

# STRATEGIES OF REMEMBRANCE IN GREECE UNDER ROME

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE - ATHENS - 19-21 OCTOBER 2016



Nederlands Instituut Athene



university of  
 groningen

GOETHE  
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Schwächediskurse  
und Ressourcenregime

# Preliminary Programme

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## Wednesday 19 October 2016

16:00-16:30 Registration

16:30-17:00 Welcome

### **Session 1a: Honour and Commemoration**

**Chair:** Tamara Dijkstra

17:00-17.45 Athanasios Rizakis and Dimitra Andrianou  
*Memories of Thracians on Funerary Monuments from Roman Macedonia and Aegean Thrace*

17:45-18:30 Johannes Fouquet  
*Heroes of our Times. Honouring euergetai in the memorial landscapes of Roman Greece*

### **Session 1b: Lightning Presentations and Poster Session**

18:30-19:30 Aura Piccioni  
*Synnaos Dionysiou: A Survey of Marc Antony's Public Monuments in Greece*

Caterina Parigi  
*The Augustan building policy in Athens in the light of a general reconsideration of the city in the first century B.C.*

Caroline van Toor  
*The reappearance of funerary stelai in Attica: a classicizing statement towards Roman rule?*

Olivia Denk  
*The worship of Zeus in Roman Macedonia*

Sam Heijnen  
*Becoming Greek, Staying Roman: the Greek Past in Early Roman Corinth*

Sarah Rous  
*Upcycling as a Strategy of Remembrance in Early Roman Athens*

Erika Jeck  
*Producing a new countryside: rural landscapes and social memory in Roman Greece*

19:30-21:00 Poster session and wine reception

## **Thursday 20 October 2016**

### **Session 2: Sacred and Profane** **Chair:** Muriel Moser

- 09:15-10:00 David Weidgenannt  
*ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας*; Commemorating Times of Crisis
- 10:00-10:45 Benedikt Eckhardt  
*Heritage Societies? Private Associations in Roman Greece (1st century BCE to 2nd century CE)*
- 10:45-11:15 Coffee/Tea
- 11:15-12:00 Zahra Newby  
*Performing the past in the ephebic festivals of Roman Athens*
- [12:00-12:45 Eleni Fassa  
*The past in the present: Athenian inscriptional language regarding the divine, the Roman challenge and the construction of urban mnemonics*]
- 12:45-14:45 Lunch

### **Session 3: Using the Past in Colonial Encounters** **Chair:** David Weidgenannt

- 14:45-15:30 Paul Scotton and Catherine De Grazia-Vanderpool  
*Contending with the Past in Roman Corinth*
- 15:30-16:15 Tamara Dijkstra  
*You must remember this: strategic use of memory and commemoration in Roman Patras*
- 16:15-16:45 Coffee/Tea
- 16:45-17:30 Lavinia Del Basso  
*Greek panhellenic agones in a Roman colony: Corinth and the return of Isthmian Games*

## **Friday 21 October 2016**

### **Session 4: Remembrance and Commemoration: Change and Continuity**

**Chair:** Inger Kuin

09:15-10:00 Francesco Camia, Valentina Di Napoli, Vasilis Evangelidis, Dimitris Grigoropoulos,  
Dylan Rogers, Stavros Vlizon  
*Roman Greece and the 'mnemonic turn': some critical remarks*

10:00-10:30 Coffee/Tea

10:30-11:15 Muriel Moser  
*The pasts of Roman Greece*

11:15-12:00 Christopher Dickenson  
*Space of remembrance and commemoration - statues in public settings in Roman  
period Greek cities*

12:00-14:00 Lunch

### **Session 5: New beginnings**

**Chair:** Muriel Moser

14:00-14:45 Inger Kuin  
*Political change in post-Sullan Athens*

14:45-15:30 Panagiotis Doukellis  
*The Time – Space narration at the beginnings of the new era: Strabo as historian and  
geographer of the empire*

15:30-16:30 Summary and final discussion/end of the conference

# Abstracts

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**Athanasios Rizakis and Dimitra Andrianou**

*Remembrance on Funerary Monuments of Thracians from Roman Macedonia and the Aegean Thrace*

During the first centuries of the Roman conquest minority groups, such as the Thracians, become more visible in the material culture. Figured tombstones, often quite large, inscribed with Thracian names in Greek, first appear in the first century A.D. and depict one of two scenes: the *funerary banquet*, a popular motif in northwestern Asia Minor and areas influenced by it in the Hellenistic period, and the *Heros Equitans*, a motif with Greek roots and within Greek ideology.

