rome and the Athenian elite, inevitably the cracks began to show. As we might expect, the difficulties discussed above (pp.133-6), including the plague of the 160s, had a great impact on the small Athenian elite in the mid-second century, culminating in a period of *anarchia* evident in the archon lists of 167/8, 169/70 and 170/1. This indicates that the city was having trouble finding individuals with enough money to hold office.⁴⁵⁴ This problem is further highlighted by the numerous occasions on which one individual repeatedly held the same post.⁴⁵⁵ A letter sent by Marcus Aurelius to the Athenians in the 170s indicates that measures were taken to alleviate this pressure: Marcus grants the sons and grandsons of freedmen permission to enter the Areopagus, as requested by the Athenians. In the letter, Marcus refers to a previous decree in which he had limited membership of the Areopagus to those who could prove at least three generations of Athenian citizenship – a measure coherent with the pattern of increasing elitism in the second century. However, Marcus must now address the problems this restriction had caused:

ὄσῃν εἰσφέρομαι σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς τῆς παλαιᾶς αὐτῆ[ν ἐ]-
 πικρατεῖν σεμνότητος, ἰκανῶς δεδηλωκέναι νομίζω, καὶ ἡνίκα τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔκκριτον
 συνέδριον[ν]
 ἐπαναγαγεῖν ἐπειράθην πρὸς τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος, καθ' ὃ τούτους μόνους εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον
 εἰσεδέχον[το]

60 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τριγονίας ἐξετασθέντας· καὶ εἴθε ἦν περιουσία τῶν ἐνδόξων γενῶν, ἵν' ἐξῆι μοι κα[ἰ]
 νῦν]
 ἔτι τὴν γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέραν φυλάξαι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ συμβάντα διὰ τὴν τύχην ὑπολογιζομένου[ς,
 ἐ]-
 φ' οἷς πολλὰς καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις οἶδα θεραπείας εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιδικασαμένας, τὰ μὲν ἐπανεῖναι
 δεῖ[τῆι]

⁴⁵⁴ Archon list: Byrne (2003) 509. Discussion: Tobin (1997) 42.

⁴⁵⁵ E.g. Tiberius Claudius Diotimus, see p.145 below.

πρὸς τὸ παρεληλυθὸς φιλανθρωπίαι, τὰ δὲ τῆι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον αὐτάρκως ἰδρῦσαι, μέχρι τοσοῦτου συν[θέ]-
μενος Ἀθηναίοις ἐνδώσω ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου πρὸς τοῦτο μόνον ἀφορᾶν

How much interest I show in the repute of Athens, so that she may recover her former grandeur, I think I already made sufficiently clear when I tried to recall the board that is outstanding among them to its ancient custom, whereby they received into the Areopagus only those who passed the test of the rule of three generations. And if only there were an abundance of the reputable families, so that even now I could stand by my decision. But since, taking into account the circumstances brought about by fate, which I know have caused many other cities to sue most urgently for aid, I must make some concessions out of humanity with regard to the past, and make some arrangements of sufficient strength out of humanity with regard to the future...⁴⁵⁶

The “circumstances brought about by fate” (τὰ συμβάντα διὰ τὴν τύχην) to which Marcus refers is most likely an allusion to the plague which began to spread throughout the empire in the 160s; a reference made by Philostratus, quoting a decree of the Athenian assembly, suggests that the plague had in fact affected Athens quite severely.⁴⁵⁷ Marcus’ reference to Athens recovering her former greatness (ὡς τῆς παλαιᾶς αὐτὴν ἐπικρατεῖν σεμνότητος) is particularly interesting, as it implies that his measures to maintain the ancient restrictions on the Areopagus were motivated by the desire to restore, or renew, the city’s grandeur. Importantly, it also suggests that, as far as the emperor was concerned, Athens’ ‘greatness’ was attached to aristocratic, not democratic, government – to an elite defined by the εὐγένεια and ἀρετὴ of ‘reputable families’ (p.122). As it happened, however, the city found itself in urgent need of men eligible to hold office and partake in public life, and so the restrictions were eased. The Areopagus still represented an ideal image of elite governance, but could only function successfully if a broader membership was introduced. In practical terms, wealth was the most important factor in defining the ruling class in second-century Athens – a truth which perhaps contributed to the old elite’s preoccupation with the past, about which more will be said in due course (pp.169-78).

⁴⁵⁶ *SEG* 29.127, 57-64 trans. Jones (1971) 178-9.

⁴⁵⁷ *Phil. VS. II.561*: the decree of the Athenian assembly, recited to Marcus Aurelius at Herodes’ trial, included the exclamation “Happy they who perished in the plague!” (because they did not have to witness Herodes’ corruption of the Greek magistrates). The plague began in Mesopotamia in AD 165/6 during Verus’ Parthian campaign and lasted at least into the 180’s; Eutropius claims the plague was so destructive it killed the greater part of the empire’s population (VIII.12).

Through measures such as this, Athens will likely have seen a rise in numbers of newly wealthy families entering the euergetic class; these were not the old elite, but the descendants of freed slaves, families who had gained wealth through commerce or industry.⁴⁵⁸ The Athenian euergetic class in the mid-second century comprised a mixture of old and new families, with traditional lines blurring through marriage as the new sought the prestige of the old and the old sought the wealth of the new (pp.171-2). In discussing the euergetic class of the second century we are treating a group of citizens governed, ultimately, by wealth.

II.i. Families and feuds: Herodes Atticus and his rivals

In developing a clear picture of the second century Athenian elite we are much indebted to Woloch's work on the 'four leading families' who dominated civic life: the Claudii of Marathon, the Claudii of Melite, the Flavii of Paiania, and the Aelii of Phaleron. As Woloch has demonstrated, the latter two families are especially prominent in the offices of *Ceryx* of the Areopagus, hoplite general, and archon eponymous.⁴⁵⁹ In the religious sphere, the imperial priesthood largely belonged to the Claudii of Marathon, while the Eleusinian *daduchus* appears to have been the preserve of the Claudii of Melite.⁴⁶⁰

Our discussion will focus on the Claudii of Marathon and the Claudii of Melite, whose feuding played a significant role in developments in second-century Athens. The Claudii of Melite were descended from the Leonides/Lysiades family of Melite prominent throughout the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period; they were granted Roman citizenship under Claudius.⁴⁶¹ The first particularly notable member of the family was Leonides V, who held the eponymous archonship in 12/11 BC and was later appointed herald of the Areopagus and

⁴⁵⁸ Oliver (1970) 73 on the flourishing of commerce under the Roman peace. Athenian production and commodities are discussed in chapter four, pp.211-8.

⁴⁵⁹ Woloch (1969) 504-5.

⁴⁶⁰ Woloch (1969) 507-8.

⁴⁶¹ Leonides/ Lysiades family: Schmalz (2009) 276-9; Roman citizenship: Byrne (2003) XII.

hoplite general.⁴⁶² The Claudii of Marathon can be traced back to the second century BC. An inscription from Delos mentions Eucles son of Eucles of Marathon from whom a continuous line can be traced through to the Claudii of the second century AD. This distinguished line includes Herodes, archon eponymous of 60/59 BC, *strategos* of 38/7, and friend of Cicero; his son Eucles, archon of 46/5 BC and the *strategos* listed on the dedicatory inscription over the Gate of Athena Archegetis; and his son Polycharmus, yet another archon, who began the family's involvement with the imperial cult by serving as the priest of Tiberius.⁴⁶³ The Claudii of Marathon were granted Roman citizenship under Nero.⁴⁶⁴ By the mid-second century the Claudii of Marathon and Melite were two of the most powerful families in Athens, and, moreover, enemies. The precise origins of this enmity are unclear, but it is unsurprising that two such powerful families found themselves in opposition: we have already seen how the pressures of euergetism incited competition and rivalry within the elite class. Events of the mid-second century, however, offer some insight into the nature and culmination of the quarrel, and the damaging impact of elite feuding on the life of the city.

The first occasion suggesting a feud between the families relates to the imperial priesthood which was traditionally the preserve of the Claudii of Marathon. After the death of Herodes' father, Atticus, in AD 138, the priesthood was given to Claudius Lysiades of Melite, who was then followed by Aelius Arduus of Phaleron. Herodes eventually received the priesthood around 160. Tobin connects this interruption of the Marathonian monopoly on the imperial priesthood to the unpopularity of Herodes following his father's death. Atticus, a generous and popular figure, had left in his will one mina for every citizen. Herodes, however, reneged on this promise: according to Philostratus, when the citizens went to collect their money they

⁴⁶² Schmalz (2009) 276-9.

⁴⁶³ Herodes: *IG II²* 1716, 2992, 1051b; Plut. *Vit. Cic.* 24.6; *Cic. Att.* 14.16.3, 14.18.4, 15.16, 15.27, 16.3.2; Eukles: archon *IDelos* VI 2632, *IG II²* 1719; *strategos IDelos* V 1627, *IG II²* 3175; Polycharmos: *IG II²* 130, 3530. For overview and further discussion see Tobin (1997) 13-14, Schmalz (2009) 261-2 (Eukles).

⁴⁶⁴ Byrne (2003) XII.

were given accounts by the bankers of their families' historical debts to the Claudii, and therefore most received little or nothing of the sum bequeathed by Atticus.⁴⁶⁵ Tobin suggests that the appointment of Lysiades to the imperial priesthood was made in order to weaken Herodes' power in Athens at this time; the appointment of a known rival to a post destined for Herodes would be an effective means of punishing Herodes for denying the Athenians their share of his father's estate.⁴⁶⁶ The story of Atticus' will illustrates the importance of euergetism in maintaining the favour of the citizenry. Herodes' denial of the Athenians' share in his father's will was in many ways his greatest mistake, for it set in motion a pattern of feuding and unpopularity that would follow him into his old age.

Soon after Lysiades was appointed to the imperial priesthood, Herodes returned to Rome, where he was tutor of rhetoric to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus from AD 141-6.⁴⁶⁷ During his time in Rome Herodes may have encountered another member of Lysiades' family. Letters between Marcus Aurelius and his other teacher, Marcus Cornelius Fronto, reveal that Herodes and Fronto were, at one point in the early 140s, acting as opposing attorneys in a court case in which one Demonstratus may have been the defendant.⁴⁶⁸

Bowersock identified this Demonstratus as the Claudius Demonstratus who would later become Herodes' particular enemy in Athens, but Byrne has shown that that Demonstratus would have been too young in the 140s to have been prosecuted in Rome.⁴⁶⁹ However, the unusual name, which runs in that Claudii family, may indicate that this Demonstratus was a relative of the younger Demonstratus. Marcus Aurelius, finding his two teachers and friends on opposing sides, wrote to Fronto urging that "this hateful business should be handled as honourably as possible"; in response, Fronto outlines Herodes' terrible reputation at this time, referring to

⁴⁶⁵ Phil. VS 2.549.

⁴⁶⁶ Tobin (1997) 29-30.

⁴⁶⁷ SHA *Marc. Ant.* 2.4; *Verus* 2.5.

⁴⁶⁸ Fronto, *Ad Ant. imp.* 3.4.1 shows that Fronto's speech *Pro Demonstrato* was published around this time. For further discussion of this case see Bowersock (1969) 95-99, Tobin (1997) 30-1, Birley (2000) 147-8.

⁴⁶⁹ Byrne (2003) 159, *contra* Bowersock (1969) 94-100.

his cruelty and characterising him as “a son unfilial and deaf to his father’s prayers” – a clear reference to his disregard for his father’s will.⁴⁷⁰ We do not know why Herodes prosecuted Demonstratus or the outcome of the trial, but it may stand as another episode in the feud between Herodes and the Claudii of Melite.⁴⁷¹ The correspondence between Fronto and Marcus Aurelius also illuminates another significant relationship: the friendship between Herodes and Marcus Aurelius that would, by the 170s, see the emperor intervening directly in Athenian affairs.

We now come to the events leading up to Herodes’ trial on charges of tyranny, which took place in 173/4. The trial of Herodes is a key moment in the history of second-century Athenian society. Close examination of this case and the individuals and factions involved illuminates a complex web of elite rivalry and Roman intervention played out in the assembly and law-courts of Athens, and before the emperor himself.

Herodes’ relationship with his fellow Athenians took a turn for the worse upon the arrival of the Quintilii in Greece. Sextus Quintilius Condionus and Sextus Quintilius Maximus were members of a wealthy family of Alexandria Troas, and were appointed by Marcus Aurelius as joint governors of Achaëa, Macedonia and Epirus after the Costoboc raid of Eleusis in 170. Cassius Dio describes the brothers as especially learned and skilled in warfare as well as exceedingly wealthy, although their most notable quality was their great loyalty to each other; sharing offices as they did in Greece, and never separating.⁴⁷² They even died together, executed by Commodus who suspected them of conspiring against him. According to Philostratus their feud with Herodes began during a festival at Delphi. Philostratus offers two versions: some say they had a disagreement about music, while others say Herodes made a joke to Marcus Aurelius at their expense. Noting the emperor’s favour towards them,

⁴⁷⁰ Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.* iii.3.

⁴⁷¹ Champlin, (1980) 64, suggests that the publication of the speech indicates that Fronto won the case.

⁴⁷² Dio. Cass. 73.5.3.

Herodes purportedly said “I also blame Homer’s Zeus for loving the Trojans”.⁴⁷³ These anecdotes, Philostratus suggests, are speculative; he locates the true origins of the quarrel in events which took place in Athens during the governorship of the Quintilii (c.AD 171-5):

τὸ ἄνδρε τούτω, ὅποτε ἄμφω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠρχέτην, καλέσαντες ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀθηναῖοι φωνὰς ἀφῆκαν τυραννουμένων πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδη ἀποσημαίνοντες καὶ δεόμενοι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια ὅτα παραπεμφθῆναι τὰ εἰρημένα. τῶν δὲ Κυντιλίων παθόντων τι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ ξὺν ὀρμῇ ἀναπεμψάντων ἃ ἤκουσαν, ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν ὁ Ἡρώδης ἔφασκεν ὡς ἀναθολούντων ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. μετ’ ἐκείνην γὰρ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Δημόστρατοι ἀνέφυσαν καὶ Πραξαγόραι καὶ Μαμερτίνοι καὶ ἕτεροι πλείους ἐς τὸ ἀντίξοον τῷ Ἡρώδη πολιτεύοντες.

When these two men were both governing Greece, the Athenians invited them to a meeting of the assembly, and made speeches to the effect that they were oppressed by a tyrant, meaning Herodes; and finally begged that what they had said might be forwarded to the Emperor’s ears. And when the Quintilii felt pity for the people and without delay reported what they had heard, Herodes asserted that they were plotting against him, for they were inciting the Athenians to attack him. Certainly, after that meeting of the assembly there sprang into activity men like Demostratus, Praxagoras and Mamertinus, and many others whose public policy was opposed to Herodes.⁴⁷⁴

Philostratus does not provide the details of the Athenians’ accusations against Herodes, but one might expect that his failure to enact Atticus’ wishes will have once again been cited as evidence of his tyranny. Importantly, as we shall explore further below (pp.157-61), by the mid-170s Herodes had left a lasting impression on Athens in the form of vast building projects – in particular the Odeion on the southwest slope of the Acropolis and the Panathenaic Stadium. The use of building projects to imprint one’s identity on a city has been seen as a standard characteristic of the archaic tyrant.⁴⁷⁵ Whilst the Stadium and Odeion were gifts to the Athenian people, Herodes’ building activities were also a means by which to flaunt his vast wealth – which undoubtedly served to remind the Athenians of the money out of which they had been cheated. In the case of Dio of Prusa and his portico project we have already seen how lavish building ventures could incite anger and suspicion among fellow

⁴⁷³ Phil. VS. 2.559. See Kuhn (2012) 439-40 for discussion: Greek denigration of the Trojans as ‘barbarians’ was common under Roman rule, strengthened by Hadrian’s promotion of *Graecia vera* (see chapter two).

⁴⁷⁴ Phil. VS. 2.559, trans. Cave Wright (1921).

⁴⁷⁵ Aristotle (*Pol.* 1313b21-24) mentions public building as one of the typical features of a tyrant’s rule and, specifically at Athens, both Thucydides (6.54) and Herodotus (1.59.6) comment on the magnificence of the Pisistratid constructions.

citizens (p.121). Another contemporary case illustrates such tensions: P. Vedius Antoninus (p.131) quarrelled with the Ephesians over his planned building projects, in a case that – like that of Herodes’ – reached the ear of the emperor.⁴⁷⁶ As we saw, a letter from Antoninus Pius expresses his disapproval of the Ephesians’ behaviour in failing to appreciate Vedius’ generosity. It is unclear exactly why the Ephesians were so angered by Vedius’ building activities, but the most likely theory is that outrage was stirred up by envious rival factions.⁴⁷⁷ Building projects served as a lasting monument to the benefactor and could win great honour and popularity – among the competitive elite of the Greek provincial cities it is unsurprising that rivals would seize any opportunity to scupper such ambitions.

Herodes’ lavish building projects and his appropriation of what seemed the Athenians’ rightful inheritance certainly served to win him enemies among the elite and the city at large. Another factor which may have contributed to the Athenians’ perception of Herodes as a tyrant was the behaviour of his freedmen. Philostratus reports that the Athenians’ case against Herodes also involved indictments of his freedmen, although we do not know the charges.⁴⁷⁸ Earlier, when Herodes was accused of murdering his wife, the prosecution claimed that Herodes had ordered one of his freedmen to beat her; while never proven, the suspicion alone likely provoked fear among the Athenians.⁴⁷⁹ One might imagine it provided further fuel for the case against Herodes, as association with thugs or enforcers was another feature of the archaic tyrant.⁴⁸⁰

The accusation of tyranny would have been familiar to Herodes; his grandfather Claudius Hipparchus had been accused of tyranny and executed under the reign of Domitian, who

⁴⁷⁶ *IE* 1491, discussed briefly above (p.135). For full discussion see Kalinowski (2002) 110-117.

⁴⁷⁷ Campanile (1994) 220, furthered by Kalinowski (2002) 113ff.

⁴⁷⁸ *Phil.VS.* II.561.

⁴⁷⁹ *Phil.VS.* II.555.

⁴⁸⁰ E.g. *Hdt.* 1.59: Pisistratus gathered a group of ‘club-bearers’ who followed him around the city and helped him take control of the Acropolis.

apparently perceived the tyrannical behaviour of Hipparchus without the Athenians having to bring charges against him.⁴⁸¹ Suetonius suggests that Hipparchus was a friend of Vespasian, and was therefore permitted to acquire a staggering level of wealth; it is possible that this wealth alone invited the suspicion of Domitian, who confiscated the fortunes of many wealthy Romans.⁴⁸² Whether or not the execution of Hipparchus was justified or an example of persecution under a corrupt emperor, the reputation of Herodes' family was forever tainted by the stain of tyranny and Hipparchus' property was never returned to the family.⁴⁸³ The execution of Hipparchus is evidence that the threat of the tyrant, although typically associated with the archaic period, was still present in Athens under the Roman Empire.⁴⁸⁴ This fear of tyranny is an instance of the construction of contemporary ideologies from historical memory and exempla. Unsurprisingly, Dio of Prusa was also accused of tyranny. Speaking of his building works in Prusa, Dio says: "For now, if I should touch on the matter and be eager for the project to be realised, some people say I am acting the tyrant and am digging up the city and all its sacred places."⁴⁸⁵ Dio wonders at this accusation, for he is not violent or corrupt as tyrants are; he suggests rather that it is his expensive home, luxurious clothing, and long hair and beard that invite accusations of tyranny.⁴⁸⁶ Pomeroy suggests that Herodes too devoted much time to his appearance, and may have sought to model himself on the philosophers and orators of the Greek past by wearing traditional Greek costume.⁴⁸⁷ Such behaviour, coupled with his expansive building projects, likely exacerbated the tensions between Herodes and the

⁴⁸¹ Phil. VS. II.547.

⁴⁸² Suet. *Vesp.* 13; Tobin (1997) 14-16.

⁴⁸³ Pleket, (1961) 296, has suggested that Hipparchos may have had a financial stranglehold over Athens, and therefore Domitian was in fact acting on behalf of the people. Hadrian's Oil Law (*IG II² 1100*) offers clues regarding the fate of the property of Hipparchus, and will be discussed further in chapter four (pp.213-4).

⁴⁸⁴ The concept of 'tyranny' was a Greek construct, and as the Roman world became more Hellenized in the second and first centuries BC, tyranny became part of Rome's political discourse, and a very real concern for those administrating the empire (Gildenhard (2006) 197). Kennell, (1997) 351: due to the unsettled state of the Greek world at this time there were probably more tyrants in this period than in the archaic period.

⁴⁸⁵ *Or.* 47.18.

⁴⁸⁶ *Or.* 47.23-24. Athenaeus (5.54) talks of Lysias of Tarsus who came to power in the first century AD, whose tyrannical ambitions were apparently made clear by his elaborate taste in clothing.

⁴⁸⁷ Pomeroy (2007) 29.

Athenians, but the way in which the accusation of tyranny was acted on by the Quintilii and the emperor suggests there may have been more to the Athenians' claims. We might expect that Atticus' will played an important role in the accusations and that the memory of Hipparchus' downfall provided precedent, but in Marcus Aurelius' response to the accusations we find that imperial conspiracy also played a part.

Philostratus says that when Herodes indicted his accusers on charge of conspiracy they went directly to Marcus Aurelius who at this time was encamped at Sirmium in Pannonia. Their delegation apparently arrived at an opportune moment, as Marcus still suspected Herodes of having conspired against him with Lucius Verus.⁴⁸⁸ Lucius Verus, adopted son and heir of Antoninus Pius, had ruled with Marcus as co-emperor until his death in AD 169. An inscription from Eleusis commemorates the close friendship between Herodes and Verus; the fragmentary poem states that the narrator's companion has gone off to war, indicating that it dates between Verus' departure for the Parthian Wars in 162 when he stopped along the way to stay with Herodes in Athens, and his return in 165.⁴⁸⁹ If Marcus was indeed still harbouring suspicions regarding Herodes' friendship with Verus by 173/4 when the trial took place, this may have made him more disposed to hear accusations of tyranny against his old teacher and friend. Ultimately, however, it appears that Marcus' friendship with Herodes won out over his suspicions.

Herodes arrived in Sirmium accompanied by the two young daughters of his freedman Alcimedon who had been brought up in Herodes' household. By this time, all but one of Herodes' own children had died, and Philostratus claims Herodes treated these girls as his own daughters. The night before the trial, lightning struck the house in which they slept and

⁴⁸⁸ Phil. VS. II.560.

⁴⁸⁹ Eleusis inscription: Clinton (1972) 182-3; Ameling (1983) 186; Tobin (1997) 205-6. Lucius Verus was a guest of Herodes in AD 162 and was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries at this time: *IG II²* 3592, 3620; Clinton (1989) 1529.

they were killed.⁴⁹⁰ Following this tragedy, Herodes was incapable of eloquently defending himself at his trial, instead directing his anger at the emperor: “This is what I get for showing hospitality to Lucius, though it was you who sent him to me!” Marcus, praised by Philostratus for his philosophic attitude during the trial, let Herodes leave the court and was greatly moved by the Athenians’ accusations against his friend, especially when the decree of the Athenian assembly was read to him, “in which they openly attacked Herodes for trying to corrupt the magistrates of Greece with the honeyed strains of his eloquence”.⁴⁹¹ The accusation clearly refers to Herodes’ famed skills as an orator and implicitly to his wealth; together, these factors gave Herodes great influence which extended beyond Athens. Rather than pronouncing any judgement on Herodes, Marcus decreed that Herodes’ freedmen be punished instead, albeit only mildly.⁴⁹² After the trial, Herodes exiled himself to Epirus, where he stayed for at least a year before returning to Athens in 175. Kuhn suggests that Marcus had weighed Herodes’ benefactions and achievements on behalf of Athens against the charges; in a later letter to the Athenians (pp.152-4), Marcus refers to Herodes’ “zeal for education and culture” and his “well-known beneficence”.⁴⁹³

We might now consider more closely the actions of Herodes’ friends and enemies in Athens and Rome. Philostratus’ narrative offers several clues to the way in which the case against Herodes developed. Firstly, it is the Athenians who invite the Quintilii to the assembly, where they make speeches against Herodes. Philostratus does not specify any ringleaders at this stage and the involvement of the assembly implies that a broader group of Athenian citizens were acting against Herodes rather than just a few elite rivals, although presumably it was influential representatives who put the Athenians’ case to the Quintilii. The Quintilii here function as the Athenians’ means of direct communication with Marcus Aurelius. That such a

⁴⁹⁰ Phil. VS. II.560.

⁴⁹¹ Phil. VS. II.561.

⁴⁹² Phil. VS. II.561.

⁴⁹³ Kuhn (2012) 449; *SEG* 29.127, 87-90.

conduit was necessary suggests that no other among the Athenians shared Herodes' close friendship with the emperor. If there is truth in Philostratus' anecdotes about the personal feud between the Quintilii and Herodes, it is possible that the Athenians recognised the potential for winning two powerful allies to their cause. Finally, once the plot is out in the open, individuals such as Demostratus, Praxagoras and Mamertinus emerge to publically oppose Herodes.

Demostratus appears to have gained prestige for the speech he delivered against Herodes at Sirmium; Philostratus praises his characterisation and impressive manner, and notes that the speech achieved fame partly owing to Demostratus' daring in challenging a man so distinguished as Herodes.⁴⁹⁴ A certain amount of the speech's finesse ought to be credited to Julius Theodotus, Demostratus' uncle and a respected sophist. Formerly a pupil of Herodes, Theodotus was *archon basileus* around the time his family were involved in bringing Herodes to trial.⁴⁹⁵ According to Philostratus, while Theodotus was never openly hostile to Herodes (perhaps on account of their prior teacher-pupil relationship) he collaborated with Demostratus in crafting speeches against Herodes. It is clear from Philostratus' account of events that while Demostratus spearheaded the move against Herodes, other members of his family were active in the trial and its aftermath; indeed, it seems that the Claudii of Melite may have used Herodes' absence from Athens to manoeuvre themselves into further positions of power. Theodotus was appointed by Marcus Aurelius to the imperial chair of rhetoric at Athens around 175; that he was personally chosen by the emperor gave the appointment added prestige – apparently Marcus considered Theodotus a 'flower' (ὄφελος) of political oratory and rhetoric.⁴⁹⁶ Inscriptions from Athens demonstrate that Theodotus was respected

⁴⁹⁴ Phil. VS. II.563.

⁴⁹⁵ For the life and career of Julius Theodotus see Phil. VS. II.566-7; Byrne (2003) p.311 no.48.

⁴⁹⁶ Phil. VS. II.567: '...τῶν πολιτικῶν προσειπῶν λόγων καιρήτορικῆς ὄφελος'.

as a sophist within the city, but one may wonder if his role in crafting Demostratus' prosecution speech caught the emperor's attention.⁴⁹⁷

Much of our evidence for activities in Athens at this time comes from a letter sent to the Athenians by Marcus Aurelius in AD 174/5 and later inscribed on two marble plaques.⁴⁹⁸ In this letter the emperor offers his rulings on a number of lawsuits and political matters. While much of Plaque 2 is preserved, Plaque 1 only survives in fragments, but Kennell presents a convincing argument that Plaque 1 dealt primarily with the affairs of Herodes – specifically, Marcus resolving various aspects of the friction between Herodes and the Athenians.⁴⁹⁹ Many of the cases outlined in Plaque 2 also appear to relate directly or indirectly to Herodes and his prosecutors; in Kennell's view, these are the final, smaller, points of conflict that Marcus wishes to resolve so that he can urge the Athenians, as he does at the end of the letter, to forgive Herodes “now that in all matters good care of the Athenians has been worked out.”⁵⁰⁰

One portion of Plaque 2, as outlined above, concerns the entry of sons of freedmen into the Areopagus; a measure which might, as Tobin suggests, reflect the financial difficulties of the city in the absence of Herodes Atticus.⁵⁰¹ Demostratus and his father-in-law, Aelius Praxagoras, appear in Marcus' letter in regard to a lawsuit they brought against a man named Aelius Dionysius, who held the post of Eleusinian *daduchus*.⁵⁰² The controversy seems to originate in Dionysius' still holding a former priesthood (which it appears he was compelled to give up), but Clinton suggests that Demostratus and Praxagoras were primarily interested in winning back the office for their own family – as noted above (p.141), the Claudii of

⁴⁹⁷ See *IG II²* 3813 – Theodotus' students honour him as a sophist.

⁴⁹⁸ *SEG* 29.127; Oliver (1970) 1-84, Jones (1971) 161-183, Oliver (1974) 265-7, Tobin (1997) 40-45.

⁴⁹⁹ Kennell (1997) 346-51. Kennell's argument is based on the high frequency with which Herodes appears in the few remaining fragments of Plaque 1.

⁵⁰⁰ *SEG* 29.127, 90.

⁵⁰¹ Tobin (1997) 42.

⁵⁰² *SEG* 29.127, 1-6.

Melite had traditionally held this office until they lost control of it in 150.⁵⁰³ They did eventually reclaim the *daduchia*, but not until the death of Dionysius around 181/2.⁵⁰⁴ A further case listed in Marcus' letter sees the Eumolpid Valerius Mamertinus, another of Herodes' prosecutors, attempting to attain the office of *hieroceryx* by transferring to the *genos* Ceryces; Marcus rules that a transferral is not permitted, as neither of Mamertinus' parents belonged to the Ceryces.⁵⁰⁵ Aelius Praxagoras appears yet again in the letter, contesting the will of Flavius Stratolaus.⁵⁰⁶ The letter does not provide the details of the lawsuit, but Oliver extrapolates from Marcus' ruling a case of a forged will including land bequeathed to the city and to Herodes Atticus; it seems that the forgery was proven and that Praxagoras was able to demonstrate a legitimate claim to the land.

The letter contains rulings on several other cases, but the Claudii of Melite are certainly the most prominent figures, with Herodes himself appearing indirectly throughout. While Marcus' letter was clearly sent to the Athenians while Herodes was in Oricum from 173/4-175 (he refers to Herodes' future return and reconciliation in his concluding statement), the exact date of the legal cases resolved here is difficult to ascertain. Most likely some represent issues raised in the Athenians' prosecution of Herodes, and some are perhaps ongoing matters being pursued in Herodes' absence – Mamertinus' attempt to switch *gene* and become *hieroceryx* appears to have been a continuing endeavour. It seems strikingly evident that Demostratus and his faction had been taking advantage of their enemy's prosecution and his ensuing absence to strengthen their position in the city. The timing of Demostratus' and Praxagoras' suit regarding the *daduchia* has led scholars to suggest that Aelius Dionysius

⁵⁰³ Clinton (1974) 62.

⁵⁰⁴ Inscriptions of the third century AD confirm Praxagoras held the office of *daduch* after Aelius Dionysius (*IG* II² 3693, 6; 3710, 8; 3713 + 4089). Since Dionysius appears to have still been *daduchus* in 181/2 (*Ag.* XV 402, 32), Praxagoras must have been appointed later; as Byrne, (2003) 32, notes, given Praxagoras' age by this time (he had been active in public life for at least 30 years) it cannot have been much later.

⁵⁰⁵ *SEG* 29.127, 7-14.

⁵⁰⁶ *SEG* 29.127, 35-47.

may have been a friend and ally of Herodes Atticus.⁵⁰⁷ Dionysius' predecessor in the office, a man named Pompeius, is attested in public office consistently until 169/70, suggesting that Dionysius perhaps replaced him in 170/1 following Pompeius' death.⁵⁰⁸ It is possible, then, that Dionysius had held the office of *daduchus* for several years before the Claudii brought a lawsuit against him, in which case we might see a connection between this suit and the prosecution and absence of Herodes from 173/4. If Dionysius was a friend of Herodes he would formerly have had a powerful ally in the city; in Herodes' absence, or (if the case was earlier) amidst the drama of his trial, the Claudii may have seen a chance to undermine a rival and reclaim the *daduchia* as their own. It is interesting that Demonstratus' fellow prosecutor Mamertinus also makes a play for an Eleusinian priesthood at this time – the prestigious office of the *hieroceryx*. We have already seen the significance of Eleusis in the second century as a distinctly Athenian sacred space and a venue for the affirmation of Athens' role as benefactress (pp.102-4); here we find confirmation that Eleusis also stood at the centre of political manoeuvring among the Athenian elite.

The trial of Herodes and its aftermath also illuminates some aspects of the Athenians' relationship with Rome. In calling on the Quintilii to hear their case against Herodes, the Athenians did exactly what Plutarch had urged Greek statesmen to avoid (p.129): they invited the involvement of Roman officials in the affairs of their city. The development of the case against Herodes Atticus during the late 160s exhibits shades of 'mob rule' (see also pp.88-9), only for it to be put safely to sleep by the intervention of the emperor. Clearly the Athenians' resentment of Herodes, fuelled further by his enemies among the elite, had been simmering since the death of Atticus in 138; perhaps it was inevitable that imperial intervention would be required. In this case, as in that of Vedius Antoninus and the Ephesians (p.131), imperial

⁵⁰⁷ Oliver (1970) 39, Clinton (1974) 62, Tobin (1997) 43.

⁵⁰⁸ Pompeius: Byrne (2003) 406 no.8.

intervention was necessary in order to prevent further damaging dispute. It is notable that in both these cases the accused benefitted from prior friendship with the emperor, putting the accusers at a disadvantage from the start. The letter of Marcus to the Athenians demonstrates direct imperial involvement in Athenian legal cases, but if the whole document was concerned with wrapping up the Athenians' complaints against Herodes we might note that this was likely an exceptional case: Marcus intervenes in all matters that pertain to the prosecution of Herodes to put an end to the long-standing feud. He also refers some matters to the Quintilii, including cases regarding membership of the Panhellenion and membership in the Areopagus. It is notable that, in the case of Aelius Praxagoras and his inheritance dispute, Marcus appoints the Quintilii to adjudicate on the matter of the estates' harvests with the exception of the estates bequeathed to Herodes – these would be judged by another official. As Kuhn concludes, "[Marcus'] letter to the Athenians, which assured imperial backing for Herodes, also implicitly advised the Quintilii to refrain from any further interference in Herodes' affairs."⁵⁰⁹

The development and outcome of Herodes' trial was heavily influenced by Herodes' personal relationships: the enmity between Herodes and the Claudii of Melite made them figureheads of the opposition, while the Quintilii were especially disposed to sympathise with the Athenians owing to their own feud with Herodes. Meanwhile Herodes' friendship with Lucius Verus had provoked Marcus' suspicions of conspiracy, but ultimately Herodes' long friendship with Marcus himself contributed to the emperor's decision to acquit him (alongside concern for the financial needs of Athens, pp.139-40).

Herodes returned to Athens in 175, and, true to form, he commissioned a poem commemorating his return which was inscribed on a *stèle* and erected on his estate at Marathon. This poem and its many historical and mythical allusions will be explored further

⁵⁰⁹ Kuhn (2012) 450.

below (pp.175-7), but in the context of Herodes' trial it is interesting to consider the celebratory tone of the poem and its depiction of the Athenians gathering to welcome Herodes into the city. After describing the gathering of priests and ephebes, members of the Areopagus and Boule, the poet exclaims that "no watchman was left [in the halls], no boy, no fair-skinned maiden [but all were gathered] to receive Herodes... as when a mother embraces her child... from afar..."⁵¹⁰ While the poem certainly embellishes the public celebration of Herodes' welcome, it would not be surprising if the Athenians were glad of his return; Herodes' wealth and power may have bordered on tyranny, but the benefits of his financial support for the city cannot be denied. If the Athenian elite were struggling to provide archons while Herodes was present between 167/8 and 170/1 (p.139), one can imagine how the city struggled without her greatest benefactor. Another factor must surely be Marcus' letter, in which he urges the Athenians to make peace with Herodes – in this matter, he says, they ought not to need him as reconciler. This statement reads as a firm conclusion; the emperor draws a line under the Athenians' quarrel with Herodes and implicitly requests that the Athenians refrain from bringing further complaints against Herodes. This is the last we hear of the feud; following his return Herodes appears to have lived out the last few years of his life peacefully, concentrating on teaching until his death in 177.⁵¹¹ In a letter to Herodes Marcus asked him to serve as *mystagogos* for his initiation into the Mysteries in 176; if Herodes did indeed fulfil this duty his friendship with the emperor would have been re-affirmed once and for all before the Athenians. The Claudii of Melite continued to be an active and influential family, finally regaining the *daduchia* in the 180s. Ultimately, then, *homonoia* was restored to Athens, and it seems that the Athenians recognised its benefits. Contrary to the political ideals of Plutarch and Dio, however, it was likely unachievable without the intervention of the emperor.

⁵¹⁰ *IG* II² 3606, 30-34.

⁵¹¹ *Phil.* VS. II.562.

