



STRATEGIES OF REMEMBERING IN GREECE UNDER ROME

(100 BC - 100 AD)

EDITED BY
TAMARA M. DIJKSTRA, INGER N.I. KUIN,
MURIEL MOSER & DAVID WEIDGENANT



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Reused Statues for Roman Friends: The Past as a Political Resource in Roman Athens

Muriel Moser

Abstract

A number of public honorific monuments dedicated by the Athenian demos to Roman politicians between the sack of Sulla and the reign of Nero consisted of old, reused statue monuments. This article explores the history of these statues by looking at the role they played in the relationship between Athens and Rome and in inner-Athenian debates about the management of the public space on the Acropolis, where these reused monuments were located. I hence explore the political strategies that were pursued in this manipulation of the Athenian past. The first part of the article locates the statues in the context of the relation between Athens and Rome. I argue that the Athenian polity used old statue monuments as a means of gaining support and favour from Roman politicians. The second section then considers the reused statues as an expression of the assertion of democratic control over public space.

Keywords: Athens, Roman empire, political resources, honorific statues, Greek polis

1. Introduction

Athens' position was a difficult one in the last decades of the 1st century BC. Financially, the city suffered from the disruptions caused by the sack of Sulla. Her situation was also complex in political terms following the Roman civil wars: the city had supported several Roman generals who had been unable to assert their authority in Rome, including Marc Antony in his battle against Augustus (Tac. *Ann.* 2.55). As a result, it was necessary to secure powerful friends in Rome willing to assist the city with financial and political support. Due to several regime changes, there was also need for political stability and a strong political authority within the city.

The present article discusses one key strategy that was used by Athens in this context: the reuse of old statue monuments. Between the mid-1st century BC and the mid-1st century AD, 21 statue monuments set up in Classical or Hellenistic times on the Athenian Acropolis were being rededicated to foreign benefactors, in particular Roman politi-

cians.¹ Their reuse, which peaked under Augustus, has been interpreted as evidence for the weakness of Athens under Rome or as an attempt to preserve the Greek aspect of her Acropolis.² Some of such readings were heavily influenced by a speech by Dio Chrysostom (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31), who criticizes the cheapening of public honours through the reuse of honorific statues in Roman Rhodes, as well as by an inscription from Roman Lindos (*I.Lindos* II, no. 419) which documents the auction of old statues in the sanctuary. It is also informed by the traditional view of Athens as a weak city under Roman rule engaged in (cultural) resistance against Roman dominance (e.g. Graindor 1927; Day 1942; Touloumakos 1967; Bernhardt 1985, 39-49; Deininger 1971, esp. 242-261; Geagan 1997; Spawforth 2012).

A closer analysis of the material quickly reveals that the reuse cannot be explained only with reference to lack of time, power or financial means: the 21 preserved reused monuments constituted only 13% of the monuments dedicated to Romans on the Acropolis in this period; 87% were new monuments made for the occasion.³ It also remains to be proven that old statues were better suited to preserve the Greek appearance of the Acropolis than the new monuments, for the latter came in an antiquated, Greek form and hence also emphasized the historical importance of the place.⁴ Further, the identity of the Roman senators honoured with such reused statues also strongly calls into question the traditional argument that these were cheap honours (as it is implied by Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31

and Cic. *Att.* 6.1.46 which are often cited in this context). These old statues were rededicated to some of the most influential men in Rome, including the grandfather of Nero and Augustus' son in law.⁵ This means that unless we want to concede that the Athenians wanted to jeopardize their relationship with these men by honouring them with cheap, old statues, there must be some grounded explanation to account for the award of old statues to the most powerful senators in Rome.

As I show in what follows, a careful reuse of old statues by the Athenian demos allowed manipulating these survivals of the past as a means to represent new Roman honorands as dynamic, resourceful supporters of Athens. They were hence perfectly suited to function as prestigious honours to ask for support and favour from influential Roman politicians. The second part of the article proposes to consider the statues in polis culture and society. I argue that the reuse of statues enabled political dynamism in Athens: in the process the Athenian demos asserted its agency in the relationship with Rome, while at the same time also establishing its authority over public space on the memory-charged Acropolis.

2. Old statues for Roman benefactors

Benefactor relationships in Hellenistic cities were a complex matter. In accepting the beneficence of a wealthy elite, cities entered into a social contract with the benefactor. Honorific statues played a key role in this context. Cities often returned the favour with such a statue, which embodied both the gratitude for a past benefaction and the expectation for future beneficence. Honorific statues carried important political messages: they constituted public narratives about the values and expectations of the respective citizenry which communicated unspoken rules as well as expectations of common intentions and action.⁶ This matrix was also used for external benefactors, including Roman senators who from the late 2nd century onwards increasingly acted as benefactors in the Greek East (Quass 1984; Tanner 2000; Eilers 2002). By the late 1st century BC, Roman elites had become used to this tradition of receiving honorary statues in return for favours (Tanner 2000 and, for Athens in particular, Corn. *Nep. Att.* 3.1-2 on Atticus' statues in Athens).