The degree of Roman penetration in Aegean Thrace is considerably less than in Macedonia. However, a) Thracians become more visible in the Roman period, although present in the area long before, b) they choose iconographic themes that adhere to old Greek virtues, such as the heroization of the dead via the *Heros Equitans* or the funerary banquet, and c) they depart from Roman funerary repertoire which is typified by portrait reliefs and *tondi* in the form of *imagines clipeatae*. The choice of language on the tombstones, Greek rather than Latin, highlights the integral connection the Thracians had with Greek tradition.

It seems that the identity of the Thracian population in eastern Macedonia and Aegean Thrace, in particular, becomes an issue in the early centuries A.D. Why this is the case is not always immediately clear but it certainly seems that it was a way to express inclusion, both real and aspired to, in the Roman world. The idea that indigenous societies were passive receptors of Roman culture has now generally been discarded and replaced by models that see the creation of multiple identities in the provinces as the product of gradual interaction within a broad geographical and cultural environment.

**Johannes Foucquet**

*Heroes of our Times. Honouring euergetai in the memorial landscapes of Roman Greece*

The practice of honouring civic benefactors in the public space of the city was a phenomenon which since the 4th century B.C. developed into a decisive characteristic of urbanity in the Greek koine. Usually the euergetai were awarded with the erection of a honorary statue, whereas in rare cases they were granted the extraordinary right to be buried inside the city boundaries. Engaging with these monuments the recent scholarship has commonly adopted the analytical category of 'space', with a particular focus on visual and performative aspects. By the (re)contextualization in the architecturally framed space of the city criteria as materiality, visibility or proximity to public thoroughfares are considered as indicators of social relevance. In contrast, this paper aims to shift the focus from an exclusive perception of space as a physical entity to its complementary conceptualization as a medium of collective memory condensed into urban memorial landscapes and, in turn, to contribute to our understanding of mechanisms of public remembrance.

The underlying assumption that certain lieux de mémoire could exert a nobilitating influence on secondary honorary monuments is exemplified by the renowned statue group of the tyrannicides on the Athenian agora. The area around this monument that lay at the heart of civic identity was decisively maintained free from other honorific statues (IG II<sup>2</sup> 450. 646) as a location at this topos epiphanestatos was apparently highly desirable. Accordingly, it is hardly surprising that this honour was not granted until the end of the 3rd century B.C., that is to say to Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes, the 'saviours' of the city (Diod. XX 46), and in the late 1st century B.C. to the murderers of Julius Caesar, Cassius and Brutus (Cass. Dio XLVII 20,4).

Based on the previous considerations I would like to address in this paper particularly the phenomenon of intramural honorific burials in the cities of the Roman provincia Achaia. Even though the corpus of monuments (e.g. from Argos, Messene, Mantinea, Nikopolis, Sparta and Athens) is limited and the state of preservation and publication disparate, it provides important insights into main issues raised by this workshop, i.e. the mobilization of collective memory in discourses of social prestige and, in turn, the formation of new memorial landscapes in the cities of Roman Greece.

**David Weidgenannt**

**ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας: Commemorating Times of Crisis**

During the first century BC, pirates „attacked and plundered places of refuge and sanctuaries hitherto inviolate, such as those of Claros, Didyma, and Samothrace; the temple of Chthonian Earth at Hermione; that of Asclepius in Epidauros” (Plut. Sull. 24.5/ Loeb) and several other places. To ward off pirates, a Roman garrison had been installed in Epidauros under M. Antonius Creticus, another burden for a town described by Livy as not very wealthy. A honorary decree for Euanthes from Epidauros (IG IV2 1, 66) informs us about the countermeasures he took against a shortage of grain caused by the Roman presence and the recruitment of locals to fight against the pirates. We know of other types and instances of crises as well, from different places in the 1st century BC and 1st century AD (e.g. the loss of wheat land in Boiotia due to the neglect of the great ditch, IG VII 2712). But it is not the crises themselves that these inscriptions aim to present. More importantly, they want to tell us about the successful solution to these problems.

In my paper I want to show how the language of honorary decrees helped Greek poleis to show their resilience against the backdrop of crises. The explicit reference to crises in inscriptions not only highlighted the actual solution but also was a method to reassure the city of their capacity to solve future problems and a way to stimulate contributions of prospective benefactors.