II.ii. Herodes Atticus and the Renewal of Athens

We turn now to the role of Herodes Atticus as ‘super-euergete’, to explore how his benefactions to the city contributed to the renewal of Athens. Before we come to Herodes, however, the Library of Pantainus serves as an interesting prologue. The Library, built c. AD 100 by Titus Flavius Pantainus and his children, proclaims the role of Athens as a cultural centre: in the dedicatory inscription, following dedications to Athena Polias, the city, and the emperor Trajan, Pantainus states that he is the son of a *diadoch* (the head of a school), and describes himself as “the priest of the wisdom-loving Muses”.⁵¹² Based on the funding of the library it is clear that Pantainus and the Flavii of Gargettus were a wealthy and influential family, and further epigraphic evidence appears to confirm this.⁵¹³ The scholarly interests of Pantainus are clearly the emphasis of the library’s dedicatory inscription. As Camp has noted, this inscription “epitomizes the cultural and educational role of Athens in the Roman world”.⁵¹⁴ The Library was the most significant building erected in the period between Augustus and Hadrian. It represents the Athenians’ acknowledgment of their status as cultural centre, setting the tone of the century to come.

The major building programme commissioned and funded by Hadrian in the 130s began the process of renewal in Athens. The impact of Hadrian’s programme has been discussed fully in earlier chapters (pp.56-9, 95-102) and we have identified the Arch of Hadrian as a symbol of the Athenians’ gratitude (p.63). In addition to his building projects, Hadrian granted Athens large amounts of money, an annual dole of grain and a portion of revenues from Cephallenia.⁵¹⁵ Hadrian’s generosity towards Athens is typically explained by his

⁵¹² *Agora* I 848.

⁵¹³ Flavii of Gargettus: Byrne (2003) 237-8 nos. 38-42. Pantainos’ daughter Flavia Secundilla married one Mundicius Varrus, and their children were active in public life in the mid-second century.

⁵¹⁴ Camp (2001) 197.

⁵¹⁵ Dio Cass. 69.16.2. Dio claims that Hadrian gave Athens “the whole of Cephallenia”, but as Boatwright, (2000) 84, has demonstrated, this cannot be the case: one of the island’s cities declared itself “free and

philhellenism, but the extent of his benefactions to the Athenians is quite exceptional. While Hadrian's buildings are largely the sorts of impressive embellishments one might expect from an emperor, his grants to the city appear to respond to Athens' particular economic concerns. By establishing an annual grain dole, Hadrian responded to Athens' perpetual need for imported grain. This was a remarkable privilege: Athens was the only city outside of Rome to have an imperially-funded grain supply.⁵¹⁶ This cannot be credited merely to Hadrian's philhellenism; rather, it indicates a particular relationship with the city. Hadrian stayed in Athens three times within a decade. During these visits the Athenians will have had the ear of the emperor himself, and given the proximity of these visits we can surmise that he would have been welcomed by roughly the same elite circle; this offers the potential for familiarity to develop between the emperor and members of the Athenian elite. Commenting on Hadrian's approach to benefaction in the cities of the empire, Boatwright observes "a delicate balance... between imperial commonalities and local pride."⁵¹⁷ As we have seen in previous chapters, the Athenians crafted 'local pride' into something of an art form. To attribute Hadrian's Athenian benefactions merely to a well-known philhellenism is to neglect the role of the local elite in doing what they did best – representing the city, petitioning the emperor, and upholding the traditions that made Athens the undisputed home of Greek culture.

Hadrian can also be credited with inspiring the great building projects that followed, financed by Herodes Atticus. Tobin describes Herodes as following the example "not of his father, but of the emperor Hadrian".⁵¹⁸ This is an accurate observation; Atticus was a great *euergetes*, but, as far as we know, he did not donate buildings. Following the death of Hadrian in AD 138, around the same time as Atticus, Herodes picked up the mantle of primary benefactor. It

autonomous" in a dedication to Hadrian at the Athenian Olympieion (*IG II² 3301*), while Pliny (*HN 4.54*) designates the whole island as free. Boatwright suggests that Athens' gained some revenues from the island and that "Dio's exaggeration might indicate the abnormality of any land grant in Hadrian's day".

⁵¹⁶ Boatwright (2000) 92.

⁵¹⁷ Boatwright (2000) 165.

⁵¹⁸ Tobin (1997) 161-2.

is understandable that Herodes should wish to emulate Hadrian; his glittering career had largely been enabled by the emperor, who appointed him prefect of the free cities of Asia in AD 125. Shortly after Hadrian's visit to Athens in 128, he was made *quaestor* and honoured with the '*amicus principis*', the official friendship of the emperor.⁵¹⁹ Herodes' habit of imitating Hadrian is evident in various monuments from his Marathon villa, as we shall see in chapter four. Perhaps the death of Hadrian in such close proximity to the death of his own father contributed to Herodes' judgements regarding Atticus' will; and, specifically, to his decision to use the money apportioned for the Athenians to begin his career as a benefactor by building a spectacular new Stadium.

The Panathenaic Stadium is located in the natural valley between the Ardetus and Agra hills on the south bank of the Ilissos River. Originally commissioned c.330/329 BC by the Athenian statesman Lycurgus, the stadium was built for the track contests held during the Greater Panathenaia.⁵²⁰ The Classical stadium consisted of a racetrack and a *theatron* for the spectators, which sloped down towards the track. Construction began on Herodes' new stadium around 139/40 and it was completed in time for the Greater Panathenaea of 143/44. Both Philostratus and Pausanias comment on its vastness, and the sheer quantities of Pentelic marble used in its construction.⁵²¹ The stadium now assumed a Roman form, with the semicircular sphenone and slightly curved sides.⁵²² As with Hadrian's completion of the Olympieion, Herodes' Stadium demonstrates a continuity of interest in particular ancient structures. However, while it was constructed on the same site as the Lycurgan stadium, the new stadium largely replaced the Classical structure. An Augustan inscription detailing restoration projects in Athens and Attica includes repairs to be carried out in the Stadium,

⁵¹⁹ *SIG*² 863, cf. Tobin (1997) 25. le

⁵²⁰ Date based on the inscription *IG* II² 351; Travlos (1971) 498.

⁵²¹ Phil. VS. II.1.5, Paus. 1.19.6

⁵²² Travlos (1971) 498

suggesting that the Lycurgan building was likely decrepit by the second century AD.⁵²³ Having already stood for nearly four centuries, it must have been high time for a new venue; one befitting Athens' status in this century and more in keeping with the impressive structures gifted by Hadrian, especially those in the nearby Ilissos area. While the building took on a new, particularly Roman style, it is notable that the purpose of the site remained the same. Alongside the Stadium we ought to consider also the Temple of Tyche above the Stadium and the nearby bridge over the Ilissos. Remains of the temple have been found on Ardetus hill, identified securely by an inscribed statue base dedicated to Herodes' wife Regilla, the first priestess of Τύχη τῆς πόλεως ('Tyche of the city'), by a group of merchants from the Piraeus.⁵²⁴ The bridge, meanwhile, stood on an axis with the Stadium and appears to have been the primary means of accessing the site. Various factors indicate that these structures ought to be identified as part of Herodes' Stadium programme. Firstly, proximity: the bridge connects the Stadium with the city, and the temple overlooks the Stadium at the peak of one of the hills into which it is embedded. Secondly, the fact that Regilla was the first priestess of Tyche here may indicate a familial connection with the temple. The reference to Herodes as *archiereus* in the dedication, an office he held after Regilla's death in 160, indicates that the statue in the temple was set up posthumously.⁵²⁵ It is possible that the Temple of Tyche became a memorial to Regilla, and that the merchants who dedicated the statue had benefitted from Tyche and Regilla, or sought to benefit from Herodes. When Herodes died in 177 he was given a public burial in or near the Stadium, thus cementing his family's connection with this area of the city.⁵²⁶

⁵²³ *IG II²* 1035 (see pp.249-5).

⁵²⁴ *IG II²* 3607, 5.

⁵²⁵ Ameling (1983) no.90, Tobin (1997) 176.

⁵²⁶ Philostratus (*VS.* II.566) says the Athenians buried him in the Panathenaic Stadium, suggesting a location under the running tracks (see Tobin (1997) 182-3 for parallels). A sarcophagus discovered on the hill opposite Ardetus was once thought to be the tomb of Herodes, but this has largely been disproved based on the unfinished sculpture of the sarcophagus itself and a third-century coin found with the skeleton (see Tobin (1997) 177-185 for full discussion of the evidence).



Fig.5 *The Odeion of Herodes Atticus, Athens.*

Herodes' second major building project in Athens was the vast Odeion built into the southwest slope of the Acropolis (Fig.5). Pausanias tells us that Herodes' Odeion was the grandest in Greece, and that it was built in memory of his deceased wife.⁵²⁷ This gives the Odeion a *terminus post quem* of AD 160. Philostratus makes reference to the cedar wood roof of the building; with 38 metres to cover, the roof alone will have been constructed at great expense.⁵²⁸ In constructing an Odeion in Athens, Herodes was following in the footsteps of Pericles and Marcus Agrippa. The Odeion of Pericles had stood just east of the Theatre of Dionysus on the southern slope of the Acropolis until it was burnt down during Sulla's siege

⁵²⁷ Paus. 7.20.6; also Phil. VS. II.551.

⁵²⁸ Phil. VS. II.551, 556: the scale and expense of this memorial to Regilla were cited as proof of Herodes' innocence when he was brought to trial in Rome accused of her murder. For discussion of the size and materials of the Odeion see Tobin (1997) 185-192, Camp (2001) 217-8.

of 86 BC on the orders of Aristion, Athenian leader of the pro-Mithridates faction.⁵²⁹ The Odeion of Agrippa was built in the middle of the Agora around the time of Agrippa's visit to the city in 15 BC; another monumental structure, this Odeion dominated the space and forever changed the shape of the Agora. Herodes' Odeion was somewhat more integrated into the pre-existing landscape, connected to the Theatre of Dionysus by the Stoa of Eumenes, structures erected in the late fourth century and early second century BC respectively. Tobin considers the association of an Odeion and a Theatre reminiscent of the Roman model of grouping together buildings devoted to entertainment.⁵³⁰ And yet, a Theatre of Dionysus had been located on the same spot since 500BC. One could read Herodes' choice of this location as an acknowledgement of the area's architectural history, rather than strict adherence to the Roman model. In chapter two (pp.99-100) we explored the blending of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman architectural features in Hadrian's Athenian buildings; in this respect Herodes appears to have taken yet another cue from the emperor. There seems to have been a practical reason for needing another Odeion even though the Odeion of Agrippa was still standing: excavation of that site suggests that the roof collapsed in the second century and while it was rebuilt, it seems that the capacity of the auditorium was severely limited.⁵³¹ A passage of Philostratus suggests that the Odeion of Agrippa was, from this time, used as a lecture hall.⁵³²

Direct involvement aside, we must also consider the role played by the elite in gaining imperial benefactions for Athens. In Part I, we saw Dio undertake a delegation to Trajan in AD 100 in the hope of gaining favours for Prusa; in some cases, elite euergetism took the form not of providing buildings from an individual's own funds, but of using status and rhetorical skill to petition the emperor on the city's behalf. Herodes' own ancestors proved

⁵²⁹ Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 38: Aristion burnt the Odeion "so that Sulla might not have timber ready to hand for an assault on the Acropolis".

⁵³⁰ Tobin (1997) 193.

⁵³¹ Camp (2001) 217.

⁵³² Phil. VS. II. 571.

this to be a valuable form of euergetism for the city in the late first century BC: the architrave of the Gate of Athena Archegetis is inscribed with the names of not only Julius Caesar and Augustus, who donated money for the Roman Agora, but also Herodes of Marathon and his son Eucles, who carried out embassies to request the funds.⁵³³ Philostratus tells us that Herodes Atticus was sent with an Athenian delegation to Hadrian when he was encamped in Pannonia in 118.⁵³⁴ Herodes can have been no older than 18 at this time but, despite his age, he was appointed to give the speech to the emperor – a task he apparently bungled so thoroughly that he nearly hurled himself into the Danube. Philostratus uses this anecdote to draw comparison between Herodes and Demosthenes, who broke down during his speech to Philip. We can also infer from the mention of Herodes' youth that that he must have been accompanied by older Athenian statesmen. The precise objective of the delegation is unknown, but we might imagine that the intention, as with Dio's embassy to Trajan, was to gain honours for Athens. Hadrian became emperor in 117 and would not make his first visit to Athens until 125; it would make sense, therefore, for the Athenians to send a delegation to the new emperor at this time in the hope of establishing a favourable relationship. In this respect, the young Herodes' failure to impress does not appear to have had any lasting consequences.

Herodes Atticus was truly an exceptional individual: his vast wealth was unrivalled in Athens, and he was renowned across the empire as a great, and often controversial, figure. As a super-euergete he operated across Greece, where a theatre at Corinth, a nymphaeum at Olympia, and a stadium at Delphi were among his crowning achievements. Aqueducts in Italy at Canusium and in Alexandria Troas cemented his position as a truly international benefactor. No Athenian could compete with Herodes Atticus, but that is not to say that other

⁵³³ *IG II² 3175*; Herodes is mentioned by Cicero in a letter to Atticus (*Ad. Att.* 6.1) as having "squeezed 50 Attic talents out of Caesar".

⁵³⁴ *Phil. VS. II.565*.

Athenians did not take part in building and restoration projects. A wealthy woman (whose name does not survive) funded the refurbishment of the temple of Isis on the south slope of the Acropolis: an inscription records the extensive restorations, including facade, columns, and gates, as well as a statue of Aphrodite.⁵³⁵ Not on the same level as Herodes, perhaps, but some indication of the type of euergetism undertaken by the elite at large.

In this section, we have aimed to highlight Herodes' exceptionalism and his significant role in the renewal of Athens, while also seeking to contextualise him within the second-century Athenian elite. Herodes' works, no doubt consciously emulating and continuing those of the emperor Hadrian himself, were an integral part of the renewal process and enabled Athens to compete with the much wealthier cities of the Greek East – a feat the city would have been unlikely to achieve without him. However, the factional strife that occurred as a direct result of Herodes' euergetic activities encapsulates perfectly the picture of second-century provincial life painted by Dio and Plutarch. Like Dio in Prusa and Vedius Antoninus in Ephesus (pp.121, 131), Herodes found himself loathed by his fellow citizens. In some ways, then, Athens could be considered a rather typical provincial city of the Roman Empire; both reliant on the very wealthy, and vulnerable to the social unrest that their presence and competition could occasion.

In the next section, we look at what set Athens apart; namely her cultural heritage. We explore how the contemporary hunger for rhetoric and Classical learning contributed to the renewal of the city and its vibrancy as a major cultural centre of the empire.

II.iii. Cultural life in second-century Athens

When Pausanias tells us that Athens “flowered again” under Hadrian, he is referring primarily to the built landscape of the city, which had finally recovered in full from the wars

⁵³⁵ *IG II² 4771*; Walters (1988) 63.

of the first century BC.⁵³⁶ But what of the cultural flowering of Athens in the second century? From Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, we gain a picture of Athens as a major centre of learning, visited by an endless cycle of famous sophists and eager students, and populated by "accomplished judges of oratory". So renowned was the Athenians' reputation as a critical audience, that the sophist Polemo began a speech by challenging them ("I shall soon find out") rather than performing an encomium on the city, because "he knew well that the natural disposition of the Athenians needs to be held in check rather than encouraged to greater pride."⁵³⁷ Another anecdote describes Philagrus of Cilicia as "...walking towards evening in the Cerameicus with four men of the sort that at Athens chase after the sophists..."⁵³⁸ Philostratus' sophists are prone to attracting crowds and promoting a competitive, factional environment for their respective followers: after a confrontation with followers of Herodes in the Cerameicus, Philagrus accuses Herodes of failing to teach his pupils good manners and Herodes responds by suggesting that his proemium must have been unsuccessful (i.e. that Philagrus had not succeeded in winning over his pupils). The affair culminates in the pupils of Herodes tricking Philagrus into repeating an old declamation rather than improvising a new one, to Philagrus' great humiliation.⁵³⁹ Others were more successful in winning popularity with the Athenians. Hadrian of Tyre, for example, appealed to them by giving games, wine-parties and hunts, and partaking in all their festivals. Hadrian held the chair of rhetoric at the time when Marcus Aurelius was visiting Athens in AD 176; having appointed him to the chair on reputation alone, Marcus was keen to hear him speak. The emperor was so impressed that he reportedly showered Hadrian with gifts, honours and privileges, including immunity from taxes.⁵⁴⁰ Performing in Athens held not only the prestige of performing in the city where rhetoric first flourished as an art form (pp.81-2), but a chance to

⁵³⁶ Paus. 1.20.4.

⁵³⁷ Phil. VS. II.535.

⁵³⁸ Phil. VS. II.578.

⁵³⁹ Phil. VS. II.578-80.

⁵⁴⁰ Phil. VS. II.588-89.

win the patronage of the emperor himself. Philostratus' accounts of the careers of Julius Theodotus and Hadrian of Tyre suggest that Marcus personally appointed the holders of the chair of rhetoric; by establishing an imperial chair in Athens Marcus guaranteed that a stream of famous orators would base themselves in the city. In turn, this attracted pupils from across the empire, thus enhancing Athens' reputation, her cultural vitality, and – quite likely – her economy. Herodes Atticus also injected personal funds into acquiring performances from famous sophists, apparently paying Polemo 250,000 drachmae to perform three declamations in Athens.⁵⁴¹ Herodes himself was still drawing a crowd in his final years: “youths from all parts of the world hung on his lips, and they flocked to Athens in their desire to hear his eloquence.”⁵⁴²

Among the great sophists of the mid-second century, two members of the Athenian elite can be distinguished – Herodes Atticus, and Julius Theodotus, whose career and role in the prosecution of Herodes we have already discussed (pp.150-1). Another important sophist at the latter end of the century was the man Philostratus names ‘Apollonius of Athens’.

Apollonius held the chair of political oratory, but was known to perform declamations as well. During an embassy to Septimius Severus in Rome he won a debate with the sophist Heracleides so decisively that the latter lost his privileges of exemption from liturgies, while Apollonius walked away with gifts from the emperor.⁵⁴³ In addition to his oratorical skill,

Apollonius was famed for his illustrious career in Athens:

παρεθέμην δὲ ταῦτα οὐ παραιτούμενος αὐτὸν τῶν ἀκολάστων ῥυθμῶν, ἀλλὰ διδάσκων, ὅτι μηδὲ τοὺς σωφρονεστέρους ῥυθμοὺς ἡγνῶει ἐτελεύτα μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη πολὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀθηναίων δήμῳ πνεύσας, ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ τῆς Ἐλευσίνάδε λεωφόρου. ὄνομα μὲν δὴ τῷ προαστείῳ Ἴερά σικῆ, τὰ δὲ Ἐλευσινόθεν ἱερά, ἐπειδὴν ἐς ἄστὺ ἄγωσιν, ἐκεῖ ἀναπαύουσιν.

He also won distinction in public affairs, and not only was he sent as an ambassador on missions of the greatest importance, but also performed the public functions which the Athenians rank

⁵⁴¹ Phil. VS. II.538.

⁵⁴² Phil. VS. II.562.

⁵⁴³ Phil. VS. II.601.

highest, being appointed both archon and hoplite general, and when already well on in years hierophant of the Anaktoron of Demeter... He died about seventy-five, after a career of great energy as a speaker at Athens, and was buried in the suburbs near the road that leads to Eleusis. This suburb is called the 'Sacred Fig', and when the sacred emblems from Eleusis are carried in procession to the city they halt here to rest.⁵⁴⁴

Clinton has presented a compelling argument for identifying this Apollonius with the hierophant Cassianus Apollonius (of the Julii Cassiani of Steiria) who was hoplite general in 188/9.⁵⁴⁵ Cassianus Apollonius is honoured with epigrams on a statue base at Eleusis – the epic style of which seems particularly appropriate for such a distinguished man with a flair for rhetoric.

ὦ μύσται, τότε μ' εἶδεν' ἀνακτόρου ἐκ προφανέντα
νυξὶν ἐν ἀργενναῖς, νῦν δὲ μεθημέριον
ἐκ προγόνων ῥητῆρα λόγοις ἐναγώνιον αἰεὶ
τῶν ἀποπασάμενος θέσφατα νῦν ἰάχω.
5 οὔνομα δ' ὅστις ἐγὼ μὴ δίζεο· θεσμός ἐκεῖνο
μυστικὸς ᾗχετ' ἄγων εἰς ἄλλα πορφυρέην.
ἀλλ' ὅταν εἰς μακάρων ἔλθω καὶ μόρσιμον ἦμαρ,
λέξουσιν τότε δὴ πάντες ὅσοις μέλομαι.

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νῦν ἤδη παῖδες κλυτὸν ὄνομα πατρὸς ἀρίστου
10 φαίνομεν, ὃ ζῶδς κρύψεν ἄλδς πελάγ[ει].
οὔτος Ἀπολλώνιος αἰοίδιμος, ὃν φ[άμενός τις]
σημαίνει μυσταῖς οὔνομα πατ[ρὸς ὀμοῦ],
σὺν δὲ Ποσειδάωνι φερώνυμος εὖ πα[ρεκλήθη].

Initiates, erstwhile you saw me appearing from the temple
in blazing nights, and then by day
ever contesting in speech as an orator like my fathers:
from this I have ceased and now cry out holy utterances.
What name is mine, do not ask: initiate law
has borne it off into the purple sea.
But when I come to the land of the blessed and my doomed day
then shall all speak it to whom I am dear.

Now at last by his children the glorious name of their excellent father
is revealed, which in life he hid in the briny sea:
this is celebrated Apollonius, (a name) which [when said]
points out to initiates the name of his father also.
And bearing a name with Poseidon was happily [- -].⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁴ Phil. VS. II.602, trans. Cave Wright (1921).

⁵⁴⁵ Clinton (2004) 47-50. While Clinton develops the argument fully, the connection was first made by Dumont (1870) 114 and has been followed by numerous scholars since (for full citations see *ibid* 49n.27.)

⁵⁴⁶ *IG* II² 3811, this translation presented by Clinton (2004) 29, adapted from Bowie (1989) 243. The first epigram pertains to Apollonius' role as hierophant, and provides an interesting insight into that role – the hierophant's name was cast into the sea and could not be spoken until his death. The second was added after Apollonius' death, hence the inclusion of his name.

These epigrams – full of sacred mystery, poetic description, and references to ancestry and descendants – recall the poem composed by Herodes Atticus to mark his return from exile (discussed below, pp.174-7). Apollonius, like Herodes, appears to have been very much a product of his time – engaging in the cultural life of Athens, performing the foremost public and sacred duties, and representing the city before the emperor.

It was not only the old Athenian families who contributed to the renewal of Athens in the second century; Athens also benefitted from the presence of wealthy foreigners. One of the most remarkable monuments of second-century Athens is the Monument of Philopappos, located prominently on the Mouseion Hill west of the Acropolis (Fig.6, p.168). Dedicated around AD 114-116, the monument is the tomb of Gaius Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus, a descendant of the kings of Commagene. It was likely Philopappus himself, or a member of his family who erected the monument.⁵⁴⁷ The family was exiled from Commagene in 72 AD whereupon Philopappus embarked on a Roman career; he became consul under Trajan and *agonothetes* of the Dionysia.⁵⁴⁸ Even in Roman times it was unusual for a burial to be permitted within the city walls; that Philopappus was granted this honour suggests that his benefactions to Athens had won him great popularity in the city and acceptance of his citizen identity.⁵⁴⁹ Philopappus, in fact, is an example of the increasing accessibility of Athenian citizenship, as we discussed in chapter two (p.112). Another notable foreigner is Sarapion, the poet whose choregic victory of AD 113-116 was honoured with a tripod in the Asclepieion. Originally from Hierapolis in Syria, Sarapion appears to have gained citizenship and started a dynasty at Athens – the Statii of Cholleidai, whose fortunes we discuss below (pp.169-71).⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁷ Kleiner (1983) 52.

⁵⁴⁸ *IG II²* 3112, 2; 4511, 2; Plut. *Mor.* 628a-b.

⁵⁴⁹ Cic. *Ad Fam.* 4.12.3; Camp (2001) 199.

⁵⁵⁰ Steph. Byz. i.33 ii.270 Billerbeck-Zubler.



Fig.6 Monument of Philopappus, Mouseion Hill, Athens.

It was the cultural prestige of Athens that drew influential and wealthy foreigners to the city. With only a fairly small elite capable of serving as benefactors, the Athenian economy will have received a welcome boost from an influx of foreigners. Philopappus' record as a *euergetes* illustrates this valuable contribution, while Sarapion's dynasty expanded the ranks of the Athenian elite.

Part III: Shaping Elite Identity

We have seen that by the latter part of the second century money had become the chief signifier of 'elite' status, with factors such as the plague of the 160's exacerbating the need for new families to enter the upper echelons of Athenian society (pp.137-41). How did the Athenian elite respond to these changes and challenges? In the final part of this chapter I discuss the issue of reputation and renown; the importance of memory, and the pursuit of fame beyond the grandee's home city. I argue that the socially-disruptive money economy that we have discussed so far was responsible for the importance attached to memory among the Athenians of this time: the more important the cash economy became, the more important memory became also. As the city elite expanded to provide more men with the wealth to hold office, how were long-established families to distinguish themselves among the ranks of wealthy families? The solution could be found in claims of noble ancestry, fiercely promoted via honorific inscriptions. Closely connected to this phenomenon is the quest for family connections beyond Athens.

Ancestry had always been an important issue in Athenian society – unsurprising for a society which had traditionally upheld strict citizenship requirements (pp.111-2). The importance of family name and status in the second century AD is aptly illustrated by the Sarapion monument, which records the advancement of the Statii of Cholleidai. This monument, a triangular base on which a tripod would have been displayed, was initially set up to honour

the choregic victory of Sarapion.⁵⁵¹ Based on the name of the archon, and evidence from Plutarch that Sarapion's victory occurred in a contest for which Philopappus was *agonothetes*, the victory has been dated to AD 113-116.⁵⁵² The monument was set up in the Asclepieion – a notable location for the display of honours for members of the cultural elite, rather than the wealth and/or political elite, i.e. sophists, teachers, philosophers, physicians (pp.122-3). Geagan notes that this group typically have little interest in promoting family or ancestry; Sarapion was a member of this group and, like Philopappus, a foreigner by birth.⁵⁵³ The particularly interesting aspect of the Sarapion monument, therefore, is the distinctive emphasis on family in its later phase. Typological differences and chronological factors identify two phases to the monument. Lines 1-6 and 41-45 (a *paean*) belong to a second phase, in which Sarapion's grandson Quintus Statius Glaucus dedicated a statue near the monument in his grandfather's honour.⁵⁵⁴ The inscription records that Glaucus was the lifelong priest of Asclepius (p.138), and the *pyrphoros* – an official who brought fire from the Acropolis to the temple. In choosing to honour his grandfather Glaucus borrowed for himself some of the prestige of Sarapion's victory – the dedicatory inscription served to remind all who witnessed the monument of his own cultural heritage.⁵⁵⁵ The emphasis on family and on Glaucus' lifelong priesthood recalls Eleusinian monuments, rather than the sort typically found at the Asclepieion. A neighbouring statue base for Glaucus' son, Themistocles, documents the family's continuing interest in developing their status within religious and cultural spheres. The dedicator Flavius Glaucus appears to be a distant cousin of Themistocles through their "common great-grandfather", Sarapion. Flavius Glaucus describes himself as a "poet, orator, and philosopher" while Themistocles is described as a former

⁵⁵¹ Oliver (1936) 93. Sarapion's victory was recorded by Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* 628 a-b.

⁵⁵² Geagan (1991) 153.

⁵⁵³ See Geagan (1991) 154 for a list of further inscriptions in the Asclepieion honouring the cultural elite.

⁵⁵⁴ The text of another statue base in the sanctuary connected to the same family (*IG II² 3704*) confirms that there was both a tripod and a statue dedicated to Sarapion in the Asclepieion.

⁵⁵⁵ Geagan (1991) 159.

kleidouchos of Asclepius – continuing the family’s association with the cult.⁵⁵⁶ The cluster of monuments dedicated by and for the Statii of Cholleidai in the Asclepieion demonstrates the importance of family name and status, and – most particularly – the quest for famous ancestors. Glaucus traded on his grandfather’s renown in order to mark himself as part of the cultural elite without (as far as we know) any particular cultural achievements of his own. His own career within the cult of Asclepius, and that of his son, may be interpreted as an attempt to claim for the Statii a monopoly on the high offices of this cult.

If we were to consider a scale of Athenian ‘eliteness’, the Statii of Cholleidai might be placed in a lower stratum: seemingly starting out as foreigners, from the mid-second century AD we see them attempting to stake their claim to greatness. The upper echelons were certainly not above this quest for status and, particularly in the latter part of the second century, we see a prevalence of familial power-play emerging in two forms: claims of legendary ancestry, and marriages into notable families outside Athens.

Fifth- and fourth-century BC ancestors appear to have been particularly popular among the families seeking to authenticate their elite status at this time. The Aelii of Pallene recorded descent from Conon in dedications for P. Aelius Lucius at the end of the second century and P. Aelia Herennia early in the third.⁵⁵⁷ That such claims were a relatively new preoccupation for these families is suggested by the fact that the first definitive instance of the Claudii of Melite claiming Classical ancestry is found in the early third century AD. As Clinton observes, while many earlier statue bases for the family list several generations, none of these had mentioned Pericles until a dedication for Julia Cassiana of Steiria dating to c.230.⁵⁵⁸ Cassiana was the daughter of Claudia Menandra of Melite (and great-granddaughter of

⁵⁵⁶ *IG* II² 3704.

⁵⁵⁷ Aelius Lucius: *IG* II² 3643; Aelia Herennia: *IG* II² 3688.

⁵⁵⁸ Clinton (2004) 56. Inscription: *Ag.* I 7483, Camp (1986) 196, Clinton (2004) 39-57. Julia Cassiana: Byrne (2003) 319, no.83

Herodes' enemy Demostratus). Located in prominent position in front of the Library of Pantainos, the dedication describes Cassiana as "twenty-first in descent from Pericles". This dedication has been used by Kapetanopoulos to restore "Pericles and Conon" in an inscription for the (unnamed) grandson of T. Claudius Sospis of Melite, in which the grandson is described as a "nineteenth descendant"; as this inscription dates roughly to 190, the chronology corresponds suitably to Cassiana's place in the line forty years later.⁵⁵⁹ While Cassiana's third-century inscription is our earliest secure evidence for the ancestral claims of the Claudii, the convincing restoration of the earlier dedication may indicate that the Claudii were likely beginning to make such claims in the latter part of the second century. These claims were upheld into the mid-third century, as an altar for Junia Themistoclea at Eleusis proves. Junia Themistoclea, the granddaughter of Claudia Themistoclea of Melite, was honoured by her mother for her service as hearth initiate with an inscription describing her descent from Pericles, Conon and Alexander the Great.⁵⁶⁰ Her descent from Pericles and Conon comes from the Claudii of Melite, while her descent from Alexander likely originates with her grandfather, Honoratianus Polycharmus, a naturalised citizen from Macedon who married into the Claudii.⁵⁶¹ One might imagine it was Polycharmus' illustrious ancestry that made him an appealing candidate for marriage into one of the oldest families of the Athenian elite; by uniting their family with that of Polycharmus, the Claudii of that line could henceforth embellish their ancestry with descent from Alexander. In the second century, we see Claudia Praxagora of Melite (daughter of Demostratus) marry Lucius Gellius Zenagoras of Delphi, a naturalised citizen of Athens who became enrolled in the deme Melite. The

⁵⁵⁹ *IG II²* 3610, Kapetanopoulos (1968) 494.

⁵⁶⁰ *IG II²* 3679. Junia Themistoclea and Julia Cassiana are first cousins once removed; Cassiana's mother and Junia's grandmother were sisters.

⁵⁶¹ Honoratianus Polycharmus: Byrne (2003) 299, no.1; Clinton (2004) 55.

descendants of Praxagora and Zenagoras were active both in Athens and Delphi.⁵⁶² It is possible that the Gellii of Delphi were connected to the Gellii of Corinth, a prominent family since the first century BC. Through marriage with naturalised citizens from prominent families elsewhere in Greece, the Claudii of Melite strengthened their ancestry and connections, acquiring new names to boast of and, in turn, promoting their family name on the wider Greek stage. It is particularly interesting that prior to the very late second century, the Claudii appear to have arranged marriages exclusively within Athens, or even within their own extended family: Demonstratus, for example, married Aelia Philiste, his second cousin once removed. This corresponds with the notion that the old Athenian elite experienced a period of insecurity during the later second century (pp.139-41), to which they responded with determined promotion of noble ancestry, and strategic intermarriage with other Greek cities.

While marrying abroad seems to have been a new phenomenon among the Claudii of Melite, the Claudii of Marathon had perceived the advantages of foreign connections earlier in the second century. One might suggest that the intense rivalry between these two families was a factor in prompting the Claudii of Melite to strengthen their ties abroad. The family of Herodes Atticus had been connected with Sparta since his grandfather's generation; beginning with honours paid to Hipparchus by two Spartan citizens in the 70's or 80's AD, the relationship between the Claudii and Sparta is documented well into the later second century. Herodes' father Atticus was an ephebe in Sparta during his youth and held several offices there in the 130's: eponymous *patronomos* (Sparta's highest office), *ensitos* of a college of Spartan magistrates, and finally the post of *Cytherodices* – an annually-appointed

⁵⁶² E.g. L. Gellius Demonstratus: priest of Pythian Apollo at Delphi (*SEG* 22.482); L. Gellius Polyzalos: Areopagite (*IG* II² 1999), Eleusinian hierophant (*IG* II² 3706), ambassador at Delphi (*SEG* 22.482); Gellia Dionysia: Priestess of Demeter at Eleusis (*IG* II² 4824).

magistrate who governed the island of Cythera.⁵⁶³ Spawforth has suggested that the family's connection with Sparta may originally have developed out of necessity following Hipparchus' disgrace and execution (pp.146-8). Perhaps the family had been exiled from Athens or had relocated to avoid recriminations; either way, Atticus' membership of the Spartan *ephebeia* must have been granted in exceptional circumstances – Atticus was one of only two foreigners admitted to the Spartan *ephebeia* during the imperial period (the other being another descendant of his).⁵⁶⁴ The first-century inscription honouring Hipparchus as the benefactor of two Spartan brothers indicates that Hipparchus had friends in Sparta who might have been willing to welcome the family after his death.⁵⁶⁵ During his time in the *ephebeia*, Atticus appears to have developed lifelong connections. It seems likely that he named a daughter, Claudia Tisamenis, after a Spartan contemporary named Tisamenus; later, he appears to have married Tisamenis to another Spartan – Tiberius Claudius Aristocrates.⁵⁶⁶ After her death in the mid-150's Herodes dedicated a statue group at Sparta in honour of Tisamenis and her family.⁵⁶⁷ Another inscription from Sparta seems to indicate that one more member of the family entered the Spartan *ephebeia*; referred to only as 'Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ Ἡρώδου', this person has been identified as Herodes' son Bradua Regillus.⁵⁶⁸

The Claudii of Marathon claimed descent from the famous Marathonians Cimon and Miltiades; as if this were not enough, Herodes Atticus also counted Erechtheus, Theseus, Heracles, and the Aeginetan Aeacids among his ancestors.⁵⁶⁹ Two inscriptions are integral to

⁵⁶³ For further discussion of the Claudii of Marathon and their relationship with Sparta see Spawforth (1980) 203-220. For Atticus' career see *PIR*² C 801. Atticus never actually served as *Cytherodices* – it seems likely that he died before taking up the post.

⁵⁶⁴ Spawforth (1980) 204-5.

⁵⁶⁵ *IG* V 1.516, now lost.

⁵⁶⁶ The identity and connections of Claudia Tisamenis are based on a fragmentary inscription found in the theatre at Sparta (*SEG* 11.781). Through the identification of Herodes Atticus as the dedicator and careful exploration of the names given in the inscription, Spawforth, (1980) 211-217, has argued persuasively for the identification of Tisamenis as the otherwise unknown sister of Herodes. See also Tobin (1997) 19.

⁵⁶⁷ Statue group: *ibid.*

⁵⁶⁸ *IG* V 1.45.

⁵⁶⁹ *Phil. VS* 2.546; *IG* XIV 1389.30-33.

our understanding of Herodes' preoccupation with ancestry. One is the poem inscribed on a *stèle* at Herodes' Marathon estate which commemorates Herodes' return to Athens in 175 after his self-imposed exile.⁵⁷⁰ The other is a poem commissioned by Herodes in commemoration of Regilla, inscribed on two *stelai* in the Triopion at Herodes' Via Appia estate.⁵⁷¹ The former is widely considered to have been composed by Herodes himself, while the latter is the work of one 'Marcellus', most likely Marcellus of Side, a poet from Pamphylia.⁵⁷² Both poems carry distinctive messages: the Via Appia inscription presents Herodes as a devoted mourner, an image he promoted heavily in response to accusations of murder, while the Marathon *stèle* depicts Herodes as an Athenian hero, setting in stone an image of the Athenians' gratitude for his return. Present in both works is an unspoken conflict; in one case between Herodes and Regilla's family, in the other between Herodes and the Athenians. The invocation of numerous heroic and divine ancestors in these poems functions as a form of poetic persuasion aimed at resolving conflict and vindicating Herodes of any perceived wrongdoing.