While the deliberations of the civic institutions took place orally and were quickly forgotten, the perennial nature of the statue monument and its visual impact had the potential to shape public opinion for a long time. As

1 The reused monuments are discussed in detail in Krumeich 2010, 369-385, with photographs and drawings in Keesling 2010 and Krumeich 2010. A new catalogue of the inscriptions of the Roman Acropolis is in preparation, see Krumeich & Witschel (forthcoming). Note that this list excludes the honours to the imperial family (statuary column for Tiberius, *IG II/III*² 3244 with Krumeich 2008, 356, a dynastic statue group for Augustus and three of his successors, *IG II/III*² 3253-3256 and 3892 with Krumeich 2008, 357, as well as two equestrian monuments for Antony and then for Agrippa, *IG II/III*² 4122, and Germanicus, *IG II/III*² 3260, in front of the Propylaea, on which see Krumeich 2008, 362 and Krumeich 2010, 358 with illustrations). Earlier discussions of the monuments include Blanck 1969; Payne 1984; Pérrin-Saminadayar 2007, 131-135; Shear 2006; Ma 2007; Keesling 2007; Krumeich 2008, 2011, 2014a, 2014b; Krumeich & Witschel 2009, 2010 and Lo Monaco 2016. On Augustan Athens, see conveniently Dickenson 2017; Spawforth 2012; Böhme 1995 and Geagan 1979 with references to older literature as well as the classic study by Graindor 1927.

2 E.g. Blanck 1969; Shear 2006; Krumeich & Witschel 2009, 2010; Keesling 2010, 318 (preservation of memory of earlier artists); Krumeich 2008, 2010, 2011, 2014a, 2014b.

3 Krumeich 2014, 71 with pl. 16 d. This proportion accords with evidence from the Lindian Acropolis (on which see Rose 1997, 25, 155) and suggests that Dio's statement that in Rhodes most benefactors received reused statues rather than new monuments must be taken with a grain of salt (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 107, 118).

4 Old-fashioned look: Krumeich 2010, 345.

5 *IG II/III*² 4144, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (*PIR*² D 128) and *IG I*³ 833 + *IG II/III*³ 4147, L. Aemilius Paullus, (*PIR*² A 391).

6 On public honorary statues in Hellenistic cities under Rome, see Van Nijf 2015, 2016; on the strategic wording of the dedicatory inscription see also Luraghi 2010 and Weidgenannt *this volume*.

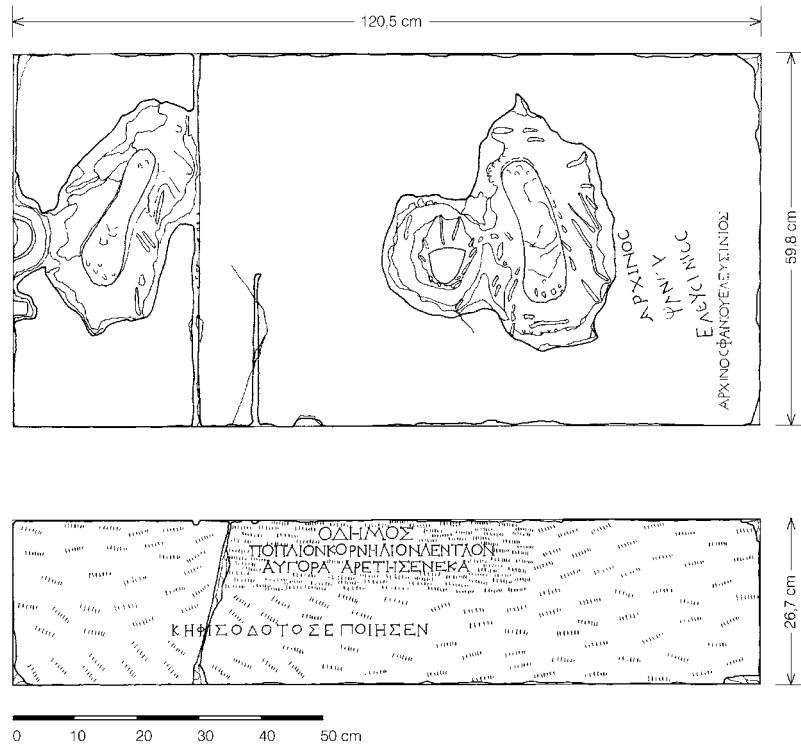


Figure 1. Pedestal of the statue of Archinos/Lentulus (Drawing by Antonia Brauchle & Zoe Spyralanti. Source: Krumeich 2010, pl. 54 fig. 2).

a result, statuary portraits of honorific statues were chosen not to offer a truthful representation of the benefactor, but to display the qualities he had shown or which were expected of him (Van Nijf 2015, 341). The shape of the statues hence influenced the way in which their honorands were seen as benefactors.

This raises an important question: what did the Athenians communicate to their Roman honorands in these reused statues? In what follows, I look in detail at three monuments which allow highlighting some of the main characteristics of reused honorific statues on the Athenian Acropolis. There are the monuments of P. Cornelius Lentulus, an influential politician and augur in Rome (Figure 1), L. Valerius Catullus, member of the influential family of the *Valerii Catulii*, some of whom became close supporters of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (Figure 2), and the influential L. Cassius Longinus, a descendant of one of the murderers of Caesar and ancestor of the emperor Caligula (Figures 3 and 4); the monuments of Cn. Acerronius Proculus, C. Aelius Gallus and P. Octavius, all of whom held high office in eastern provinces, are discussed for comparison and contrast.⁷ These monuments were reused during the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty; both the bases as well as the statues were reused in the process.⁸

What was being communicated through these statues? First, the award of a reused statue was a mark of respect and distinction. It suggested that the Athenians recognized its honorand as a powerful, cultured Roman politician of high standing. These reused statues will have constituted rare, prestigious honours in the eyes of Roman senators

7 *PIR*² C 1379; *PIR*¹ V 39; *PIR*² C 502; *PIR*² A 33; *PIR*² A 179; *PIR*² O 19.