**Benedikt Eckhardt**

***Heritage Societies? Private Associations in Roman Greece (1st century BCE to 2nd century CE)***

The Roman conquest of the Greek world influenced not only the administration and institutional make-up of cities, but also the possibilities and conditions for private corporate organization. Legal regulations on *collegia*, while not systematically enforced throughout the provinces, potentially restricted the scope of actions of private associations. In some regions, like Western Asia Minor or Thrace, Roman rule nevertheless fostered the emergence of a rather isomorphic, basically Romanized associative phenomenon. Many small groups took part in the great homology of private and public organizations that made up the Roman Empire. However, these were regions where a fully developed associative phenomenon had not been known before. In Greece, and especially in Athens, the conditions were different. Private associations had played an important role in city life well before the advent of Rome; the functional integration of such groups into the large imperial homology was much more difficult than in other places. While some changes do seem to reflect Roman influence (e.g. the social homogeneity of membership or the growing tendency to define and punish deviant behavior), the general impression especially in Athens is that of a conscious recourse to memory. We find a marked terminological conservatism, a continuation of long-standing cultic and organizational traditions, a refusal to adapt the group’s stated purposes to Roman expectations (no professional associations), and a surprising absence of the imperial cult. These anachronisms were based on memories of earlier forms of private organization. They were hence more subtle than the conscious evocation of the Classical past that marks the Roman period *ephebeia*. This points to a contrast between private and civic forms of “heritage societies” at least in Athens: Both were “celebrations of the local” (C. Ando), but only the latter could be seen as “embedding the local in the imperial”.

**Zahra Newby**

***Performing the past in the ephebic festivals of Roman Athens***

This paper examines a series of ephebic reliefs produced in Roman Athens between the first and third centuries AD which celebrate the names and achievements of those enrolled in the *ephebeia*. It explores the ways that the *ephebeia* was experienced and promoted as a focus for civic identity and, in particular, the contests which took place as part of ephebic festivals. A number of these made deliberate reference to Athens’ naval prestige, and commemorated long past victories, such as that at Salamis. As well as being expressions of Athenian prestige, the reliefs can also be seen as statements of elite self-fashioning, highlighting the roles played by the prominent local families whose members paid for the reliefs to be produced and displayed and whose sons took part in the *ephebeia*.

My paper explores the roles that festivals played in re-performing a version of the past, and the interaction between the ephemeral event and its commemoration in stone. I suggest that Roman Athens used athletic competitions in the struggle to distinguish itself from competing cities and that the elite played a crucial role within this as upholders and promoters of a civic identity which was based on the achievements and values of the classical past.

**Eleni Fassa**

*The past in the present: Athenian inscriptional language regarding the divine, the Roman challenge and the construction of urban mnemonics*

The language used to describe the divine carries in all societies particular weight. It constitutes a complex system of significations; it is part of the cultural and social semantics; it is revealing of the ways people contemplate and imagine their world. In recent years much emphasis has been laid on divine epithets, their function and role in the framework of polytheism (cf. e.g. Brulé, *Kernos* 11; Belayche, *et al.*, ed., 2005, *Nommer les dieux*; Versnel, 2011, *Coping with the gods*); it has been demonstrated that the adjectives attributed to the gods establish certain types of communication and are indicative of the religious mentality of an individual or a community.

In the proposed paper I will present the epithets attributed to gods in Roman Athens, from the sack of Sulla to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. This is a period of political but also cultural negotiation, of deciding what belongs to the past and what is meaningful for the present, and, especially in Athens, of recontextualizing the past in the present. Through the lenses of an interdisciplinary approach and using the epithets as a methodological tool, the paper will examine (a) the links between Roman Athens and its valued traditions (e.g. old polis-gods are still evoked with standard adjectives) and (b) the institution of novel elements in the city's religious world (introduction of new gods; new ways of conceptualizing traditional gods).

Athens constitutes an ideal case-study not only because of the multifarious evidence available. Roman Athens is primarily a cultural melting pot, a place where contemporary religious trends meet and cross-fertilise (see e.g. the relationship between philosophy and religion, cf. Athanassiadi-Makris, in *Panthée*, 2013). Beyond the polarities of continuity-change and tradition-innovation (cf. Muniz-Grijalvo, *Numen* 52), the paper aims at presenting some aspects of the urban metamorphosis of Athens. Epithets pertaining to divinities will be viewed as embedded in the landscape; functioning complementary to other monuments that are in public display, it will be demonstrated that they add to the spectrum of meanings and symbolisms that are evoked as part of the public configuration of the conception of the divine.