As we shall explore further in chapter four, Herodes' pride in his 'bi-cultural' marriage was an important feature of the inscriptions and architecture of his estates (pp.186-97). Herodes envisions his marriage to Regilla as a union of Athens and Rome, a vision clearly expressed in the first few lines of the Triopion poem:

She was descended from the prosperous line of Aeneas, the renowned blood of
Anchises and Idaean Aphrodite.
She married into Marathon.⁵⁷³

Regilla brought to the marriage a distinguished Roman heritage; as a member of the patrician Annii Regilli family, Regilla could trace her lineage back to Venus and Anchises – a fact

⁵⁷⁰ *IG* II² 3606.

⁵⁷¹ *IG* XIV 1389.

⁵⁷² Tobin (1997) 356, Ameling II (1983) 156.

⁵⁷³ *IG* XIV 1389.3-5, trans. Pomeroy (2007) 170.

placed front and centre in the commemorative poem, and implicit in many of Herodes' other monuments.⁵⁷⁴ Regilla is also described as a descendant of Aeneas, but Herodes explores her lineage further: she is also a member of the Dardanian race of Tros, which makes her a descendant of Tros' son Ganymede, the cup-bearer and lover of Zeus.⁵⁷⁵ It is particularly interesting that in the passage devoted to Regilla's Trojan heritage, the poet describes her as 'καλλίσφυρος', 'she of the beautiful ankles', a poetic epithet used by Homer and Hesiod to describe variously Nike, Danaë, Ino, and the nymphs.⁵⁷⁶ The use of a Homeric epithet corresponds with the Homeric mode of address used in the Marathon poem, which is compiled throughout in the same linguistic style as the Homeric epics.⁵⁷⁷ In marrying Herodes, Regilla "married into Marathon". This denotes more than Regilla's marriage to a man from this deme; rather, it implies that Regilla was marrying into a Marathonian heritage. That Herodes was keen to perpetuate this link is evident in the name of his eldest daughter, Elpinice, an unusual name in the second century, and one shared with the daughter of Miltiades.⁵⁷⁸ The poem's reference to Marathon is perhaps intended to invoke the eponymous rustic hero, depicted on the Stoa Poikile and worshipped by the Marathonians.⁵⁷⁹ In our second poem, located on Herodes' Marathon estate, Herodes begins by addressing Marathon directly – again, a non-specific reference to both place and hero.⁵⁸⁰ In both these poems, we can interpret 'Marathon' as shorthand for Herodes' illustrious ancestry; the name alone

⁵⁷⁴ Pomeroy (2007) 13. Other monuments: *IG* II² 4076 from the Athenian Agora; *FD* III.3.71 and *FD* III.3.72 from Delphi (see Tobin (1997) 77-80 for a full list). Most simply list Regilla's full name (Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Caucidia Tertulla) coupled occasionally with reference to her father Appius Gallus, consul of Rome; this in itself confirms her noble heritage.

⁵⁷⁵ *IG* XIV 1389.38-39.

⁵⁷⁶ Nike: Hes. *Theog.* 384; Danaë: Hom. *Il.* 14.319; Ino: Hom. *Od.* 5.333; nymphs: *Il.* 9.560. The term is used in the second century by Lucian to describe Hebe: *DMort.* 16.1.

⁵⁷⁷ Petrakos (1996) 168.

⁵⁷⁸ Plut. *Cim.* 4. Perry (2001) 486, see also: Tobin (1997) 83, Pomeroy (2007) 47.

⁵⁷⁹ Pausanias describes the appearance of Marathon in a painting on the Stoa Poikile (1.15.4) and later states that the Marathonians worship their hero alongside those who died in the Battle of Marathon (1.32.4). Philostratus mentions a statue at Marathon of the eponymous 'rustic hero' (*VS.* II. 553).

⁵⁸⁰ *IG* II² 3606.1.

invokes the memory of the hero, the battle, and the victorious Athenian general of the Persian Wars.

As the Triopion poem continues, so does the repertoire of ancestors: as an Athenian, Herodes could claim descent from Theseus, and as a member of the *genos* Ceryces he also counted among his ancestors Hermes and Herse, through Ceryx the mythical herald.⁵⁸¹ These claims serve as precursor to the statement: “In Greece there is no family or reputation more royal than Herodes’/ They call him the voice of Athens”.⁵⁸² The objective of these ancestral claims is made clear: under a veil of mourning, the Triopion inscription is essentially another monument to Herodes himself, and the Via Appia text another stage for Herodes’ self-promotion. It is likely that the villa within which the Triopion stood was given to Herodes by the Annii as a part of Regilla’s dowry.⁵⁸³ If so, this adds a further dimension to Herodes’ need to justify his identity so thoroughly within the commemorative poem – a need echoed in his treatment of the villa itself. Following Regilla’s death, Herodes was prosecuted for her murder by her brother Bradua, a powerful and influential man in Rome.⁵⁸⁴ From the little archaeological evidence available for the Via Appia estate, it appears that Herodes razed the original Republican estate and built an entirely new one in its place. The period following Regilla’s death in 160 seems the most appropriate time for Herodes’ construction of the new villa, particularly as it is likely that Regilla’s distinguished father Gallus was also deceased by this time. By constructing a new estate and commissioning the commemorative poem to stand within, Herodes was seeking to redefine this space in a way that demonstrated to Rome and the Annii his impeccable pedigree, his privileged status, and his unassailable character. In the context of the Via Appia villa we might imagine that this need for self-promotion was exacerbated by the fact that Herodes was an Athenian in Rome. Having lost Regilla, through

⁵⁸¹ *IG* XIV 1389.30-33.

⁵⁸² *IG* XIV 1389.36-37.

⁵⁸³ Tobin (1997) 355, Skenteri (2005) 29.

⁵⁸⁴ *Phil. VS.* II. 555.

whom he acquired his prestigiously-located villa, Herodes confirmed his possession of this space and his right to it by affirming both his own distinguished Athenian heritage and the Roman ancestry he had co-opted through his marriage.

In just a brief sample of Herodes' epigraphic habit we have seen how ancestry played an integral role in his careful construction of an inviolable elite identity; in their Athenian, Roman, and Spartan connections Herodes' family demonstrates ancestry of the finest pedigree, taking in historical figures, heroes, and even gods. While there are clear personal motives for Herodes' promotion of his ancestry in both these cases, the poems must also be understood in the context of the contemporary trend among the old elite for promoting ancestral connections. Before Herodes' time there is no evidence for the Claudii publicising their ancestry in this way, and both the Triopion and Marathon monuments date to the latter part of Herodes' life. While the Triopion monument was designed for a Roman audience, it was important to Herodes that he be identified as the best among the Athenians, and even the best of the Greeks; the implication of lines 36-37 is that there are many distinguished families in Greece, but none is greater than the Claudii of Marathon. The composition and inscription of the Marathon poem, commemorating Herodes' return to Athens in 175, falls within the period of the expansion of Athens' 'wealth elite' (pp.139-41). Upon returning to Athens, Herodes immediately restates his Marathonian identity: the inscription commemorates not only the return of a benefactor, but of a true Athenian, thoroughly embedded in both the Attic past and present.

Conclusion

The Athenian elite played a vital role in the renewal of Athens: funding building and restoration projects, financing the many new festivals that attracted visitors and competitors from across the Greek world, or enhancing the cultural reputation of the city through personal

fame as sophists. Members of the elite can also be seen behind imperial benefactions; delegations to the emperor were a vital aspect of elite responsibility in the provincial cities and Athens was no exception.

In this chapter, we have had opportunity to explore the elite class beyond Herodes Atticus, made up of various overlapping categories of 'elite' (pp.122-3). While wealth gradually became the most important criteria for membership of the elite, the older and more established of these families sought further exclusivity through the promotion of their noble birth (εὐγένεια). This exclusive definition of elite status by noble birth was evidently shared by Marcus Aurelius who, pushed by necessity to loosen restrictions on membership of the Areopagus, claimed he would have maintained his earlier enforcement of exclusivity, "if only there were an abundance of reputable families" (p.140). Increasingly, the old families of the Athenian elite looked to the past to cement their position in the face of present challenges.

As we progress to chapter four, we must keep in mind these challenges to traditional elite status markers such as membership of the Areopagus; we must also consider how those second-generation freedmen newly admitted to the Areopagus (p.139) will have chosen to display their newly-acquired status. In the next chapter, we explore rural Attica as both a socio-economic and a sacro-idyllic landscape; Herodes and the Athenian elite (old and new), once again loom large as landowners and residents of the countryside, whose perennial quest for exclusivity and new modes of self-representation contributed to the ideological renewal, not just of the city, but also of the countryside in the second century AD.

Renewing Attica? Life and Death in the Roman Countryside

Introduction

In the preceding chapters, we have taken three different approaches to renewal. We have seen how the Ilissos area was reconfigured in the second century, its monuments and buildings carefully conceived to place a contemporary narrative of renewal within an ancient context. We have investigated the establishment of the Panhellenion and found that its central ideology and function centred firmly on the glorification of Athens as benefactress of the Greek world. We have explored the activities of the second-century elite, finding a complex and unstable society caught between the need for new blood and the quest for greater exclusivity. While a great deal of the financial power that facilitated renewal came from the emperor, there is abundant evidence that the Athenians seized such benefactions with great enthusiasm and cultivated the city's reputation as an important cultural centre. Even the unrest among the elite can be interpreted as a sign of the city's vitality: as Jones observed, "faction, whether in Flavian Sardis, Trajanic Prusa, or Antonine Athens, is not a sign of decadence, but of the stubborn vitality of an old tradition."⁵⁸⁵

In this chapter, we continue our previous discussion of elite self-promotion, following this quest for identity and exclusivity out into the Attic countryside. Using the villas of Herodes Atticus as a starting point, our theme throughout is Athenian engagement with rural Attica and the role that the countryside, or representations of rural life, played in Athenian self-expression. In the course of this discussion we also address the dual nature of Attica, finding both an inhabited, cultivated, useful space, as well as a place to encounter gods and heroes –

⁵⁸⁵ Jones (1978) 103.

rustic, idyllic, sacred. We employ the term 'sacro-idyllic' here to connote not only the sacred landscape but also broader concepts of an ideal countryside. While it is an undeniably loose term, it serves as convenient shorthand for the collection of concepts relating to sacred and ideal landscapes which will be discussed throughout this chapter.

To date, approaches to both the socio-economic and the sacro-idyllic landscapes have been flawed. The fascination with archaeological survey that prevailed in the later twentieth century provided a picture of an uninhabited landscape, and literary evidence was cherry-picked to support this picture: survey could not provide evidence of inhabitation in Roman Attica, and the focus on the sacred landscape by writers such as Pausanias seemingly confirmed that Attica was full of religious curiosities but empty of economic activity. In this chapter I explore both the socio-economic and the sacro-idyllic identities of Attica, taking into account the archaeological evidence beyond survey, and supplementing the staple literature with epigraphic evidence for Athenian engagement with the countryside. This approach yields a fresh view of the Attic countryside, with a more positive image of the socio-economic landscape emerging alongside an active ideology based around the sacro-idyllic landscape. We find that not only did the two co-exist, but that the ideology of a sacro-idyllic Attica in fact came from the residents of the countryside, and is thus to be contextualised within mainstream socio-economic activities.

As detailed in the introduction to my thesis (pp.25-6), evidence for rural life in Roman Attica is somewhat limited, which is why scholarship has typically favoured arguments from the absence of evidence. However, this disregards important literary, epigraphic, and archaeological testimonia that ought to be considered together as a corpus of evidence, as presented in Appendix B. In full knowledge and acceptance of the limits of our evidence, I aim to discard assumptions that the Attic countryside was in some way neglected or remote

from urban life by the Roman period. I argue that, instead, the unified nature of Athens and Attica enabled the countryside to share in the cultural vitality of the second-century city.

Part I: Synoecism and the Attic Demes

Most regions of ancient Greece consisted of numerous city-states, each with their own territory; some of these went through the process of synoecism for different reasons at different times. We have already seen that Attica unified early – likely between 950 and 700 BC – and maintained this unity (p.45-6). Literary sources of the Classical through Roman periods universally identify Theseus as responsible for the synoecism of Athens. Thucydides’ famous observation about the Athenians’ experience of moving into the city upon the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war highlights this integration: the Athenians found it difficult to move into the city, as most were accustomed to living in the country.⁵⁸⁶ This level of integration was quite unusual in Greece: unlike most regions, Attica had one focal point – Athens – and the residents of Attica were Athenian citizens as much as those who resided in the city.⁵⁸⁷ Other sources vary in their representation of the Theseus’ synoecism: some credit Theseus with civilising the people of Attica and organising their scattered settlements into a city-state, while others work on the basis that the Attic people had already been organised into twelve cities by Cecrops – in this version Theseus united the cities into the Athenian *polis* as it stood in the Classical period.⁵⁸⁸

In Roman treatments of Theseus’ synoecism of Attica, we find a trend of depoliticizing the Attic countryside to make way for a more explicit synoecism in which the population of Attica moved to Athens. This is in stark contrast to Classical accounts of the political

⁵⁸⁶ Thuc. 2.14.1.

⁵⁸⁷ Those who were able to own land in Attica were, by Classical standards at least, more Athenian than the residents of the city, who (as we discussed in chapter two) could be foreigners and metics.

⁵⁸⁸ Version 1: Isocrates, *Helen* 35-6; Diod. Sic. 4.61.8-9; Val. Max. 5.3; Cic. *De leg.* 2.5; Plut. *Thes.* 24.1. Version 2: Theophrastus, *Characters* 16.6; Marmor Parium (*FGrH* 239 fr. A20); Charax (*FGrH* 103 fr. 43); Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 fr. 94); Strabo 9.1.20 (citing Philochorus).

unification of Attica in which the Athenians at large still lived in the countryside. If both politics and settlement move to the city, what is left appears to be entirely sacro-idyllic – a rustic landscape preserving only the memory of long-lost local identity. Once we enter the first- and second-centuries AD the sources unanimously present the synoecism as literally bringing the people of Attica into one city: εἰς μίαν πόλιν (Strabo), *in suam unam urbem* (Valerius Maximus), εἰς ἓν ἄστυ (Plutarch), ἐς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων πόλιν (Pausanias).⁵⁸⁹

As we saw in chapter one, the Attic countryside as a *locus amoenus* was popular with second-century writers (pp.37-41), but there had been a shift in perceptions of Attica and the political importance of the demes. It is notable that Strabo and Plutarch relate the city created by Theseus to the Athens of their time, suggesting that their versions of the synoecism are influenced by observance of the city they recognise. Attica in the Roman period bore little resemblance to the intricate political structure of the Classical territory. As we might expect in a period when political action was no longer a key component of Athens' identity, later accounts depict synoecism as a cultural and even physical, rather than political act: a uniting of the Attic people in the city of Athens, by which the city itself gained strength and greatness. In this way, Theseus' synoecism is depicted as a precursor to Hadrian's Panhellenion (pp.68-9).

The integration of city and country underpinned the Classical democracy and contributed significantly to concepts of Athenian identity. This is another reason to look more closely at rural Attica in the Roman period: Attica was more than just another Greek countryside; it played an absolutely integral role in the history, structure, and identity of Athens. This alone cannot prove that Attica fared any differently to any other Greek countryside in the Roman

⁵⁸⁹ Strab. 9.1.20; Val. Max. 5.3; Plut. *Thes.* 24.1; Paus.1.22.3.

period, but it is an important motivation to evaluate Roman Attica, and to ask to what extent the countryside shared in the second-century renewal of the city.

While the perceived decline of the Attic countryside is often referred to as a Late Hellenistic or Early Roman phenomenon, major changes in settlement patterns began in about the third century BC when marginal demes such as Thoricus and Brauron appear to have been abandoned. In the first century BC, Pomponius Mela wrote of “Thoricus and Brauron, once cities, now only names.”⁵⁹⁰ While we naturally exercise caution with literary accounts, the excavation of Thoricus validates this statement to an extent – particularly an unrecovered coin hoard buried around 294 BC during the Macedonian invasion, and the later transportation of columns from the Temple of Demeter for use in the Athenian Agora.⁵⁹¹ Through the fourth century Thoricus had thrived as one of the major mining demes of south-east Attica, and the abandonment of the town may be connected to the decline of the silver mines at this time as well as the Macedonian invasion.⁵⁹² Brauron was a similarly marginal deme, located in marshy territory on the east coast of Attica – the abandonment of Brauron is also typically connected to the Macedonian invasion, as well as the flooding of the Erasinos River.⁵⁹³ The examples of Brauron and Thoricus have been used to postulate “the general abandonment of Attica” in the third century BC.⁵⁹⁴ However, it has been noted that our view of the general occupation of Attica at this time should not be based on exceptional patterns of activity seen in the Laurium district.⁵⁹⁵ One might posit the theory that outlying demes were abandoned in the Hellenistic period in favour of a pattern of habitation increasingly focused on the suburban district bordered by the mountains Hymettus, Pentelicon and Aigaleos. This

⁵⁹⁰ Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis*, 2.3.

⁵⁹¹ Mussche (1970) 135, Camp (2001) 314.

⁵⁹² Camp (2001) 141.

⁵⁹³ Camp (2001) 279. The environmental instability of coastal settlements is further highlighted by the fact that Brauron, once located on the coast of Attica, is now about 400m inland and separated from the sea by a wetlands nature reserve.

⁵⁹⁴ Camp (2001) 279.

⁵⁹⁵ Oliver (2006) 117.

would be supported to some extent in the Roman imperial period, where we find evidence for residence and activity at Cephisia, Acharnai, Phlya and the suburban demes. However, places in the countryside proper such as Marathon, Rhamnous and Myrrhinous also exhibit signs of activity and settlement through the Roman period, as we shall see throughout this chapter.

Part II: The villas of Herodes Atticus: a new form of elite self-expression

In chapter three we began to explore the means by which the Athenian elite sought to mark their elite status and develop increasingly exclusive definitions of elite status, including marrying into non-Athenian elite families, and serving as benefactors outside Athens (pp.169-74). Here we explore another element of this quest for exclusivity, one rather closer to home: the rise of the luxury villa in rural Attica.

Zarmakoupi's work on villas in Roman Greece has demonstrated that up to the second century AD the wealthy families of the province of Achaëa generally preferred to use cities, rather than country villas, as their primary venue for demonstrating wealth and developing their socio-political ambitions.⁵⁹⁶ As we have seen in chapter three, Athens was no exception – the city was the primary stage on which the elite quest for identity and status was played out. From the second century AD, this begins to change, and it seems that Herodes Atticus may have led the way in establishing villa culture in Greece; at the time of construction, his villas in Attica (Marathon and Cephisia) and Arcadia (Loukou) were quite exceptional. A possible villa complex dating to the later second century and expanded in the late third/ fourth has been identified south of the Mesogeia Road in the vicinity of the modern National Gardens where a mosaic floor has been uncovered. Tzavella has described it as 'sumptuous'; if it was a residential villa (although a public character has been suggested), it may indicate

⁵⁹⁶ Zarmakoupi (2013) 756.

an increase in villa residence from the time of Herodes.⁵⁹⁷ Notable villas of the later Roman period in Greece include the villa at Loutraki, the remains at Lechaion around the Corinthian Gulf, and the villa of Manius Antoninus at Nicopolis. Considering the relatively late arrival of elite villas in Greece, Zarmakoupi suggests that “the increased social competition that was brought about by the Diocletianic and Constantinian social and economic reforms led elites to seek different venues for their self-promotion and self-display”.⁵⁹⁸ I would argue that, in Attica at least, increased social competition became a factor in elite decisions much earlier – specifically, in the second century AD, as a result of constitutional changes made by Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius (pp.137-40). In chapter three we saw how the Herodes Atticus and the Athenian elite sought new ways to define their status. Here, we consider Herodes as the trailblazer in the rise of the luxury villa in Greece.

In the best tradition of Roman villas, the villas of Herodes Atticus at Marathon and Cephisia were much more than residential; they appear to have been both luxurious and productive, and – moreover – an integral aspect of Herodes’ self-presentation strategy. Wallace-Hadrill has explored in depth the relationship between *pars urbana* (lavish and luxurious) and *pars rustica* (rustic and agricultural) in the Roman villa, also categorising the two as “Greek” and “Roman” respectively.⁵⁹⁹ The villas played a vital role in Herodes’ career as a sophist and teacher: he hosted philosophical gatherings at Cephisia, and his students often travelled out to Marathon for lessons.⁶⁰⁰ Philostratus records that on his return from exile, Herodes resided primarily at Marathon to the end of his days.⁶⁰¹ It is likely that the Marathon villa, at least, also served an agricultural function; located in close proximity to the fertile Marathon plain, it would have been a prime location for cultivation. We know that Herodes’ family had been

⁵⁹⁷ Tzavella (2008) 358, citing Zacharidou (2000) 158-9.

⁵⁹⁸ Zarmakoupi (2013) 761.

⁵⁹⁹ Wallace-Hadrill (1988).

⁶⁰⁰ Phil. VS. II. 562.

⁶⁰¹ Phil. VS. II.565

engaged in agricultural production: the estates of Herodes' grandfather are mentioned in Hadrian's Oil Law. Comparing Herodes' Roman villa along the Via Appia, we find descriptions of expansive meadows and crops worked into a poetic inscription commemorating Regilla (pp.196-7). As Purcell has demonstrated in the case of Roman villas in Italy, we should not divide elite inhabitation from economic function, even in contradiction to ideologies of leisure; Herodes' poem illustrates how cultivation and functionality can be presented in a context which emphasises the luxury and decoration of the estate.⁶⁰²

It is difficult to put a date on Herodes' villas, or to be absolutely certain it was he who began construction and not his father or grandfather. The monuments remaining, however, demonstrate that it was Herodes who left the most distinctive and enduring legacy at these sites. As in chapter three, we must address the exceptionality of Herodes versus his place among the Athenian elite. When it comes to his villas, we must wholeheartedly embrace Herodes' individuality; there is abundant evidence for elite engagement with the Attic countryside, and we address that here in due course, but in the specific matter of villa residence Herodes appears to have been unique. That Herodes appears to have been the first among the Athenian elite to engage with a distinctly Roman form of villa culture cannot simply be attributed to his extreme wealth, or to his Roman career and family connections (although these undoubtedly played a part). Rather, this engagement with villa culture – indeed, one might say *fixation* with villa culture, considering the number of villas Herodes owned – stemmed from the same urgent desire that rippled through the Athenian elite in the second century: the desire for exclusivity. Herodes' villas were sites of active memory, places where Herodes immortalised his family, his friends, and himself with myriad busts, herms and poetic inscriptions. Over time, the commemorative role of Herodes' villas appears to have outweighed the social, productive, or leisure functions. We have already noted the

⁶⁰² Purcell (1995) 157.

importance of mortality and legacy as driving factors behind elite euergetism, particularly the construction of buildings and the acquisition of honorific inscriptions (pp.131-3). With the untimely deaths of his wife and all but one of his children, both natural and adopted, Herodes inscribed his grief and his family's legacy on the landscape of Attica: Cephisia became a burial site and Marathon a quasi-monument to tragedy. With the new evidence from Herodes' villa at Loukou in Arcadia gradually coming to light, it seems that here too Herodes' chose to transform his villa into a commemorative space and a place to mourn.⁶⁰³ Herodes planned to be buried at Marathon, and would have been, had this desire not been curtailed by the Athenians.

The surviving artefacts at Cephisia suggest that the villa was decorated with busts of Herodes and his family, as well as statues with commemorative inscriptions.⁶⁰⁴ A tomb discovered in the nineteenth century in the Plataia tou Platanou contained four sarcophagi dating to the latter half of the second century AD (Appendix B, No.8). Their association with Herodes was later confirmed by an inscription discovered built into the church of Agia Paraskevi which stood almost directly above the tomb. The inscription is a commemorative epigram in which Herodes mourns for a child who appears to have died before his first birthday; it also mentions two other children already buried there.⁶⁰⁵ Similarities between this epigram and one for Regilla at Marathon (see pp.191-2) may suggest that they were composed at the same time – if this is the case then the infant is likely to have been Regilla's last child, who died

⁶⁰³ Taken from the abstract for Georgios Spyropoulos' seminar at McMaster University, 15th September 2016: "Sculpture and Architecture in Herodes Atticus' Villa at Eva-Loukou Kynourias in Southern Peloponnese: Self-Advertisement or Monumentalization of the Greco-Roman World?" Full details were not available at the time of writing.

⁶⁰⁴ Travlos (1988) 197, Tobin (1997) 214. While no definitive villa site has been located at Cephisia, Herodes' villa is thought to have been located on the Pyrna Stream where many inscriptions connected to Herodes were built into churches and a portrait of Herodes was unearthed in a private garden.

⁶⁰⁵ *SEG* XXVI 290, Ameling II (1983) no.140, Tobin (1997) 224-5. The two other children are possibly Regillus and Elpinike. Athenais died around the same time as Regillus, but Philostratus tells us the Athenians offered to bury Athenais in the city (*VS* II.557-8).

shortly after his mother.⁶⁰⁶ Across Roman Greece there is evidence for mausolea in rural locations, often connected with large villa sites such as Cephisia.⁶⁰⁷

Aside from its commemorative and funerary function, Cephisia may also have functioned as a convenient *locus amoenus* for Herodes and his educated guests. The deme of Cephisia is located 10km north-east of Athens, beneath Mt Pentelicon. It is not difficult to imagine the area's appeal as a villa location in antiquity; indeed, even today the area is considered a luxury modern suburb. Aulus Gellius, who stayed with Herodes at Cephisia in the 140s, described the pleasantness of the villa.

Atque ibi tunc, cum essemus apud eum in villa cui nomen est Cephisia, et aestu anni et sidere autumnii flagrantissimo, propulsabamus incommoda caloris lucorum umbra ingentium, longis ambulacris et mollibus, medium positu refrigeranti, lavacris nitidis et abundis et collucentibus totiusque villae venustate, aquis undique canoris atque avibus personante.

And there at that time, while we were with him at the villa called Cephisia, both in the heat of summer and under the burning autumnal sun, we protected ourselves against the trying temperature by the shade of the spacious groves, its long, soft, promenades, the cool location of the house, its elegant baths with their abundance of sparkling water, and the charm of the villa as a whole, which was everywhere melodious with splashing waters and tuneful birds.⁶⁰⁸

Gellius' sensory description of Herodes' villa carries echoes of Plato's description of the Ilissos and could in fact be considered among the many second-century literary imitations of that particular *locus amoenus* we discussed in chapter one (pp.38-41). The shady groves, flowing water and birdsong characterise the villa as an ideal philosophical retreat in the mode of the Ilissos: an allusion almost certain to have been intentional. Gellius associates Herodes' residence at Cephisia with gatherings of men "who had withdrawn from Rome to Greece in quest of culture", suggesting that the villa was frequented by the educated elite of the empire. As the leading man in Athens and a renowned sophist and teacher, it makes sense that Herodes would have hosted eminent visitors. Cephisia, benefitting from beautiful rural

⁶⁰⁶ Tobin (1997) 228.

⁶⁰⁷ E.g. *Laconia and Corinthia*: Alcock (1993) 70; *Argos (Berbati Pass)*: Wells and Runnels (1996) 295; *Sparta*: Cartledge and Spawforth (2002) 142.

⁶⁰⁸ Gell. *NA*. 1.2.1-2 (trans. Rolfe 1927).

environs and yet in relatively close proximity to the city (Map 3, p.203), would have been the ideal location for such gatherings.

If Cephisia was a model *locus amoenus*, Herodes' Marathon villa represented a different sort of landscape altogether. We cannot identify one single villa site at Marathon, although the area does feature substantially more architectural remains than Cephisia. Herodes' landholdings in the Marathon area appear to extend from the plain of Marathon north through the Avlona Valley towards Oinoe, and south-east to the sea.⁶⁰⁹ Given the vast distance this encapsulates, it is unlikely that this area was one continuous domain owned by Herodes.

Judging by the available archaeological evidence, Herodes' villa is likely to have been located in the Avlona Valley near the 'Gate of Eternal Harmony', which appears to have functioned as a gateway between parts of the estate belonging to Herodes and Regilla (Appendix B, No.12). Each face of the arch was inscribed with Ὁμονοίας ἀθανάτ[ου] πύλη, with one side adding Ἡρώδου ὁ χῶρος εἰς ὃν εἰσέρχε[ι], and the other Πηγίλλης ὁ χῶρος εἰς ὃν εἰσέρχει: "the place you enter belongs to Herodes/ Regilla", depending which side the Gate was viewed from.⁶¹⁰ The parallels with the Arch of Hadrian both in form and inscription are obvious (pp.63-5), and in echoing that powerful statement about the foundation and re-foundation of the city Herodes staked his family's claim to this portion of Attica. As noted above, the loss of Herodes' family permeates the monuments associated with the Marathon villa (pp.188-9); while no burials have been found, the villa was a significant commemorative space. The eastern pillar of the Gate of Eternal Harmony features a six-line epigram arranged in elegiac couplets:

⁶⁰⁹ Tobin (1997) 265.

⁶¹⁰ Herodes: *IG II² 5189*; Regilla: *IG II² 5189a*.

ἄ μάκαρ, ὅστις ἔδειμε νέην πόλιν, οὖν[ο]μα δ' αὐτήν
 Ῥηγίλλης καλέων ζώει ἀγαλλόμενος·
 ζῶω δ' ἀχ[ν]ύμενος τό μοι οἰκία ταῦτα τέτυκται
 νόσφ[ι] φίλης ἀλόχου καὶ δόμος ἡμιτέλης·
 ὥς ἄρα τοι θνητοῖσι θεοὶ βιοτήν κεράσαντ[ες]
 χά[ρ]ματά τ' ἦδ' ἀνίας γείτονας ἀμφὶς ἔχο[υν].

Ah, happy is he who has built a new city, calling it by name
 Regilla's; his life is one of joy.
 But my life is one of grief at what this estate has become for
 me without my beloved wife, and my home is half complete.
 For in truth the gods, when they mixed the cup of life for
 mortals, poured out joys and griefs side by side.⁶¹¹

Tobin has rightly highlighted the Homeric references: the notion of his home being half-complete recalls the description of Protesilaus' home in Phylace when he left for the Trojan War, while the last line recalls the two urns from which Homer's Zeus gives ills and blessings to mankind.⁶¹² Bearing strong similarities to the epigram from the tomb at Cephisia, this addition to the Gate of Eternal Harmony is a further example of Herodes' desire to monumentalise his grief. In addition, Herodes scattered the territory of his Marathon villa with monuments for his adopted sons, the commemorative nature of which will be discussed in Part V of this chapter (pp.226-30). The importance of hunting as a theme in these monuments, however, has led to the suggestion that Herodes' Marathon villa served mainly as a 'hunting lodge' of sorts.

A further hint of the rustic qualities Herodes embraced at Marathon can be found in Philostratus' biography; namely Herodes' encounter with 'the Heracles of Herodes', otherwise known as Agathion.⁶¹³ Basing his account on details presented in a letter written by Herodes to a friend, Philostratus tells us that while walking in the countryside Herodes met a man "about eight feet high" and "draped in wolf-skins", who claimed to be the son of the

⁶¹¹ *SEG* XXIII 121, translated by Geagan (1964) 151.

⁶¹² Hom. *Il.* 2.701, 24. 525-30. Tobin (1997) 248.

⁶¹³ Phil.*VS.* II. 552-554. See Part IV, below, for further discussion of Agathion.

hero Marathon – not an immortal but longer-lived than man.⁶¹⁴ Asked about his speech and education, Agathion replies that he was educated by the Mesogeia: ‘ἡ μεσογεία’ ἔφη ‘τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγαθὸν διδασκαλεῖον ἀνδρὶ βουλομένῳ διαλέγεσθαι’.⁶¹⁵ He tells Herodes that in the countryside the old ways are preserved, while the city has become polluted with what Agathion describes as barbarian speech. The Mesogeia constitutes the interior portion of the Attic peninsula. When Agathion contrasts the city and the countryside, it is notable that it is the Mesogeia that represents the ‘pure’ Attic country, not the plain of Athens or the famed landscape of Acharnai (see pp. 201, 206): one must go not merely outside the city, but deep into the countryside. As seemingly mythical as Agathion appears, it is possible that he can be identified with the rustic philosopher Sostratus mentioned by Lucian. Although Lucian’s full account of Sostratus does not survive, we do have a brief description in the *Demonax*:

Ἐμελλεν ἄρα μηδὲ ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίος τὸ παντάπασιν ἄμοιρος ἔσεσθαι ἀνδρῶν λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἀξίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώματος ἀρετὴν ὑπερφυᾶ καὶ γνώμην ἄκρως φιλόσοφον ἐκφαίνειν λέγω δὲ εἰς τε τὸν Βοιωτίον Σώστρατον ἀναφέρων, ὃν Ἡρακλέα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκάλουν καὶ ᾔοντο εἶναι... περὶ μὲν οὖν Σωστράτου ἐν ἄλλῳ βιβλίῳ γέγραπται μοι καὶ δεδήλωται μέγεθος τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσχύος ὑπερβολὴ καὶ ἡ ὑπαιθρος ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ δίαίτα, καὶ ἡ ἐπίπνοος εὐνή καὶ τροφαὶ ὄρειοι καὶ ἔργα οὐκ ἀπαδὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος ὅσα ἡ ληστὰς αἴρων ἔπραξεν ἢ ὁδοποιῶν τὰ ἄβατα ἠγεφυρῶν τὰ δύσπορα.

I suppose our generation was bound not to be totally lacking in noteworthy and memorable men, but to produce someone of extra-ordinary physical powers, and one with a superbly philosophical mind. I refer to the Boeotian Sostratus, whom the Greeks called and believed to be Heracles... I have written about Sostratus elsewhere, describing his bulk and enormous strength; how he lived in the open air on Parnassus, slept rough, ate what the mountain provided and performed deeds which matched his name – killing robbers and making roads through unbroken country and bridges over impassable places.⁶¹⁶

Agathion and Sostratus could also be considered aspects of a broader trend in favour of rustic ideals during the Second Sophistic.⁶¹⁷ We might compare Dio of Prusa’s *Euboean Discourse*, which details the orator’s encounter with a rustic huntsman on the island of Euboea; like Herodes’ encounter with Agathion, Dio’s story purports to reflect a real event. Finding

⁶¹⁴ The friend, Julian, is probably the Antoninus Julianus mentioned by Aulus Gellius (*Attic Nights* 19.9).

⁶¹⁵ Phil. VS. II.553.

⁶¹⁶ Lucian, *Demonax*, 1, trans. Costa (2005).

⁶¹⁷ Gray (2006) 2-4.

himself shipwrecked on the coast of Euboea, Dio is offered hospitality by a bearded hunter. The man speaks at length about his life: his father had once been a herdsman for a wealthy man, but when that man was killed by the emperor (recalling the fate of Herodes' grandfather, Hipparchus (pp.146-7, 174)) he and his fellow huntsman retreated to the wilds and settled there, where they have access to meadows and forests for hunting in. They live a simple but happy life with their families, rarely venturing into the nearest city.⁶¹⁸ The discourse contrasts urban and rural life in a Greek polis, juxtaposing the virtuous huntsman and the fickle urban crowd; a further example of the rhetorical theme we discussed in chapter three: suspicion of mob politics and encouragement of civic conscience among the elite (pp.124-9).⁶¹⁹ As Agathion denounces the corrupt dialects spoken in the city and reveals that the true Attic dialect is found in the countryside, the huntsman demonstrates (according to Desideri) that it is in the countryside that one could find "a kind of moral and intellectual preserve of true human values."⁶²⁰ Whatever the reality of Agathion, Herodes' account of his meeting with this rustic hero serves to illustrate Herodes' own concept of the virtues of rusticity and may indicate the ideal to which Herodes aspired in cultivating his Marathon estate as a place of *paideia* for his children and students.

Historically, Marathon was renowned as the site of the Athenians' major victory over the Persians in 490 BC during the Persian Wars. Striking evidence for Herodes Atticus' personal connection with the Battle of Marathon is found in the form of the 'stele of the Marathonomachoi', discovered in 2000 at Herodes' villa at Loukou. Beginning with a heading identifying the tribe as Erechtheis and an epigram below, the *stele* then lists the names of 22 Athenians. The first two editors of this inscription identified it as belonging

⁶¹⁸ Dio *Or.* VII. 11-17.

⁶¹⁹ For further discussion of the political angles of the discourse see Ma (2000) 108-124. Ma places the Euboean Discourse firmly in the context of provincial city politics in the Antonine period, proposing that "the imaginary tale might not be so imaginary after all, and reflect less the conventions of rhetoric and declamation as socio-political realities and ideologies current in the contemporary polis."