8 The lack of any damage to the stones suggests that the original statues remained *in situ* during the reuse, as was the case in other instances of statue reuse in this period (Rhodes: Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31. 47, 154-156, sanctuary of Athena Lindia: *I.Lindos* II no. 419, and Oropos, on which see Petrakos 1997). It is possible that the heads of the statues were exchanged in the process, yet due to the lack of evidence (none of the bronze statues survive), this must remain a hypothesis, see Krumeich 2010, 346-350. The statues may also have undergone restoration, receiving new paint or accessories that fit the new honorand (see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31. 82), yet there is no evidence for this in Athens. A statement from Cicero, who criticized the reuse of statues (Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* 6.1.46), perhaps rather implies that the statues in Athens were not altered to resemble the new honorand but retained their original shape and appearance.

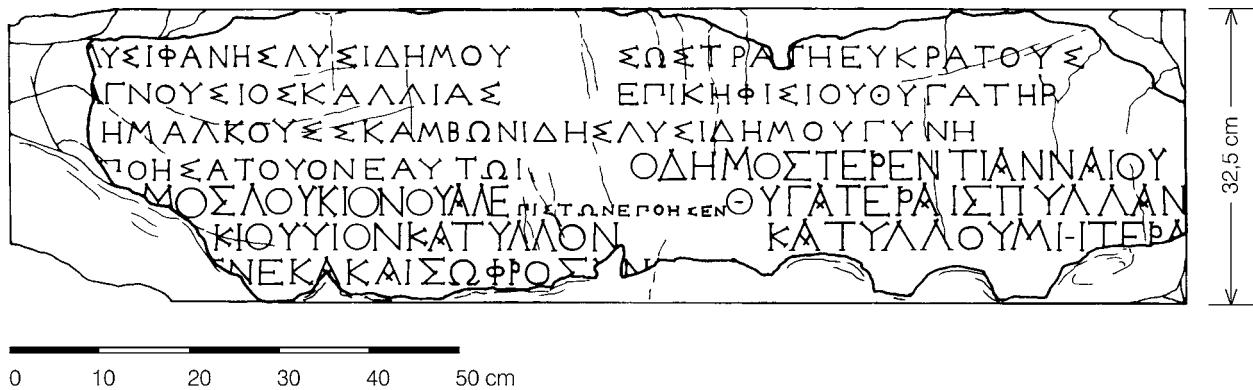


Figure 2. Pedestal of the statues of Lysiphanes and his mother Sostrate/L. Valerius Catullus and his mother Terentia Hispulla (Drawing from Antonia Brauchle & Zoe Spyrranti. Source: Krumeich 2010, pl. 67 fig. 21).

(also Shear 2006, 245 and Krumeich 2008, 405-409) due to their shape, quality and age. First, they were a far more impressive sight than the newly made monuments. Their statues were mounted on unusually large and exquisite statue bases which were easily distinguished from the more recent small quadratic bases (Krumeich 2008, 405). Their material was also different: while the more recent statue bases were made of Hymettian or Eleusinian stone, those of many of the older, reused monuments were made of Pentelic marble, which was more sought after as it was used predominantly in Classical time.⁹

The quality of the reused statue was further underlined by the identity of their sculptors, for the reused statues were made by famous artists of the past, whose signatures were carefully preserved on the stones.¹⁰ This is neatly illustrated by the statue of Archinos/Lentulus (*IG II/III*³ 4102 = Krumeich 2010, 374 no. A7, Figure 1). When the inscription for Archinos was chiselled out on the front of the stone, the signature of Kephisodotos, the artist who made the statue it supported, was carefully retained in line 4. The new dedicatory inscription was added in such a way that it stood out as a feature of particular significance, somewhat detached from the content of the new dedication. Another striking example of the preservation of the artist's signature is the dedication for L. Valerius Catullus and his mother Terentia Hispulla (*IG II/III*³ 3850 + 4159 = Krumeich 2010, 382 no. B6, Figure 2). The first line of

the inscription for Catullus and the second of that for his mother encircle the signature of Piston, while leaving a noticeable gap to carefully accentuate it.

As a result and as was argued already by Julia Shear, the reuse of old statues allowed the Athenians to honour Romans with 'a bronze 'Old Master portrait'' (Shear 2006, 245). Art from Classical Athens was in high demand among Roman elites at the time (e.g. Plin. *HN* 35,125, 150 and Tac. *Ann.* 54.1; see also evidence discussed in Tanner 2000 and Anguissola 2014), so that the award of an old statue was probably a mark of distinction, even if the respective artists were unknown in Rome (Shear 2006, 245). It suggested that these Roman honorands were connoisseurs of Athenian art. As a result, it is likely that there was competition among Romans for such old statues, as this was sought by one's fellow Roman elites (Shear 2006, 245). Athens had long been recognized as a centre of Greek art and culture by many Romans, who came to the city to study in its schools of philosophy, rhetoric, history and art (e.g. Prop. *Eleg* 3.21); the Athenians were hence perfectly placed to pass judgement on the quality of the Greek sophistication of their Roman friends.

These statues thus had an important antiquarian value. Given the Roman interest in Athenian art and culture, they also carried an important honorific value, in that they could be used as a mark of distinction and culture. However, their honorific value was not restricted to the concerns of students of art. Rather, the reused monuments consciously played with memories of the admired (Classical) past of Athens and its culture, while transporting it into the Roman period. The reuse of old statues for Roman honorands suggested that these could be represented with old statues showing Athenian citizens, thereby implying that the two were in some way compa-

9 The new bases measured c. 19 x 63 x 65 cm, while e.g. the pedestal for Archinos/Lentulus (Figure 1) measured 26,7 x 120,5 x 59,8 cm and that for Hegelochos/Cassius (Figures 3 and 4) 35 x 64 x 130 cm. The large pedestals of Lentulus (Figure 1) and Cassius (Figure 3 and 4) were made of Pentelic marble. For the measurements and material see the catalogue of Krumeich 2010 and Keesling 2010.