**Paul Scotton and Catherine De Grazia-Vanderpool**

*Contending with the Past in Roman Corinth*

The glorious past of Corinth (and Greece) was never far from the minds of those who colonized the Roman City. Mummius famously destroyed the city, yet remnants of the city remained, perhaps the most significant being the massive, archaic Temple of Apollo. When it came time to build the new city center, it was still the dominant feature in scale, in its ancient forms of capital and column, and in its cult - a symbol of Corinth's great antiquity and importance. How did the Roman colonizers negotiate with this colossal Greek shrine in its very heart? We propose that among the earliest solutions was a giant basilica built on the east end of the Forum, an unvarnished statement of Rome, a pure Vitruvian building that could have been designed by the master architect himself. What distinguishes the Corinthian structure from other Vitruvian basilicas is its high podium: the Roman building is raised in order to challenge - visually - the looming Temple of Apollo. The sculptural program within also grapples with the relationship between conqueror and conquered. Roman content and Greek forms alternate with Greek content and Roman forms: statues of Augustus's sons interpreted as classical Peloponnesian heroes; statues of the imperial family as Hellenistic warriors; a statue of an imperial forebear divinized using classical Greek schemata with a Roman twist. Thus, exploiting topographical position, architecture, and sculpture, the colonizing Romans - many of whom were freedmen probably of Greek origin - acknowledged the power of the Greek past but recast it in Roman terms. For Ancient Corinth, where the local populace included Greeks as well as Romans, establishing Roman hegemony successfully and peacefully

involved manipulating current and past architectural and sculptural formulas that would dignify the occupied as well as the occupier.

**Tamara Dijkstra**

*You must remember this: Strategic Use of Memory and Commemoration in Roman Patras*

When the city of Patras was colonized under Augustus, radical changes were implemented in its society, on both political, economic, religious, and social levels: Roman rule was installed, the territory of the city was massively enlarged, thousands of newcomers were moved to the city, and new cults were installed. These and other interventions led to the disruption of the existing social structure, which must have created unrest and opened up opportunities for individual gain. In this paper I demonstrate that traditions, memory and commemoration played a vital role in the process of reaching a new *status quo*, of becoming a Roman colony in the world of Greece. The issue is approached from three different perspectives: first I illustrate how Augustus explicitly used or alluded to local myths and religious traditions in order to justify Roman rule over the area, and to strengthen the ties between himself and the society of Patras. Second, I discuss how the migrant community of Patras used their tombs not only as the focal point for private commemoration, but – perhaps as much so – as a medium in the struggle for social prominence. Third, I examine the persistence of local traditions in the way the indigenous population dealt with their dead. Though both cases are very different in nature, they are both excellent examples of how memory and commemoration can serve a strategic purpose in the formation of a colonial society.

**Lavinia Del Basso**

*Greek panhellenic agones in a Roman colony: Corinth and the return of Isthmian Games*

In 146 B.C. L. Mummius took the Isthmian Games' administration away from Corinth and awarded it to nearby Sikyon. However, shortly after its establishment as a Roman colony, the city recovered its Panhellenic competitions and hosted them in its urban centre for almost a century. The new colonial élite clearly showed a deep interest in the restoration of the prestigious *agones*, closely tied with the mythical past of the polis. The early revival of the Isthmian Games provides evidence against the throughout "Roman" nature of Corinth in its initial phase; the recovery of these competitions is an additional example of how the new colonists managed to shape their own identity by mixing local mythical or historical features with Roman institutions and customs. Moreover, during the Later Republican period the Isthmian Games were used on multiple occasions as setting for diplomatic negotiations between Greek leagues and the Roman Senate; it is possible that this previous role of the *agones* played a part in the precocious restoration of the *agones* to Corinth, when the city became a link between Rome and the province of Achaia. Lastly, it seems important to discuss the possible settings of the Isthmian Games during their "urban phase" and how they affected the colonial cityscape. Notably the ancient gymnasium in the northern area of the city appears to have been restored in the earliest years of the Roman colony; the materials found during the excavations and the reassessment of its surroundings suggest the possibility of a link between the return of the Isthmian Games to Corinth and the early rebuilding of this athletic and educational facility.