⁶²⁰ Desideri (2000) 95.

to the polyandrion of the Athenians at Marathon, set up at the time of the burial in 490 BC and later transported to Loukou by Herodes as part of his collection of antiquities.⁶²¹ A statue of a seated Athena found in the vicinity of the villa is thought to be a second-century AD copy of the cult statue of Athena Hellotis from the sanctuary at Marathon.⁶²² Whether the *stele* genuinely belonged to the polyandrion or was in fact a second-century AD copy is still being debated. Proietti has argued that the epigram, which she considers “a distillation of artificiality, affectation, and empty rhetoric”, belongs to a later stage in the memorialisation of Marathon and the Persian Wars rather than the immediate post-battle burial.⁶²³ While the early editors ruled out the possibility that the *stele* was a second-century archaizing inscription based on letter forms, Proietti has observed that in palaeographic detail the Loukou *stele* is inconsistent with early fifth-century BC comparanda.⁶²⁴ Additionally, Pausanias records the inscribed lists of the dead *in situ* at the polyandrion.⁶²⁵ We could also question why Herodes would transport original, rather than copies of, Marathonian monuments to a villa in the Peloponnese when his primary Athenian villa was already embedded in this powerful memorial landscape. To remove part of the Marathon commemorative monument would, essentially, be demonumentalising a landscape whose importance in the second-century collective consciousness, as Pausanias shows, lay precisely in its monumentalisation.⁶²⁶ Evidently the *stele* requires further close examination, but we should accept the argument in favour of a second-century copy. The notion that copies of the Marathon monuments may have enjoyed popularity in the gardens of the elite

⁶²¹ Spyropoulos (2009), Steinhauer (2004-2009), summarised by Proietti (2013) 24.

⁶²² Tobin (1997) 251-2. Monaco (1988-9) 57-72 noted the similarities between the Loukou Athena and the seated Athena who appears on two Classical vases – thought to be Athena Hellotis.

⁶²³ Proietti (2013) 28.

⁶²⁴ Proietti (2013) 24-5, *contra* Spyropoulos (2009) 31, Steinhauer (2004-2009) 684-5, Ameling (2011) 13, Keesling (2012) 139.

⁶²⁵ Paus. 1.32.3.

⁶²⁶ Paus. 1.32-3-6.

across the Roman Empire would be an appropriate parallel to the over-use of Marathon tropes in contemporary rhetoric. We have already seen Lucian mocking the sophists for their perpetual fascination with Marathon and Plutarch warning against the use of Persian Wars victories as rhetorical devices (p.127): “...Marathon, the Eurymedon, Plataea, and all the other examples which make the common folk vainly to swell with pride and kick up their heels, should be left to the schools of the sophists”.⁶²⁷

Polemo in particular was known for performing *controversiae* in which the fathers of Cynegirus and Callimachus (the *polemarch*) argue over which of their fallen sons had displayed the most valour at Marathon.⁶²⁸ Ptolemy of Naucratis, meanwhile, was apparently so fond of declaiming on the battle that he was nicknamed ‘Marathon’.⁶²⁹

The importance of his Athenian identity as the keystone of Herodes’ self-image is further confirmed by his Via Appia estate, where Herodes recreated a number of Attic cults. Part of this estate was known as the Triopion, and appears to have contained a sanctuary to Demeter and Faustina (‘the new Demeter’).⁶³⁰ When Regilla died, a heroon was added to the sanctuary in her honour; a fitting location to commemorate a priestess of Demeter and relative of Faustina. The Triopion inscription, (pp.175-8), encapsulates the ‘commemorative *locus amoenus*’ that Herodes was striving to create.⁶³¹ In the latter half of the poem, the sacred landscape of Attica comes to the fore:

Lady Tritogeneia, sovereign of the Athenians,
And you who oversee the works of men, Rhamnousian Nemesis,
Next-door neighbours of hundred-gated Rome,
Honour this rich land also, Goddess,
The home friendly to strangers of Triopian Demeter
As long as the Triopeiai are counted among the immortals.
As once you came to Rhamnous and Athens of the broad dancing floors,
Leaving the house of your father the thunderer,
So strengthen likewise this vineyard rich in clusters,

⁶²⁷ Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.* 18, Plut. *Praec. ger. rep.* 814c.

⁶²⁸ Holford-Strevens (2012) 111, Balliff & Moran (2005) 287-8.

⁶²⁹ Phil. VS. II. 595.

⁶³⁰ Triopion: Tobin (1997) 355-370, Pomeroy (2007) 165-174, Gleason (2010) 126-162.

⁶³¹ ‘Commemorative *locus amoenus*’: Gleason (2010) 151.

Visiting the standing corn, the trees heavy with vines,
And the luxuriant tresses of the meadows.
Herodes released this land to be sacred for you,
An extent crowned by a smoothly running wall,
To remain unmoved and sacrosanct for generations
To come.⁶³²

Invoking Athena and Nemesis using the unusual epithets Tritogeneia and Oupis, the poem asks these goddesses to protect the estate and punish anyone who disturbs the land: “The ground is sacred, and the goddesses/ Immovable, and honoured, are ready to lend an ear.”⁶³³ Athena is addressed as ‘sovereign of the Athenians’, and Nemesis ‘Rhamnousian’. Herodes’ invocation of Attic goddesses in a Roman setting creates the impression of a “purpose-built bicultural theme park”.⁶³⁴ Eleusinian themes are particularly evident: the name ‘Triopion’ may have come from the sanctuary of Demeter at Cnidus which Callimachus compares to Eleusis.⁶³⁵ Two inscribed columns confirm that this particular part of Herodes’ estate was sacred to Demeter and Kore and the chthonic deities.⁶³⁶ With its emphasis on both cultivation and funerary themes, Marcellus’ poem adds further Eleusinian overtones.

Thus far, we have seen how Herodes’ villas in Attica and Loukou served as important symbols of exclusivity. His defining traits as the foremost member of the Athenian elite seemingly seeped into every stone: sophist, benefactor, the educator of emperors, and a man supposedly connected by blood to the heroes of Athenian history and myth (pp.174-8). We now return to Zarmakoupi’s thesis that the phenomenon of Roman villas in Greece only really began from the third century AD in response to the socio-economic changes of that era (p.187); in the case of Attica this merits some further exploration. We have acknowledged the scant nature of the evidence, but one particular example might prompt questions; notably, the

⁶³² *IG XIV* 1389, ll. 60-74, trans. Gleason (2010) 151.

⁶³³ Ll.80-81. As noted earlier in the thesis in chapter three (p.233), the use of unusual epithets is somewhat of a trademark of Herodes.

⁶³⁴ Gleason (2010) 152.

⁶³⁵ Callim. *Cer.* 31. Why Herodes chose a non-Attic reference here is puzzling – Tobin (1997) 356, suggests that Herodes became familiar with the Cnidus sanctuary during his time as Corrector of the Free Cities of Asia.

⁶³⁶ *IG XIV* 1390.

τετραπυργία owned by Flavia Phila at Atene.⁶³⁷ Flavia Phila is one of the most prominent individual landowners listed in the Hadrianic property list, *IG II² 2776* (pp.202-5, 209-11, Appendix C(ii)). Like Herodes in the north-east of Attica, Flavia Phila appears to have owned several pieces of land in the Laurium district, suggesting that her family's landholdings may have reflected their prominence in city life: the Flavii of Paeania, as we saw in chapter three, were among the most powerful families in Roman Athens (p.141). 'τετραπυργίας' is translated by Miller as a 'four-towered villa'; a suitable interpretation for the context, supported by the use of the term by Plutarch, in which the term connotes a large country property.⁶³⁸ Could this, then, be evidence for another villa property in Attica? And possibly, given the dating of the property inscription (AD 120-140), contemporary to or even earlier than Herodes' villas? Atene, like Marathon, is marginal territory close to the sea (Map 3, p.203). Lohmann's extensive work on the Classical deme of Atene has painted a picture of a dispersed settlement plan with more than thirty substantial farmsteads complete with towers, threshing floors, oil mills and presses.⁶³⁹ The τετραπυργίας at Atene calls to mind the Classical towered estate of Timesios, also known as the Cliff Tower, in the nearby Agrileza valley.⁶⁴⁰ According to Langdon's estimations, the area of the estate was approximately 180 plethra, or 50 acres. The terrain of this particular area included dry, rocky hillsides ideal for a combination of cereal cultivation and grazing, and lower slopes providing good agricultural land where olives and vines could be cultivated – consistent with Lohmann's observation of

⁶³⁷ One could be tempted to include the house at Pergase in which a second-century herm was found, or the five supposed 'farmhouses' at Acharnai (p.206), but these appear to be smaller-scale structures and – in the case of the Acharnai houses – more likely to represent clustered residences than a luxury villa space.

⁶³⁸ Plut. *Eum.* VIII.5. We might also note that Liddell and Scott define τετραπυργία as a 'building with four-towers' or a 'fortified country-house'. It is a term rarely found in literary or epigraphic sources; in one later source, Procopius' *De Aedificiis*, c.AD 560, it is the name given to a wall with four towers built by the Emperor Justinian around his home-town, the small hamlet of Taurisium (*Aed.* IV.i.18).

⁶³⁹ Lohmann (1992) 29.

⁶⁴⁰ Langdon and Watrous (1977) 162-177.

oil mills and olive presses.⁶⁴¹ However, we should take into account that Classical agricultural production in this area was connected exceptionally closely to the silver mines; we have already noted that this region of Attica would have been an early candidate for population movement owing to the decline of the silver mines in the later fourth century BC (p.185). We should approach Flavia Phila's Atene estate with some caution in respect to its productivity, although her additional connection to an *eschatia* in the vicinity of Atene may indicate investment in the productivity of the area (p.210).

If the estate was cultivated in a similar way to the farm of Timesios, it may well have reflected the wealth and status of its owner. Aside from agricultural function it is tempting to see this coastal estate as reminiscent of the luxury coastal villas of Italy, still flourishing throughout the Antonine era.⁶⁴² The view out to sea in such a location would be suitably spectacular.⁶⁴³ There is, of course, no further evidence to prove that Phila's property was in any way luxurious, but Phila, as a member of the prominent and powerful Flavii of Paiania, is perhaps more likely than most to have owned such a property. With prominent civic offices such as *Ceryx* of the Areopagus in their possession (p.141), we might reasonably conjecture that the Flavii – like the Claudii of Marathon – could have ventured into the villa lifestyle at this time.

On the other hand, should this *τετραπυργία* have been a luxury residence in the mode of the traditional Roman villa, we may expect it to have left the same type of sculptural remnants as the villas of Herodes. We should consider the possibility that this property was in fact an agricultural outpost. It was large, seemingly, given the descriptive name granted to it in the

⁶⁴¹ Langdon and Watrous (1977) 175; Langdon concludes that Timesios' farm could have met the needs not only of his own family, but of the industrial population of the area, "no doubt at a profit to Timesios"; Lohmann (1992) 29.

⁶⁴² See Zevi (2003) including the reprint of J.H. D'Arms (1970) *Romans on the Bay of Naples*, in which catalogue II gives a full record of villas or private houses on the Bay of Naples (30 BC – AD 400).

⁶⁴³ A number of writers of the imperial period eulogize villas with views, e.g. Pliny, *Epist.* 23, which centres on the sea-view at his Laurentine villa.

property inscription, and perhaps incorporated some residential space (Attica was too large a territory to be farmed exclusively from the city, see p.200), but it may not necessarily qualify as a villa. A primarily agricultural purpose would also suit its inclusion in the Hadrianic property list, which appears to feature mostly agricultural or industrial rather than residential properties (pp.202, 209-11).

The property list includes among its listings a few notable family names (p.21), indicating that it can provide some insight into the landowning habits of the second-century elite.

Supporting Zarmakoupi's argument that the Greek elite preferred to base themselves and their self-promoting activities in the city (see above, p.186), the inscription points toward a pattern of dispersed landholdings more akin to the Classical Athenian model than the contemporary Roman villa model. I argue that in constructing and embellishing his three Greek villas, Herodes Atticus became the exception to this rule. Zarmakoupi is probably correct to identify socio-economic change and increased social competition as the motivating factors behind the later increase in Roman villas throughout Greece; however, I believe that in Attica we may see this process happen much earlier, in the second century, as part of a fascination with the 'rural idyll' that affected a much wider group within Athenian society. In the remainder of this chapter, we explore the ways in which the countryside was an integral aspect of Athenian life during the second century: as a productive landscape and a source of income, and as an ideal space, symbolic of a traditional Athenian identity.

Part III: The Socio-Economic Landscape

In this section, we look at evidence for economic activity in rural Attica. At 2400 km² Attica had always been too large a territory to be farmed exclusively from the city and, as we shall see, the evidence for the second century points to a variety of forms of residence and activity.

We also consider the evidence for communities. Pausanias' account of Attica is typically used for its description of the sacred landscape, and has been cherry-picked to present an image of a sleepy countryside defined only by its ancient cult places. In attempts to prove the emptiness of Attica, the people and communities in Pausanias' account have been overlooked. Speaking generally as he embarks on his tour of the countryside, Pausanias says:

γέγραπται δ' ἤδη μοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις φάναι πολλοὺς ὡς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασιλεύοντο τῆς Κέκροπος.⁶⁴⁴

As I have already written, many people in the towns claim they had kings before Cecrops.

In this sentence, Pausanias communicates two important facts: the towns of Attica are inhabited, and their residents retain an interest in local identity and history. The picture of second-century Attica we develop in the following discussion is a complex patchwork consisting of large villas serving as hubs of cultural and agricultural activity; dispersed portions of property held by elite and non-elite Athenians; and residence in small suburban and rural communities. Key commodities were oil and honey, and these were produced as cash crops for both Athenian consumption and foreign export.

II.i. Activity in the προάστειος

A significant portion of our evidence for extra-urban residence and land-ownership comes from the territory between the city and the mountains, bordered by Aigaleus to the west, Parnes and Pentelicon to the north, and Hymettus to the east (the so-called Athenian plain). On the findings of the Athenian Second Ephorate between 1994 and 2003, Georgios Steinhauer observed that landownership began to be concentrated in the Mesogeia from the Hellenistic period, and, furthermore, that Roman farmhouses were densely concentrated in the northern plain between Chalandri (Phlya) and Acharnes (Acharnai) and supplied by large

⁶⁴⁴ Paus. 1.31.3.

reservoirs.⁶⁴⁵ To some extent, this concentration is an accident of excavation: Steinhauer notes the pressure placed on the Second Ephorate by the increasingly rapid spread of the city during this decade; excavation locations were governed largely by the demands of the modern city. The area of Acharnai, for example, has produced fairly plentiful evidence, owing to modern roadworks in the area of Monomati Acharnon. As we will see, the same issue arises further in the Mesogeia where excavation was undertaken for the construction of Eleftherios Venizelos (Spata) airport and its associated road network (p.208). However, a suburban band of densely-packed properties is also supported by the Hadrianic property inscription, which demonstrates a high concentration of properties within around 20km of the city (i.e. on the Athenian plain).⁶⁴⁶

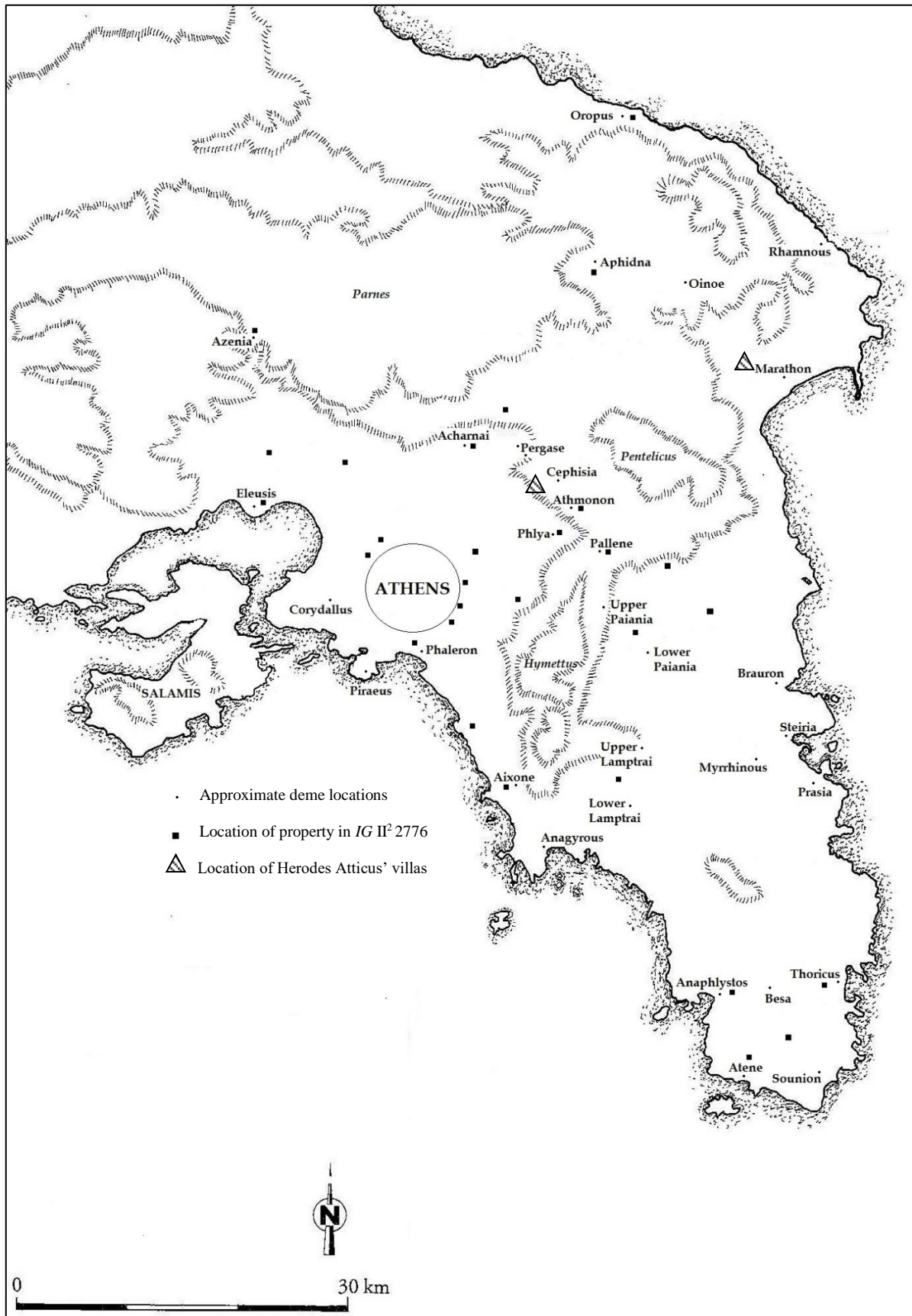
Interestingly, the properties in this area that are given a description appear to be more commercial or industrial in nature than agricultural.⁶⁴⁷ In Alopeke, Flavius Metrodorus owns an inn (*πανδοκεῖον*) and a potter's shop (*κεραμείον*) (I.200). We also encounter three instances of the term '*σχαστηρία*': one in Bate owned by Claudius Pannychos, (I.53) one in Colonus owned by Arria Athenion (I.17), and one in an unspecified location – possibly in the same vicinity – owned by Flavius Metrodorus (I.203).⁶⁴⁸ '*σχαστηρία*' is noted by Liddell and Scott as a place-name in our inscription, but given the lack of any supporting evidence for *σχαστηρία* as an Attic place-name or a title for an individual, I would be sceptical of this interpretation. That it appears at least twice in demes of such close proximity suggests that it

⁶⁴⁵ Steinhauer in Vassilopoulou (2009) 45-6.

⁶⁴⁶ See Appendix C(ii) for a full table of properties and owners.

⁶⁴⁷ Although properties at Lakkiadai, Eiresidai, Colonus, Ankyle, Agryle and Potamos do not have a description and could be either.

⁶⁴⁸ The third *σχαστηρία* could be located in the same area: a number of properties belonging to Fulvius Metrodorus are in this area, including the inn and potters shop in Alopeke. Owing to the presence of two *σχαστηρία* in the suburban area we might tentatively assume that that of Metrodorus was here too – particularly if, as I suggest, we can connect the property-type to a form of industry.



Map 3. Map of Attica showing the approximate location of Herodes Atticus' villas, and of property in the 'Hadrianic property list' (*IG II² 2776*). Most locations are listed more than once throughout the document. Adapted from von Moock (1998) 'Beilage 1'.



Fig.7a) *The orthostates upon which the Hadrianic Property List is inscribed, as they are currently stored on the site of the Agora excavations.*



Fig.7b) *The proposed base of the monument in the Athenian Agora (measurements, see p.21).*

is perhaps a type of building, or, as Miller suggests, a piece of heavy machinery.⁶⁴⁹ Further from this inner ring, the inscription records properties more agricultural or horticultural in purpose; for example, a peach orchard in Phlya (I.113) and vineyards at Athmonon (I.56).⁶⁵⁰ In Marousi (Athmonon) the discovery of a large water reservoir dated to the first/ second century AD is a strong indicator of agricultural activity in this period (Appendix B, No.6).⁶⁵¹ Both William Gell and Richard Burgess in the early nineteenth century travelled through this part of Attica en route from Athens to Cephisia. Passing by Mount Anchesmus, Burgess described the countryside as ‘naked’ until, towards Cephisia, “the olive groves began to afford a grateful shade (and) the country becomes more luxuriant at every step”.⁶⁵² As the countryside opens up past Anchesmus, Gell records an abundance of olives, vineyards, and ruins.⁶⁵³ Writing in the first century AD, Pliny says that the peach tree has only been cultivated outside of Egypt in recent years, with some difficulty.⁶⁵⁴ Given the short shelf-life of peaches it is tempting to read a peach orchard as a primarily decorative feature of an elite residence; although the novelty of a fruit relatively new to Greece may also indicate that the peach could be sold as a luxury item in Athens.⁶⁵⁵ Possibly lending weight to the first suggestion is the name associated with the peach orchard: Flavius Alypus of the Flavii of Marathon – a family of some status, (see Appendix C(ii)), with several other properties in the list. A further hint of elite residence at Athmonon is provided by a second-century marble statue of a woman discovered during excavation of a third-century bath complex (Appendix

⁶⁴⁹ Miller (1972) 81. This reading would fit more comfortably with the first interpretation suggested by Liddell and Scott: ‘a trigger or release mechanism’; this translation is based on the usage of the word by Polybius (8.5.10, 6.4) where *σχαστηρία* are the pulleys set up by the Syracusans while besieged by the Romans. Liddell and Scott’s further suggested translations of ‘curtain-rod’ or, in the plural ‘attachments for relaxing the pressure of a surgical noose’ remain mysterious.

⁶⁵⁰ Possibly two peach orchards; in I.91 a property in Phlya is described as ‘near the peach orchard’ – we cannot be altogether certain that this is the same one mentioned in I.113.

⁶⁵¹ Schilardi in Vasilopoulou (2009) 612.

⁶⁵² Burgess (1834) vol.1. ch.13, entry June 30th.

⁶⁵³ Gell (1819) 72. While the exact locations described by Gell are difficult to map, some of the other “vestiges of antiquity” he observes along the way may correspond with the known locations of Athmonon and Phlya.

⁶⁵⁴ Pliny *NH* 15.13. Pliny is vague on where exactly it has been introduced – but Greece and Italy are implied.

⁶⁵⁵ Pliny *NH* 15.11.

B, No.16).⁶⁵⁶ The vineyards at Athmonon are a more familiar feature of the Attic landscape: in the Classical period wine had been one of the most important commodities in Attica, although, as Pritchett notes, better varieties were typically imported from abroad.⁶⁵⁷ Attic wine was not of a very distinguished quality and therefore did not have an extensive market, although it was no doubt consumed in Attica itself.⁶⁵⁸ Certain of the gravestones we discuss in Part IV indicate that viticulture was an integral component of the character of the Attic countryside in the second century (pp.235-8).

Acharnai was heavily associated with viticulture in Roman literary sources, and an observation made by Lucian suggests that there was a great pride among his second-century contemporaries “in holding the Oinoe side of Marathon, or a thousand acres at Acharnai”.⁶⁵⁹ A Roman domestic structure was uncovered in Monomati Acharnon during road-works in the area (Appendix B, No.4).⁶⁶⁰ A headless marble herm of the first/ second centuries AD found in the central room of this building has been used to identify Monomati as the site of the deme Pergase, as it apparently mentions a demesman of Pergase (Appendix B, No.5). This detail has been called into question by Papazarkadas; for our purposes, the importance of the herm is its date.⁶⁶¹ To the west at Acharnai, five Roman ‘farmhouses’ have been excavated (Appendix B, No.2).⁶⁶² On the evidence of these buildings alone, we might expect that Roman Acharnai consisted of a number of places of residence with no particular centre; indeed, it is possible that these buildings were primarily agricultural and not actually places of residence at all. However, the presence of communal baths nearby argues against that. A large Roman bath, containing at least ten rooms, has been discovered near the site of the

⁶⁵⁶ *Arch. Rep.* (2003-4) 8. The statue was discovered at the New Olympic Stadium in modern Marousi, and initially reported in the summer of 2003.

⁶⁵⁷ *Attic Stelai* 1.114, 117-121; 6.60-61, 64-65 with commentary by Pritchett (1956) 187.

⁶⁵⁸ Day (1942) 203, Sallares (1991) 297.

⁶⁵⁹ Lucian, *Icaromenippus*, 18. See below (II.iii) for further references to Acharnai in Roman literature.

⁶⁶⁰ *SEG* 54 383 describes the structure as an estate, while Kellogg calls it a house; the disparity is curious as both accounts are based on the description of the structure provided by Platōnos-Giōta (2004) 439-40.

⁶⁶¹ Papazarkadas commentary in *SEG* 54 383.

⁶⁶² Kellogg (2014) 29, Platōnos-Giōta (2004) 161-71.

Classical theatre (Appendix B, No.3).⁶⁶³ Even contemporary baths in Athens are not typically this large; the second-century baths in the vicinity of the Olympieion are relatively small in comparison.⁶⁶⁴ These baths do not appear to have been connected with any particular house or villa, and so we might consider that the baths were meant for public use, presupposing a resident local population.⁶⁶⁵

II.ii. Beyond the προάστειος

Pausanias' comment on the towns of Attica (quoted p.201) highlights a population that has been largely invisible to archaeological investigation. Interestingly, the two key places where Pausanias explicitly mentions community settlement (Rhamnous and Oropus) could be characterised as 'remote' – Oropus in particular, located near the northern border with Boeotia. Pausanias describes Oropus as a *polis* by the sea.⁶⁶⁶ The use of *polis* may reflect the historical importance of Oropus in the many border disputes between Attica and Boeotia rather than its second-century status, although Pausanias is usually quick to observe when a place has declined from its former glory.⁶⁶⁷ Pausanias proceeds to detail local custom at the sanctuary of Amphiaraus, where the Oropians traditionally drop coins in the spring where they say the god first appeared.⁶⁶⁸ As we must expect from Pausanias, the focus remains on Oropus' sacred identity; but from his account we can glean an active community resident at Oropus. At Rhamnous, Pausanias tells us, the people live in houses by the sea: καὶ αἱ μὲν οἰκήσεις ἐπὶ θαλάσση τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσί.⁶⁶⁹ Residence in the vicinity of Rhamnous during

⁶⁶³ In the yard of the church of Agios Ioannis. Kellogg (2014) 16, Platōnos-Giōta (2004) 188-95.

⁶⁶⁴ Travlos (1971) 181-186; the Olympieion baths have approximately seven rooms.

⁶⁶⁵ Kellogg (2014) 17. Further Roman baths can be found along the east coast of Attica at Rafina (ancient Araphen) and Koroni (near the Classical fortress of Koroneia), although any further details appear to be missing from the scholarship to date. A Roman bath at Oinoe may justifiably be associated with Herodes' family owing not only to its proximity to Herodes' villa, but to the discovery of an inscribed block bearing the name of Herodes' mother within the building (Tobin (1997) 267).

⁶⁶⁶ Paus. 1.34.1.

⁶⁶⁷ E.g. Megalopolis 8.33.1.

⁶⁶⁸ Paus. 1.34.2.

⁶⁶⁹ Paus. 1.33.2.

the imperial period is further attested by burials along the ‘Sacred Way’ to the sanctuary of Nemesis, and the apparent addition in the second century AD of the ‘South East Necropolis’ along the road to the port (Appendix B, No.10).⁶⁷⁰ It is notable that two of the rural communities evident in Pausanias’ account are associated with major cults that were apparently thriving in Pausanias’ day.⁶⁷¹ This explains why Pausanias chooses to mention them, but perhaps also hints at the role of important cult centres in Attic communities. Particularly in areas at a substantial distance from the city, one might expect that ‘cult tourism’ such as that practised by Pausanias may have provided a boost to the local economy.

At the southern end of the Mesogeia lies Merenda, the site of the ancient deme Myrrhinous. Myrrhinous is the only part of the Mesogeia to have received any notable attention, aside from some investigation at Pousi Kaloyerou (located between Markopoulou and Brauron) in the 1950’s.⁶⁷² As the Mesogeia provides some of the best agricultural land in Attica it is unfortunate that we do not have more than a glimpse at the ancient landscape. Even in modern times, owning vines in the Mesogeia is considered a manifestation of wealth: “A true Messogite is a man who owns vineyards”.⁶⁷³ Part of Myrrhinous was excavated in advance of building work for the 2004 Olympics. Archaeologists uncovered a fountain house with a number of marble architectural features dating to the second century AD (Appendix B, No.15): two epistyles, a decorated column capital, parts of a pillar, a column, and a beam from a well-shaft. The latter bears the inscription ΠΟΙΣΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΡΗΝΗΝ .../ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΕΠΙΣΤΟΜΙΟΝ ...: “having made the fountain... and the well-mouth...”⁶⁷⁴ An inscription such as this indicates that the fountain and well were the work of a benefactor, whose name

⁶⁷⁰ Von Moock (1998) 21, discussing the excavations of Mastrokostas (*Praktika* (1958) 32ff.) and Petrakos (*Praktika* (1975) 6ff.).

⁶⁷¹ *The Amphiareion at Oropus*: Camp (2001) 324. *Nemesis at Rhamnous*: see pp.217-218.

⁶⁷² *Archaeological Reports* (1987/8) 13, addressed by Alcock (1993) 40. Evidence at the site displayed occupation to the Late Hellenistic period and re-occupation in the Late Roman period.

⁶⁷³ Gefou-Madianou (1992), quoted by Moissidis & Duquenne (1997) 231.

⁶⁷⁴ *SEG* 57.206. Kakavogianni and Argyropoulos (2009) 177-188.

would have appeared in the missing part of the text. Naturally, Herodes Atticus has been suggested – a justifiable connection, in this case, as another inscription attests to his reconstruction of a temple of Athena at Myrrhinous (p.218, Appendix B, No.14). The fountain house is adjacent to the foundations of a temple which remains undated; if it were the temple of Athena this would reinforce Herodes’ connection to the fountain house, but it could also be the temple of Artemis Colaenis whose cult at Myrrhinous is attested by Pausanias.⁶⁷⁵ The continued activity of this cult in the second century is confirmed by an inscription naming the priest and other officials.⁶⁷⁶ That the fountain house is adjacent to a temple rather than a domestic structure suggests a public benefaction rather than private decoration; equally, the inscription would be incongruous with a private building. It has been proposed that even though its cult continued to be practiced, the temple of Artemis had been removed to Athens by the Roman period, and that a large proportion of the local population had gone with it.⁶⁷⁷ However, I would suggest that the evidence indicates otherwise. Epigraphic evidence attests to Herodes’ rebuilding of a temple of Athena; if Pausanias’ account is anything to go by, this cult will have been secondary to that of Artemis. If the temple of Artemis, which apparently maintained cult personnel through the second century, was removed or in ruins, one might expect Herodes would have undertaken reconstruction there instead. The fountain house adjacent to the temple appears to have been quite lavishly embellished by its second-century benefactor, presupposing the presence of residents to witness (and benefit from) the inscribed monument. Finally, Pausanias offers a hint of active local tradition, telling us that Colaenus was a man who ruled Myrrhinous before Cecrops became king of Athens, “οἱ Μυρρινούσιοι λέγουσιν”.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁵ Kakavogianni and Argyropoulos (2009) 177-188; Paus.1.31.3.

⁶⁷⁶ *IG II² 4817*, found in nearby Prospalta and thought to have been moved from Myrrhinous.

⁶⁷⁷ Kakavogianni in Vasilopoulou (2009) 47-78, based on the missing superstructure of the temple and the limited Roman finds in the vicinity.

⁶⁷⁸ Paus.1.31.3.

Evidence from the Classical period indicates that the estates of wealthy Athenians were largely composed of fragmented landholdings, often at some distance from the home deme.⁶⁷⁹ The Hadrianic property list demonstrates a similar mode of landholding in the second century AD. Map 3 (p.203) illustrates the dispersal of the demes in our inscription. While there is a distinct cluster close to the city in the suburban areas, there are a significant number of properties spread throughout Attica, as far north as Aphidna and Oropus, and as far south as Atene. The properties are sometimes described merely as “χωρ”, “land”, in a certain deme. In the more curious cases, however, we find forest land (ὄλης) in Lamptrai (I.201) and rocky land (πέτρας) in Paiania (Il.108, 109).

Four *eschatai* are listed, in the Mesogeia (I.45), the Thriasian Plain (I.192), Atene (I.119), and an area known as Ὀρεαδῶ (I.52).⁶⁸⁰ The precise definition of *eschatia* (as opposed to *chorion* – the general term for a property that may or not be agricultural in function) has been the subject of much debate, although scholars appear to be in agreement that *eschatia* denotes land which for whatever reason requires more intensive management: perhaps it is mountainous or wooded; possibly in borderland, or by the sea.⁶⁸¹ It is evident from speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes that an *eschatia* could be an immensely valuable property; the fourth-century BC *eschatia* of Phainippus included two threshing-floors and great revenue was gathered from the sale of wood.⁶⁸² The appearance of *eschatai* in this inscription attests not only to a continuation of terminology for rural properties, but also to the potential for the individuals associated with these estates to have gained substantial revenue from the land. It

⁶⁷⁹ Pritchett (1956) 276 on the *Attic Stelai*, Osborne (1985) 61.

⁶⁸⁰ The latter cannot be securely associated with any known deme, but the name Ὀρεαδῶ clearly derives from ὄρος ‘mountain’, or ὄρος, ‘boundary’, and bears a similarity with the term for mountain nymphs (ὄρειάδες) used by the first century BC Greek bucolic poet Bion of Smyrna (*Epitaphius Adonis* 1.19), which in turn derived from ὄρειάς, a feminine form of ὄρειος – “of the mountains”. We might assume that this area was mountainous and/ or marginal.

⁶⁸¹ Miller (1972) 82: a farm or estate near the limits of arable land; Lambert (1997) 226: hilly (such as six examples in the fourth-century BC *Rationes Centesimarum*), borderland, or by the sea; Jameson (2002) 62-66, Krasilnikoff (2008) 45-6: land that requires intensive management to make it productive.

⁶⁸² Aeschines 1.97, Demosthenes 42.5-7.

is fitting, then, that two individuals associated with ownership of *eschatiai* are known to have been members of the Athenian elite: Flavia Phila of the Flavii of Paiania (pp.197-9), is associated with an *eschatia* in Atene, and Fulvius Metrodorus of Sounion with an *eschatia* in the Thriasian Plain.⁶⁸³

It is possible that a number of parcels of the confiscated estates of Hipparchus feature in the inscription. Properties described as ‘βασιλικοί’ appear three times; one in the Mesogeia (l.203), another in Acharnai (l.202), and a third seems to be in Oropus (l.209). Miller translated ‘Βασιλικῶν’ as ‘walnut trees’; ‘κάρυα βασιλικός’ are walnuts, and this is presumably how this interpretation originated, but without ‘κάρυα’ this translation is dubious.⁶⁸⁴ Graindor suggested that ‘βασιλικοί’ ought instead to denote “royal lands”, i.e. imperial lands.⁶⁸⁵ Graindor suggests, therefore, that we are dealing with lands confiscated by the emperor, such as those of Hipparchus. If we can in fact identify the βασιλικοί of lines 203-209 as pieces of the confiscated property then we also have the names of the men who bought it. Two parcels of land, one in Acharnai and another in the Mesogeia, belong to Publius Fulvius Metrodorus of Sounion; while another, likely to be located in Oropus, belongs to one Publius Ventidius Demetrius (see Appendix C(ii)). We might also consider that the location of these properties to the north and east of Athens accords with Hipparchus’ home deme of Marathon. This property list is roughly contemporary with Hadrian’s Oil Law, perhaps slightly later; if, like that law, it contains references to the confiscated lands of Hipparchus (pp. 207-208), we can surmise that the confiscation and re-sale of these lands was a major issue in Athenian landholding during the reign of Hadrian. It would certainly indicate

⁶⁸³ For the Flavii of Paeania see chapter 3. Fulvius Metrodorus: hearth initiate at Eleusis (*IG II² 3581*), archon eponymous (*IG II² 2021*); Byrne (2003) no.3.

⁶⁸⁴ Miller (1972) 80, with commentary p.86; ‘κάρυα βασιλικός’ is attested by Dioscorides Medicus l.125; c.f. *LSJ* ‘βασιλικός’ no.4 (+κάρυα).

⁶⁸⁵ Graindor (1934) 191, cf. *LSJ* ‘βασιλικός’ no.2 “of or belonging to a king”.

that the confiscation remained in the collective memory of the Athenians and that the lands retained their association with Hipparchus long after the act of confiscation took place.