10 Keesling 2007, 156, 2010, 313-331. The preservation of the artist's signature on rededicated statues (even on those cases where the original dedicatory inscription was erased) was common also in Oropos, see Blanck 1969, 71-74, no. B 3-15; Petrakos 1997.

Figure 3. Facsimile of the pedestal of a statue of Hegelochos, reused as a public honorary statue for L. Cassius Longinus (after Rumpf 1964, 142 fig. 5d. Republished in Krumeich 2010, pl. 66 fig. 19).

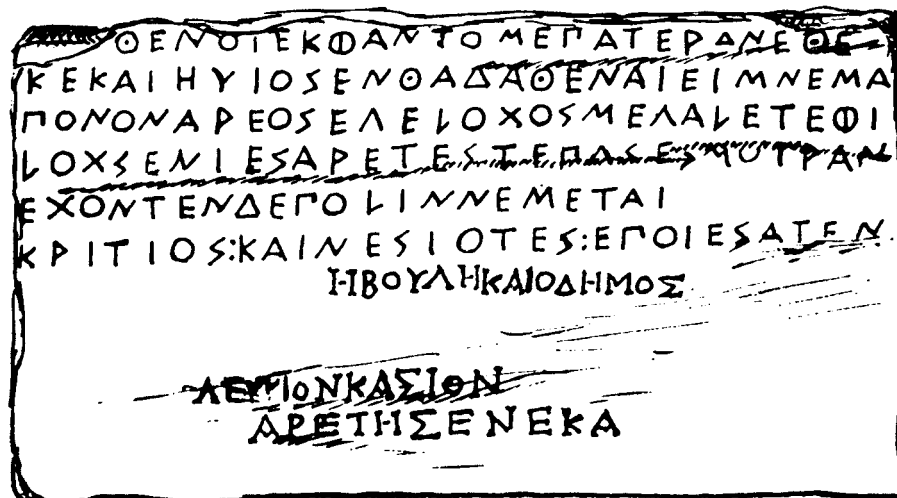


table.¹¹ Further meanings were suggested by the interplay between statue and text. On 18 out of 21 reused statue monuments that have been found on the Acropolis, the old inscriptions were at least partially preserved during the reuse. Only three stones suffered complete erasure of the former inscription (Krumeich 2010, no. A1-3). On another six monuments, the original inscription was erased and replaced by a new inscription, but re-inscribed on another side of the stone (Krumeich 2010, no. A4-11).¹² The statue of Archinos/Lentulus (Figure 1) is a good example of this: as can be seen from the drawing of the stone, the original dedicatory inscription of Archinos was erased and Lentulus' dedication inscribed instead:

ὁ δῆμος | Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Λέντλον | αὔγορα ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα

The demos (dedicated this) to Publius Cornelius Lentulus, augur, on account of his virtue. (IG II/III² 4102, lines 1-3)

The name of Ἀρχῖνος Φανίου Ἐλευσίνιος, 'Archinos, son of Phanios, from Eleusis', probably part of the earlier dedication, was re-inscribed twice on the upper side of the base (IG II/III² 4102, A + B; I return to this in section 3 below). Finally, on the remaining eight or nine monuments, including that of Valerius Catullus (Figure 2) and Lucius Cassius (Figures 3 and 4), the original inscription was preserved in its entirety, on top of the new inscription that was chiselled below the existing inscription (Krumeich 2010, 368-385 no. B1-9).

In most cases, then, the reuse was not undertaken in a furtive manner in Athens (in contrast to Rhodes, so Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.38-40, 50, 139), but it was highlighted by the preservation of the statue and its old inscriptions. This particular nature of the interplay of image and text, of old and new, invited comparison between the Roman honorand and the Athenian past. The inscriptions on the statue base of the statue of L. Cassius Longinus, a descendant of one of the murderers of Caesar and ancestor of Caligula (PIR² C 502), is a good example of this. Its old inscription is composed of old letters and is set in stichedon, granting the monument an appearance of age that added to its quality and

11 As argued also by Shear 2006, 245. See also the comparison implied in a reused statue monument from Kos, on which Bosnakis 2004 and Ma 2007a, 94-95. *Contra* Krumeich 2008, 361 and 2010, 354-355 who refutes the idea that an analogy or comparison was intended. For the deliberate combination of dedications on reused statues, see also the late-antique examples discussed in Machado 2017, 343-344.

12 On similar re-inscriptions from Oropos, see Ma 2007a.



Figure 4. Reconstruction of the reused statue monument of L. Cassius Longinus (Drawing by Julia Krug-Ochmann. Source: Krumeich 2010, pl. 65 fig. 17).

noteworthiness (Figure 3; see also *IG I*³ 833 + *IG II/III*³ 4147 = Krumeich 2010 no. B4). Perhaps it was even redrawn in red on the occasion of the reuse to heighten its impact.

The arrangement of the statue and the lettering (Figures 3 and 4) invited comparison between Cassius and the Athenian citizen of the Classical period. Cassius seemed interchangeable with him. This was possible also because his name came without any reference to a Roman political office, filiation or, indeed, dating (on which below). As a result, Cassius, like all other Roman benefactors who received such reused statues, merged perfectly into the Athenian past (Shear 2006, 345-346; Krumeich 2010, 367). The manipulation of these survivals of the past as honours to Romans thus made it possible to carry the city's cultural past into a Roman present and to suggest that this was also an Athenian one.¹³

However, it would be wrong to reduce these reused statues to an attempt to honour Roman politicians by inserting them into the Athenian past. As I argue in what follows, the statues also had an important euergetic element: they allowed portraying (would-be) Romans as energetic, godlike benefactors of Athens. They should hence be contextualized within the benefactor relationships between Athens and influential politicians in Rome.