**Francesco Camia, Valentina Di Napoli, Vasilis Evangelidis, Dimitris Grigoropoulos, Dylan Rogers,  
and Stavros Vlivos**

*Roman Greece and the 'mnemonic turn': some critical remarks*

Since E.L. Bowie's seminal article<sup>1</sup> on the Greeks and their past in the Second Sophistic and with the ever-growing number of studies on the history and culture of the eastern part of the Roman Empire in more recent times, the study of Roman Greece has experienced what has been described in other areas of social sciences and the humanities as a 'mnemonic turn'.<sup>2</sup> Questions of social memory, the cultural significance of ancestral

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<sup>1</sup> Bowie, E.L. (1974) Greeks and their Past in the Second Sophistic. In M.I. Finley (ed.) *Studies in Ancient Society* (London/Boston: Routledge and Keegan Paul) 166-209.

<sup>2</sup> Bachmann-Medick, D. (2016) *Cultural Turns: New Orientations in the Study of Culture* (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter).



practices and the persistence of tradition (to name only but a few) have become standard points of reference, when speaking about (almost) any aspect of Greece under Roman rule.

What scholarly engagement with these and other questions has shown, is that the mnemonic culture of early imperial Greece has been construed in very different and sometimes conflicting terms. For one, there is a need to define more clearly what this culture entailed and under whose agency, in what socio-political contexts and for what audiences it manifested itself. Not least, the concepts we use and the evidence by which we go about searching for acts of 'remembrance' require a more rigorous scrutiny.

This paper is an attempt at reviewing the potentials, limits and pitfalls of the mnemonic turn by looking at selected examples from across the Roman provinces of modern-day Greece and beyond. Our aim is to explore the validity of concepts of social memory and remembrance in the study of early imperial Greece and to compare the evidence with the rest of the Roman world. Are there similarities and differences manifested between the core province of Achaëa and the other Roman provinces in the area? Can evocations of the past of any form be in all cases understood as acts of remembrance? To what extent does Roman Greece constitute a unique case study of the significance of the past compared to the rest of the Roman world?

**Muriel Moser**

*The pasts of Roman Greece*

This paper examines a number of reused honorary statues from Roman Athens and investigates the different memories that were being mobilized in the process. These monuments were rededicated to Roman visitors by Athens and its city council. Importantly, unlike in many other cases of such statue re-employment, the original inscriptions were preserved on the reused statue bases, thereby consciously recording both phases of their use. As a result, these were highly complex monuments: addressing several target audiences and cultural memories, they constitute a neat example of the different pasts of Roman Greece.

**Christopher Dickenson**

*Space of remembrance and commemoration - statues in public settings in Roman period Greek cities*

Under the Roman Empire the poleis of Greece were setting up honorific statuary monuments with increasing frequency. Statues of emperors and members of the imperial family, of local politicians and benefactors are attested in all areas of public space from agoras to bathhouses, from gymnasia to theatres. While these monuments were intended to perpetuate the memories of contemporary individuals, they stood in settings that were also home to older statues, which served as focal points for remembering, or reinventing, local history and identity. Our best source for these monuments is, of course, Pausanias. The tendency in modern scholarship has been to see the impact of all these statues on public space in negative terms – monuments of emperors advertised foreign oppression; monuments for members of the local elite signalled the end of democracy; both took up space where day-to-day activity had once taken place; and the survival of old historic monuments transformed civic centres into museum-like spaces for backward looking introspection.

This paper will challenge this vision and argue that public monuments played a dynamic role in defining relations of power both vis-à-vis Rome and within the polis at the local level. It will make the case that examining the spatial setting of monuments and looking at the interplay of meaning - both intended and fortuitous – between different types of statue in the same spatial setting adds new layers of understanding regarding their political significance. Three case studies will be compared using archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence, Athens, Messene and Corinth. These cities' very different backgrounds as, respectively, an old Classical city, a Hellenistic foundation and a Roman colony, make them ideally suited for thinking about the range of ways in which monumental space could be used to shape political realities in Greece under the Empire.

**Inger Kuin**  
*Political change in post-Sullan Athens*

Did Sulla give Athens a new constitution after sacking the city in 86 BCE or not? This question has plagued generations of ancient historians. Scholars arguing that Sulla did not give Athens new laws are now in the majority, but casual references to the 'Sullan constitution of Athens' still frequently occur in textbooks and articles. We have inherited the problem from Appian, who wrote that Sulla "gave all of them laws which were similar to what had been ordained for them by the Romans before" (Mith. 39). Efforts to uncover epigraphic evidence for these laws that can be dated securely to the mid 80s BCE have, however, failed. As a solution the 'laws' Appian mentions are now frequently understood simply as 'peace terms.'