II.iii. Cultivating the landscape

Thus far, we have explored residence and production/ industry in Attica as far as we can connect activity to specific locations. In the final section of Part II we look at the evidence for production on a broader level, evaluating the key Attic commodities and evidence for their success or otherwise in the second century.

Hesiod's *Works and Days* (eighth/ seventh c.BC) presents a picture of man whose wealth derived from working his land; not only should he own the land, but he should work it too, as "it is from work that men are rich in flocks and wealthy".⁶⁸⁶ Moreover a man's property ought not to be seized, but rather θεόσδοτος ('god-given') – presumably inherited from one's family.⁶⁸⁷ A similar ideal is expressed in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, although adapted for fourth-century Athens. In the dialogue, Socrates denounces the 'illiberal arts', for "the softening of the body involves a serious weakening of the mind" and such activities also leave no time for fulfilling one's duties to the city.⁶⁸⁸ The ideal Athenian gentleman is one such as Ischomachus, who balances his time between acting as a lawyer in the city and running his country estate. Unlike Hesiod's ideal, Ischomachus superintends agricultural pursuits rather than taking part himself, but he is well-versed in agriculture and regularly visits his farm; he uses these visits as opportunities for exercise – walking, running, and horse riding.⁶⁸⁹ The farm, along with its associated rural pursuits, is therefore integral to the formation and reputation of the ideal Athenian gentleman. In reality, however, the notion that the land was the most important source of elite wealth is insupportable. In the case of the wealthiest

⁶⁸⁶ Hes. *W&D* 308.

⁶⁸⁷ Hes. *W&D* 320.

⁶⁸⁸ Xen. *Oec.* 4.2-3.

⁶⁸⁹ Xen. *Oec.* 11.14-18.

citizens, it was likely always supplemented by income from other ventures.⁶⁹⁰ For example, it is thought that Callias and Nicias, two of the wealthiest figures of fifth-century Athens, gained their wealth from the silver mines at Laurium.⁶⁹¹ In the speeches of Isaeus, we find portfolios of property owned by individuals comprising (for example) farms, factories, bath-houses, and houses in the city – some retained by the owner, some let out to tenants.⁶⁹² If this was the case in the Classical period, when the ideal of the landowner residing on his estate and gaining wealth through agriculture and animal husbandry was in full swing, we need to be particularly careful and on guard against positivism in reviewing the second-century evidence.

There is certainly evidence that farming still formed a component of elite revenues: Attica's most important commodity was olive oil, and production and export appears to have been thriving in the second century. While noting that the oil of the Tithorean olive is of the best quality, Pausanias observes that oil from Attica is produced in much larger quantities.⁶⁹³ Hadrian's Oil Law, dating to before 126/7 AD, details the emperor's regulations on the export of Athenian olive oil; the chief purpose of the law is to ensure a supply of oil for Athens (one third of each olive grower's harvest) and prevent too much being exported by its producers.⁶⁹⁴ The law implies that Athenian oil producers could command a high price for exporting their harvest, probably more than they could command locally.⁶⁹⁵ To avoid fraudulent activity, strict legislation requires both the seller and the foreign merchant to make official declarations on penalty of confiscation (II.27-46). Lines 19-20 of the law identify the seller as ὁ δεσπότης (the owner), ὁ γεωργὸς (the farmer), or ὁ καρπώνης (the 'fruit-buyer').

⁶⁹⁰ French (1991) 29.

⁶⁹¹ Davies (1971), Osborne (1985) 111.

⁶⁹² E.g. Isaeus 3.22, 5.22, 6.33, 8.35.

⁶⁹³ Paus. 10.32.11.

⁶⁹⁴ *IG II²* 1100. For in-depth discussion of the law see Day (1942) 189-92, Oliver (1989) 232-238 (with full lemma), Harter-Uibopuu (2008) 127-141.

⁶⁹⁵ Oliver (1989) 237.

In this context, the καρπώνης is the purchaser of the oil, or perhaps a sub-lessee with the right to acquire the produce.⁶⁹⁶ This detail indicates that Attic estates of the second century functioned much as we might expect at any earlier time through a system of estate owners and tenant farmers. The law makes a special provision for olive growers who are owners of the estates of Hipparchus; these growers need only deliver one eighth of the harvest to the public oil buyers. While the lands of Hipparchus were confiscated by Domitian in 92/3 AD (pp. 143-144), it has been suggested that the sale took place under Hadrian; in this case the reduction in the requirement for oil from these estates may have been designed as an incentive to purchase.⁶⁹⁷ If Hipparchus' properties in Attica reflected his extreme wealth (p. 143), we might imagine that they were extensive and likely to have been located in prime agricultural land such as the Marathonian plain. The quality of the land may be suggested by the provision in the law: as well as an incentive to buy, it may also reflect the extent of productivity – perhaps one eighth of the harvest from these estates was expected to be a sufficient contribution for the city's needs.

In addition to the evidence from Pausanias and the Oil Law, which give vital overviews of Attic oil production, a votive from Eleusis offers a glimpse at the importance of oil on a more personal level (Fig.10, Appendix B No.20). The votive slab, dated simply (and unhelpfully) to the 'Roman period', depicts equipment needed for the processing of oil: an olive press, a cistern, and an urn (with a lid in the shape of Athena). The purpose of such a votive at a place sacred to Demeter is clear, and one imagines it might well have been dedicated by an oil producer. The evidence we have considered here indicates an active cycle of oil production

⁶⁹⁶ Day (1942) 192, Harter-Uibopuu (2008) 134.

⁶⁹⁷ Harter-Uibopuu (2008) 133.



Fig.10 Votive slab depicting the processing of olive oil, Eleusis Museum No. 5275.

and export in second-century Attica. While we do not have any evidence to associate individuals with oil production (with the exception, in a roundabout way, of Hipparchus himself), it is reasonable to expect that a number of elite families will have owned oil-producing estates, of which portions will have been leased out to tenant farmers. If, as the Oil Law suggests, many producers were taking advantage of the foreign market to command a high price, we might expect that export of oil was a notable means of accumulating wealth.

Another commodity for which Athens was famed is honey: throughout the Roman period, Attic honey was renowned as the best in the world. Pliny and Strabo extolled its virtues, singling out the honey from Hymettus and the district of the silver mines as particularly excellent.⁶⁹⁸ The latter was apparently known as ἀκάπνιστον, ‘unsmoked’, indicating that the honey was removed from the hive without the use of smoke.⁶⁹⁹ Pliny attributes the quality of Attic honey to Attic thyme; in attempts to replicate the product this thyme was apparently

⁶⁹⁸ Pliny, *NH*, 11.13, 21.31; Strabo 9.23.

⁶⁹⁹ Strabo 9.23.

transplanted elsewhere, albeit with very little success.⁷⁰⁰ In much the same vein as Lucian's comment about owing land in Acharnai (p.206), Petronius' description of Trimalchio bringing Attic bees to his Italian estate indicates the luxurious status of Attic honey, and (while obviously satirical) suggests how sought-after it was among the Roman elite.⁷⁰¹ Furthermore, a second-century AD mosaic from the Caelian Hill in Rome depicts two boxers with the inscription A.MEL|ATTI|CV ("Ah! Attic honey"), which suggests that a pot of Attic honey was given as the prize in a boxing match.⁷⁰² Evidence for Athens' association with honey continues into the fourth and fifth centuries AD, culminating in a letter of Bishop Synesius of Cyrene in which he says that while Athens was formerly the home of wisdom, in his day "the bee-keepers alone bring it honour."⁷⁰³ The sources indicate that Attic honey was produced in quantities sufficient to cater to the Roman elite and for its fame to spread while maintaining its exclusivity as a luxury item. The Athenians who invested in bee-keeping, especially on Hymettus and in the Laurium region, would have benefitted from a lucrative foreign market for their product.

As far as the productivity of rural Attica goes, oil and honey are the only resources we can identify as successful commodities for export. The Pentelic quarries continued to be worked in the second century and there is some evidence that Pentelic marble was transported for use elsewhere in Greece and possibly Rome.⁷⁰⁴ The Pentelic quarries are a notable example of economic nexus between the rural and urban economies of Roman Athens. Although Pausanias claims Herodes Atticus depleted the quarries' supply in his construction of the Panathenaic Stadium around AD 140, we ought to treat this statement with some caution.⁷⁰⁵

To some extent the exhaustion of the Pentelic quarries is a feature of the Herodes myth,

⁷⁰⁰ Pliny (*NH* 21.31) claims that Attic thyme will only grow successfully in the vicinity of sea breezes.

⁷⁰¹ Petronius, *Sat.* 38.

⁷⁰² *CIL* VI.33975; Day (1942) 203.

⁷⁰³ *Epist.* 136.

⁷⁰⁴ Plut. *Publ.* 15.

⁷⁰⁵ Paus. 1.19.6.

serving to illustrate the extravagance of the Stadium. Absolute depletion is clearly an exaggeration on Pausanias' part as the Pentelic quarries are still in use today, their marble reserved for use in the Acropolis Restoration Project.⁷⁰⁶ While the production of oil and honey can be associated with estates and property owned by Athenians, the ownership of the quarries is less certain, and suggestions that they were imperial property are mostly insupportable.⁷⁰⁷

Pieces of evidence such as the Oil Law, the Hadrianic property list, and literary attestations of the popularity of Attic honey contribute to a fragmented yet reasonably coherent picture of agriculture and estate ownership. The second-century countryside was productive, albeit in an idiosyncratically localized and specialized way – much as it ever was. Economically, this need not have been cause for concern: Hadrian's provision of an annual grain dole for Athens alleviated the pressure on Attica's limited portion of agricultural land.⁷⁰⁸ Athenian oil production was clearly thriving in the second century, and Athenian landowners benefitting from exporting their product throughout the empire. The Hadrianic property list, problematic as it is, confirms that a significant portion of Attica was still divided into estates and properties of various size and quality; some under cultivation, some with more ambiguous purpose.

Overall the evidence suggests that the rural estates of wealthy Athenians were still typically composed of fragmented landholdings rather than continuous domains. As in Classical times, elite revenues were never gained exclusively from agriculture. Considering the cultural life of second-century Athens, as discussed in chapter 3 (pp.163-9), it is possible to guess at other sources of wealth. Athens was overflowing with students and tourists, delegates and dignitaries. For an indication of the expected attendance at the Panathenaic Festival, for

⁷⁰⁶ Mallouchou-Tufano (2006) 4-5.

⁷⁰⁷ See Day (1942) 204 for discussion.

⁷⁰⁸ Cassius Dio 69.16.2.

example, we can look to the capacity of the Stadium rebuilt by Herodes Atticus (p.134): this vast structure, which supposedly depleted the Pentelic quarries, could accommodate around 50,000 people.⁷⁰⁹ The attendees required accommodation, food, entertainment. In such an environment there is certain to have been wealth to be gained from providing hospitality – owning inns (such as the πανδοκεῖον owned by Fulvius Metrodorus) leasing houses, and running schools.⁷¹⁰ As well as catering to the living, there could be wealth to be gained in accommodating the dead: sarcophagi from Attic workshops were exported across the empire in the second century, and were considered a prestige item – particularly in Rome where the import of an Attic sarcophagus was a symbol of great wealth, and likely intended to evoke the *paideia* of the deceased.⁷¹¹

Part IV: The Sacro-Idyllic Landscape

We now turn to the sacro-idyllic landscape to explore the literary approaches that fuelled the trope of ‘abandoned Attica’, and the archaeology of cult activity in the second-century countryside. Pausanias, naturally, is the key text, with his overwhelming focus on sacred and mythical locations. The only ruined temple Pausanias sees in Attica is a burnt Temple of Hera with no roof on the road from Athens to Phalerum.⁷¹² The relative lack of ruined temples seen by Pausanias during his tour of Attica could be the result of the successful socio-economic reactivation of the *chora* before the Hadrianic period, and the important restoration carried out as a result of the Augustan restoration decree (pp.249-55).

Two acts of temple building can be definitively associated with Herodes Atticus. We have already encountered the inscription from Myrrhinous claiming that ‘Herodes of Marathon

⁷⁰⁹ Goette (2001) 105.

⁷¹⁰ I.198-9: Πανδοκείου, restored by Miller (1972) 74 from Παν[.]οκ[.]ίου.

⁷¹¹ Ewald (2004) 266.

⁷¹² Paus. 1.1.5.

rebuilt the temple and dedicated the statue to Athena' (p.208).⁷¹³ The temple of Canopus in the plain of Marathon (Appendix B, No.11) can also be associated with Herodes; a portrait group of Herodes, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus has been found here, and the temple carries obvious echoes of the Canopus in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli – Herodes' well-known habit for mimicking Hadrian (see p.191) identifies him as the most likely founder of the temple.⁷¹⁴ Elsewhere at Marousi (ancient Athmonon) two boundary stones for the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia have been identified as archaizing inscriptions of the Roman period (Appendix B, No.13).⁷¹⁵ Pausanias implies contemporary activity for this cult: 'Ἀθμονεῖς δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἀμαρυσίαν Ἄρτεμιν', and even describes a famous Athenian festival of Amarysia.⁷¹⁶ The boundary stones have typically been associated with Herodes Atticus, largely on the basis of the close proximity between Athmonon and Cephisia. However, the texts of the two *horoi* match, and neither mentions Herodes; I cannot see any particular reason, therefore, to connect these *horoi* to Herodes. As we have seen in numerous instances, Herodes liked to attach his name to his projects.

It is possible that another second-century temple stood on Mount Hymettus in the vicinity of the Monastery of Kaisariani (Appendix B, No.17). The refectory at the monastery reportedly has a Roman lintel over the door, while the dome of the church itself is supported by Roman columns. South-west of the monastery on the peak of Agios Markos architectural fragments of a second-century building can be seen built into an Early Christian Church and the Byzantine church of the Taxiarchs. Goette reports further Roman remains in the form of a *nymphaion* near the monastery's *catholicon* (Appendix B, No.18).⁷¹⁷ None of these Roman elements have been formally published, however, which makes further discussion difficult.

⁷¹³ *IG* II² 3191.

⁷¹⁴ Rife (2008) 94. The temple of Canopus is mentioned by Philostratus (*VS* II.1.7). Herodes' habit of mimicking Hadrian: p.214.

⁷¹⁵ *IG* I² 865a+b, Tobin (1997) 237-8.

⁷¹⁶ Paus. 1.31.3.

⁷¹⁷ Goette (2001) 152-3.

Near Kaisariani there is a spring where the Ilissos rises, made famous in Ovid's retelling of the myth of Cephalus and Procris – it is not implausible that a *nymphaion* may have been established here in the Roman period to embellish the site.⁷¹⁸

Pausanias' description of the Attic countryside includes a great amount of information on local cults and religious practice; Pausanias provides more detail on the sacred landscape of Attica than that of any other Greek state, with the possible exception of Boeotia. Generally, we can be assured that Pausanias writes about what he sees on his travels combined with information reported to him as local tradition, although it can still be difficult to ascertain whether Pausanias' account truly reflects contemporary religious activity. His observations of temples and altars, for example, cannot automatically be interpreted as evidence for the continuance of their use. However, it is also notable that Pausanias uses the terms *τιμῶσιν* or *σέβονται* ('they worship') more frequently in Attica than in his accounts of any other region. While these statements are not always backed up with details of the cult or form of worship, they indicate the existence of contemporary activity.

The true value of Pausanias' account does not lie in his representation of contemporary cult activity – where he does not elaborate on such matters there is very little we can do to fill in the gaps. Rather, the value of Pausanias' description of the sacred landscape lies in his ability to report what he saw and what he heard; where Pausanias is able to connect a temple or altar to a god or hero, we might reasonably expect him to have sought the best information on the subject.⁷¹⁹ Pausanias' account of second-century Attica depicts a landscape populated with numerous gods and heroes and scattered liberally with cult places of many types: temples, altars, shrines, statues, caves. We might note a particular fascination with remote cult places, for example a cave of Pan in a mountain near Marathon which Pausanias describes as *ἄξιον*,

⁷¹⁸ Ovid, *AA* 687-688.

⁷¹⁹ See pp.16-17, 58 for discussion of Pausanias' research techniques.

‘remarkable’.⁷²⁰ In some places only the memory of cult association might remain while in others cult practice may continue, but both types of place considered together form a dynamic sacred landscape to be engaged with in a variety of ways. This variety is illustrated in the case of an unusual rustic cult Pausanias encounters along the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis, the shrine of the ‘Bean man’:

ῥκοδόμηται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ναὸς οὐ μέγας καλούμενος Κυαμίτου· σαφὲς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω λέγειν εἴτε πρῶτος κυάμους ἔσπειρεν οὗτος εἴτε τινὰ ἐπεφήμισαν ἥρωα, ὅτι τῶν κυάμων ἀνενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἔστι σφίσιν ἐς Δήμητρα τὴν εὐρεσιν. ὅστις δὲ ἤδη τελετὴν Ἐλευσίνι εἶδεν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Ὀρφικά ἐπελέξατο, οἶδεν ὃ λέγω.

A small shrine built along the road is called the shrine of the Bean man. I am not sure whether he was the first to grow beans, or they simply named a hero like that because the discovery of beans cannot be traced to Demeter. Those who know the mystery of Eleusis and those who have read Orpheus will know what I am talking about.⁷²¹

Plutarch also mentions this shrine of Cyamites, but nothing more is known of the god or hero himself.⁷²² As Pausanias notes, he was clearly a figure associated with the cultivation of the bean (κύαμος), and the location of Cyamites’ shrine along the Sacred Way coupled with Pausanias’ hint about the Eleusinian mysteries and Orphism indicate that Cyamites was in some way connected to the Eleusinian cult. Uncertainty regarding the exact mythology of Cyamites suggests that his origins had become obscure in Pausanias’ day, but he remains a part of the sacred landscape nonetheless.

In a recent study of Acharnai, Kellogg observes that in Roman literary sources the chief identifying characteristics of the Classical deme had been replaced with a new bucolic identity.⁷²³ Examining literary sources from Euphorion, Simias and Theocritus through to Statius, Lucian and Pausanias, Kellogg finds many references to the bucolic setting of Acharnai and myths about Dionysus’ sacred ivy, but no trace of the warlike associations of

⁷²⁰ Paus. 1.32.5.

⁷²¹ Paus. 1.37.3, trans. Levi (1971).

⁷²² Plut. *Mor.* 836.

⁷²³ Kellogg (2014).

the deme which were prevalent in earlier sources.⁷²⁴ Indeed, there is no trace in Pausanias' account of the cult of Ares and Athena Areia, who had a sanctuary in Acharnai in the Classical period and embodied the Acharnians' earlier warlike reputation. The gods of the Acharnians in Pausanias' time are more rustic in nature, and the chief identifying feature of Acharnai is its association with Dionysus and the first appearance of the ivy plant.⁷²⁵ The location of Dionysus' ivy in Acharnai is not an invention of the Roman period – sources as early as the third century BC also make this claim.⁷²⁶ That this tradition and the cult prominence of Dionysus in Acharnai remain strong into the Roman period, while the cult of Ares and the warlike identity of the Acharnians diminishes, is an important indication of the change in both local tradition and the role of Athens in the Greek and Roman world. Kellogg suggests that the change “may be attributable to the declining importance of Athens as a Mediterranean political power”.⁷²⁷ Instead of a political power, Athens was now a cultural emblem, and certain local identities were subsumed into the larger identity of Athens. However, this cult of Ares was quite an exceptional case. It is the only known cult of Ares in Attica – the war god had little significance in Athenian cult, and is not prominent in Athenian mythology. By the end of the first century BC there was a new cult of Ares in the Agora, housed in an old temple of Athena from Pallene. Suggestions that this transplanted Classical temple was the Temple of Ares at Acharnai are cast into doubt by the fact that we do not know if such a temple existed; while an altar is known of, no source alludes to a temple.⁷²⁸ The Temple of Ares in the Agora appears to have been invested with Roman meaning and connected to the Imperial Cult, as hinted at by a contemporary inscription honouring Gaius

⁷²⁴ Kellogg (2014) 139.

⁷²⁵ Paus. 1.31.6.

⁷²⁶ Euphorion and Simias, Kellogg (2014) 139n.94.

⁷²⁷ Kellogg (2014) 139.

⁷²⁸ A mid-fourth century BC ephebic oath on an altar from Acharnai *SEG* 21.519 (Rhodes & Osborne (2003) p.441, Travlos (1988) 4). Hartswick (1990) 267 convincingly doubts the existence of a Temple of Ares at Acharnai.

Caesar as νεός Ἄρης, “the New Ares”.⁷²⁹ From the Augustan period Ares became part of the dialogue of Roman rule and an emblem of Rome in the Agora; at the same time, the cult of Ares as an integral feature of the ancient local identity of Acharnai lost its meaning and significance. However, the way in which the cult of Dionysus replaced the cult of Ares as the chief identifying cult of Acharnai demonstrates how local cult could adapt to changing times, and that the loss of one important cult need not spell the end for significant cult activity at the deme level.

The fate of the cult of Ares is just one way in which cult meaning could change over time. An interesting contrast is provided by the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (Appendix B, No.1). The cult of Nemesis also experienced an encounter with the Imperial Cult, but with a very different outcome. Whereas the cult of Ares at Acharnai diminished and Ares became part of the ‘Romanisation’ of Augustan Athens, less than a century later the Temple of Nemesis was restored *in situ* at Rhamnous and integrated with the cult of the deified empress Livia. An inscription on the architrave announces that “the people honour the goddess Livia”; as Livia was deified in AD 42, and the replacement blocks have been identified as belonging to the Julio-Claudian era, we can locate the temple’s restoration and rededication to the mid-first century AD.⁷³⁰ As Miles has observed, “unlike other temples in Attica which had fallen into disrepair, the Temple of Nemesis was not stripped of useful parts or removed whole to Athens. Instead, it was restored with pride as an important local monument.”⁷³¹ In the second century, we find Herodes Atticus and his adopted sons making dedications at the Temple of Nemesis, indicating that the temple remained an active site at this time.⁷³² The difference in the fates of these two famous Attic cults can perhaps be explained by their comparative

⁷²⁹ *IG II²* 3250. The inscription was found on the Acropolis, but is commonly associated with the temple in the Agora (e.g. Shear (1981) 362; Thompson (1987) 7; Hartswick (1990) 269; Camp (2001) 191). This inscription is mirrored in a statue base for Drusus Caesar (*IG II²* 3257) also linked to the Temple of Ares.

⁷³⁰ *IG II²* 3242. Miles (1989) 235-6.

⁷³¹ Miles (1989) 239.

⁷³² *IG II²* 3969: statue base commemorating joint sacrifices of Herodes and Polydeukion.

renown and significance. While the cult of Ares at Acharnai was renowned in Attica as a symbol of the Acharnians' warlike nature, the cult of Nemesis at Rhamnous had a much more far-reaching importance. As Pausanias notes in his account of the temple, Nemesis played an important role in the mythology of the Persian Wars; it was she who brought divine retribution on the Persians and ensured the Athenian victory at Marathon.⁷³³ More importantly, Nemesis came to be specifically associated with Rhamnous – while her oldest cult was likely that at Smyrna, Rhamnous became the undisputed cult centre. 'Rhamnusia' even became a common literary name for Nemesis.⁷³⁴ The renown of the Attic cult of Nemesis was such that the incorporation of Livia sent an important message regarding the Athenians' acceptance of the Imperial Cult; this would have meant little had the cult not remained firmly established at Rhamnous.

In witnessing disruption in the identity and cults of a deme such as Acharnai we are not seeing a loss of identity or a decline in the sacred landscape; rather, we are seeing change – change on a *polis* level and change on a deme level, with local identity and local cult adapting to fit a new model. Cults such as Nemesis at Rhamnous transcended local significance and played a role in the international profile of Athens. The cult of Ares at Acharnai was one cult that did not survive into the second century or at the very least had diminished beyond recognition from its earlier importance. However, the devolution of this one cult did not result in a loss of cult activity at Acharnai; importantly, Dionysus appears to have taken over as the chief local god, with his cult and the myth of the sacred ivy becoming an integral part of Acharnian local identity. The extensive literary association of Dionysus and Acharnai through the Roman period demonstrates how this cult connection gained traction and international renown. Local

⁷³³ Paus. 1.33.2.

⁷³⁴ Callimachus, *Dian.* 232; Catullus, 64.394; Ovid, *Met.* 15.694; Apuleius, *Met.* 11; Miles (1989) 138.

identity may have been different to what it was in earlier times, but it still existed owing to both its deep roots and its adaptability.

We have seen here evidence of active community engagement with local cult in Attica. Before we move on we should consider another, more personal, form of cult activity: pilgrimage. In his study of educated pilgrims, Galli observes, “one of the most original aspects of the pilgrimage phenomenon of the Second Sophistic is the reconstruction and reactivation of the sacred rural landscape.”⁷³⁵ Galli examines the pilgrimages of Hadrian, particularly his ascent of *montes divini*, as a model for ‘cultivated pilgrims’ such as Aelius Aristides and Herodes Atticus. This form of pilgrimage, Galli suggests, centred on visiting natural sacred locations rather than temples or major cult centres. Galli argues that Aelius Aristides’ religious interests were shaped by the rural sanctuaries near his father’s estate, including a temple of Asclepius and a sanctuary of Olympian Zeus.⁷³⁶ I would hesitate to accept the notion that the act of dedicating in remote places was *preferred* to dedicating in established temples and sanctuaries; Aristides himself and his devotion to Asclepius at Pergamum is proof of that, as is Herodes Atticus at Olympia and Corinth. However, Galli is right to identify remote dedication as another way to engage with the gods and achieve prestige. Aristides marked his pilgrimages by making dedications at the sacred sites he visited, and it is possible that one such has been discovered in Attica: an altar to Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus found in the chapel of Profitis Ilias on Mount Pentelicon (Appendix B, No.19).⁷³⁷ Such dedications were a further means of perpetuating one’s legacy by leaving a mark on the landscape, while also demonstrating personal piety. As we proceed to discuss commemorative practice in Attica, we should hold ‘cultivated pilgrimage’ in our minds:

⁷³⁵ Galli (2005) 283.

⁷³⁶ *Sacred Tales* 4.48-9; Galli (2005) 285.

⁷³⁷ *IG II²* 4531, Travlos (1988) 329, Galli (2005) 286.

Herodes' commemorative herms encapsulate perfectly the appeal of remoteness and the appropriation (or even the creation) of 'natural' sacred places.

Part V: Burial and commemoration in second-century Attica

In the final part of this chapter we unite the social and sacred themes discussed above to explore how the inhabitants of Attica (elite and otherwise) expressed their ideology of the countryside through funerary practice. We have touched on funerary archaeology throughout this chapter, but here we explore the meaning behind the commemorative choices of second-century Athenians, including burial markers (mausolea, gravestones, and sarcophagi), and also the more unusual commemorative monuments erected by Herodes Atticus for his children throughout the countryside.

IV.i Herodes Atticus' commemorative herms

Following the deaths of his three young adopted sons, Polydeukion, Achilles and Memnon, Herodes Atticus scattered the Attic countryside with commemorative monuments dedicated to each of them.⁷³⁸ Philostratus tells us:

εἰκόνας γοῦν ἀνετίθει σφῶν θηρώντων καὶ τε θηρακόντων καὶ θηρασόντων τὰς μὲν ἐν δρυμοῖς, τὰς δὲ ἐπ' ἀγροῖς, τὰς δὲ πρὸς πηγαῖς, τὰς δὲ ὑπὸ σκιαῖς πλατάνων, οὐκ ἀφανῶς, ἀλλὰ ξὺν ἀραῖς τοῦ περικόψοντος ἢ κινήσοντος, οὗς οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἦρεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπαίων ἀξίους ἐγίγνωσκεν.

... Accordingly (Herodes) put up statues of them hunting, having hunted, and about to hunt, some in his shrubberies, others in the fields, others by springs or in the shade of plane-trees, not hidden away but inscribed with execrations on anyone who should pull down or move them.⁷³⁹

The herms were not just restricted to Herodes' estates but were spread throughout the countryside. Some were dedicated at sacred places such as the sanctuaries at Brauron and Rhamnous. These herms invoked local gods and the spirit of place in order to commemorate places and activities beloved by Herodes and his sons. Moreover, they were intended to be

⁷³⁸ All the known herms and statues for the three *trophimoi* outside Athens are recorded and described in Appendix B.

⁷³⁹ Phil. VS. II. 558-9, trans. Cave Wright (1921).

seen, “not hidden away”, as Philostratus notes. Herodes chose places in the landscape that held a particular significance to set up his monuments, places where he and his children used to walk or hunt, and invoked gods and heroes to protect them. One such herm for Achilles was discovered built into the wall of a church in Varnava, a village located in the hills of north-east Attica about 13km from modern Marathon (Appendix E, No.24).⁷⁴⁰ The surviving inscription reads:

Ἡρώδης Ἀχιλλεῖ
 ὃς βλέπειν σε ἔχοιμι
 καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
 νόπῳ αὐτός τε
 καὶ εἴ τις γ' ἕτερος,
 κάκεῖνοί [γ', ἔ]ση με-
 μνημένο[ς τῆ]ς ἡ-
 μετέρας φιλίας ὅ-
 ση ἡμεῖν ἐγένετο·
 ἱερόν δέ σε Ἑρμοῦ ἐ-
 φόρου καὶ νομίου
 ποιοῦμαι.

Herodes to Achilles. So that I may see you in this vale also. I and any other (who passes). And to the former, you call to mind the memory of this great friendship which was ours. I consecrate you to watchful Hermes the protector of shepherds.

In a remote location such as Varnava it is highly unlikely that the herm would have been transported far to be used in the church building, so it is likely that we have the original context for the herm. *νόπος*, translated by Tobin as ‘vale’ could also be interpreted as ‘grove’ – either might be applicable to the context, and the landscape in this region is both hilly and wooded.⁷⁴¹ Edward Lear, recounting his travels in Greece in 1848, described the landscape around Varnava as: “... ravines, with wood and grey rocks”.⁷⁴² We might view this area as an example of the sort of ‘romantic wilderness’ that might be selected by a *pepaideumenos* in search of sacred landscapes. The inscription conveys a sacro-idyllic landscape by placing Achilles, Herodes’ memories, and the monument itself into the care of Hermes, ‘protector of

⁷⁴⁰ *IG II²* 3977. Ameling II (1983) no.180; Tobin (1997) 277-8. Appendix B, No.24.

⁷⁴¹ The use of *νόπος* to mean ‘grove’ would hold an implicit allusion to the tragic poets of the fifth century BC in whose plays this usage is primarily found, e.g. Soph. *OC*, 157, *Tr.* 436, Eurip. *And.* 284.

⁷⁴² Entry for Friday 16th June 1848.

shepherds'. Herodes is not engaging with a local cult, but with the sacred nature of the landscape itself: a remote rural area such as Varnava is obvious territory for Hermes, a god associated not only with shepherds and their flocks, but with liminal spaces. Herodes' invocation of Hermes demonstrates an engagement with sacred landscape that is not limited to activity at particular cult sites, but also encompasses what we might consider personal 'encounters' with gods and heroes in the natural environment.

Of numerous herms for Polydeukion, a particularly interesting example was discovered in a spring in Kato Souli, a village 10km from Marathon, thought to be the site of the ancient deme Tricorinthus (Appendix E, No.21).⁷⁴³ This herm includes the full curse text, along with a heading:

Πολυδευ-
κίωνα, ὄν ἄν-
θ' υ[ί]οῦ ἔστε-
<ρξ>εν καὶ ἐνθά-
δε Ἡρώδης <άν>-
έθηκεν ὅτι ἐν-
θάδε καὶ περὶ
θήραν εἶχον.

Polydeukion, whom Herodes loved as if he were a son. Herodes set it up here where they used to hunt.

This herm is significant not only as an example of how Herodes looked to the rural landscape for inspiration in commemorating his *trophimoi*, but also as evidence for hunting as an elite activity in second-century Attica. Hunting as a beloved pastime of Herodes and his *trophimoi* is supported by Philostratus and further expressed in other monuments, including a herm for Memnon at Marathon in which the youth is described as Ἀρτέμιδος φίλος, "dear to Artemis" (Appendix E, No.23), and a relief of Polydeukion with a horse found at the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. Artemis was, of course, associated with youth and the ephebic sphere more generally, but it was as Agrotera – 'of the wilds' (derived from *agra*, the hunt) that

⁷⁴³ IG II² 13190+3970. Tobin (1997) 276-7; Appendix B, No. 21.

Artemis guided ephebes through their transition to manhood.⁷⁴⁴ In the Roman *collegium iuvenum nemesiorum*, an organisation with similar values as the *ephebeia*, Nemesis was worshipped as the patron of hunting along with Artemis.⁷⁴⁵ It is certainly not by chance that the two sanctuaries in Attica where we find Herodes honouring a *trophimos* are those of Artemis and Nemesis; these goddesses encapsulated the youthful life Herodes wished to commemorate, and represented a favourite shared activity. Nemesis of Rhamnous was one of the gods Herodes brought to his Roman estate on the Via Appia (pp. 191-192) – another expression, perhaps, of the goddess’ personal significance to Herodes and his family.

In adopting a hunting motif for his commemoration of Polydeukion, Achilles and Memnon, Herodes may have been mimicking Hadrian once again, recalling the emperor’s well-documented hunts with his youthful lover Antinous.⁷⁴⁶ I have previously studied the numerous hunting allusions in Herodes’ monuments in regard to the realities of hunting in Attica.⁷⁴⁷ We know that hunting was practised in second-century Greece and, as we shall discuss further below, the image of the youthful hunter was an important commemorative motif on contemporary Attic gravestones. Pausanias attests to hunting on Mount Parnes, at least, where he claims there are wild boars and bears.⁷⁴⁸ In the rocky foothills surrounding the Marathon plain, modern Kato Souli would be a suitable location for hunting on foot, as depicted in the Artemidorus *stele* (discussed below, pp.238-41).

The herms and other monuments Herodes erected for his adopted sons in locations throughout the countryside illustrate the power of sacro-idyllic ideology in a commemorative context. They are not funerary monuments, and not specifically sacred in nature, but they

⁷⁴⁴ *IG II² 1008* (118/7BC), *IG II² 1011* (106/5BC), *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 66 (late second c. BC); see also Burkert (1983) 65, Pritchett (1974) 174-5.

⁷⁴⁵ Pleket (1969) 285. An altar to Nemesis at Aquileia is decorated with hunting images (*CIL* 5.813). In Attica, youths traditionally took part in torch-races at the *Nemesia* festival at Rhamnous – see Parker (1996) 254.

⁷⁴⁶ Anderson (1985) 104-5, Vout (2005) 91.

⁷⁴⁷ ‘The Monuments of Herodes Atticus: Engaging with the *genius loci* in second century Attica’, MA dissertation, University of Liverpool (2010).

⁷⁴⁸ Paus. 1.32.1.

engage powerfully with the sacred landscape. They are also important expressions of identity – Herodes’ own identity, and the motifs by which he chose to commemorate his family. Many of the herms are located in the vicinity of Herodes’ estates; here, they also stake out Herodes’ claim to the land. Each was adorned with the same lengthy curse inscription, imploring “Whoever you are who hold the land, on no account move any of these things”, and threatening death to any who did.⁷⁴⁹ With this curse, Herodes cast an eye to the future, considering the longevity of his family name and hoping to preserve for posterity the memory of both his children and himself (see also pp.135).

IV.ii. Mausolea

Alcock has noted the appearance of ornate mausolea in the Roman period – both in the peri-urban area (e.g. the Monument of Philopappus, pp.167-8) and in the countryside proper, typically by roads.⁷⁵⁰ A number of examples from Attica correspond to this trend. According to Philostratus, the Athenian sophist Apollonius was buried near the road to Eleusis in an area called *hierasykaminos* (p.166).⁷⁵¹ A Roman imperial mausoleum for a man from Kydathenaion is located just north of the Sacred Way in the Thriasian plain.⁷⁵² Another mausoleum in the vicinity of ancient Phlya may continue this pattern. The mausoleum is built into the small chapel of Panagia Marmariotissa, located in the modern suburb of Chalandri (Fig.8, p.231). It was constructed of marble; hence the name of the chapel, from the Greek μάρμαρο. The use of marble suggests that the mausoleum belonged to a wealthy individual. Goette describes the structure as “a contemporary copy” of the mausoleum for Herodes’ family in Cephisia (pp.189-90) and suggests that this mausoleum also might be associated

⁷⁴⁹ The curse text is repeated on at least twenty-four herms and statue bases discovered in Attica including all the herms recorded in Appendix E.

⁷⁵⁰ Alcock (1993) 67.

⁷⁵¹ Phil. VS. II.602.

⁷⁵² Goette (2001) 280; *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (1976) ‘Aspropyrgos – Attica, Greece’. The mausoleum has been identified from large inscribed and decorated marble blocks. Eliot’s entry in the *Princeton Encyclopedia* indicates the blocks are in situ around a burial site; Goette sees further blocks near the site of a later tower in which they had been re-used.