13 Shear 2006 and Krumeich 2014a, 80-81; on the Acropolis as a place of Athenian identity, see also Dally 2006; Stefanidou-Tiverriou 2008 and Krumeich & Witschel 2010.

The euergetic aspect was played out in the statues as well as the dedicatory inscriptions of the reused monuments. The new statues showed the honorand in a himation, the traditional Greek dress as was characteristic of Hellenistic honorary statues, which sought to emphasize the civilian, gymnasium-qualities of the represented individuals (Zanker 1995, 254-261; Tanner 2000, 21). By contrast, in many of the older statues there was a great sense of action. As a result, they were better suited to highlight particular qualities that were sought in benefactors: energy, dynamism and unlimited resources.¹⁴ For instance, the monument for the influential senator Cassius Longinus (Figures 3 and 4) we have just examined carried the statue of an idealised man in armour lunging forward (Krumeich 2010, 342-343); it hence insinuated that Cassius had the attitude of an energetic, courageous defender of Athens. Similarly, the statue of Lentulus (Figure 1) represented this senator as a dynamic Greek warrior in heroic nudity with body armour and lance (Krumeich 2010, 334-335), thus presenting Lentulus as a perfect, almost godlike supporter of Athens. Catullus (Figure 2) was shown as a good Athenian citizen (Krumeich 2010, 343) and one that is respectful of his family and ancestors. The emphasis on family relationships – which was played out in the pairing of his statue with that of his mother as well as their dedicatory inscriptions (*IG II/III*³ 4159) – may perhaps be indication of the fact that his family had a long-standing relation with Athens which he was expected to continue.¹⁵ In sum, the statues powerfully expressed Athens' expectation that these Romans would act (again) as dutiful, energetic, almost heroic benefactors of Athens.¹⁶

The inscriptions were also important in this context. Honorary dedicatory inscriptions became increasingly simplistic in Hellenistic times, yet their grammar as well as the adjectives and honorific attributes used nonetheless functioned as important mirrors of the expectations of the awarding body.¹⁷ It is hence noteworthy that the inscriptions of most of the honorific monuments that were erected between 100 BC and 100 AD on the Athenian Acropolis come without indication of the nature of the benefaction; they justify the honours (only) with vague reference to virtue, ἀρετή, or similar (e.g. *IG II*² 4099 – 4255). As a result, it is not clear what sort of service had been rendered to the city, or, indeed, if a benefac-

tion had ever been effected. Perhaps we are dealing with proleptic honours, that is gifts that were made to wealthy individuals in order to prompt a benefaction.¹⁸ What this means is that at least some of these statues may thus have asked for benefactions rather than acknowledging them; they may not have remembered a Roman benefaction to Athens but have called for a deed that could be remembered in the future. There is another aspect to consider in the case of the reused statues. For while the inscriptions of new honorific monuments often at least included reference to an office, the honorands of the reused statues appear as private individuals in the dedications, without any mention of office. Take for instance the inscription for Lucius Cassius (Figures 3 and 4). This stated only that:

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Λεύκιον Κάσιον | ἀρετῆς
ἕνεκα

The boule and the demos (dedicated this) to Lucius Cassius on account of his virtue. (IG II/III² 4168)

This lack of reference to any office may reflect an Athenian desire to award honours to the man rather than his office and, thereby, to establish patronage relationships with powerful Roman individuals that rested on personal connections rather than a specific office. I have already mentioned the emphasis on the private in Catullus' statue above (Figure 2). The same holds also for the statue for Cornelius Lentulus (Figure 1). He is one of the two reused statues that come with additional information about their honorand.¹⁹ The office mentioned in the dedication to Lentulus is a public, religious one: he is entitled augur, αὐγορὰ (*IG II/III*² 4102, line 2). As to why this Roman religious offices was included in the dedicatory inscription in Athens, there are several possible explanations, which are mutually reinforcing. A religious office may have seemed appropriate for the location of the statue, the Athenian Acropolis. Further, the mentioning of the augurship highlighted Athens' recognition of Lentulus' prominent position in Rome.²⁰ Finally, by including Lentulus' prestigious religious office in their caption of his reused statue, the Athenians could emphasize that he was

14 On Greek statues and Roman patrons see generally Tanner 2000.
15 On the reference to generational responsibility as a political strategy in public honours, see also Weidgenannt *this volume*.
16 On the different statue types used on the reused statue bases on the Acropolis, including equestrian and column statues, see Krumeich 2008, 2010, 2011, 2014b. On Romans honoured as Greek heroes, see also Vanderpool & Scotton *this volume*.
17 Heller & Van Nijf 2017b, 9, 13. On Greek honorific inscriptions in general, see McLean 2002, 236-237.

18 On the concept of proleptic honours, see Domingo Gygax 2006, 45-57.
19 The other is that of Cn. Acerronius Proculus, proconsul of Achaia in Claudian or Neronian time, who is called proconsul, ἀνθύπατος (*IG II/III*² 4181), probably he received this honour while being proconsul of Achaia.
20 Lentulus' identity is not clear: he may be P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, who belonged to the circle of Caesar's murderers (*PIR*² C 1386), yet is it more likely that the statue was rededicated to his son and namesake, consul in 14 BC (*PIR*² C 1379). Both were prominent augurs in Rome (see Rüpke & Glock 2005, 918 no. 1354 and 915 no. 1344).

a dutiful servant of the gods, thereby suggesting that he could also act as a dutiful benefactor of Athens. In any case, the inclusion of his religious office was a strategic move to emphasize that the Athenians appreciated Lentulus' status in Rome and that they expected that he would act in her interests.