In this paper I propose to look at the political changes of the first century BCE through the perspective of anchoring. Political change, as already pointed out by Aristotle in *Politics* 2, is difficult, because the laws need longevity to engender authority. Connecting new laws or political customs to old ones through anchoring is a necessary response to this issue: it can legitimize the new and, by making it seem familiar, transfer authority.

The problem of Sulla's constitution is emblematic of the difficulties historians have had in understanding the political changes in Athens of the first century BCE. The limited evidence suggests that over the course of the first century BCE the oligarchic elements of the Athenian constitution became more important: power fell into the hands of a small group of aristocratic families, and offices were more often appointed than decided by lot. It is however nearly impossible to establish how and when these changes came about, and who initiated them. I will argue that it is hard to observe political change in this period at least in part because the ancients made such efforts to disguise change as continuity.

Further, I will discuss several examples of explicit political anchoring to illustrate that this strategy was in fact used in Athens at the time. In 84 BCE the Athenian coins show Harmodius and Aristogeiton, connecting Sulla's overthrow of Aristion with the 6th century BCE assassination of Hipparchus. Even more significant are the revival of the archaic Areopagus council in the late Hellenistic period and renewed interest in the Athenian gene during the same time – both efforts to root new oligarchic influence in ancient institutions. Finally, I will return to Appian's remark about Sulla's Athenian reforms. It could well go back to Sullan ideology: following the crisis of the siege Sulla wanted to assure the Athenians that the Romans' new and violently obtained hold over the city was nothing but a return to the old status quo.

**Panagiotis Doukellis**

*The Time – Space narration at the beginnings of the new era: Strabo as historian and geographer of the empire*

Strabo's *Geography* constitutes one of the most characteristic historical documents related to the general atmosphere of inventorying the world at the very beginnings of the Principatus. The *Geography* is typically considered as the geographical description of the Roman provinces, frequently expanding beyond the borders of the empire. We know that the Strabonian text has a specific orientation towards human geography, focusing on what is called today "historical geography". The geographical descriptions are annexed by and enriched with information on the historical past as well as on what we actually consider as mythical past of the described regions.

Therefore, his efforts to describe and document the world for the benefit of political leaders, as he emphasizes in his introductory chapters, acquire the characteristics of a conscious and structured strategy of specific remembrance within multiple and overlapping socio-political milieux of the 1st century BC Greco-Roman world. This communication focuses on the analysis of excerpts from the narration of the historical (and mythical) past of the Greek cities, in order to comprehend Strabo's political and ideological options, mainly through a comparative approach with his way of seeing and narrating the past of Rome (as a place) and the past of regions beyond the limits of the Roman world.

# Abstracts Lightning Presentations

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**Aura Piccioni**

*Synnaos Dionysiou: A Survey of Marc Antony's Public Monuments in Greece*

The figure of Marc Antony has been one of the most prominent of the first century BCE. However, almost no archaeological evidence has remained after the *damnatio memoriae* which struck him in 30 BCE; his monuments, acts and memories were cancelled from history or re-used by the victorious future Augustus. Nevertheless someone defined the time in which they lived as “the age of Marc Antony”, because that man has incised profoundly on history, leaving, after all, his personal contribution to it.

Aim of the present paper is to discuss properly the figure of Marc Antony in Greece, to investigate his relationship to the population, to verify if his identification with the god Dionysus changed something in the contemporary religious practice, if he was actually worshipped as a god and how his “memory” was conceived in Greece after his defeat, on the hand of literary sources, but departing also in particular from a few collected and miraculously preserved public monuments: they can, like some studies seem to demonstrate, have actually been connected to him. One could think, in particular, to the basis of a statue from the Acropolis of Athens and to a honorary inscription (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1043) coming from the same city, or especially to a loricated torso found in the sanctuary of Iria, on the island of Naxos, in the Cyclades. Both the basis from Athens and the torso from Naxos were subjected to a process of re-use by the *princeps* and his political propaganda. Just the inscription has survived almost entirely.

**Caterina Parigi**

*The Augustan building policy in Athens in the light of a general reconsideration of the city in the 1st century B.C.*

The Augustan building policy in Athens has always been considered as a reconstruction of the main monumental areas after the catastrophic siege of the city by Sulla in 86 BC. According to the scholars, the siege had left the city entirely destroyed; emperor Augustus then rebuilt it, giving it a whole new Roman look. Indeed, the time after Sulla's siege is usually considered as the starting point of the intensive Romanization of the city. My PhD thesis, that I defended at the Universities of Rome and Heidelberg on the 25<sup>th</sup> of June 2014, focuses of the destruction of the Athenian monuments during the first century BC.