Fig.8 An imperial mausoleum in Chalandri built into the chapel of Panagia Marmariotissa.

with Herodes.⁷⁵³ This is very unlikely; we have no evidence that Herodes was active in Phlya, and similarities with the Cephisia mausoleum are more likely to be attributed to contemporary fashion than the taste of one man. The lavish mausoleum here should probably be associated with a wealthy family of Phlya. Phlya was the home deme for at least two notable families of the second century (the Claudii and Vipsanii), and located relatively close to Athens. We have already noted pre-industrial descriptions of this area's natural and cultivated beauty (p.205); it would be surprising if it were not, like Cephisia, a popular location for elite residence and burial.⁷⁵⁴

Although a number of Herodes Atticus' family members were buried at his Cephisia villa, Herodes himself was buried in the city by his Stadium. Burial in the city was considered to be

⁷⁵³ Goette (2001) 102.

⁷⁵⁴ The Claudii of Phlya included among their numbers Claudius Chrysippus, *kosmetes* of ephebes in 142/3 (*IG* II² 3740) and herald of the boule and *demos* (?149/50), and Chrysippus his son(?), who in 174/5 successfully appealed to Marcus Aurelius against Valerius Mamertinus, one of the enemies of Herodes Atticus discussed in chapter three (*SEG* 29.127.II.8). See Byrne (2003) nos. 256, 258.

a great honour, but Herodes had wished to be buried at Marathon. In this burial choice, Herodes expressed his wish to be buried in a commemorative landscape shared with the heroes of the fifth-century BC battle, and to appropriate this landscape for his own family.⁷⁵⁵

As Alcock has observed of ornate rural mausolea, “the combination of the elaboration and the location of such structures asserted the owner’s dominance over the countryside.”⁷⁵⁶ We have already seen that Roman villa culture had not yet gained traction in Greece until Herodes’ time (pp.186-7); arguably rural mausolea were a first step in this direction: a highly visible means by which to display elite status and ownership of the land.

IV.iii. Stelai and kioniskoi

According to von Moock’s study of the dispersal of grave *stelai* in imperial Attica, Athens has produced the largest portion of *stelai*, but notable Roman graveyards have also been discovered in the countryside. In addition to von Moock’s *stelai*, second-century grave markers also included humble *kioniskoi* and, as we have seen, lavish mausolea. As in earlier times, the roads to and from Athens continued to be popular places for display through burial. Pausanias notes that “outside the city of Athens in the country districts and beside the roads there are sanctuaries of gods and of heroes and the tombs of men.”⁷⁵⁷ In Classical times the roadside from the Dipylon Gate to Piraeus had been a preferred location for burials, with funerary monuments lining the road; as Thucydides notes, “the dead are laid in the public sepulchre in the most beautiful suburb of the city, in which those who fall in war are always buried”.⁷⁵⁸ Some of these monuments were still standing in the second century: Pausanias sees “very famous graves beside the road, Menander’s and the empty monument of

⁷⁵⁵ Phil. VS.II.565-6.

⁷⁵⁶ Alcock (1993) 70.

⁷⁵⁷ Paus. 1.29.2.

⁷⁵⁸ Thuc. 2.34.5.

Euripides...”⁷⁵⁹ Burials in this area continued into the Roman period – at least one of the second-century ‘bearded rustic’ gravestones we discuss below was discovered in the Cerameicus (Appendix E, No.3). That Athenian roads continued to be used for burials through the second century indicates that the Athenians continued to adhere to ancient funerary traditions and to recognise the importance of roads as commemorative galleries, where all who passed by could bear witness to the great names and lives that had gone before. For the monuments to fulfil their purpose these roads must have been reasonably well-travelled; the Via Appia in Rome, similarly, became such a key location for the funerary monuments of the aristocracy because it was an important thoroughfare (p.246).

While much Roman-era archaeological material in the vicinity of Marathon is associated with Herodes Atticus, a number of second-century gravestones confirm the existence of a broader community in the area. Among the published examples, the deceased do not appear to be Roman citizens – the gravestones are good quality but not elite burials. An estate such as Herodes’ Marathon villa will have required a large workforce, and portions are likely to have been leased to tenant farmers. Perhaps the men and women commemorated in these *stelai* were associated with the estate, or else the deme community. In von Moock’s catalogue of Attic grave *stelai* of the Roman Imperial period, Marathon, along with Rhamnous, Piraeus and Eleusis, is a notable find spot for grave *stelai* outside the city.⁷⁶⁰

Within the catalogue of gravestones from Roman Attica there exists a small collection from the mid-second century AD characterised by their distinctive rural imagery. A corpus of twenty *stelai* and *kioniskoi* have been found in Athens, Rhamnous, Marathon, Acharnai, and

⁷⁵⁹ Paus. 1.2.2.

⁷⁶⁰ Von Moock (1998) ‘Beilage 1’. These locations are classified in the ‘3-20 gravestones’ category.

even Salamis.⁷⁶¹ Fourteen of these gravestones have been discussed by Celina Gray in her study of the ‘bearded rustic’ image. Gray focuses on the images of bearded men in rustic clothing with agricultural implements or symbols, such as tools, vines or animals. Here, I augment Gray’s collection with a small number of contemporary *stelai* that adhere to the rural theme but do not include a bearded man, and gravestones featuring hunting imagery. Contemporary with the agricultural *stelai* and *kioniskoi*, the hunting images on gravestones enable us to evaluate the commemoration of youths in this period, as well as the grown men for whom the agricultural theme is used.

Despite the undoubtedly small number of gravestones in this corpus, their idiosyncratic imagery merits investigation – additionally, in terms of discernible trends in second-century funerary images, the rustic theme is second only to the popular Isis reliefs.⁷⁶² The pictorial vocabulary displayed on these gravestones is consistent and distinctive; they evoke a very particular image of men that centres on their apparent ties to the land, and their activities on that land – both work and leisure. We are dealing with gravestones that demonstrate a distinct image of the Athenian male. While we address here only the gravestones that can be definitively identified as rustic in theme, it is important to note that von Moock’s catalogue includes many fragmented or eroded gravestones that may also have belonged to the corpus. Acropolis Museum No. 4709, for example, a fragment of a gravestone decorated with vines and showing what appears to be part of a small servant figure, may, when complete, have met our criteria.⁷⁶³

⁷⁶¹ The gravestone of Aphthonetus (von Moock (1998) no.414) is categorised by von Moock as originating from Laureion but Gray, (2006) 365, doubts this, apparently on the grounds that most of the other gravestones in the corpus come from Athens or north of the city.

⁷⁶² Walters (1988) 1-188. The 14 rural-themed gravestones that are included in von Moock’s catalogue represent approximately 5% of his total number of second century grave *stelai*. In this study, however, we include *kioniskoi* as well as sculpted *stelai* (catalogued by Conze (1922)).

⁷⁶³ Von Moock (1998) no.69, Gray (2006) 351.

The grave *stèle* of Eucarpus and Philoxenus (Fig.9, p.237; Appendix E, No.2) was discovered on Panepistemiou Street in Athens.⁷⁶⁴ This example is of particular interest for its depiction of two men of distinctly different type: one, Eucarpus, is dressed as a farmer – bearded, wearing a short belted chiton, and holding a *lagobolon* (a stick used for hare hunting); while the other, Philoxenus is of notably urban appearance – he has a short, neat haircut and no beard, is dressed in civic clothing, and stands in a restrained pose. To quote Gray’s verdict on the two brothers: “Philoxenus could be any man in any Roman provincial town in the empire, but Eucarpus is distinct”.⁷⁶⁵ Two small oxen are depicted behind Eucarpus, and a plough appears on the pediment, suggesting that Eucarpus is being presented as a farmer and an owner of cattle. Oxen were primarily used as draught animals for ploughing and heavy transport.⁷⁶⁶ They were also, in earlier days, a significant marker of elite status and wealth; owing to the relative scarcity of good pasturage in Greece, particularly in regions such as Attica, large cattle were rarer and therefore more valuable than small cattle.⁷⁶⁷ Oxen appear on three of our Attic gravestones (see Appendix E), which might be some indication of their importance in evoking status during the second century. However, as the plough also appears with some frequency (in the case of Eucarpus, the oxen and the plough appear on the same *stèle*), it is more likely that the oxen featured on these gravestones represent a pair of oxen kept for ploughing the land rather than ownership of herds in the Homeric model.

Returning to Eucarpus, besides his oxen and the plough on the pediment, he also holds a *lagobolon* and a vintner’s knife; these attributes, considered alongside his beard and rustic dress, contribute to a depiction of Eucarpus as what one might consider the ‘ultimate’ countryman. This vivid image is in quite stark contrast to that of his brother, Philoxenus, who

⁷⁶⁴ Appendix B, No.2.

⁷⁶⁵ Gray (2006) 356

⁷⁶⁶ Isager and Skydsgaard (1995) 89.

⁷⁶⁷ Lonsdale (1979) 147; Howe (2008) 27-47. Examples of the use of cattle as a mark of status in the Homeric epics are too numerous to detail here – a particularly notable example is the description of Odysseus’ wealth (*Od.* 14.99-104).

is depicted in typically civic clothing without any specific attribute. The choice of a plough for the pediment image crowning the two figures, however, perhaps suggests that farming was a family livelihood in which both brothers shared or took pride, but that Philoxenus had pursued occupation in the city while his brother kept the farm. The extent to which rustic-themed funerary images such as this were intended to represent reality or an ideal is debatable. In favour of interpreting this particular image as 'real' I would suggest that the defined characters of Eucarpus and Philoxenus indicate that some attempt was made to mark out the individuals according to their particular occupation or skill, rather than drawing on a stock image. The imagery here draws a contrast between rural and urban, but also marks out a clear relationship between the two. Another distinctive feature of these two brothers that has a significant bearing on our interpretation of the reality behind the image, is the fact that the inscription identifies them as Milesian in origin, and therefore not Athenian citizens.

Similar in many ways to the gravestone of Eucarpus and Philoxenus is that of Zosas and Nostimus, found in the Marathon area (Fig.10, p.237; Appendix E, No.4).⁷⁶⁸ Zosas, the elder (and taller) of the two, rests a hand on Nostimus' shoulder in what appears to be a fatherly fashion, but the inscription complicates matters, identifying Nostimus as a Milesian, but not Zosas; as such their precise relationship is unclear. Unlike the previous example, here both males are depicted with rustic attributes: both wear tunics and carry vintner's knives, while vines and grapes spread above and a small ox stands between them. Whereas Eucarpus was depicted with a range of agricultural implements and hunting apparatus, the gravestone of Zosas and Nostimus presents a consistent theme of vine cultivation; the vines and grapes, obviously, along with the special vine-cutting knives. Sallares notes that there is not likely to ever have been a high degree of specialisation in viticulture in Attica, as it demanded a high

⁷⁶⁸ Appendix B, No. 4.



Fig.9 Grave stele of Eucarpus and Philoxenus. (Athens NM 1243).



Fig.10. Grave stele of Zosias and Nostimus. (Marathon Museum BE 13)

labour input and climatic fluctuations could seriously affect the annual yield.⁷⁶⁹ The labour-intensive nature of viticulture is evident in inscriptions of the Classical period detailing the leasing of land, which often give details of the responsibilities of the lessees. One such inscription details the leasing of land in Rhamnous, and specifies the necessity of providing stakes for vines.⁷⁷⁰ Another document of 346/5-345/4 BC details the forty-year lease of a plot of land in Aixone to a father and son;⁷⁷¹ one of their responsibilities is to employ a vinedresser for the final five years of the lease. In literary sources, also, we find that viticulture was a complex art, requiring a great deal of attention and dedication.⁷⁷² For individuals who practised vine cultivation, it is not difficult to see how the tools of the trade could function as symbols of their knowledge and skill, and markers of their role in upholding an ancient and vital agricultural tradition. Similar allusions to viticulture appear on the gravestone of a couple from the Cerameicus.⁷⁷³ Here the bearded man in rustic dress holds a vintner's knife and a cluster of grapes. The vintner's knife also appears on the *kioniskos* of Macedon, from Acharnai (Appendix E, No.17).⁷⁷⁴ Helpfully, in that case, an inscription confirms that Macedon was in fact an *ampelourgos*, a vine-dresser. The fifth-century BC Aixone inscription, above, might serve as a tool for understanding social status among those occupied with viticulture: we might cast Zosas and Nostimus in the mould of the father and son who purchase land on a lease, while Macedon corresponds to the vinedresser they are contractually obliged to hire in order to properly maintain the plot. In such a reading, Zosas and Nostimus would have the financial and social status to acquire the land, while Macedon would be a man with an important marketable skill, but not a landowner and dependent on others for his livelihood. Given our knowledge of this deme's reputation

⁷⁶⁹ Sallares (1991) 297.

⁷⁷⁰ *IG II²* 2493; Jameson (1982) 66-73.

⁷⁷¹ *IG II²* 2492; Burford (1993) 231-232; Krasilnikoff (2008) 42-45.

⁷⁷² Instructions for vine cultivation feature in the works of Hesiod, Xenophon, Theophrastus and Columella. For a detailed look at these sources and the particulars of viticulture see Isager and Skydsgaard (1995) 26-33.

⁷⁷³ Appendix B, No. 3.

⁷⁷⁴ Appendix B, No. 17.

for vine-growing and popular association with Dionysus (pp.221-2), we might imagine that Macedon was gainfully employed in Acharnai.

Of the *stelai* that depict youths hunting, the most famous and sculpturally impressive example is the gravestone of Artemidorus of Besa (Fig.11, Appendix E, No.1), found south of the Olympieion.⁷⁷⁵ The youth is depicted hunting a boar with his dog, against a natural landscape of rocky ground and forest. A stag appears behind Artemidorus in the top left corner, while more dogs and deer decorate the base of the *stèle*. The lively pose and sense of action in the image are quite uncommon in gravestones of the second century (contrast with the very static ‘bearded rustic’ image, Figs. 9,10). In this way, and in the use of a hunting image quite independent of any other youthful markers such as nudity or allusions to military training, the gravestone of Artemidorus is unique in the corpus of surviving gravestones from Attica in the Roman Imperial period. Dow and Vermeule have identified the landscape depicted on the *stèle* as following a “Hellenistic decorative manner of piling up elements vertically”, while Artemidorus himself “exudes the classicism of a Meleager from an Attic sarcophagus”. The authors suggest that the Artemidorus *stèle* was crafted by a workshop that also produced sarcophagi – specifically a Meleager sarcophagus from Patras in the National Museum at Athens, produced by a Classicizing Attic workshop for export between 150 and 170 AD (Fig.12, p.241).⁷⁷⁶ Close comparison of the *stèle* with this sarcophagus reveals a notable similarity in pose between Artemidorus and the hunter to the left of Meleager, while the rendering of Artemidorus’ hair corresponds to that of the younger hunters on the sarcophagus. The particular choice of a boar for Artemidorus’ quarry also invites comparison, and was perhaps intended as an intentional allusion to the popular Meleager myth. This

⁷⁷⁵ *IG II²* 5895.

⁷⁷⁶ Dow and Vermeule (1965) 296-7, followed by Walters (1988) 81.



Fig.11 *Grave stele of Artemidorus (Athens: NM 1192).*



Fig.12 Detail from Attic Sarcophagus depicting Meleager and the Calydonian Boar (Athens: NM 1186).

hunting myth was evidently a popular theme for second-century Attic sarcophagi; a contemporary sarcophagus from Eleusis is strikingly similar in composition.⁷⁷⁷ The international prestige of Attic craftsmanship and the luxury status of Attic sarcophagi (p.218) surely relates to the cultural monopoly of Athens and Attica we have discussed throughout this thesis. We should also note the popularity throughout the Antonine period of hunting scenes depicting the myth of Meleager and the Calydonian boar.⁷⁷⁸ Much like the hunting imagery in our *stelai*, the appeal of this myth centres on the perceived virtue of the hunt, and its associations with warfare and traditional masculinity (p.228).

Another notable example in this vein is the gravestone of Telesphorus (Appendix E, No.5), in which the deceased is presented as a nude youth wearing a long chlamys, and holding the reins of his horse which stands beside him. In the centre of the pediment is a shield, with a dog on the right chasing a hare which runs towards the left-hand corner. The inscription beneath the pediment tells us that Telesphorus was 26 years old, the son of Eucarpus of

⁷⁷⁷ Eleusis Museum No. 170.

⁷⁷⁸ Lorenz (2011) 307-8 estimates about 70 examples from Roman workshops, 10 found in the Western provinces and 25 from Attic workshops.

Miletus, and that he had fought in a war. He was six years removed from the *ephebeia* upon his death, and yet the depiction of Telesphorus on his gravestone references the key features of the ephebic sphere; as a recognisable visual language for youth and vitality, it is likely that the ephebic references are employed to emphasise the young age at which Telesphorus died. Foreigners begin to appear on the ephebic lists from the late second century BC, and so Telesphorus' Milesian descent need not have been an impediment to his membership in this Athenian institution.⁷⁷⁹ The pediment carries an unmistakable piece of hunting imagery, but even without the small detail of the dog chasing the hare Telesphorus could still be classified as a hunter by the standards of Classical funerary sculpture. Dallas' survey finds that most youths and adolescents on Classical gravestones are depicted with horses, and that the attributes of cavalrymen (such as spears or short javelins) are nearly indistinguishable from those of hunters; therefore, a youth with a horse could be categorised as either a soldier or a hunter.⁷⁸⁰ This close connection serves to highlight the inextricable connections between hunting and soldiering, and the close relationship between the two in the *ephebeia*. A further example of this ambiguity may be found in the grave *stèle* of an ephebe from Salamis in which the nude youth rests one hand on a small herm, while on his other side a small dog sits in front of a tree. The youth wears a long mantle draped over his shoulder and wrapped around his left arm. This image distinctly recalls Dallas' description of the hunter-ephebe on Classical gravestones: a nude youth, with a bunched himation wrapped around one arm, leaning on a *stèle* or pillar.⁷⁸¹

Having discussed the key features of this corpus of gravestones, we now come to the difficult questions raised by this trend for rustic imagery. Why did the rustic theme become popular at this time? And can these images tell us anything about landholding in second-century Attica?

⁷⁷⁹ An inscription of 123/2 BC (*IG II²* 1006 + 1031 + 2485) is the first securely dated list in which foreigners appear; cf. Follet (1988) 29; Gray (2011) 59. On Milesians and the *ephebeia* see p.115.

⁷⁸⁰ Dallas (1987) 260.

⁷⁸¹ Dallas (1987) 335.

In her study of these gravestones, Gray proposes a connection between rustic imagery and religious piety. Citing passages from Pausanias and Philostratus, Gray argues that these gravestones reflect a contemporary association of the countryside with the Classical or heroic past: “By depicting the deceased as a rustic or including agricultural attributes on the gravestone, the dead are situated within a complex historicized landscape where past and present can co-exist.”⁷⁸² We have touched on this theme throughout this chapter in regard to Pausanias’ interest in obscure rustic cults (pp.220-1), and the semi-heroic figure of Agathion extolling to Herodes the virtues of the Attic countryside (pp.192-4). These gravestones could reasonably be another expression of a revived interest in the rustic ideal. However, Gray goes further, suggesting that the popularity of rustic imagery at this time was “a form of local resistance” to the spread of Roman citizenship. I am not entirely convinced by this suggestion. To my mind, considering the people who used this rural imagery, the trend represents not resistance to Roman citizenship but rather an attempt to buy into a traditional identifier of Athenian citizenship. Alongside access to participation in public life, the right to own land in Attica was the most distinctive marker of Athenian citizenship. In chapter three we discussed the increasing elitism of the Athenian political sphere – a process that appears to have reached its culmination in the latter half of the second century AD (pp.136-40). With political life off-limits to all but the very wealthy, it follows that other signifiers of citizenship would increase in importance. A number of our rustic-themed gravestones feature notably high quality sculpture (particularly those highlighted here). The deceased were not poor men, and their commemorative preferences indicate a particular wish to be remembered in a way that explicitly connected them with the Athenian countryside. We have seen that the countryside preserved notions of Athenian purity and the traditional virtues of simple, rustic living; it also possessed an ancient sacred identity. The gravestone of the Milesian Artemas

⁷⁸² Gray (2006) 360-367, citing Paus. 1.15.3, 32.5; Phil. *Heroicus* 4.6-12, *VS II*. 552-553.

(Appendix E, No.6), depicting a bearded man holding a cattle prod in his left hand while pouring libations onto an altar with his right, demonstrates a clear conceptual link between rural activity and piety.⁷⁸³

Our argument is given further weight by the fact that five out of the sixteen complete gravestones that utilise the rustic theme belong to individuals identified as Milesians. Moreover, a number of these Milesians appear to have lived in rural Attica: two of our gravestones come from Marathon and Rhamnous, which would be difficult to explain in any other way than that these Milesians were resident there.⁷⁸⁴ We discussed Athens' large Milesian population in chapter two (pp.111-17) – in earlier times *metics* were more typically resident in the city or suburbs, although their presence has been attested in more than forty demes, with a particularly large population in Acharnai.⁷⁸⁵ Gray suggests that the popularity of rustic characterization in the second century may indicate that Milesians were at this time permitted to own land in Attica – perhaps through a block grant of *enktesis*.⁷⁸⁶ This is by no means a far-fetched proposal: as we have already seen, the Milesian population was thoroughly integrated into Athenian society, with large numbers of Milesians appearing on ephebic lists and a large number of attested intermarriages with Athenian citizens (p.112). If the right of *enktesis* were to be opened up to foreigners, we might imagine that the Milesians would be the first to receive the privilege. I have suggested that the large number of Milesians in the second century may in fact have been Athenian citizens who retained the term 'Milesian' as a community identifier (pp.113-15). Whether or not the Milesians on these gravestones were also Athenian citizens, they may have been keen to represent themselves as farmers in an attempt to buy into traditional concepts of Athenian identity and signify their own 'Athenian-ness', despite their foreign origins.

⁷⁸³ Appendix B, No.7.

⁷⁸⁴ Appendix B, Nos. 2 and 8.

⁷⁸⁵ Cohen (2000) 122-3, cited by Kellogg (2014) 30n.77.

⁷⁸⁶ Gray (2006) 355.

The countryside – encompassing both visual and textual references – was an important theme in the commemorative habits of second-century Athens, and it stretched across Athenian society from lavish monuments of Herodes Atticus to the modest *stelai* of farmers, finding particular popularity among the Milesian population. At the level of Herodes Atticus, references to leisure pursuits in the vicinity of his Marathon estate signify his family's elite status, and serve as a means by which to embed his family name in the landscape. Lower down the social ladder, the function of rural imagery may be more nuanced; possibly reflective of a desire to buy into traditional concepts of Athenian-ness and cut a figure as landowners. With public life out of bounds to most, these gravestones may reflect the increased importance of the countryside in developing and expressing Athenian identity.

Conclusion

Variouly a philosophical *locus amoenus*, a pastoral idyll, an elite playground, a functioning productive countryside – second-century Attica was a multi-faceted, dynamic landscape. On both a personal and collective level, rural Attica was pervaded by expressions of Athenian identity. Favourite hunting places around Marathon became lasting commemorative monuments, the land itself integral to preserving the memory of those who had spent time there. The much-vaunted purity of the Attic language could be embodied in a new rustic hero – Agathion, or Heracles, who personifies the rustic virtues engendered by habitation in the countryside. Local deme identity may have been depoliticized by the Roman period, but it was not defunct; throughout Pausanias' description we find the residents of Attic demes maintaining and communicating local traditions.

Attica was traditionally an Atheno-centric territory: not only was Athens the only major city in Attica, but from the time of the legendary synoecism (and at least by the end of the eighth century BC) Attica was a unified entity with Athens at its centre. Even so, throughout the

Classical period deme identity was strong: local cult and local history shaped clearly-defined communities, and local characteristics were mined for comic value by playwrights such as Aristophanes. Second-century AD conceptions of the Attic countryside viewed it as less a patchwork of connected communities and more a single territory – the countryside of Athens. Rustic and sacro-idyllic imagery became standard motifs in descriptions of Attica, but they did not entirely replace local identities. In some places, such as Acharnai, distinctive cults of the Classical era had given way to different cult associations; in others, ancient cult went from strength to strength. Many of the smaller cults of Attica were malleable; where origins had become blurred, new stories were developed and debated.

The popularity of Atticism among the sophists and intellectuals of the empire also brought Attica to the forefront of contemporary cultural aspirations. Despite its name, it is unclear just how much foreigners would have considered the Attic dialect to be specifically associated with rural Attica, as opposed to the city of Athens or the work of the Classical orators themselves. That said, Herodes Atticus certainly aimed to locate Atticism in rural Attica. This is evidenced by his use of his Marathon villa as a place to teach students; Athens, as we have established, was a great centre of learning, but Herodes liked to teach in the countryside. Additionally, his story of Agathion – a heightened-reality tale that gave voice to Herodes' own values – explicitly locates the Attic language in the Attic countryside. This could be interpreted as another vanity project for Herodes; his deep-rooted connections to Marathon thereby marking him out as a more authentic sophist because he was 'closer' to the purest Attic dialect. No doubt this was appealing to Herodes, but I would argue that the association of rurality with the pure Attic dialect has roots in the *Phaedrus* and its frequent imitation in the second century as a philosophical *locus amoenus*. It is not without reason that the Classical text most emulated in the second century AD is set in an idealised Attic landscape:

the *Phaedrus* presented an idyllic image of Classical philosophising that second-century readers aspired to, and Attica was the essential backdrop for the fantasy.

In Herodes' estates at Cephisia and Marathon we glimpse two countrysides: a suburban sphere with a villa fit for hosting philosophical gatherings, and a landscape altogether wilder and more rustic – places for youthful endeavours incorporating both physical and intellectual education. The concentration of a large number of properties in the Hadrianic property list within 20 kilometres of the city speaks to a concentration of economic activity in this area. Like the first few miles of the Via Appia as it leaves Rome, this suburban area could be peaceful and idyllic yet close enough to the city to travel to and fro with relative ease. Lavish mausolea at Phlya and in the Thriasian plain illustrate the importance of this suburban sphere as a venue for elite self-promotion, and hint at busy roads and an active countryside: why build such a lavish mausoleum in the countryside if there was nobody there to see it?

In addition to luxury and leisure, the Attic countryside continued to be utilised for agricultural production. The Oil Law demonstrates that oil production was thriving in the early part of the second century, and we might surmise from the popularity of viticulture imagery on gravestones that the cultivation of vines was widespread and popular. Connecting the socio-economic and the sacro-idyllic, we have suggested that the emergence of Dionysus as the primary local deity at Acharnai reflected Acharnai's famed association with viticulture.

The Attic countryside preserved vestiges of a distant past while also adapting to reflect contemporary habits and fashions; in this way, it could be said that the countryside mirrors the city.

Conclusion

That the second century AD marked a renewal of both the monumental landscape and the cultural supremacy of Athens cannot be disputed. In this thesis, we have investigated the implementation and impact of this renewal, and have examined the phenomena that moulded Athens in the second century. We have looked at a limited period in the second century, defined not only by renewal but by Hadrian's re-foundation of the city, but there is also a bigger picture of renewal in which to contextualise this study.

As noted in the introduction to this thesis (pp.3-4), in order to fully understand Athens under Hadrian and the Antonine emperors it is important to consider the developments that occurred under Augustus. Augustus' relationship with the Athenians was often strained, but his involvement in restoring Athens following the unrest of the first century BC paved the way for the large-scale renewal of the city under Hadrian. The Augustan period in Athens saw extensive restoration not only in the city, but also in the countryside. A lengthy decree erected on the Athenian acropolis in the last decade of the first century BC details the implementation of an extensive programme of restoration in Attica (Fig.13).⁷⁸⁷ This programme aimed at the purification of sacred places and the restoration of public land; it also forbade private encroachments, set out new rules for leasing sacred land, and reinstated cult practice. Lines 1-29 detail an amnesty for those who have taken possession of sacred land, and instructions for the purification of sacred properties and objects; from line 30 the decree lists all the places to be restored.

The importance of this document in demonstrating continued interest in the countryside has been acknowledged, but not fully recognised: the decree sees the Athenian state actively

⁷⁸⁷ *IG II² 1035.*

intervening to restore places in the countryside, and not only temples but also public lands for grazing and wood-gathering.⁷⁸⁸ The decree proves that some areas of Attica had fallen into decline since their Classical heyday, but also – vitally – it proves that a concerted effort was made to improve this situation. While the surviving portions of the stone are substantial, extensive damage has obscured the text quite drastically resulting in few areas of legible continuous text. Enough survives, however, that we can get a rough idea of the scale and spread of the restoration measures. The majority of places allocated for restoration are in the city, as we might expect following Sulla’s destructive siege of 86 BC, including open spaces near the sanctuary of Dionysus, the Strategion, the sanctuary of Agathe Tyche, and “the starting post at the starting line of the Panathenaic Stadium” (ll.44-50). Places outside the city are scattered throughout the decree, including several locations on or near Hymettus: a place with quarries and the passage through the quarry, and even “the mountain near Hymettus” (l.58). Locations in the deme of Lamprai appear on two occasions – the sanctuary of Athena and the Dorykleion, and an area of marginal land (ll.51, 58). As we might expect in a decree pertaining to sacred places Eleusis features prominently, included before all other sites in the first part of the decree. The precise instructions for Eleusis are fragmented, but hinge upon repairing the sanctuary and preventing transgressions on the sacred boundaries.

The date of this inscription has been disputed, but prevailing opinion favours the end of the first century BC. Culley has examined the chronology of the respective careers of the hoplite general Metrodoros and the *archon basileus* Mantias, leading him to a date between 10/9 and 3/2 BC.⁷⁸⁹ Shear proposed a Claudian date based on the importance of Salamis in the decree

⁷⁸⁸ E.g. ll.57-9. Alcock (1993) 194 acknowledges some restoration of the sacred landscape but does not appear to consider the broader connotations for rural habitation and activity.

⁷⁸⁹ Culley (1975, 1977); this date has been accepted by Geagan (1997), Hotz (2006), Schmalz (2009) 10.



Fig.13 *The Augustan Restoration Decree, Athens Epigraphical Museum No. 13280.*

and the supposed restoration of Salamis to Athens by Julius Nikanor around AD 61/62.⁷⁹⁰ However, we cannot be sure either that Salamis was restored at this time or that it was even lost in the first place.⁷⁹¹ Not only is Culley's dating supported by the dates of two key figures mentioned in the decree, but it also provides the most appropriate context for the restoration programme. Restoration was an important theme in Athenian building activity of the Augustan period, as it was in Rome – especially with regard to religion.⁷⁹² Moreover, there are clear historical reasons why Athens and Attica were in need of a restoration programme by the end of the first century BC. Octavian's victory at Actium in 31 BC ended a period of great turbulence for Athens. Since entering into war with Rome on the side of Mithridates in 88BC – an act which led to Sulla's siege – the Athenians had backed the losing side in each major conflict: they allied with Pompey against Caesar, honoured Brutus and Cassius following Caesar's murder, and favoured Antony over Octavian.⁷⁹³ Plutarch tells us that immediately after Actium Octavian sailed to Athens to reconcile with the Greeks; in doing so he distributed grain and took part in the Eleusinian Mysteries.⁷⁹⁴ (We note Plutarch's perhaps unconscious foreshadowing of the Panhellenion in this arrangement: Athens stands representative for 'the Greeks', with the Eleusinian Mysteries as a religious focal point.) During his next visit in 22/1 BC Augustus inflicted harsh penalties on the Athenians following an incident in which a statue of Athena on the Acropolis had been spattered with blood and turned to face Rome. He took away Aegina and Eretria and banned the sale of citizenship.⁷⁹⁵ In 19 BC, the chastened Athenians welcomed Augustus more warmly, and

⁷⁹⁰ Shear (1981) 367.

⁷⁹¹ Habicht (1997) 312. As Habicht observes, no document proves that Athenians ever lost Salamis, and the island was reportedly held by Athens at the end of the first century BC (Strabo 9.1.10).

⁷⁹² *Legibus novis me auctore latis multa exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro saeculo reduxi et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi* (RG 8).

⁷⁹³ *Alliance with Pompey*: Plut. *Pomp.* 27.3; Lucan, *Phars.* 3.181-3; Appian *Bell. civ.* 2.315. *Statues of Brutus and Cassius*: Dio 47.20.4. *Antony in Athens*: see above p.5, and Plut. *Ant.* 33ff. For Athens' involvement in the Mithridatic and Civil wars generally, see Hoff (1989) 267-276; Habicht (1997) 297-365.

⁷⁹⁴ Plut. *Ant.* 68.4-5; Suet. *Aug.* 93.

⁷⁹⁵ Dio 54.7.2-3.

even held the Eleusinian Mysteries out of season in his honour.⁷⁹⁶ Augustan buildings and restorations in Athens date to the period following this reconciliation – having demonstrated themselves worthy of imperial favour, the Athenians now benefitted from an extensive building project spearheaded by Marcus Agrippa’s dedication of the Odeion. The text of our restoration decree does not mention Augustus or the imperial family although we might note that the heading, where we might typically look for the emperor’s name, is missing. Even so, there is no need to attribute the decree directly to Augustus to interpret it as part of a programme of restoration; the favour and interest of Augustus and the imperial family initiated a period of restoration that was then taken up and championed by leading Athenians. The Agora of Caesar and Augustus is a prime example of this sort of interaction: dedicated around 10 BC, the Agora was built with money provided by Julius Caesar and Augustus, whose support had been elicited by the embassies of Herodes of Marathon and his son Eucles.⁷⁹⁷ In a similar way, the restoration decree may demonstrate an Athenian-led project working in tandem with imperial initiatives.

In the decade before the restoration decree we find the phenomenon of itinerant temples – architectural features, or in one case a whole temple, removed from their locations in the countryside and re-used in the city. Pieces of the temples of Athena at Sounion and Demeter at Thoricus were moved into the old Agora to aid the construction of new temples and, in an even more extravagant measure, the entirety of the classical temple of Athena at Pallene was transplanted into the Agora and rededicated to Ares.⁷⁹⁸ I have previously argued against the suggestion that this re-use of temple architecture was an economising measure made by

⁷⁹⁶ Hoff (1989) 274-5.

⁷⁹⁷ The names of Herodes and Eucles are inscribed on the architrave of the Doric propylaea (*IG II² 3175*). This Herodes is mentioned by Cicero in a letter to Atticus as having “squeezed 50 Attic talents out of Caesar” (*Cic. Ad. Att. VI.i*). Hoff (1989) 2 suggests that Caesar may have seen the gift to Athens as an opportunity to win the city over and draw her away from Pompey.

⁷⁹⁸ Dinsmoor (1943) 383 put an Augustan date on the reconstruction of this temple in the Agora based on the lettering of the mason’s marks on the remaining columns. The reconstructed temple also incorporated the *simā* from the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion: Alcock (1993) 192; Camp (2001) 191.

financially desperate Athenians: “The logistics of dismantling the original temples, painstakingly inscribing column drums, transporting the material to the city, and reconstructing in the Agora would surely have necessitated extensive costs in labour and transport. In this case at least, reuse was not an economizing measure, but an intentional manoeuvre.”⁷⁹⁹ The removal and reconstruction of rural temples corresponds with the evidence provided by the restoration decree that certain sacred places in the countryside had become derelict, or even private property ([ιδ]ιωτικῶν γεγονυῶν κτήσεων, l.11). At the same time, the removal of temples appears contradictory to the aims of the decree. However, to some extent, we might consider that the re-use of derelict temples in the city ‘tidied up’ the countryside and prevented further decay: it is notable that Pausanias sees only one ruined temple in rural Attica, in contrast to numerous examples in other states (e.g. Heracles, Asclepius, and Cydonian Athena in Eleia).⁸⁰⁰ In this respect the removal of temples may correspond with the aims of the decree.

While providing the city of Athens with much needed restoration, Augustus and the imperial family exhibited Roman authority with a rather heavy hand: the Agora was transformed into, essentially, a Roman forum. The re-use of a Periclean temple lent a museum-like quality to the space, but also sent a clear message – the classical past is to be admired and respected, but Rome now holds the power. Augustus’ programme in the city was one of restoration, but could not be considered one of renewal. As we have seen throughout this thesis, it was the combined efforts of Hadrian and the local elite, spearheaded by Herodes Atticus, that ultimately renewed Athens in the second century AD. In Hadrian’s building programme and the establishment of the Panhellenion, we see the emperor using an idealised vision of the Athenian past to revitalise the modern city. Augustus’ programme embraced Athens’

⁷⁹⁹ MSt thesis, Oxford (2011) 20-1. Economising measure: Ward-Perkins (1981) 265; Shear (1981) 365, *contra* Alcock (2002) 55.

⁸⁰⁰ Paus. 6.21.3, 4, 6.

classical past as something to be wondered at, but Hadrian attempted to recreate and redefine Athens' glorious past for the present day. In the rhetoric of the Panhellenion we see Hadrian and the Athenians manipulating and renewing ancient concepts of Athenian-ness: Athens the benefactress, Athens the centre of the Greek world.

