THE HADRIANIC TONDI ON THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE:
NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE EASTERN PARADIGMS

A Dissertation in
Art History
by
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Abstract

This dissertation is a study of the impact of eastern traditions, culture, and individuals on the Hadrianic tondi. The tondi were originally commissioned by the emperor Hadrian in the second century for an unknown monument and then later reused by Constantine for his fourth century arch in Rome. Many scholars have investigated the tondi, which among the eight roundels depict scenes of hunting and sacrifice. However, previous Hadrianic scholarship has been limited to addressing the tondi in a general way without fully considering their patron’s personal history and deep seated motivations for wanting a monument with form and content akin to the prerogatives of eastern rulers and oriental princes.

In this dissertation, I have studied Hadrian as an individual imbued with wisdom about the cultural and ruling traditions of both Rome and the many nations that made up the vast Roman realm of the second century. I have determined that the tondi
reflect this knowledge in that for the first time in an imperial public state relief they commemorated the virtues of the emperor in a language derived from Hadrian’s personal experiences and beliefs.

The tondi include the Bithynian youth Antinous. It is with Hadrian’s fellowship with this Greek youth that a more nuanced understanding of the tondi resides. The tondi were a means to communicate Hadrian’s and Antinous’ heroic exploits in the hunt—a theme that was utterly new in Roman imperial artistic context yet very much part of the personae of monarchs from eastern Royal Societies. The layers of meaning in the tondi even extended to the educational. They were not only public instruction about a strong, virtuous ruler; they were a manifestation of paideia, Greek education for the cultured elite. Part of this cultural education was to develop one’s own worth, but it was also to introduce and involve youth in all the noble pursuits that made a man. The hunt gave public face to Antinous while at the same time commemorated Hadrian’s intellectual, moral, and physical authority
In my study, I also provide numerous examples of Hadrian’s beneficence to the provinces. His legendary tireless journeys to the farthest reaches of the empire often saw him in some of the provinces on more than one occasion, especially his most beloved Greece—Hadrian’s devotion to Greek culture was equally renowned. By establishing a record of Hadrian’s patronage in the most favored provinces this study legitimizes Hadrian’s willingness to take the unprecedented leap in giving visual expression to ideas rooted in foreign philosophies. The round form of the tondi is also of great significance. I have offered the possibility that clipei virtutì, coins and medallions, and Roman marble oscilla served as prototypes for the tondi. Not only did they serve as sources for the tondi’s round format, but they also had inherent meanings and traditions, which Hadrian appropriated and applied to the tondi.

The Hadrianic tondi were not the result of any one conception. They were the product of the most
educated Roman emperor’s life course. This dissertation is a study of the tondi and their patron, and how they reflected him in an entirely new way. They were at once and the same time, historical reliefs, imperial currency, religious proclamations, and personal testaments.
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The figures are available on file at the Department of Art History, 240 Borland Building, The Pennsylvania State University.


40. Marble copy of *Cliqueus Virtutis* of Augustus. Reproduced in S. Weinstock, *Divi Julius.* Oxford:


Chapter 1
Introduction

In this study, I place the Hadrianic tondi on the Arch of Constantine, Rome, within the larger context of Hadrianic and Imperial art from the first and second centuries AD.¹ The tondi were the first of their kind chosen by a singular ruler in an era of unprecedented success for the empire.² While there has been no shortage of research concerning the arts, monuments and building program of the Emperor Hadrian, AD 117-136, his original use of the tondi and possible intentions in commissioning them has not been fully ascertained. I propose that the tondi, in both form and content, spoke to the concepts of Hadrian’s Principate in a very specific and personal way. Furthermore, the origins of the tondi lay in sources outside those of other imperial reliefs from his time. The genesis of the tondi can be traced to eastern and

¹ While Imperial art is my focus, I will not exclude the Republic from the broader thesis.
² The first modern account of the tondi was by Gian Pietro Bellori in 1645 for the explanatory text accompanying Francois Perrier’s engravings in Icones et segmenta veterum tabularum quae Romae extant. Bellori’s final publication of the tondi came in Veteres arcus Augustorum, which was published in 1690.
oriental models or behavior of the elite and ultimately the monarch. These eastern sources, together with some unique Italic models, provide the cultural bilan vital to understand the tondi in ways yet unexplored.