The lack of detail – the absence of any information of the office or the nature of the benefaction – may also have been chosen to highlight the perennial, exemplary nature of the act to assist Athens.²¹ It also suggested that even without benefaction, the honorand had the right attitude to Athens. Finally, the simplicity of the dedicatory inscriptions and their civilian aspect were grounded in Greek usage, where emphasis was on the duties of citizens, rather than officials, thus adding to the antiquarian and honorific nature of the monument.

The shape of the reused statues as well as the wording of their dedications hence suitably underlined the qualities sought in benefactors. These old statues presented (potential) Roman friends of Athens as energetic, almost godlike warriors fighting for the well-being of the city, or as dutiful men with respect for familial and religious traditions of Athens. These reused statues employed the Athenian past as a political resource to negotiate Athens' relation with Rome. This was also possible because of Rome's fascination with the Athenian past. Several literary works suggest that Athens' past constituted an important asset in her relation to Rome, in that representatives of Roman power were often reminded of the historical achievements of the city in order to gain their goodwill towards Athens (e.g. Plut. *Sul.* 13.4; Cass. Dio 42.14.2, App. *B Civ* 2.88; Tac. *Ann.* 2.53). In this atmosphere, Roman deeds could also be compared to past Athenian achievements, such as Augustus' successes at Actium, which were compared to the Athenian battle of Salamis (Hölscher 1984 and Newby *this volume*) or Nero's campaigns against the Parthians, which were linked to Athens' battle against the Persians (Spawforth 2012, 132 with reference to *IG II²* 1990).

Our inscriptions contain no clear information about the sort of benefaction that may have been expected of the Roman senators thus approached. Other sources reveal that Romans acted as benefactors in Athens by granting fair loans, financing of building works and giving free grain rations.²² A hypothesis may be thus ventured on the nature of the benefaction of two related monuments, namely those of C. Aelius Gallus and P. Octavius: both held

office in the grain-rich provinces of Egypt and Cyrenaica, suggesting that their benefaction included the shipment of corn to Athens.²³ However, political favours, such as the reduction of taxation or similar, are also conceivable. Given the lack of detail in the inscriptions of the three monuments discussed above, it is not possible to establish what favours were sought from Lentulus, Catullus and Cassius with these rare, reused statue monuments, yet the political influence of the targeted honorands suggests that Athens expected major favours from these men.

What, then, do these reused statues revealed about the relationship of Athens and Rome under the Julio-Claudian dynasty? They show that rather than being a passive recipient of Roman power, Athens actively managed her relation with Rome. This relationship was not one of resistance. Rather, the Athenians gave great honours to prominent Roman politicians, in view of receiving financial or political support in return. The examined monuments suggest that they targeted not only the imperial family,²⁴ but also some of the most influential senators in Rome, members of powerful senatorial families who were able to occupy crucial positions under Augustus. In order to attract the attention and goodwill of these men, Athens chose to honour them with outstanding and special monuments like the reused statues examined above which highlighted their education, influence and status. Crucial is the question of agency: as in the case of building projects where agency lay with Athens, not Rome (as argued by Dally 2006; Stefanidou-Tiverriou 2008; Morales 2017, 133; Dickenson 2017, 242-50, 258-64), here, too, the Athenian demos actively approached Roman senators for support and assistance. It appeared in the nominative case, while the Roman honorands were placed in a passive position, the accusative.²⁵ The granting of honours to external benefactors, while inviting Roman support for the city, thus also allowed reaffirming local autonomy in relation to Rome.²⁶

That Athens sought external funding for their city need not reflect financial difficulties. Rather, it reveals that the city continued to draw on foreign capital to finance public amenities, now approaching Roman senators

21 I propose to return to the exemplary connotations of these reused statues in a future paper.

22 Loans and corn rations: Corn. Nep. *Att.* 2.4-5. Building works: e.g. Plut. *Pomp.* 42.11; Cic. *Att.* 6.2.15; and *IG II²* 3175. On the building works associated with the family of Augustus, see n. 1 and n. 24.

23 Egypt: C. Aelius Gallus, *IG II/III³* 4117 + 3882 = Krumeich 2010, 375 no. A9; Crete and Cyrenaica: P. Octavius, *IG I²* 859 + *IG II/III²* 4156 = Krumeich 2010, 379 no. B3. I thank Dominic Rathborne for this suggestion. For the role of honorific decrees (to local elites) in times of food shortages, see also Weidgenannt *this volume*.

24 On the involvement of the Augustan dynasty in Athens, see Böhme 1995, 42-75; Hoff 2001; Spawforth 2012, 59-86; Dickenson 2017, 147, 260 n. 259, 242-250, 258-264.

25 Already noted by Veyne 1962; see also Ma 2007, 213-215 and Heller & Van Nijf 2017b, 9.

26 On the relationship of local honours and the imperial system, see now Heller & Van Nijf 2017a.

alongside Hellenistic kings.²⁷ Still, there is no reason to rule out the possibility that part of the costs of their maintenance, including building projects, were paid by Athens and its local elites.²⁸

In sum, Athens rededicated old statues to prominent Roman senators to secure their goodwill and benefactions. Given the careful manner of reuse, the choice of the statues and the wording of their dedications, the reused statues constituted a public honour which allowed putting pressure on Roman politicians to fulfil their potential as friends of Athens. As a result, this use of the past as a political resource allowed stressing the importance of Athenian culture while at the same time proclaiming Athens' interest in attracting Roman support and favour.