Starting from some new evidence and theories about the real impact of the siege on the city and its monuments, the paper re-analyses the Augustan buildings in Athens in connection with the Romanization-process, particularly in monumental areas like the Acropolis and the Agora. Aim of the paper is to understand if the reviewed impact of the siege could also lead to a review of the meaning of the Augustan building policy for the Romanization of Athens.

**Caroline van Toor**

*The reappearance of funerary stelai in Attica: a classicizing statement towards Roman rule?*

Classical Attic funerary monuments belong to the most beautiful examples of Greek art. Around 318/317 BCE, these monuments disappear from the burial grounds, only to be found again more than two centuries later, in the early 1st century BCE. Incidentally, this date coincides with the worsening of the relations between Greeks and Romans, leading Sulla to sack Athens in 86 BCE. Can the reinstallment of a tradition dating back to the glory days of Athens be interpreted as an example of strategic remembrance of the days without Romans, or should we interpret this change differently? In order to answer that question, we need to look at the iconography and epigraphy of the funerary monuments preceding the return and at the newly erected monuments.

First, the humble monuments of the Hellenistic period are discussed in the context of cultural identity: where and how can we see changes in the changing political situations of Attica and Greece? By the end of the 3rd

century, the Macedonians had taken control of Athens, but already in the 280s the Romans made their entry. Initially they are regarded as possible liberators, but slowly but gradually it becomes clear that the Romans are there to stay. Over the course of the 2nd century BCE, Greeks are found struggling with Roman rule in several wars, eventually resulting in the sack of Athens.

Secondly, the new reliefs come to the fore. To what extent are they a continuation, albeit in a different form, of the Hellenistic funerary monuments? Are classicizing examples actually classicizing, or had these themes never really disappeared from the cemeteries? And where and how is the influence of the Romans present in the memorials? (E.g. Roman dress, imperial hair fashion, and Roman names)

**Olivia Denk**

*The worship of Zeus in Roman Macedonia*

The Chalcidice, a peninsula in Northern Greece, situated between the Thermaic and the Strymonian Gulf, formed since early times a transit area. While it was called by the Greeks of the south “The peninsula in Thrace”, the toponym “Chalcidice”, which is used from the 2nd century AD onwards for the whole peninsula, was related only to the area of settlement of the Chalcidians. Beside the Chalcidians settled numerous populations on the mainland and the three prongs Pallene, Sithonia and Akte. The Chalcidian peninsula was shaped during the Second Colonization in the 8th /7th century BC by various apoikiai and during the annexation to the Macedonian kingdom. After the defeat of the Macedonians in 168 BC the Chalcidice became part of the Roman province of Macedonia. In contrast to the traditional cultural landscapes in Greece such as the Peloponnese, the area of Chalcidice became much later the subject of scientific studies. With the discovery of Aphytis in the seventies the first sanctuary on the Chalcidice was identified.

Based on the ethnic complexity through the history of the Chalcidice the cultural transformations of the sacral microcosm of the Chalcidian peninsula should be investigated. The presentation provides on the basis of literary, epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological sources an overview of the religious expression of remembrance during the Roman Period with the help of the following sanctuaries: Aphytis, Cassandreia and Kalindoia. The analysis also includes comparisons to other sanctuaries in northern Greece (Dion and Pella).

The aim is to analyse in connection with religious phenomena of tradition and innovation the characteristics of the sanctuaries: topography, features, worshipped deities, function, status, development and ethnological aspects of the local identities in the religious context.

**Erika Jeck**

*Producing a new countryside: rural landscapes and social memory in Roman Greece*

In the Greek world, as in Roman Italy, the past lived in the countryside.<sup>3</sup> Bucolic poetry and writings on rusticity attest that one need only walk through the fields and pastures of rural Greece to revisit the simple life of one’s ancestors. But under the Romans, Greece’s countryside witnessed a substantial overhaul. Survey projects, centuriation, land redistribution, the spread of Roman villas, and the growth of regional and international markets for Greek produce drastically altered not only the appearance but the social structure of Greek rural life. How could the Greek past live in such alien terrain?

This paper posits that the countryside is a communal construct, and as such, the “past” of the Greeks was eventually reconciled with this changed landscape, as well as with the imperial system and their non-Greek neighbors—the colonists, negotiatores, and provincial administrators living amongst them. A more inclusive conceptualization of Greek identity and a reevaluation of their collective history found expression in descriptions of the countryside and rustic nostalgia.