In A.D. 315/316, the Senate of Rome erected an arch for the Emperor Constantine to celebrate his decennalia and to commemorate his victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge (Figs.1-2). Spanning the Via Triumphalis, the arch and its decorative

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program is comprised of sculptural spolia from different buildings from different periods. The arch bears contemporary sculpture to honor Constantine as well as containing Trajanic, Hadrianic, and Antonine relief work. The marble tondi are eight in number (four pairs of two) above the lateral arches on the north and south side, respectively. Scholars for the past 100 years agree that the tondi are of Hadrianic date. At the simplest level, the inclusion of the Bithynian youth Antinous, Hadrian’s companion and “favorite,” in the tondi of the lion hunt, boar hunt, bear hunt, and departure, permits the dating of these reliefs to AD 123 at the earliest. Pictured in the tondi are images of Hadrian (later re-carved to

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4 See above, n. 3; For further arguments, see H. Bulle, “Ein Jagddenkmal des Kaisers Hadrian,” Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts (hereafter JdI) 34 (1919) 144-172.
5 As described in the Historia Augusta, Hadrian 14.5; See Magie, D., The Scriptores Historiae Augustae (Cambridge 1921).
6 Antinous and his role in our understanding of the tondi is of paramount importance and will be discussed in depth in chapter 3. Antinous may be recognized in fewer or additional tondi, a point to which I will return. For biography on Antinous as well as his connection to Hadrian, see R. Lambert, Beloved and God: The Story of Hadrian and Antinous (London 1984). H. Bernario, A Commentary on the “Vita Hadriani” in the Historia Augusta (Chico, California 1980) 148-49 postulates that Hadrian’s first trip to Bithynia was in AD 123. R. Syme, “Journeys of Hadrian,” Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik 73 (1988) 161 concurs and places him in Bithynia in winter 123/4.
resemble Constantine, Constantine Chloras and/or Licinius and others) in scenes of hunting and sacrifice. On the north side of the arch the tondi scenes are the boar hunt, sacrifice to Apollo, lion hunt, and sacrifice to Hercules (Figs. 3-4). On the south side of the arch, there is a departure scene, sacrifice to Silvanus, a bear hunt, and sacrifice to Diana (Figs. 5-6). The tondi are clearly recognizable as a unified set. Owing to uniform size (2.4 m diameter), consistent theme and likely sequencing, and compositional and stylistic similarities, the eight tondi are not only contemporary with each other but support their prior use in a single, original monument.

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8 To date, nothing suggests that there were more than the extant eight, but this cannot be known with absolute certainty.

9 See L’Orange and A. von Gerkan (1939).
for Hadrian.\(^\text{10}\) The question remains why Hadrian would so ostentatiously display on his own monument scenes of hunting and sacrifice, part of the pastimes, training, and personal piety of the Greek and Roman elite, and yet, akin to the prerogatives of eastern rulers and oriental princes?

These tondi served Constantine’s later arch and were in the public eye to honor that later emperor. Obviously, this later ruler and his constituency embraced the content and imagery of Hadrian’s tondi, which I argue were new and distinctive at the time of their creation in the second century, but then became more familiar and acceptable over time. The theme of the hunt merits scrutiny and is where I place the most emphasis in my study. The hunt imagery in particular seems to conflict with the imagery promoted by other state monuments of the first and second century, which touted the traditional military, civic and religious