At the end of Augustus' rule the city still needed renewal, but the countryside, I propose, experienced this period rather differently. While Augustan restorations left the city in need of further intervention, the countryside had benefitted from both restoration and a renewal of interest. I argue that we see in the second century a productive, inhabited countryside, integrated (in the best classical tradition) with city life. In such a countryside, there was very little for Hadrian (or anyone else) to 'renew'. The only evidence for Hadrian directly intervening in rural affairs is the Oil Law (pp.213-15), which in fact suggests that olive growers in Attica had been benefitting from successful crop yields and a lucrative export market: the law is enforced to keep producers in check and ensure that fixed portions of oil are reserved for the city. A strong economy of oil production could only be the result of long-standing investment in the trees and their cultivation. The Augustan restoration decree marked a first step in a new direction – one looking outwards from the city to the countryside.

* * * * *

The second-century renewal of Athens was extensive and all-encompassing – as we have seen, Hadrian essentially re-founded the city as a cultural centre of the Roman Empire. This century saw a dramatic transformation of the urban landscape that respected the emblems of the Classical past while investing the city with a modernity that, in Aelius Aristides' view, paralleled recently-founded cities (pp.66-7).⁸⁰¹ This blend of ancient and modern is best exemplified by the Ilissos area where the Olympieion was finally completed on its Archaic

⁸⁰¹ Aristid. *Or.* 13.250.

foundations, a new Stadium was constructed on the site of the Lycurgan Stadium, and a new gymnasium was constructed in the vicinity of the ancient Cynosarges (pp.56-9). In tandem with physical renewal, the history of Athens was rewritten in contemporary literature and rhetoric, with the fifth-century BC Athenian Empire renewed as an example of Athenian beneficence and Greek unity. The courage (ἀνδρεία) and daring (τόλμα) of Thucydides' Athenians was replaced by Aristides with fairness (ἐπιείκεια) and gentleness (πραότης), while Plutarch's Pericles is presented as a model for the second-century statesman (p.261). These contemporary, somewhat neutralised, depictions of the Athenians of the fifth century BC help to explain the strong echoes of the Athenian Empire in the League of the Panhellenion. Athens was recast as the protector and benefactor of the Greeks, whose primacy stemmed from Demeter's gift of the Eleusinian Mysteries and their ensuing beneficence to the Greeks – sharing with them, through Triptolemus' mission, the art of agriculture (p.82). The centrality of Athens in the Panhellenion also contributed to the city's own renewal, as Hadrian saw fit to equip Athens for her new role with new buildings such as the Library that highlighted the city's identity as a centre of culture and learning.

Landscapes play an important role in our exploration of renewal; throughout this thesis we have considered various forms of landscape: urban and rural, socio-economic and sacro-idyllic. The landscapes of Athens and Attica preserved memory on both a personal and a public level, as well as sacred identity, and markers of Athenian-ness such as the tradition of autochthony, the 'pure' Attic dialect and the right of *enktesis*.⁸⁰² When we discuss 'landscapes' we are considering far more than simply the setting for renewal; as the landscape of the Ilissos in Plato's *Phaedrus* plays an integral role in the dialogue, communicating with Socrates and Phaedrus, so the urban and rural landscapes actively contributed to renewal and the quest for Athenian identity in the second century AD.

⁸⁰² *Memory*: e.g. Herodes' commemorative monuments pp.226-30; *sacred identity*: e.g. Plato's Ilissos pp.43-4, Pausanias pp.220-1; *Athenianness*: autochthony p.112; dialect pp.3, 246, *enktesis* pp.112, 244.

I have argued that the Ilissos area was the centre of Hadrian's re-founded Athens – not in the sense of a 'Hadrianic quarter' as has been previously speculated; Hadrian's interest in this area was not about extending the city or finding new ground to build on. The Ilissos area in many ways encompassed the idea of Athens in the second century AD. Plato's *Phaedrus* was a key part of Second Sophistic *paideia*, and his evocation of the Ilissos influenced contemporary constructions of the ideal *locus amoenus* (pp.37-41). For the audience of fashionable rhetoric and philosophy across the Roman empire, the *Phaedrus* may have been their first literary encounter with Athens, the sacro-idyllic landscape of the Ilissos becoming synonymous with Plato and Classical philosophy. The prevalence of 'Ilissos-emulation' among second-century writers may be understood in the context of the Second Sophistic; notably, that movement's predilection for Classical settings, the prevalence of *mimesis* and the quest for the purest Attic dialect. As the rustic hero Agathion supposedly told Herodes Atticus, the purest Attic was spoken only in the countryside – in the city, speech was polluted by foreign dialects (pp.192-4).⁸⁰³ In the *Phaedrus*, much is made of journeying beyond the city walls – as they progress towards the Ilissos River, Socrates and Phaedrus feel the divine inspiration of the local rustic deities, and are overwhelmed by the sensory experience of the natural world surrounding them (p.35).⁸⁰⁴ Although in actuality they are not particularly far from the city, this is undoubtedly a rural landscape. Thus, I have argued, the Ilissos area might be thought of as Attica in miniature: both urban and rural, and – with the mindful renewal of a memorialised landscape as detailed above – ancient and modern.

The ways in which these identities coalesce in the landscape of the Ilissos area illuminates the flexibility of landscapes and can help us understand seemingly conflicting identities in the Attic countryside. The socio-economic landscape evoked by Hadrian's Oil Law and (to some

⁸⁰³ Phil. VS. II. 553.

⁸⁰⁴ Plat. *Phaedr.* 230b-c.

extent) the Hadrianic property list, can at first appear at odds with the sacro-idyllic landscape evoked by Pausanias' description of Attica and the 'cultured rusticity' associated with Atticism. However, upon further examination, we can see how these dual identities worked together: the residents of the countryside, many of whom were engaged in agricultural production of some sort, visibly engaged with the sacro-idyllic identity of the countryside. Pedestrian though it may appear, agricultural activity was never divorced from an ideological aspect, the question of identity. The increased prevalence of rural themes in funerary and commemorative sculpture demonstrated individuals' adherence to a traditional Athenian identity built upon ties to the land (pp.243-5).

We have seen that the countryside had already undergone one process of renewal in the Augustan period, and have suggested that Attica was most likely never depopulated at all, to any significant extent. The Attic countryside appears to have been actively cultivated and inhabited in the second century. Stability in the countryside enabled an ideological renewal, in which the sacro-idyllic and socio-economic aspects of the countryside merged to form a consolidated rural identity. Moreover, the Attic countryside mattered – in second-century Athens the countryside was economically and ideologically important. A number of branches of *paideia* lead to the Attic countryside: the *Phaedrus* as a key philosophical text, the study of the Attic dialect, the sophistic pre-occupation with Marathon. The Battle of Marathon loomed large in the repertoire of the sophists, and held the power to incite displays of local pride among the Greeks (pp.127-8).⁸⁰⁵ Herodes Atticus exploited his Marathonian connections at every opportunity, the place and the fifth-century BC battle becoming integral components of his personal identity and his identity as an Athenian. The Attic countryside was a vital part of Athens' prized cultural identity; to imagine that the countryside could somehow be divorced from the city in the second century is inconceivable, and becomes even more so when we

⁸⁰⁵ Plut. *Praec. ger. rep.* 814c.

consider the tight political/ economic/ social nexus of the Classical *asty* and *chora* as underlined by Thucydides. The Hadrianic property list (*IG II² 2776*), for all its limitations, illustrates a broad economic engagement with the countryside. The location of the inscription on the orthostates of a large monument in the Agora suggests a strong connection between the city and the countryside; whatever the document's specific purpose, its display in such a visible and central location indicates that the possession of property in the countryside was relevant and important both politically and socially, to the population at large (pp.21-2).

In exploring processes of renewal in Athens and Attica we have also considered the agents of this renewal. There is much that can be attributed to Hadrian. In his Athenian policies and in the creation of the Panhellenion, Hadrian attempted to achieve administrative efficiencies with an eye to local resources and traditions.⁸⁰⁶ Thus, changes in the constitution (which may have further limited access to political life) were presented under the veil of the *patrios politeia*, and the Panhellenion attempted to consolidate the Hellenes into one body with a shared sense of history and identity. The Athenians acknowledged Hadrian's gifts by celebrating the emperor as their new founder; not only in an abstract sense, but by directly equating him with their legendary founder Theseus in the inscription on the Arch of Hadrian (pp.63-5). The Athenians accepted Hadrian's favour, using it as a springboard for their own ambitions and their own visions for the city. The Athenian elite, led by Herodes Atticus, played a vital role in the renewal of their city; taking part in building and restoration, funding the many festivals that flourished in this century, and representing Athens in delegations to the emperors (pp.157-63). Those individuals who engaged in sophistry and education upheld Athens' identity as a centre for learning (pp.163-7). In exploring the renewal of Athens in the second century we are essentially utilising an evidentiary triangle that privileges elite culture in the city and the countryside, but we have been able to gain some insight into life at a non-

⁸⁰⁶ As he did across the Greek world: Boatwright (2000) 57-82.

elite level. Importantly, the renewal of Athens was not exclusively an elite phenomenon, but can be witnessed at the level of non-elite individuals buying into contemporary fashions for self-representation and demonstration of Athenian identity. The Athenian people are in fact remarkably visible in the cultural landscape of the second century. The recasting of Classical Athenian history raises interesting questions about the role of the *demos*. In the countryside, we find the local people communicating *paideia* and rustic virtues; telling travellers such as Pausanias of local traditions and legendary history, and engaging with contemporary commemorative fashion centred on a rural ideal. The *demos* are also cast as a potentially disruptive force that needs to be moderated and guided by their betters: this is the message of Marcus Aurelius' instruction to the Athenians that they welcome back Herodes Atticus and put an end to their quarrelling (pp.151-4).

As in cities across the empire, euergetism and elite rivalry went hand-in-hand in Athens, fierce feuds between families such as the Claudii of Marathon and Melite escalating into widespread civic unrest – detrimental to *homonoia*, yet overall a sign of vitality. The Athenian elite appear to have experienced a period of crisis in the latter half of the second century, with *anarchia* evident in the archon lists of 167/8, 169/70 and 170/1 hinting at difficulties in finding individuals wealthy enough to take on the financial burdens of office. Consequently, the membership of the traditionally exclusive Areopagus was broadened to make eligible the sons and grandsons of freedmen (pp.139-40). Herodes Atticus was undoubtedly a key figure in the second-century renewal of Athens; however, he was also one among an active group of politically engaged and wealthy individuals, and the controversy that surrounded him in fact serves to highlight the dynamic and contentious nature of his fellows, and the engagement of the Athenian *demos* with questions of power, status, and citizen rights. Considering the events leading up to Herodes' exile, nothing could be further from notions of Athens as a provincial 'backwater' or a city lost to idle nostalgia; in the

second century, we find the Athenians debating who had the right to power in their city, fighting against what they felt to be oppression, and – among the elite – competing fiercely to retain the exclusivity of their status.

In the introduction to this thesis we clarified our dual definitions of renewal: ‘resuming something after an interruption’ and ‘the replacement and repair of something’, and we observed that, in second-century Athens, new developments in the city were often modelled on ancient precedent. One question remains: Athens had a long and illustrious past, but exactly which Athenian past was being renewed? In the Panhellenion we find a rewritten Athenian Empire, characterised by culture rather than military power. Athens’ role in the Roman Empire was similarly focused on the history and rhetoric of the Classical period. In second-century AD literature, the radical democracy of the fifth century BC is largely associated with the dangerous mob. Thucydides’ observation that “what was nominally a democracy became in (Pericles’) hands government by the first citizen” seems to have been particularly influential on Plutarch’s view of Pericles as a model for the second-century statesman: when Plutarch praises Pericles, he is admiring this ‘first citizen’ government, not the Athenian democracy, which was an unruly entity that needed to be controlled.⁸⁰⁷ In the development of the case against Herodes Atticus during the late 160s we see shades of ‘mob rule’ emerge, only for them to be put safely to sleep by the intervention of the emperor (pp.145-7, 154). Political life in second-century Athens was reminiscent of the pre-Cleisthenic democracy in which the exclusive Areopagus still held the majority of the power. The concentration of power firmly in the hands of the elite was a characteristic of cities across the empire – moreover, Hadrian supposedly revised the constitution on the model of Solon and Draco. One might argue also that the association of Hadrian with Theseus is demonstrative of second-century AD archaism, with Theseus representing the ideal king and

⁸⁰⁷ Thuc. 2.65.9.

founding hero. In drawing a parallel between Hadrian and Theseus, the Athenians equated the one-man rule of the emperor with that of Theseus and located Hadrian's rule in the tradition of the legendary kings of Athens. It is notable that by the second century earlier attempts to make Theseus the founder of democracy had given way to a more decisive view of Theseus as a king whose ancestors formed a royal dynasty at Athens.⁸⁰⁸ Arguably the expression of elite power through landholding and the possession of luxury estates in the countryside – pioneered by Herodes Atticus – is also decidedly archaic, although landholding had always been an important marker of exclusivity throughout Athenian history. While it is easy to see that the Athenian past provided a multitude of influences for the second-century renewal of Athens, it can be difficult to pinpoint a 'preferred past'. Broadly speaking, we might consider the Late Archaic era from the reforms of Solon to the Athenian victory over the Persians at Marathon as a particularly favourable model for the agents of renewal; i.e. the emperor and the Athenian elite. This era saw the early development of an elite-led democracy and the greatest victory in Athenian military history – a victory which set the tone for Athenian hegemony in the decades to come. The failures of the increasingly radical democracy, the hubris of the Athenian imperial venture, and defeat in the Peloponnesian War were overlooked. Notably, this was also the period in which the political identity of the Attic countryside was at its height – an identity which was overlooked in second century treatments of the synoecism and the relationship between Athens and Attica (pp.183-5). In later versions, Theseus' synoecism made Attica into the sacro-idyllic countryside of Athens rather than a political landscape, much as it was in the second century AD. Overlooking a problematic period in their history, the Athenians looked to an earlier period in which Athens was on the rise. At the height of the second century AD one can imagine the Athenians may have considered their city to be on the rise once more.

⁸⁰⁸ Paus. 1.3.3. Plutarch wavers between Theseus as founder of democracy and Theseus as absolute ruler (*Thes.* 25 vs. *Thes.* 35) but appears overall to favour the latter.

Future directions

In my introduction, I outlined traditional approaches to the archaeology of Roman Attica – most importantly the image of abandonment and decline drawn from extremely limited survey activity. We considered that at one time this image was applied to Greece as a whole, but recent developments in survey technique and analysis have started to overturn that image in some areas of Greece, and to highlight regional differences. Recent excavation in parts of Attica selected for modern building projects has offered tantalising hints of rural activity in the early imperial period. Ultimately, going forward, archaeology is unlikely to hold much value for the study of second-century Attica. This is not a criticism of archaeological methods, but merely a reality based on the continuously expanding suburbs of modern Athens, the extensive road network, the mountainous terrain, and the need for intensive farming of all available agricultural land.⁸⁰⁹ It is unlikely that there will ever be the same scope for survey and excavation in Attica as there is in areas of the Peloponnese, for example. This does not mean that we should forget Roman Attica; rather that we need to find more creative and appropriate ways to explore the Attic countryside. The rich body of literary evidence for this period, of which Pausanias is most remarkable, is an extremely valuable source that can help us to interpret the limited archaeological record. Close readings of Pausanias, Lucian and Philostratus can offer many clues to the state of the second-century countryside. However, we must be careful not to draw straightforward lines between the literary and archaeological evidence or to lose sight of the writer's aims; for example, if Pausanias does not describe community residence or elite estates, that does not mean they did not exist – Pausanias' focus remains firmly on sites of historical or sacred significance. In order to fully understand rural Attica, we must employ all the available evidence from literary and epigraphic sources; the truth about rural Attica is not a burden to be placed on

⁸⁰⁹ Moissidis & Duquenne (1997) 230-231.

archaeology alone. In addition to this multi-disciplinary approach, I advocate the study of the countryside in tandem with the city. The unification of Athens and Attica in Theseus' synoecism was a vital aspect of Athenian history and identity, explaining as it did the origins of this uniquely integrated territory. It rings false, then, to approach Attica as another Greek countryside; since the synoecism it had been the countryside *of Athens*, and it continued to be so through the Roman period. By looking at urban and rural space together we are able to explore the cultural and economic developments that encompassed the city and the countryside. As it stands, the archaeological evidence we have for rural life in early imperial Attica is scattered in both location and type, but it may reasonably be viewed as representative of a bigger picture. Are we to believe that in uncovering the imperial fountain house at Myrrhinous archaeologists happened to stumble across the only such structure in Attica? The rustic theme in Attic gravestones is widespread across Attica, with examples found in Athens, Marathon, and Salamis – is it presumptive to imagine that the small collection discovered to date is merely the tip of the iceberg? And, while Herodes may have been a pioneer of villa culture in Greece, if we consider Herodes' villas at Marathon and Cephisia to be the only examples of elite landholding in Attica we are woefully ignoring Herodes' contemporaries, a number of whom have rural property documented in the Hadrianic property list. This list and Hadrian's Oil Law demonstrate real socio-economic engagement with the countryside, while the sacro-idyllic character of Attica appealed to the imagination of the sophists and culture tourists. One way or another, the countryside was at the centre of what it meant to be Athenian – and perhaps Greek – in the second century AD.

This integrated approach, exploring city and countryside, culture and economy, the leading elite and the population at large, could potentially be applied to other cities in Roman Greece. Admittedly, evidence for cultural life is far more extensive in Athens than elsewhere, and this is a fact that would certainly raise challenges. There is undoubtedly more work to be done on

the cities of Roman Greece, and the examination of interactions between various aspects of *polis* life and population can illuminate local responses and the ‘mood’ of a particular time and place. Moving away from generalisations and broad sweeps through ‘Roman Greece’ we can understand this province better by paying due attention to its component parts and recognising regional differences – and, indeed, similarities.

Appendix A: Pausanias' tour of the Ilissos area

| Place | Reference | Details |
|--|-----------|--|
| Precinct of Olympian Zeus | 18.6 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Colossal statue of ivory and gold dedicated by Hadrian ▪ Statues of Hadrian dedicated by every city ▪ Bronze statues the Athenians call 'colonies' ▪ Colossal statue of Hadrian dedicated by the Athenians (behind the temple) |
| | 18.7 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bronze statue of Zeus ▪ Temple of Cronus and Rhea ▪ Enclosure of Olympian Ge ▪ Crevice in the earth where Deucalian's flood washed away – the site of an annual ritual which involves casting wheat meal and honey into the crevice |
| | 18.8 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Statue of Isocrates ▪ Marble statues of Persians supporting a bronze tripod ▪ Grave of Deucalian, whom the Athenians say built the first sanctuary of Olympian Zeus |
| Digression – further buildings of Hadrian in Athens | 18.9 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Temple of Zeus and Hera Panhellenius ▪ Pantheon ▪ Library (100 pillars of Phrygian marble where books are kept) ▪ Gymnasium (also 100 pillars of marble) |
| From Olympian Zeus to the Gardens | 19.1 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Statue of Pythian Apollo ▪ Temple of Apollo Delphinus – where Theseus first arrived in Athens as the temple was under construction |
| The Gardens | 19.2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Temple of Aphrodite ▪ Two statues of Aphrodite near the temple – one square like a herm with an inscription declaring that Heavenly Aphrodite is the oldest of the Fates, one crafted by Alcamenes and one of the most notable things in Athens |
| Cynosarges | 19.3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Altars of Heracles and Hebe ▪ Altar of Alcmene and Iolaus; ▪ The Lyceum, sacred to Apollo – the first place where Apollo was given the epithet Lyceus |
| Behind the Lyceum | 19.4 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Monument of Nisos where the Athenians buried him |
| Ilissos River | 19.5 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The place where Oreithyia was carried off by Boreas ▪ Altar of the Ilissian Muses ▪ The place where Codrus was killed |
| Agrai (across the river) | 19.6 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ District of Agrai ▪ Temple of Artemis Agrotera, where the goddess first hunted. ▪ The Stadium, descending in straight lines to the river bank |

Appendix B: A Catalogue of the Roman Archaeology of Attica (1st Century BC – 2nd Century AD)⁸¹⁰

| No. | Identification | Date | Location | Description | Bibliography |
|------------|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1 | Temple of Nemesis (restoration) and associated statuary. | 1 st c.AD | Rhamnous | Replacement blocks and architrave belonging to the Julio-Claudian era, with inscription: “the people honour the goddess Livia”. | <i>IG</i> II ² 3242. Miles (1989) 239. <i>IG</i> II ² 3969. |
| 2 | ‘Farmhouses’ | 1 st -2 nd c.AD | Acharnai | Five excavated residential or agricultural buildings. | Kellogg (2014) 29, Platōnos-Giōta (2004) 161-71. |
| 3 | Baths | 1 st -2 nd c.AD | Monomati Acharnon (Pergase?) | Near the classical theatre in the yard of the church of Agios Ioannis. | Kellogg (2014) 16, Platōnos-Giōta (2004) 188-95. |
| 4 | Domestic structure | 1 st -2 nd c.AD | Monomati Acharnon (Pergase?) | Described variously as a house (Kellogg 2014) or estate (<i>SEG</i>). | <i>SEG</i> 54 383; Platōnos-Giōta (2004) 439-40. |
| 5 | Headless marble herm | 1 st -2 nd c.AD | Monomati Acharnon (Pergase?) | The inscription mentions a demesman of Pergase. | <i>SEG</i> 54 383. Platōnos-Giōta (2004) 439-40. |
| 6 | Water reservoir | 1 st -2 nd c.AD | Marousi (Athmonon) | | Schilardi in Vasilopoulou (2009) 612. |
| 7 | Roman imperial mausoleum of a man from Kydathenaion | 1 st -2 nd c.AD | Thriasian Plain, north of Sacred Way | Large inscribed and decorated marble blocks. Eliot in the <i>Princeton Encyclopedia</i> indicates the blocks are <i>in situ</i> around a burial site; Goette later sees further blocks near the site of a tower in which they had been re-used. | Goette (2001) 280; <i>Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites</i> (1976) ‘Aspropyrgos – Attica, Greece’. |
| 8 | Roman imperial mausoleum | 2 nd c.AD | Chalandri (Phlya) | Built into the chapel of Panagia Marmariotissa. | Goette (2001) 102. |
| 9 | Tomb of the family of Herodes Atticus | 2 nd c.AD | Cephisia | Containing four sarcophagi. | <i>SEG</i> XXVI 290, Ameling II (1983) no.140, Tobin (1997) 224-5. |
| 10 | ‘South East Necropolis’ | 2 nd c.AD | Rhamnous | Extension of the earlier cemetery along the road to the port. | Von Moock (1998) 21, discussing the excavations of Mastrokostas (<i>Praktika</i> (1958) 32ff.) and Petrakos (<i>Praktika</i> (1975) 6ff.). |
| 11 | Temple of Canopus | 2 nd c.AD | Marathon | Egyptianizing temple associated with villa of Herodes Atticus. | Rife (2008) 94. Mentioned by Philostratus (<i>VS</i> II.1.7). |

⁸¹⁰ Excluding the gravestones and commemorative monuments documented separately in Appendix E.

CONTINUED

| No. | Identification | Date | Location | Description | Bibliography |
|-----|---|----------------------|----------------------|--|---|
| 12 | Gate of Eternal Harmony | 2 nd c.AD | Marathon | Fragment of arch associated with villa of Herodes Atticus – inscribed on both sides supposedly demarcating parts of the property belonging to Herodes and his wife Regilla. | |
| 13 | Boundary stones for sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia | 2 nd c.AD | Marousi (Athmonon) | Two stones with matching archaizing inscriptions. | <i>IG I² 865a+b</i> , Tobin (1997) 237-8. |
| 14 | Inscription associated with Temple of Athena | 2 nd c.AD | Merenda (Myrrhinous) | Claims that ‘Herodes of Marathon rebuilt the temple and dedicated the statue to Athena’. | <i>IG II² 3191</i> . |
| 15 | Fountain House | 2 nd c.AD | Merenda (Myrrhinous) | Two epistyles, a decorated column capital, parts of a pillar, a column, and a beam from a well-shaft. The latter bears the inscription ΠΟΙΣΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΡΗΝΗΝ .../ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΕΡΙΣΤΟΜΙΟΝ ...: “having made the fountain... and the well-mouth.” | <i>SEG 57.206</i> . Kakavogianni and Argyropoulos (2009) 177-188. |
| 16 | Marble statue of a woman | 2 nd c.AD | Marousi (Athmonon) | Discovered at the New Olympic Stadium in modern Marousi. | <i>Arch. Rep.</i> (2003-4) 8. |
| 17 | Structure (temple?) | 2 nd c.AD | Mount Kaisariani | Architectural fragments of a 2 nd -century AD building built into an an Early Christian Church and the Byzantine church of the Taxiarchs, located south-west of the monastery on the peak of Agios Markos. <i>Other remains possibly from the same building:</i> Roman lintel over the door of the monastery’s refectory. Roman columns supporting the dome of the church. | Not formally published. Mentioned by Goette (2001) 152-3. |
| 18 | Structure (nymphaion?) | 2 nd c.AD | Mount Kaisariani | Roman remains apparently in the form of a nymphaion near the catholicon of the monastery. | As above, no.16. |
| 19 | Altar to Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus | 2 nd c.AD | Mount Pentelicon | Thought to be a dedication made by Aelius Aristides, found in the chapel of Profitis Ilias on Mount Pentelicon. | <i>IG II² 4531</i> , Travlos (1988) 329, Galli (2005) 286. |
| 20 | Votive slab depicting oil production | Unknown – ‘Roman’ | Eleusis | Dedicated at the sanctuary at Eleusis: depicts an olive press, a cistern, and an urn with a lid in the shape of Athena. | Eleusis Museum No. 5275 |

Appendix C(i): Hadrianic Property List (IG II² 2776)

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| | [- - - - - - - - -]λια | |
| | [- - - - - - - - -]χωρ] Φ[λ]υ- | |
| 5 | [ἦσι πρὸς τ]ῷ Σ[- - - -]φ | |
| 6b | | (δην.) υοε |
| 6a | | |
| | [- - - - -]σκυ[- -]ς Ἀν[κ]υλ- | |
| 7 | [ἦθε]ν χωρ Φλυῆσι πρὸς | |
| | [-]ισ[- - - - - - -] | |
| | [- - - -]ναί[.]μο[- - -]χωρ] Φλυῆσι | (δην.) [- -] |
| 10 | [πρ]ὸ[ς τῷ] Αἰθ[ί]ο[πι] | δρ δς |
| 11b | | (δην.) ,ςᾶξη δρ δς |
| 11a | | |
| | [- -] Ἀρρία [Α]θήνιον χωρ Μήνι- | |
| 12 | [δο]ς καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου Αἰθαλιδῶ | |
| | καὶ ψειλοῦ Ἀμφιαράου (δην.) ψκε Αἰ- | |
| | θαλιδῶ (δην.) υξβ [Ⓜ] Με[.]άλλης Αὔτης | |
| 15 | καὶ Πυργιδίου Γαργητιοῦ (δην.) ,βχιζ [Ⓜ] | |
| | Πυραμίδος (δην.) [,α]οε Τ(ω)νιδῶ (δην.) ωιβ [Ⓜ] | |
| | Εἰφιστιαδῶ (δην.) σν ν Σχαστηρίας Κο- | |
| | λω[ν]οῖ. (δην.) σλβ [Ⓜ] κήπου πρὸς τ- | |
| | [- - - - (δην.) ψκγ] δρ δς [ὀμ(οῦ)] | |
| 20 | [- - - -] Ὀλυμπιοδώρου Σ[τ]ειριεῦς [- - -] | |
| | [καὶ Ἀπολλ]ωνία Ἀπολλοδώρ[ο]υ | |
| | [- - - - -]χωρ Βατῆσι | |
| | [Χα]ρίλαος Ὀ[λ]υμπιοδώρου Στειριεῦς | (δην.) ,απε |
| | χωρ Πυργ[ι]δίου ἐν μεσογείῳ | |
| 25 | Κλ Σ[- -]ΛΛΣ[- - - - - - -] | (δην.) τκε |
| | [- -]μερο[- - - - - Τ]ωνιδῶ | |
| | Οὐειψαν[ί]α [- - - - - χ]ωρ[- -] | [- -] |
| | ου πρὸς τῷ [- -]φ | |
| | [- - - -] Διο[- - -]εω[- -] | (δην.) φι. |
| 30 | | |
| | [- -]ρη[- - - - -]άσου Φλυ- | |
| | ῆσι [(δην.) - - - -]ας Λακκία- | |
| | [δ]ῶ [(δην.) - - - - - - -] | |
| | [- -]ος Τοφ[- - - -]ωρ[- -] | (δην.) ,γυξβ [Ⓜ] |
| | - - - - - αλιστ - - λ - | |
| 35 | | |
| | [- - - - -] Φλ Ὀῆσι (δην.) ,βσν | |
| | [- - - -] (δην.) φπιζ [Ⓜ] Ἐπι- | |
| | [- - - -]ν Α[χαρνῆ]σι (δην.) χκε?[(γίγνονται) ὀμ(οῦ)] | |
| | vac. | |
| col. II.38 | | |
| | [- - - - - - - - -] | (δην.) ψ4δ |
| 38a | | |

| | |
|--|---------------------|
| λία Φλ Μεγίστη κήπου πρὸς τῆ Ἀχαρνικῆ πύλῃ προσαγορευομέ- νου Κειονίου | |
| 73b | (δην.) τοε |
| 73a | |
| Νυμφόδοτος Ὁ χωρ Πολυστράτου Στή- | |
| 74 | |
| λης καὶ Ἐλπιδωνιανο[ῦ] | |
| 74a | |
| vac. | |
| col. III.75 | |
| #7ΠΣΙ[- - - - - - - - - -] | |
| [- - - - -]οσπ[- - - - -] | |
| Ἀγαθόμ[ορος? - - - - - χωρ] | [(δην.) -] |
| Ἀθμονο[ῖ - - - - - - - - -] | |
| 79b | |
| | (δην.) . οε |
| 79a | |
| Ε[. . . .]ς Πα[ν]θάλης [- -]ιου[. . .]του Ε- | |
| 80 | |
| λευ[σῖνι - - - - - - - - -] | |
| Τίτος Φλαοῦι[ος Ἄσυ]λος? [χωρ - - -] | (δην.) φ [-] |
| χης Ἐρχ[ιᾶ]σι πρὸς τῷ Τρι[κε]φ[ά]λω | |
| [Καλλῶ]? Νε[άρ]χου χωρ Σικ[ε]λίας πρὸς τῷ | (δην.) [-] |
| [- -]ω | |
| 85 | |
| Κλ Δαμόκλεια [χωρ - - - - - - -] | (δην.) .]φε |
| πρὸς τῷ Κηφεισῶ ποταμ[ῶ (δην.) - - -] | |
| δωνου (δην.) ἰλζⓈ μέσου [Δ]ωρίο[υ (δην.) - ὀμ(οῦ)] | |
| 88b | |
| | [(δην.) -] |
| 88a | |
| Τ[οῦνιο]ς Διο[μ]ιδεύς, Το[υνί]α Εὐπλοια, Του- | |
| 89 | |
| νία Φιλίππη χωρ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ | |
| 90 | |
| Κλ Χάρης [ὁ] κα<ῖ> Κόριν<θ>ος χωρ . . . Φλυῆσι | (δην.) [-] |
| πρὸς τῷ Περσικῶνι, Κλ Με[νε]χάρηα με- | |
| ρῶν τεσσάρων (δην.) σπζⓈ, Κλ Δέκο[μος? -] | |
| ω μέρους ἔκτου (δην.) ξβⓈ [(γίγνονται) ὀμ(οῦ)] | |
| 94b | |
| | (δην.) υλζⓈ |
| 94a | |
| [Δ]εῖος Σω[τί]ων[ο]ς χωρ δευτέρου Ἀν[κυ]- | |
| 95 | |
| λῆσι | |
| 96b | |
| | (δην.) ,αχοε [δρ -] |
| 96a | |
| Κλ Τερτύλλα χωρ Φρουρίω[ν] Ἀφίδ[νη]- | |
| 97 | |
| σι (δην.) υε Ὀτρυνῆσι (δην.) ωι[- - - (δην.) υδ] | |
| Ὀτρυνῆσι (δην.) νς δρ [- - (γίγνονται) ὀμ(οῦ)] | |
| 99b | |
| | (δην.) [-]ν |
| 99a | |
| [Δι]όδωρος Γλαύκου χ[ωρ - - - - Ἄλι]- | |

| | | |
|-------------------|---|-------------------------|
| 100 | μοῦντι[— —] | |
| | Τουλία Πωλλίττα χωρ Ἀχαρνῆσι πρὸς τῷ | (δην.) ξβ® |
| | ἐμβόλω | |
| | Φλ Θάλεια χωρ Μητρῶου ἐν Ὡρωπῷ | (δην.) τοε |
| 104b | | (δην.) [—] |
| 104a | | |
| | Φλῶρος Κα[λ]άμιδος χωρ Κυναρίων Ἀνα- | |
| 105 | κᾶσι | |
| | Ἀσκληπιᾶς Ταυρίσκου χωρ Ἀχαρνῆσι | (δην.) . οε |
| 107b | | (δην.) [,βρ]μς δρ ε—). |
| 107a | | |
| | Οὔειβούλλιος Πεμπτείδης Μαραθ χωρ Ἐρ- | |
| 108 | | |
| | μαφροδείτου Φλυῆσι (δην.) φξβ® Πέτρας | |
| | Παιανιοῖ (δην.) ψς δρ ε—) Πέτρας Παιανιο[ι] | |
| 110 | | |
| | (δην.) ψπζ® (γίγνονται) ὀμ(οῦ) | |
| 111b | | (δην.) [—] |
| 111a | | |
| | Φλ Φιλωτιανὸς χωρ Ἀντιπατριανοῦ καὶ Κο- | |
| 112 | | |
| | <ν>ιοκαύστου Φλυῆσι | |
| | Φλ Ἄλυπος χωρ Περσικῶνος Φλυῆσι | (δην.) λυς δρ |
| | Φλ Τύχη χωρ Ἀζηνιδῶσι | (δην.) [—] |
| 115b | | [(δην.) — —] δρ ας |
| 115a | | |
| | Τουλία Ἀντιόχη χωρ Ἀναφλύστου, πύργου Ἰπ- | |
| 116 | | |
| | πονείκου Θορικοῦ, Ἐπι[κ]οῦρου Φίλα Λυσίου | |
| | βησσῶν Ἀμφιτροπῆσι, ἐσχατιᾶς Πυρ- | |
| | γιδίου Τετραπυργίας Ἀτηνῆσι, Φρεαρρίου | |
| | Αὐλῶνος Νιγριανοῦ Ἀχραδοῦντος Ἰωνιδῶ | |
| 119a | | |
| | vac. | |
| face B.col. I.120 | | |
| | [— — — —]#7#7[. . .]οτο[— — — —] | (δην.)] βλο. |
| | [— — — —]ω[.]υ[— — — — —] | |
| | [— —]ν. . οκλ[— — — — —] | |
| 122a | | |
| | [— — — — — — — — — —] | |
| 123 | | |
| | [— —]ιτο[.]εσυ[— — — — —] | |
| 123a | | |
| | [— — — — — — — — — —] | |
| 124 | | |
| | [— — — —]η Κλ Εὔδουλο[ς — — — —] | (δην.)] ψνε |
| 125 | | |
| | [— — — —]ς Πολυ[— — — — —] | |
| | [— — — —]υ Κεραμ[. . . .]ο[— — — —] | |
| | [— — — —] (δην.) σε[. .]ρ[. . .]ι[— —] | |

[- - -]ειτοι[.] (δην.) [- -]
 [- - - -] παρὰ [.] εστο[- - - -] [- -] (δην.) [.] ε
 129a
 [- - - - - - - - - -]
 130
 [- -]ου Φα[λ]ηροῖ (δην.) T[- - - -]
 [-]οι [(δην.) .]μα κήπο[υ - - - -]ν
 [- - - -] τ[ῶ] τέλμα[τι - - - -]
 [- - - - -] Το[υ]λιανοῦ [- - - -] (δην.) [-]
 [- -]ος χωρ[- - - - -]
 134a
 [- - - - - - - - - -]
 [- - - - - - - - - -]
 [- - - - - - - - - -]
 [- - - - - - - - - -]
 [- - - - - - - - - -]
 134f
 [- - - - - - - - - -]
 135
 [- - - - - - - - - -] [(δην.) .]πη δρ ©
 135a
 [- - - - - - - - - -]
 136b
 [(δην.) .]ἄ
 136a
 [- - - - - - - - -]χ[ωρ] Ἀθμο-
 137
 [νοῖ - - - - - - - - -]
 [- - - - - - - - -]χω[ρ] (δην.) φξε©
 [- -]μο. . . Ἀζη[νιᾶσι]
 140
 [Οὐ]εντ[. . .]φλ[. . .]χωρ Α[. . .]λῆσι (δην.) φ (δην.) ,αἶν
 [- - - - -]ε π[ρὸ]ς τῆι Τηπά-
 δι (δην.) ο[. . . .]λυσι[. . .]κης Ἄγκυ-
 λῆσι (δην.) [.] ὀμ(οῦ)
 144b
 (δην.) ,αφβ©
 144a
 [- - -]δης [.] . . . σι]ράτη [χ]ωρ Ἀζηνι-
 145
 ἄσι (δην.) [.] . . .] ἀγροκήπου πρὸς
 146
 Φ[.] . . 6. . .]σικύας (δην.) τκε ὀμ(οῦ)
 147b
 (δην.) τπβ©
 147a
 [- - - - -]χωρ [.] . . .]ιφωντιασ-
 148
 τῶ[ν ἐν Ἀκ]αδημείῳ πρὸς τῆ
 Λ[- - - - - - - - - -]
 150b
 (δην.) τοε
 150a
 Ω[ρ. . . 8. . . .]ας Τσί[ο]υ χωρ Τπ-

151

[— — — ω]ν ἐν Ὠρωπῶ

152b

(δην.) ,βφι δρ γs—)

152a

Φιλαρ[γυρί]ων Ὁ χωρ ἐν Ὠρω-

153

πῶ [(δην.) τs—)] Μεικωνιαστῶν (δην.) τξβⓂ

Λ[. . 5. .]ήτου (δην.) τοε Υπόπροι-

155

[κο]ς? [(δην.)] υ[ι]ε Αι[.]αου (δην.) χκε Μεικροῦ

ὑπο[χ]ρόνου (δην.) σκ[ε] Π[. . .]γάθου

Ἐρυθοῖ (δην.) ση ὀμ(οῦ)

col. II.158

Κλ[— — — — — — — — — —]

ασι[— — — — —]υ[— — — — —]

160

φ[— — — — —]χ[— — — — —]

[— — — — —]ε[. .]λ[— — — — —]

[— — — — —]λε[.]Ἰ I[— — — — —]

Φιλι[— — — — —]γ[— — — — —]

[— — — — —]λ[. .]ω[— — — — —]

165

Το[υ — — —]δε[. .]α[— — — — —]

[— — — — —]σι[— — — — —]

Κλ[— — —]χ[ω]ρ Ἀλ[— — — — —]πρὸς

[τῶ] Κ[ηφει]σῶ ποτ[αμῶ]

Ασ[. .]ε[— — —]τ[— — — — —]

[(δην.)] πα δρ

169a

[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]

170

Λ[. .]ο[. .]ιη[— — —]κο[— — — — — — — — —]οε

[— — — — —]ω[— — — — —]σ[— — — — —]

Τ[. . . .]φοι[— — —]ω[— — — — —]

[(δην.)] ,γφε

[— — —]ΣΠ [Πα]τρικοῦ [— — —]σι

Κ[α]ρπόδωρος Πρεῖμ[ου — — — — —]

(δην.) ψλζⓂ

175

[— — —]τι[. . .]σσ[. . .] Ἀτη[νῆ]σι [— — —]

[— — — — —]ιει[.]σση[— — — — —]

[— — —] Ἀθμ[ον]ο[ῖ]? [— — — — —]

[χ]ω[ρ] Γ[α]ργητιοῖ (δην.) [— — — — —]

γος Ἀλωπεκῆσι

180

Ἀρτέμων Ε[. . 5. .]θου [χωρ — — — — —]

(δην.) ψνε

ἐν Ὠρωπῶ

Ἀπολ[λ]ων[ίδ]ης Θεοδώρο[υ χωρ

(δην.) ωοε

Ποταμοῖ

Τούνι[ος] Δ[ι]ομ[ι]δεύς, Το[υνία Εὔ]πλοια,

(δην.) ,β

185

[Το]υν[ί]α Φιλίππ[η] χω[ρ ἐν] Ἀ[κ]α-

[δ]η[μεία]?