3. A polity at work

In the previous section, I have argued that the Athenians re-employed several statue monuments as political resources to attract Roman benefactions to their city. The discussion suggested that rather than being weak, resisting subjects of Rome, the Athenians actively shaped their relationship with Rome. The present section proposes to analyze the reused statues as an expression of the political culture within the Athenian polity, as examples of the manipulation of public space in this period. I argue that their reuse allowed highlighting the authority of the city's democratic institutions over the increasingly politicized public space on the Acropolis also against private initiatives from within Athens.²⁹

Honorific statues were the result of a political debate and a vote in the city's assembly.³⁰ In Dio's Rhodes, the reuse of the statues as honorific monuments was decreed by the people; they sent an archon to choose a suitable statue to be rededicated (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.9, 52-53, 71). A few glimpses of the coordinated process this necessitated can also be gained from the sanctuary of Athena Lindia (*I.Lindos* II, no. 419), where the reuse of statues was regulated by decree of the demos. According to these regulations, the magistrates (*epistatai*) had the responsibility of auctioning the new inscriptions, documenting the revenues of the sale of each inscription, in order to submit the sums to the sanctuary. But the Lindians had oversight over them and could ask them to certify the funds procured in this way in its equivalent sum in silver (*I.Lindos* II, no. 419, lines 33-40). The reused monuments

from the Acropolis were very likely the result of the same process. As the dedicatory inscriptions reveal, they were set up following a public decree by the demos (and the boule). There is no information about the selection process, yet it is highly likely that in Athens, too, an official was charged with identifying appropriate objects. Possibly, there even existed a list with appropriate monuments.³¹

Public honours were granted by the demos. Yet in the case of the reused statues from the Athenian Acropolis, the role of the demos needs closer examination. For the statues that were reused had been set up as private dedications; in Roman times they were re-appropriated by the demos as public honours.³² How was this justified?³³ Dio's speech (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31) is a useful source in this context, as the question of ownership is one very dear to him. Dio criticizes that in rededicating old honorary statue monuments, the city of Rhodes was appropriating the foreign property (that of the former honorand). Dio goes into this question at length: twenty-three paragraphs of his speech are dedicated to elaborating this topic (31.32-56, 134). Amongst other things, he compares the practice to several common abuses of foreign 'property', such as the abduction of women (31.42) or slaves (31.34, 42). Dio warns his audience that the fact that statues were easily appropriated should not be seen as an excuse: after all, to appropriate other people's statues was as iniquitous a practice as was that of appropriating land, money or houses (31.45). Yet the situation was even more complex. For Dio has to concede that the reused statues were in fact the official property of the city of Rhodes: they were erected on civic ground and listed on the public records of the civic property (31.48). The Rhodians had thus every reason to argue that the statues were their property and that they could use them as they pleased. To defend his position, Dio explained that once the statue had been awarded to a benefactor, it was no longer under the control of the city, but had become the property of the honorand (31.47, 54-56).

The issue of property was thus potentially a problematic one in the context of reused statues. The question thus poses itself: who owned the statues that were reused on the Athenian Acropolis? Given the difficulty of establishing the original location of the statues on the Acropolis with any certainty, it remains unclear whether the reused

27 See e.g. the shift from Hellenistic to Roman funding in the financing of the refurbishment of the Agora discussed in Dickenson 2017, 242-250, 258-264.

28 Migeotte 1995 discusses the evidence for the Hellenistic period.

29 For private strategies to assert control over public space, see Dickenson and Fouquet *this volume*.

30 On the process of awarding honorific statues in Greek cities, see Tanner 2000; Ma 2013, 72-74 and Van Nijf 2015, 2016.

31 See the papyrus from late-antique Egypt listing columns suitable for reuse with information of their measurements, material and state of preservation (*PLond.* III 755), discussed in Machado 2017, 335-336. Such lists may also have existed in Athens.

32 Where it is recorded, the statues were set up as private dedications before being reused as public honours in Roman times, see e.g. *IG* I³ 833, 850, 859, 869, 900. *IG* II/III² 3691, 3823, 3850, 3882, 4323, 4915.

33 On the legal aspects involved in the reuse of statue monuments, see Blanck 1969, 14-25 and Harter-Uibopuu 2013.

statues were erected on the public ground between the individual sanctuaries or within them. If erected on public ground, the Athenian demos may (also) have explained that they were listed in the public property lists and thus at its disposal. But even if the reused statues stood on sanctuary ground, there was in principle also the possibility of reusing them. This is suggested by an inscription from the sanctuary of Athena Lindia, which records that some sanctuaries arranged for themselves to sell the right to have one's name inscribed on existing statues, under the premise that this was not to be removed from its original location without a special decree on the matter (*I.Lindos* II, no. 419, lines 30-44).