\(^{10}\) Boatwright 1987, 190-191. E. Buschor, “Die Hadrianischen Jagdbilder,” RömMitt 38/39 (1923-24) 52-54 argues that there were two per side on a four-sided monument.
merits, or virtues of the emperor. Military achievement was formerly manifest in such images as tropaia, war and victory scenes, triumph, largess, and sacrifices before military expeditions and after to award victory to Jupiter and related gods; the avowed piety of the emperor was shown in religious processions and offerings to the gods. The four virtues of the first Emperor Augustus (virtus—military achievement, pietas—piety, iustitia—justice, clementia—clemency) became the measure for subsequent emperors. They also, most emphatically do not include images of the hunt. The solemnity of state-religious procession and honor from the grace-giving, bountiful gods so well presented on the Ara Pacis for Augustus had been transformed for Hadrian with his tondi into solemn sacrifice to gods


12 For the Augustan virtues, see E. Simon, Augustus: Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitenwende (München 1986); P. Zanker, The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, transl. A. Shapiro (Ann Arbor 1988). My general description of the virtues here is a distillation of a much more nuanced description. The many virtues and personifications of the emperor and the implicit and implied meanings by including them in the official imperial program will be discussed in chapter 4 below.
associated with heroism and the countryside. Hence, the gods and the heroic leader Hadrian as providers and force to secure success in the auspicious hunt pictured in the tondi.\(^{13}\) It is the hunt that is new to a civic monument in Rome.

A consideration of the broader context reveals that the actual act of hunting itself was part of the education and upbringing of the elite.\(^{14}\) Greek education, known as paideia, strove to develop each youth as man in his true and ideal form, and also served the cultured elite of Italy.\(^{15}\) Paideia can also simply mean “culture,” and appreciation of all things beautiful and perfect. The core concept was Areté—excellence and virtue; and yet, ever changing with

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\(^{14}\) Aymard 1951, 30.

whatever the concept was applied to.\textsuperscript{16} The Greek ideals of paideia thrived in Roman society well beyond the second century. It may well have been important to Hadrian who favored Athens with three visits and many gifts including the Panhellenion, and who himself was known as “Greekling” according to his Vita in the Historia Augusta.\textsuperscript{17} Again, I must emphasize that the hunting scenes on the Hadrianic tondi have no precedent on an imperial monument.\textsuperscript{18} Yet, Hadrian’s imagery and interests as pictured in the tondi persisted as being artistically unique for two

\textsuperscript{16} Jaeger (1939).
\textsuperscript{17} HA Hadrian 1.5. In the same year Hadrian established the Attic Temple of Olympian Zeus. Hadrian instituted the Panhellenion in 131/132. This institution stressed the idea of Greek cultural identity. Certain contemporary intellectuals preached “Greekness” as being synonymous with the paideia, as described by I. Romeo, “The Panhellenion and Ethnic Identity in Hadrianic Rome,” ClPhil 97, No. 1 (Jan. 2002) 21. I discuss the Panhellenion in detail on pg. 74f. below.
\textsuperscript{18} Each marble tondo image is approximately 2.4 m in diameter. S. Tuck, “The Origins of Roman Imperial Hunting Imagery: Domitian and the Redefinition of Virtus Under the Principate,” Greece and Rome, Vol. 52, No. 2 (2005)pp.221-245 argues for an equestrian monument from the Sacellum of the Augustales at Misenum as the earliest extant image of the emperor as hunter. This argument is based in large part on equine disposition and mechanics; the context of such an image in the era of Domitianic failure---in many respects---versus the context of hunting images in the age of Hadrian is vastly different and in my opinion Domitian, reviled by Rome in his time and thereafter, earning total disgrace and erasure, Damnatio Memoriae, surely held no validity for Hadrian or in the greater picture of Imperial public art. See chapter 4 below.
centuries, and then were re-used for Constantine. This persistence indicates that by the time of Constantine's reign the hunt was an accepted and valued part of imperial propaganda. This raises the obvious question of just how acceptable—or normal—this imagery was, for both Hadrian and his successors. Conspicuous in the iconography of these hunting scenes is the figure of Hadrian's favorite companion, the Bithynian youth Antinous. Through his fellowship with Antinous, whether as teacher and pedagogue or student-citizen and the elite youth, the ephebe and their involvement in the hunt, Hadrian was projecting his own idea of perfection and excellence with the imagery on his tondi.