For instance, the “radial plan”<sup>4</sup> of Pausanias’ *Periegesis*, directing movement to and from select cities and their hinterlands, is informed by the stable hierarchy of Greek poleis established by Augustan land redistribution

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<sup>3</sup> North. “Religion and Rusticity.” 1995.

<sup>4</sup> Hutton. *Describing Greece: Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias*. 2005: 83 ff.

programs and solidified by new agricultural consumption patterns.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, by organizing his travels in this way, Pausanias naturalizes this new order within the Greek world,<sup>6</sup> which effectively re-frames the memory of historical inter-poleis relationships and the rise of Rome.<sup>7</sup> This paper will discuss literature of the early Empire in which this altered countryside surfaces as a medium for rethinking Hellenism and local history within the imperial experience.

**Sam Heijnen**

*Becoming Greek, Staying Roman: the Greek Past in Early Roman Corinth*

Roman Corinth serves as an excellent case to explore cultural interaction, identity, and the memory of the past in Greece under Rome. In 146 BCE, troops of Lucius Mummius sacked Corinth, after which the city was no longer a key player in Greece. This changed in 44 BCE, when Julius Caesar re-established Corinth as a Roman colony. Becoming the Roman capital of Achaia, Corinth is often regarded as a 'bridgehead' between Rome and Greece. Notwithstanding their Roman status, the inhabitants of the colony kept the memory of the city's Greek past alive. All too often, references to the memory of the past in communities such as these are interpreted as expressions of nostalgia, or are explained by a Roman admiration of Classical Greece. Instead, it is more fruitful to explore the use of the past as an active way for communities to shape and strengthen their cultural identities. Corinth, in this regard, is unique, since its re-establishment as a Roman colony after a long period of abandonment brought about an obvious discontinuity with the past. However, the material culture of the first age of the colony (44 BCE – c. 50 CE) shows how the new settlers actually engaged with both the memory of their Greek predecessors as well as with their new Roman topicality. Corinth's civic coinage in particular provides intriguing insights in the dual nature of their Graeco-Roman identity. This paper presents an analysis of this particular set of civic coinage combined with the archaeological landscape of early Roman Corinth. It will argue that, instead of seeing Corinth's Roman and Greek identity as mutually exclusive, it is precisely their interaction that provided the city with a new political and cultural identity appropriate for a Roman colony in Greece under Rome.

**Sarah Rous**

*Upcycling as a Strategy of Remembrance in Early Roman Athens*

The past was a chief resource for Greek communities as they navigated and negotiated their present positions and uncertain futures within the Roman Empire. In Athens these negotiations played out in many spheres, but especially in the physical realm of architecture and monuments. As Athenians engaged with their past as a useful resource, a main focus of their "work of memory"<sup>8</sup> was the assertion and maintenance of their own authority to control their cultural heritage. In some important cases this effort took the form of reusing Classical monuments in creative ways that juxtaposed old and new. These are examples of the phenomenon of intentionally meaningful reuse that I call upcycling, where a particular object is chosen for reuse in a particular new context or function based not simply on its physical suitability, but instead/also on some aspect of its previous life history. The age or past experiences of the object are made recognizable and add an extra layer of significance to the secondary context, with implications for the social memory of the community interacting with the new monument.

In this paper, I re-examine the relocation of the 5<sup>th</sup>-century BCE Temple of Ares into the Athenian Agora, the rededication of the Attalid pillar monuments, and a fascinating group of Classical and Early Hellenistic statue dedications on the Acropolis that were reused as honorific portrait statues for Roman officials in the Julio-Claudian period. Building on the recent work of scholars like Dirk Steuernagel, Ralph Krumeich, Julia Shear, and Catherine Keesling, I re-interpret and integrate these cases to show how this strategy of intentionally meaningful reuse of monuments was a key part of the larger ongoing effort of memory construction in Early

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<sup>5</sup> Rizakis. "Town and Country in Early Imperial Greece." 2014.

<sup>6</sup> Elsner. "Structuring Greece." 2001.

<sup>7</sup> Spawforth. Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution. 2012.

<sup>8</sup> Hamilakis, Y., and J. Labanyi. 2008. "Introduction: Time, Materiality, and the Work of Memory." *History and Memory* 20(2):5–17, at 12.

Roman Athens. I conclude by drawing parallels with the projects of intense engagement with the past during other pivotal periods of transformation in Athenian history under Perikles and later Lykourgos.