Του[νία] Εὔ[π]λοια χω[— — — — —]κης Λακ-

[κ]ιαδ[ῶ] (δην.) ,αχ[— — — — —]Σ#7ΛΕΣΙ

πρὸς τῶ Εὐκ[— — — — —]ω. (δην.)

190

[.]OE όμ(οῦ)

191b

(δην.) [-]

191a

Τού[νι]ο[ς] Όν[η]σᾶς [- - - -] και-

192

νῶν Αίξων

Φ[λα]οῦιος Μητ[- - - - χ]ωρ [Ῥα]σι

(δην.) [όμ(οῦ)] ,εψν

(δην.) ,ᾠ Είρ[εσιδῶ (δην.) - - - -] Ἀσκλη-

195

πιού Ἀχραδ[οῦντος (δην.) - - -]ιασίω (δην.)

,βσν Κεκρο[πέιο]υ ἐ[ν] Θριασίω (δην.)

[. .]ν ἐσχατι[ᾶς ἐν Θρ]ιασίω (δην.) ,αρκε

Ἡρω[ν]ος ἐ[. . . 7. . .] (δην.) ,αφξβ⊗ Παν-

[δ]οκ[ε]ίου ε[. . . 10. . .]ίων Ἀλωπε-

200

κῆ[σι] και [τοῦ προσ]όντος αὐτοῖς κε-

[ρ]αμ[ε]ίου (δην.) [. . 5. .] ὕλ[η]ς Λαμπράσι (δην.)

,αφ [Β]ασιλικῶ[ν Ἀχ]αρνήσι (δην.) υλζ⊗

Σχαστηρίας (δην.) ,αρκε Βασιλι[κῶν] ἐν

μ[ε]σογείω (δην.) ,ασν όμ(οῦ)

205

Τιβέριος Κλ Λυσιάδη[ς] ψειλῶν Ποταμο[ῖ] (δην.) .]λβ⊗

Πο Ούεντίδιος Δημήτριος χωρ Γ[. .] (δην.) ,γψν

φέων Βαύλων μ[ε]ι[κ]ρῶν και με[γ]ά-

λων ἐν τ[οῖ]ς Φλ[αο]υ[ι]εῖ[ο]ις Δημο-

φῶντος [. . . 9. . .] κα[ὶ] Βασιλικῶ[ν]

210

σὺν τοῖς [Φλ]αου[ι]εῖ[ο]ις Φανόπη[ς]

και Ἀπολλωνία[ς] ἐν Ὠρωπῶ, ὧν ἡ[γ]ό-

ρακε παρὰ τῶ[ν Τι? Φ]λαουίου Εὐφά-

νους κληρο[νό]μων.

col. III.174a

Σ

178a

ΕΓ

180a

ΕΙ

183a

Λ

186a

Ε

193a

Λ

Appendix C(ii)
Individuals Listed in IG II² 2776 and Table of Properties

| | |
|--|--|
| --- Arria Athenion (11) | Deios son of Sotion (94) |
| --- son of Olympiodoros of Steiria (20) | Claudia Tertylla (96) |
| Apollonia daughter of Apollodoros (21) | Diodorus son of Glaukos (99) |
| Charilaos son of Olympiodoros of Steiria (23) | Ioulia Pollitta (101) |
| Claudius S--- (25) | Flavia Thaleia (103) |
| Vipsania --- (27) | Phloros Kalamidos (104) |
| --- Dio --- (29) | Asklepias daughter of Tauriskos (106) |
| ---os son of Ioph--- (34) | Veiboullios Pempteides of Marathon (107) |
| Arrios son of Ap--- (39) | Flavios Philotianos (111) |
| Arria Symphrousa (39) | Flavios Alypos (113) |
| Arria Do--- (40) | Flavia Tyche (114) |
| Poplios Ailios Attalos the Younger of Pallene (42) | Ioulia Antioche (115) |
| [Stratonianos] (43) | Phila, daughter of Lysias (116) |
| [Glaukonides] (44) | [Aulon of Phrearrhioi] (118) |
| Claudius Kallistomachus (48) | [Nigrianos of Achrados] (119) |
| Claudius Pannychos (50) | Claudius Eudolos (124) |
| Claudia Damo 'also called Synamate' (58) | --- of Ioulianos --- (133) |
| Flavia Phila (60) | Vent--- phl--- (140) |
| Claudia Eleutherion (65) | ---des---strate (144) |
| Eukarpia, daughter of Herakleides (67) | [the Iphontiastoi] (148) |
| Flavios Dorotheos (69) | Hor----as son of Isias (150) |
| Flavios Philoteimos (69) | Philargyrion son of Philargyrion (151) |
| Flavia Lollia (69) | Phili--- (164) |
| Flavia Megiste (70) | Iou --- (165) |
| Nymphodotos son of Nymphodotos (73) | Claudius --- (166) |
| [Polystratos Stele] (74) | Karpodoros son of Preimos (174) |
| [Elpionianos] (74) | Artemon son of E---thos (180) |
| Agathomoros --- (77) | Apollonides son of Theodoros (182) |
| E - - s Panthales (79) | Iounios of Diomeia (184) |
| Titos Flavios Asylos (81) | Iounia Euploia (184) |
| Kal -is son of Nearchos (83) | Iounia Phillipe (184) |
| Claudia Damokleia (85) | Iounia Euploia (187) |
| Iounios of Diomeia (88) | Iounios Onesas (191) |
| Iounia Euploia (88) | Flavios Met--- (192) |
| Iounia Philippe (89) | Tiberius Claudius Lysiades (205) |
| Claudius Chares Kakorinos (90) | Poplios Ventidios Demetrios (206) |
| Claudia Menecharea (92) | [Demaphon] (208) |
| Claudius Dekomos (93) | [(the heirs of) Tiberius Flavius Euphanes] (211) |

NB: [] indicate names associated with prior ownership of the land, as opposed to those directly involved in the transaction

| Name | Line | Properties | Location | Type | Denarii | Associated names | Biography | Family |
|--|-------|------------|---|---|---------|---|-----------|--|
| Agathomorus --- | 77 | 1 | Athmonon | Land | ? | - | | - |
| Apollonia daughter of Apollodorus | 21 | 1 | Bate | Land | ? | --- son of Olympiodorus of Steiria | | - |
| Apollonides son of Theodorus | 182 | 1 | Potamos | Land | 875 | - | | - |
| --- Arria Athenion | 11-19 | 8 (9?) | Aithalidai x2 'land of Amphiareos' Gargettus Ionidai Iphistiadai Colonus ? ? | Land Woodless land Large courtyard and small tower Land Land A schasteria A pyramid A garden | 6968 ¾ | - | | - |
| Arria Do--- | 40 | 1 | Phalerum | ? | ? | Arrios son of Ap--- and Arria Sympherousa | | Arrios and Arria S? |
| Arria Sympherousa | 39 | 1 | Phalerum | ? | ? | Arria Do--- and Arrios son of Ap--- | | Arrios and Arria D? |
| Artemon son of E---thos | 180 | 1 | Oropus | Land | 755 | - | | - |
| Arrios son of Ap--- | 39 | 1 | Phaleron | ? | ? | Arria Do--- and Arria Sympherousa | | Arria D and Arria C? |
| Asclepias daughter of Tauriskos | 106 | 1 | Acharnai | Land | [] 75 | - | | - |
| Charilaos son of Olympiodorus of Steiria | 23 | 1 | Mesogeia | Land w/tower | 1085 | - | | --- son of Olympiodoros of Steiria (brother? same person?) |

CONTINUED

| Name | Line | Properties | Location of Property | Type | Denarii | Associated names | Biography | Family |
|-------------------------------------|------|------------|----------------------------------|--|-------------|--|---|---|
| Claudia Damo 'also called Synamate' | 58 | 1 | Ankyle and Agryle, adj. Hymettus | Land | 375 | - | Possibly assoc. w/ an epigram from Egypt c.AD 130-45 ⁸¹¹ | Claudia Damokleia (relative? Same person?) |
| Claudia Damoclea | 85 | | Adj. Cephisus river | Land | [] 505 | - | | Cl. Damo (relative? Same person?) |
| Claudia Eleutherion | 65 | 1 | Pallene | Land w/tower and komodoi | 500 | - | | - |
| Claudia Menecharea | 92 | 1 | Phlya | '4 parts' (of the peach orchard?) | 287 ½ | Cl. Chares Kakorinos, Cl. Dekomos | | Cl. Chares Kakorinos, Cl. Dekomos? |
| Claudia Tertulla | 96 | 4 | Aphidna Otryne x 2 | Land w/guardposts Land | 1675 1/6 | - | | - |
| Claudius Chares Kakorinos | 90 | 1 | Phlya | Peach orchard | ? | Cl. Menecharea, Cl. Dekomos | | Cl. Menecharea, Cl. Dekomos? |
| Claudius Decomus | 93 | 1 | Phlya | 'a sixth part' (of the peach orchard?) | 62 ½ | Cl. Chares Kakorinos, Cl. Menecharea | | Cl. Chares Kakorinos, Cl. Menecharea? |
| Claudius Eudolus | 124 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | | ? |
| Claudius Callistomachus | 48 | 1 | Athmonon and Phlya | Land | 67 [] ¼ | - | Prytanis prob. 1 st half of 2 nd c. AD ⁸¹² | - |

⁸¹¹ C.f. *SEG* XLVIII 2031 for discussion.

⁸¹² *JG* II² 1760.4; Miller (1972) 82.

CONTINUED

| Name | Line | Properties | Location of Property | Type | Denarii | Associated names | Biography | Family |
|--------------------------------------|------|------------|---|--|------------------|---|-----------|--|
| Claudius Pannychus | 50 | 5 | Ionidai, adjoining the 'man-slaughtering' pinetree Oreadai Bate Corydallus (adj) Athmonon | Land Borderland estate The schasteriai The land 'of the eagle' Vineyards and a mulberry tree | 5867 ½ | - | | - |
| Claudius S--- | 25 | 1 | Ionidai | A ? part of land | 325 | - | | - |
| Claudius --- | 166 | 1 | Adj. Cephisus River | Land | ? | - | | - |
| Deios son of Sotion | 94 | 1 (2?) | Ankyle | 'a second piece of land' | 437 ½ | - | | - |
| Diodorus son of Glaucus | 99 | 1 | Halimous | Land | [] 50 | - | | - |
| Eucarpia, daughter of Heracleides | 67 | 1 | Athmonon | Land | 630 | - | | - |
| E - - s Panthales | 79 | 1 | Eleusis | ? | [] 75 | - | | - |
| Flavia Lollia | 69 | 1 | Adj. Acharnian Gate | A garden called the Keionion | 687 ½ (split) | Fl. Dorotheos, Fl. Philoteimos, Fl. Megiste | | Fl. Dorotheos, Fl. Philoteimos, Fl. Megiste? |
| Flavia Megiste | 70 | 1 | Adj. Acharnian Gate | A garden called the Keionion | 687 ½ (split) | Fl. Lollia, Fl. Dorotheos, Fl. Philoteimos | | Fl. Lollia, Fl. Dorotheos, Fl. Philoteimos? |
| Flavia Phila | 60 | 4 | Lamptraï Lamptraï Thriosion adj. Myrmex 'Other' | Kyprian land 'land of Thason' Land Land - 'a third part' | 1125 | - | | - |
| Flavia Thaleia | 103 | 1 | Oropus | Land of the Metroon | 375 | - | | - |
| Flavia Tyche | 114 | 1 | Azenia | Land | ? | - | | - |

CONTINUED

| Name | Line | Properties | Location of Property | Type | Denarii | Associated names | Biography | Family |
|------------------------|------|------------|---|---|------------------|--|---|---|
| Flavius Alypus | 113 | 1 | Phlya | Land w/peach orchard | 956 7/32 | - | | - |
| Flavius Dorotheus | 69 | 1 | Adj. Acharnian Gate | A garden called the Keionion | 687 ½ (split) | Fl. Lollia, Fl. Megiste, Fl. Philoteimos | Prytaneis from Marathon c.AD 120; friend of HA ⁸¹³ | Fl. Lollia, Fl. Megiste, Fl. Philoteimos? |
| Flavius Met--- | 192 | 12 | Oa Eiresidai (?) Achrados Thriasian Plain Thriasian Plain Thriasian Plain ? Alopeke (?) Lamptraí Acharnai ? Mesogeia | Land Land ? of Asklepios ? ? of the Kekropeion A borderland estate Land of Hieron Inn and potter's shop Forest Walnut trees A schateria Walnut trees | 15, 750 | - | Restored by Byrne as F[ul]vius Met[rodorus]. Hearth initiate at Eleusis, archon eponymous. ⁸¹⁴ | - |
| Flavius Philotianos | 111 | 1 | Phlya | Land of Antipatrianos and Koniokaustos | ? | - | | - |
| Flavius Philoteimos | 69 | 1 | Adj. Acharnian Gate | A garden called the Keionion | 687 ½ (split) | Fl. Lollia, Fl. Megiste, Fl. Dorotheos | | Fl. Lollia, Fl. Megiste, Fl. Dorotheos? |
| Hor----as son of Isias | 150 | 1 | Oropus | Land Hip--- (?) | 475 | - | | - |

⁸¹³ *IG* II² 1074.10-11; *IG* II² 3605; Miller (1972) 83; Tobin (1997) 199.

⁸¹⁴ *IG* II² 3581 (c.AD 80); *IG* II² 2021 (AD 120).⁸¹⁴ See also Traill (2009).

CONTINUED

| Name | Line | Properties | Location of Property | Type | Denarii | Associated names | Biography | Family |
|------------------------------|--------------------|------------|--|---|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Ioulia Antioche | 115 | 2 | Anaphlystos Thoricus (?) | Land A tower of Hipponicu of Thoricus | ? ¼ | - | | (Phila daughter of Lysias?) |
| Ioulia Pollitta | 101 | 1 | Acharnai, adj. the Embolos | Land | 62 ½ | - | | - |
| Iounia Euploia | 88, 184, 187 | 4 | Academy Academy Lakkiadai ? adj. Temple of Eukleia | Land Land Land ? | ? 2000 16 [] [] 75 | Iou. Philippe, Iou. of Diomeia | | Iou. Philippe, Iou. of Diomeia? |
| Iounia Philippe | 89, 184 | 2 | Academy Academy | Land Land | ? 2000 | Iou. Euploia, Iou. of Diomeia | | Iou. Euploia, Iou. of Diomeia? |
| Iounios of Diomeia | 88, 184 | 2 | Academy Academy | Land Land | ? 2000 | Iou. Euploia, Iou. Philippe | | Iou. Euploia, Iou. Philippe? |
| Iounios Onesas | 191 | 1 | Aixone | New ? | ? | - | | - |
| Iou --- | 165 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | | ? |
| Cal -is son of Nearchos | 83 | 1 | Sikelia, adj. the ? | Land | ? | - | | |
| Carpodorus son of Preimos | 174 | 4 | Atene Athmonon Gargettus Alopeke | ? ? Land ? | 737 ½ | - | Perhaps the son of Preimos Carpodorus Eiteai – ephebe c.AD 110 ⁸¹⁵ | - |

⁸¹⁵ *JG II*² 2020.30; Miller (1972) 85.

CONTINUED

| Name | Line | Properties | Location of Property | Type | Denarii | Associated names | Biography | Family |
|----------------------------------|------|------------|---|---|-------------|------------------|---|------------------|
| Nymphodotus son of Nymphodotus | 73 | 1 | ? | Land of Polystratus Stele and Elpionianus | 375 | - | Ephebe AD 125/6; appears on list of Azenians from mid 2 nd c; brother held archonship ⁸¹⁶ | - |
| Phila, daughter of Lysias | 116 | 3 | Amphitrope Atene Ionidai | Glens of Epikouros A borderland estate, a small tower, a 4-towered villa Land of Aulon of Phrearrhioi and Nigrianos of Achradous | ? | - | | (Iou. Antioche?) |
| Philargyrion son of Philargyrion | 151 | 7 | Oropus ? ? (L---etou) ? ? ? Erython | Land Land of the Meikoniastoi ? Land remaining from a dowry Land 'Ai-ou'?? Land on a short-term lease Land of P. . . gathos | 2510 5/8 | - | | - |
| Phloros Kalamidos | 104 | 1 | Anakaia | Land of the Kynarioi | ? | - | Prytanis from Marathon c. AD 120 ⁸¹⁷ | - |
| Phili--- | 164 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | | ? |

⁸¹⁶ Ephebe: *IG* II² 2037.9; List: *Hesp.* XI 1942, p.78; Brother – archonship from period 138/9-150/1: *AJP* LXV 1944, p.165; Miller (1972) 83.

⁸¹⁷ *IG* II² 1073.21; Miller (1972) 84.

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| Name | Line | Properties | Location of Property | Type | Denarii | Associated names | Biography | Family |
|--|------|------------|---|---|-------------|--|---|--------|
| Publius Aelius Attalus the Younger of Pallene | 42 | 2 | Oa Mesogeia | Land of Stratonianos Land of Glaukonides | 1687 ½ | - | Prytanis in AD 138/9 ⁸¹⁸ | - |
| Publius Ventidius Demetrios | 206 | 2 | 'Fl. lands of Demaphon' Oropus | Land and cattle stalls Walnut trees with the Flavian lands of Phanopte and Apollonia | 3750 | - | | - |
| Tiberius Claudius Lysiades | 205 | 1 | Potamus | Woodless lands | [] 32 ½ | - | Archon in the mid-2 nd c. AD ⁸¹⁹ | - |
| Titus Flavius Asylus | 81 | 1 | Erchia, adj. the Trikephalos | Land | 5 [] | - | | - |
| Veiboullius Pempteides of Marathon | 107 | 3 | Phlya Paiania Paiania | Land of Hermaphroditus Rocky land Rocky land | 2146 7/8 | - | | - |
| Vent--- phl--- | 140 | 3 | Ankyle (?) ? adj. Hippian gate Ankyle | Land ? ? | 1950 | - | | - |
| Vipsania --- | 27 | 1 | ? adj. the ? | Land | ? | - | | - |
| --- son of Olympiodorus of Steiria | 20 | 1 | Bate | Land | ? | Apollonia, daughter of Apollodorus --- | Charilaos son of Olympiodoros of Steiria (brother? same person?) | |

⁸¹⁸ *IG* II² 1764.39; Miller (1972) 82.

⁸¹⁹ *IG* II² 3609; Miller (1972) 86.

CONTINUED

| Name | Line | Properties | Location of Property | Type | Denarii | Associated names | Biography | Family |
|----------------------|------|------------|---|----------------|---------|------------------|-----------|--------|
| --- Dio --- | 29 | 2 | Phlya Lakkiadai | ? ? | 510 | - | | |
| ---os son of Ioph--- | 34 | 3 (?) | Oe ? Acharnai | Land ? ? | 3462 ½ | - | | - |
| --- of Ioulianus --- | 133 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | | ? |
| ---des---strate | 144 | 3 | Ankyle (?) ? adj. Hippian gate Ankyle | Land ? ? | 1502 ½ | - | | - |

OTHER NAMES IN IG II² 2776

| Name | Line | Location of Property | Type | Associated Names | Biography | Family |
|---------------------------|------|------------------------|---|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Aulon of Phrearrhioi | 118 | Ionidai | Land | Nigrianos of Achradous –share property? | | |
| Demaphon | 208 | ? | 'Flavian lands' | - | | |
| Elpionianos | 74 | ? | Land | Polystratos Stele – share property? | | Polystratos? |
| Glaukonides | 44 | Mesogeia | Land | - | | |
| Nigrianos of Achradous | 119 | Ionidai | Land | Aulon of Phrearrhioi – share property? | | |
| Polystratus (Stele?) | 74 | ? | Land | Elpionianos – share property? | | |
| Stratonianos | 43 | Oa | Land | - | | |
| The Iphontiastoi | 148 | Academy, adj. the L--- | Land | - | | |
| Tiberius Flavius Euphanes | 212 | Oropus | Walnut trees with the 'Flavian lands of Phanopte and Apollonia' | - | Archon in AD 124/5 ⁸²⁰ | The 'heirs' who sold(?) the land. |

⁸²⁰ *Insc. Delos*, 2536.17; Miller (1972) 86.

Appendix D: Hadrian's Oil Law (IG II² 1100)

κε(φάλαιον?) νό(μου) θε(ιοτάτου?) Ἀδριανοῦ vacat
οἱ τὸ ἔλαιον γεωργοῦντες τὸ τρίτον
καταφερέτωσαν, ἢ τὸ ὄγδοον οἱ τὰ
Ἱππάρχου χωρία τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ φύσκου
5 πραθέντα κεκτημένοι· μόνα γὰρ ἐ-
κεῖνα τὸ δίκαιον τοῦτο ἔχει· καταφε-
ρέτωσαν δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἄρξασθαι συνκο-
[μιδῆς κ]ατὰ μέρος, πρὸς λόγον το[ῦ]
[συνκομιζ]ομένου, τοῖς ἐλεώναι[ς],
10 [οἴτινες ἀεὶ] προνοοῦσιν τῆ[ς]
[δημοσίας χρεία]ς· ἀπογραφέσθω[σαν δὲ]
. . . c.8. . . τῆς συνκομιδῆς πρὸ[ς]
[τοὺς ταμίας κα]ὶ τὸν κήρυκα δύο
. . . . c.12. . . . ἰδόντες ὑπογρα-
15 φήν· [ἢ] δὲ ἀπ[ογραφ]ῆ ἔστω μετὰ ὄρκου
καὶ πόσον συνεκόμισεν τὸ πᾶν,
καὶ ὅτι διὰ δούλου τοῦδε ἢ ἀπελευ-
θέρου τοῦδε· ἐὰν δὲ πωλήσῃ τὸν
καρπὸν ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ χωρίου, ἢ ὁ
20 γεωργὸς ἢ ὁ καρπώνης, ἀπογραφέ-
σθω δὲ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ ἐπ' ἐξα-
γωγῆ πιπράσκων, πόσον πιπράσκει
καὶ τίνι καὶ ποῦ ὀρμ[ε]ῖ τὸ [π]λοῖον. ὁ δ[ὲ]
ἀπογραφῆς χωρὶς π[ιπράσκων] ἐπ' ἐξα-
25 γωγῆ, κἂν ὁ ὠφειλεν ἧ κα[τενηνοχῶς]
τῆ πόλει, στερέσθω τοῦ πραθ[έντος].
ὁ δὲ ψευδεῖς ἀπογραφὰς ποιήσα[ς]
ἢ τὰς περὶ τῆς συνκομιδῆς [ἢ τ]ὰ[ς περὶ]
τῆς ἐξαγωγῆς ἢ ὑπὲρ χωρίου, [ὁ μὴ πα]-
30 ρὰ φύσκου ἐπρίατο μὴ Ἱππάρχ[ειο]-
ν [ὁ]ν ὄγδοον κατενεγκῶν, σ[τερέ]-
[σθω, τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ ὁ μὴ]νύσας λαμ[β]α[νέτω].
[ὁς δ' ἂν ἐπ' ἐξαγω]γῆν ἀναπόγ[ραπτα]
[πρίηται . c.5.]ειρεσιμ — — — — —
35. c.14. των ἀπ[ο]στερ — — —
. c.13. ος αὐτὸς ἢ ὄν[τινα]
[ἂν ἔληται, πιπρασκέ]τω μὲν ἐξ ἀπ[ογρα]-

Appendix E: Rural-Themed Gravestones and Commemorative Monuments of 2nd Century AD Attica⁸²¹

| No. | Name | Theme(s) | Date | Description | Provenance and Current Location | Bibliography |
|-----|---|---|------------|---|--|--|
| 1 | Grave <i>stele</i> of Artemidorus from Besa | Hunting Youth | AD 160-180 | Deceased young male depicted hunting a boar with his dog, against a rugged natural landscape – rocky ground and forest in the background with a deer. | Athens, south of the Olympieion. Athens NM No. 1192 | <i>IG</i> II ² 5895 Conze no. 2052 Kaltsas no. 747 Rhomipoulou no. 95 von Moock no. 205 |
| 2 | Grave <i>stele</i> of two brothers (Eucarpus and Philoxenus from Miletos) | Bearded Rustic Farming Hunting | Antonine | Eucarpus depicted as farmer in short chiton, holding a <i>lagobolon</i> (stick for hunting hares (?)). Two oxen shown behind him, ploughshare on the pediment. Philoxenus (brother) portrayed in civic clothing with neat haircut, no beard. | Athens Athens NM No. 1243 | Conze no. 2068 Gray p.356 Kaltsas no. 750 Rhomipoulou no.87 von Moock no. 238 |
| 3 | Grave <i>stele</i> of a couple | Bearded Rustic Vine cultivation | Antonine | Male wears rustic dress, with shaggy hair and beard. Holds vintner's knife and cluster of grapes. Female wears modest clothing, depicted in 'Large Herculaneum' pose. | Athens, Cerameicus Athens NM No. 1210 | Gray p. 357 von Moock no. 217 |
| 4 | Grave <i>stele</i> of two farmers (Zosas and Nostimus) | Bearded Rustic Farming Vine cultivation | Antonine | Inscription identifies figures: Zosas (left), and Nostimus, a Milesian, (right). Zosas is bearded, holds vintner's knife in right hand. Nostimus is clean-shaven, carries vintner's knife. Both wear tunics. Small ox stands between the two; vines spread above with clusters of grapes. | Marathon Marathon Museum BE 13 | Gray p.358 von Moock no. 454 |

⁸²¹ This table represents the corpus of rural-themed gravestones and commemorative monuments I have developed to date – it is a work in progress. It is presented here as a supplement to Chapter Four, in order to illustrate further examples which could not be included in the main text. All references to '2nd century' denote 'second century AD'.

CONTINUED

| No. | Name | Theme(s) | Date | Description | Provenance and Current Location | Bibliography |
|-----|---|---|-------------------------|--|---|--|
| 5 | Grave <i>stele</i> of Telesphorus | Hunting Hero Youth Warfare | AD 170-5 | Deceased male depicted in guise of hero: naked, holding reins of a horse. Pediment decorated with a dog chasing a hare. Inscription tells us Telesphorus was 28 and had fought in a war. | Athens, Skoupha Street Athens NM No. 1775 | Conze no. 2048 Kaltsas no. 745 Rhomiopoulou no. 103 von Moock no. 278 |
| 6 | Grave <i>stele</i> of Artemas, a Milesian | Bearded Rustic Cattle herding Cult activity | Antonine. | Bearded male wears a belted tunic, short cloak, high sandals. Carries cattle prod in left hand, pours libations onto a small altar with his right. | Provenance unknown Verona MLM No. 105 [28702] | Gray p. 351, 361 von Moock no. 525 |
| 7 | Grave <i>stele</i> of Aphthonetus, a Milesian | Bearded Rustic Farming | Hadrianic- Antonine. | Bearded male with Roman hairstyle appears as if walking. Wears short tunic, lace-up boots, hooded cape, holds cattle prod. Two oxen stand on either side. | Laureion Brussels, MRAH No. 1198 | Gray p. 351, 359 von Moock no. 414 |
| 8 | Grave <i>stele</i> of Hyginus, a Milesian | Bearded Rustic Farming | Mid-2 nd c. | Dedicated by Hygine for her husband. Husband and wife depicted standing beneath arched frame. Male figure in Lateran Sophocles type, female as veiled 'Pudicitia' figure. | Rhamnous Rhamnous Str. 9 | Gray p. 351 von Moock no. 505 |
| 9 | Bearded rustic, alone | Bearded Rustic Farming Hunting | Mid-2 nd c. | Male wears unbelted chiton, chlamys over left shoulder. Bull depicted in left corner. Base of stone decorated with shallow carving of a plough and dog with right forepaw raised. | Salamis Athens NM No. 2613 | Conze no. 2050 Gray p. 351 von Moock no. 305 |

CONTINUED

| No. | Name | Theme(s) | Date | Description | Provenance and Current Location | Bibliography |
|-----|--|--------------------------------------|---|--|---|----------------------------------|
| 10 | Grave <i>stele</i> of a couple | Farming | Late Antonine | Male wears unbelted chiton, chlamys; carries sickle in right hand. Head mostly missing, but what remains above the neck suggests a beard. Female depicted in the 'Small Herculaneum' pose. | Athens Athens NM No. 2014 | Gray p. 351 von Moock no. 288 |
| 11 | Grave <i>stele</i> of Epaphras and Epagathus | Bearded Rustic Hunting Warfare | Antonine | Bearded male wears short chiton with wide belt, plus long piece of fabric wrapped tightly around shoulders – falls to left hip and wraps around hand. Garment known from later mosaics, worn as protection against the claws of birds of prey used for hunting. Female (Pudicitia type) wears chiton and himation. Pediment decorated with a shield. | Athens, Theseion (?) Athens NM No. 5435 | Gray p. 351 von Moock no. 346 |
| 12 | Three women with a plough on the pediment | Farming | 4 th c. BC, then early 1 st c. AD | Re-carved classical tombstone – originally depicted two females, third added in the 1 st c. AD as well as a plough on the pediment. | Provenance unknown Athens NM (no number) | Gray p. 351 von Moock no. 166 |
| 13 | Grave <i>stele</i> of Eucarpus and Philia | | Early Antonine | | Athens Athens NM No. 1195 | Gray p. 351 von Moock no. 207 |
| 14 | Two rustics with a woman | | | | Provenance unknown Athens NM No. 1230 | Conze no. 2120 Gray p. 351 |
| 15 | Figure with agricultural implement (fragmentary) | | | | Provenance unknown Athens NM No. 400 | Conze no. 2117a Gray p. 351 |

CONTINUED

| No. | Name | Theme(s) | Date | Description | Provenance and Current Location | Bibliography |
|-----|-------------------------------------|---|------------------------|--|--|--|
| 16 | Figure with agricultural implement | | | | Athens Agora Exc. S3367 | Gray p. 351 |
| 17 | <i>Kioniskos</i> of Macedon | Vine cultivation | Mid-2 nd c. | Columnar kioniskos. Inscription identifies deceased and gives occupation. Image of a vintner's knife decorates the kioniskos. | Acharnai Athens EM No. 11118 | <i>IG</i> II ² 9753 Conze no. 1801 Gray pp. 353-4 |
| 18 | <i>Kioniskos</i> of Dionysius | Farming | Mid-2 nd c. | Kioniskos decorated with a plough and a double-axe. | Provenance unknown Athens NM (no number) | Conze no. 1804 Gray p.354 |
| 19 | <i>Kioniskos</i> of Artemas | Farming | Mid-2 nd c. | Kioniskos decorated with a plough. | Athens, site of the Met. Cathedral Athens EM (no number) | Conze no. 1802 Gray p.354 |
| 20 | <i>Kioniskos</i> with plough | Farming | Mid-2 nd c. | Kioniskos decorated with a plough; inscription has been erased. | Provenance unknown Athens NM (no number) | Conze no. 1803 Gray p.354 |
| 21 | Herm of Polydeukion dedicated by HA | Hunting | Mid-2 nd c. | Herm with standard curse inscription. Heading: "Polydeukion... Herodes set it up here where they used to hunt". | Kato Souli, nr. Marathon Current location unknown | <i>IG</i> II ² 3970+13190 Tobin pp.100, 130-1 |
| 22 | Herm of Polydeukion dedicated by HA | Hero General rural occupation | Mid-2 nd c. | Herm with standard curse inscription. Heading: "The Hero Polydeukion. Once I used to walk with you at this crossroad" | Cephisia Ashmolean No. 100 | <i>IG</i> II ² 13194 Tobin pp.101, 121-2 |
| 23 | Herm of Memnon dedicated by HA | Hunting Rural deity | Mid-2 nd c. | Herm with standard curse inscription. Heading identifies Memnon as "dear to Artemis". | Bei Unknown | <i>IG</i> II ² 13196 Tobin pp.97, 134-5 |
| 24 | Herm of Achilles dedicated by HA | General rural occupation Rural deity | Mid-2 nd c. | Herm with standard curse inscription. Heading includes: "...so that I might see you in this vale also. I and any other that passes... I consecrate you to watchful Hermes the protector of shepherds". | Varnava Current location unknown | <i>IG</i> II ² 3977 Tobin pp.96, 277-8 |

CONTINUED

| No. | Name | Theme(s) | Date | Description | Provenance and Current Location | Bibliography |
|-----|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|--|---|-------------------------------------|
| 25 | Statue of Achilles | Hunting Hero | Mid-2 nd c. | Nude youth with short cape (<i>chlamys</i>) such as was worn for the hunt. | Cephisia Current location unknown | Pomeroy p. 61 |
| 26 | Statue of Memnon (?) with horse | Hunting (?) | Mid-2 nd c. | Only the arm remains – use of black stone tentatively identifies it as a statue of Memnon. Found alongside a horse's head, possibly part of a hunting group. | Cephisia, vicinity of Pyna Stream Current location unknown | Tobin pp.99, 214-5 Travlos p.200 |
| 27 | Grave <i>stele</i> of an ephebe | Youth Hunting (?) | Early 2 nd c. | Youth with mantle draped loosely around left shoulder and right hip. Rests right hand on a small herm. Dog sits in the bottom left corner, in front of a tree. | Salamis Piraeus Museum Inv. 388 | von Moock no. 499 |
| 28 | Grave <i>stele</i> of Epictetus | Youth Rural activity (?) | Late 1 st / early 2 nd c. | Youth wearing a chlamys. Unrecognisable attribute in left hand; tree on left edge of the field possibly suggesting a rural theme – perhaps a hunting allusion. | Markopoulou Current location unknown | von Moock no. 565 |
| 29 | Grave <i>stele</i> (?) | Vine cultivation | | Identification uncertain – fragment carved with grapevines, a part of small servant figure | Athens Acropolis Museum No. 4709 | Gray p. 351 von Moock no. 69 |

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