The problem of ownership seems to have been inter-linked with the treatment of inscription on the reused statue bases. According to Dio's evidence, in Rhodes the former dedications were chiselled out to make room for the new dedication. This disentitled earlier benefactors from the commemoration they had once awarded to them (says Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.9, 71). The situation that presents itself in Athens is slightly different. As noted above, in most cases the name of the former honorand was deliberately retained (8 or 9 monuments, as in the case of Lucius Cassius, Figures 3 and 4) or partly re-inscribed on the stone (6 monuments, as in the case of Lentulus) (see discussion in Krumeich 2014, 75-79). Significantly, these re-inscriptions were carefully done, as the inscriptions of Archinos reveals (*IG* II/III² 4102 = Krumeich 2010, 373 no. A7, Figure 2). The first re-inscription of Archinos' name, written in three lines and in crude lettering, seems to have been replaced by one in smaller, neater letters running parallel to the right side of the base, possibly replacing the less careful inscription which may have been covered with white paint. This suggests that the quality of the re-inscribed inscription mattered and that it was both deliberate and a matter of concern to at least some of the onlookers.³⁴ Several explanations present themselves. Dio argues that the reuse of statues could affect the city's relationship with their benefactors, and it seems that he is particularly concerned with local benefactors, who did not receive such prestigious reused honours. His speech reflects the political debates of his time regarding the standing of Greek benefactors in the Roman East more generally (see Jones 1978, 26-33; Platt 2006; Ng 2016), so that the question poses itself whether this may have been a problem also in Athens. Here, too, reused statues

34 But see the irregular arrangement of *IG* II/III² 3442. On *IG* II/III² 4119 + 3691 and *IG* II/III² 4117 + 3882 a (shortened) original text was re-inscribed between the feet of the statue and could be read together with the new dedication on the front side.

were reserved for foreign benefactors.³⁵ Yet in Athens only private monuments seem to have been reused, so that local benefactors could not claim to have been dispossessed of their publicly decreed honours. In addition, in the process of reuse the Athenians seem to have retained the name of the original dedicatee, in order to show that they welcomed private donations to the sanctuary, as well as the name of the original honorand, whose deed they deemed worthy of emulation.³⁶ As a result, as in the case of reused metal objects that were reused in sanctuaries, former honorands and dedicatees were not deprived of the commemoration of their deed.³⁷ Overall, the issue seems to have been one of memory rather than property: while their monuments could be reused, it was important that the names of the original dedicatees and honorands were not forgotten.

By reusing old statues in this way, the democratic institutions of Athens powerfully asserted their authority over the Acropolis, a place of communal remembering. This is particularly noteworthy because in Hellenistic times, this space was dominated by private, family monuments (Keesling 2007; Krumeich & Witschel 2010, 188-189). In this context, the reference to a reused statue on the old agora in Pausanias (*Paus.* 1.18.3) is perhaps a reflection of the ability of the demos to exert authority also over this space, as it is also reflected in other (new) buildings on the agora.³⁸ This suggests that the reuse of private dedications as public honours examined above is a neat example of the 'politicization or 'officialization' of sacred space', in which the private character of the individual votive offering gave way to public control (Ma 2013, 84). In Athens as elsewhere in Hellenistic cities, public space was not 'simply 'produced' by economic or social forces, but the result of creative acts by a civic community' (Ma 2013, 75). A comparison of this evidence from the material in Rhodes, Oropos and the sanctuary of Athena Lindia reveals that Athens seems to have been particularly notable in this respect. According to Dio, in Rhodes mainly public honours were reused. This may also hold

35 Only one statue may have been reused for a member of the Athenian elite: *IG* II/III³ 3823 + *IG* II/III³ 3912 = Krumeich 2010, 384 no. B8.

36 This is suggested by the two lines of *IG* II/III³ 3882. Here, the name of the dedicatee as well as the honorand were re-inscribed on the top of the statue base when it was rededicated to Aelius Gallus in Roman times, *IG* II/III³ 4117. This may suggest that in the case of monuments where only one name was retained (such as the monument of Archinos/Lentulus, Figure 1) dedicatee and the honorand were identical. However, due to the difficult source situation, this must remain a hypothesis.

37 See Leybold, Mohr & Russenberger 2014, 13.

38 The monument mentioned in Pausanias has not yet been identified. On the assertion of the authority of democratic control over the Agora in this period, see Dickenson 2017, 317-323.

true for the reused statues of the sanctuary of Oropos; however, here the former inscriptions were often erased, so that there can be no certainty whether they had originally also constituted public honours. That said, the preservation of original inscriptions in the reused private dedication of the people of Troezen (*IG VII 334*) may suggest that the other reused statues, where no inscriptions were preserved, were public honours (Löhr 1993, 207-209, Ma 2007). In the sanctuary of Athena Lindia, the reuse probably concerned primarily private dedications to the goddess, yet only those which came without dedicatory inscriptions (i.e. without indication of the identity or memory of the earlier donor, *I.Lindos II*, lines 30-32). By contrast, the Athenian demos saw fit to reuse private dedications which still carried their inscriptions. This was a powerful expression of the authority of its democratic institutions over public space and potentially private property, and one that was directed not so much at Rome but at private individuals from Athens, who saw their scope of action in public spaces on the Acropolis reduced. In sum, the consideration of the reused statues as an expression of polis politics has revealed the extent to which public spaces had become politicized in Roman Athens, and highlight democratising shifts in the handling of public space and memory in the city as it was played out on the Acropolis.

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4. Conclusion

To conclude, this article has argued that the reuse of old statues on the Athenian Acropolis was a deliberate strategy to manage both Athens' relationship to Roman power and inner-Athenian debates about public space. In these monuments the past was remembered in a careful, strategic manner in view of gaining Roman support and favour for the city, in that old statues were awarded as public honours to prominent Roman senators who were expected to act as (potential) benefactors for the city. At the same time, the reuse of private monuments as public honours also powerfully asserted the demos' authority over the Acropolis, a crucial place of Athenian memory and remembering. The reused statues thus highlight the dynamism of local politics in the city of Athens under Roman rule and the importance of strategies of remembering in it.

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