Scholars have addressed some of the questions surrounding the tondi, but have not applied the cross-cultural and contextual approach I have taken in this study. Thus far, research focusing on Hadrian or his art patronage addresses the tondi in some fashion. But

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19 HA Hadrian 14.5. Speculation and literature about the true nature of their relationship abounds and will be addressed in turn in subsequent sections of this study.
with the exception of Mary Boatwright’s brief discussion of the tondi within her broader arguments in *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, there has been no recent study devoted to the tondi and none at all in English. If we consider the sources for the composition, style, and circular format of the tondi, together with the knowledge we have about the philhellenic Hadrian gained through literature and primary sources, epigraphy, numismatics and art, we can begin to evaluate the significance of these tondi. My research is the first to recognize the tondi’s divergence from Roman imperial and state monuments such as those of Trajan, Hadrian’s successful predecessor and father-in-law. As I shall demonstrate, Hadrian’s interests were deeply rooted in the cultures and traditions of the East.

The Roman Empire thrived during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius; hence, reaching the acme of world power during the rule of his immediate predecessors (Nerva and Trajan) and his successors (Antoninus Pius and Marcus
Aurelius) whom he had helped to advance. In many respects, Hadrian seems to have been a positive leader, helpful to successive generations; during Hadrian’s reign, the empire flourished and continued to prosper.\textsuperscript{20} Benefactor of Rome, Hadrian was responsible for erecting the Pantheon and even directed his attention and famous energy into drafting plans for the Temple of Venus in Rome.\textsuperscript{21} His vast estate at Tivoli (Tibur) seems encyclopedic with its extensive program of sculpture, some in exotic rare

\textsuperscript{20} See E. Gibbon, The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire, Rev. ed. (New York 1960). This might be something of a romantic view of things, as the empire was anything but “peaceful” before Hadrian’s reign and even into it. Hadrian participated in numerous campaigns under Trajan’s command and then later as emperor himself dealt with military uprisings and rebellions in the form of the Jewish Bar Kokba revolt. But what makes for an era of peace is very subjective in nature. If we accept that military conflicts for Rome were just part of expansion and provincial security, concurrent with growth in Roman culture (Arts), economy, and land as a whole, then we could characterize this as a “Golden Age.” For recent scholarship concerning Hadrian, see A. Everitt, Hadrian and the Triumph of Rome (New York 2009).

colored stones.\textsuperscript{22} However, Hadrian's patronage of the arts extended far beyond a single medium, subject matter or place, as he often found himself away from Rome. Indeed, Hadrian became both civic benefactor and enthusiast of foreign cultures through his urban building projects in Athens, heralding the city as a panhellenic center, through his seemingly endless travels throughout the Roman Empire (Eastwards, in particular), and by adorning parts of his own estate at Tivoli so that it became a microcosm of the world he traveled and a reflection of his knowledge of diverse histories and traditions.\textsuperscript{23}

The precise nature of Hadrian’s original display of the tondi still eludes us. We benefit, however, from having a workable body of knowledge about his life and art spanning the ages from antiquity to the modern era. Both ancient and modern historians have chronicled his Principate. Archaeologists and historians have investigated and studied the physical

\textsuperscript{22} See J. Raeder, \textit{Statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli} (Bern 1983).

\textsuperscript{23} W. MacDonald and J. Pinto, \textit{Hadrian’s Villa and its Legacy} (New Haven 1995) 139.
evidence left to us from his reign. It should be noted that I do research the many sides of the emperor and his art patronage but I do not give exhaustive, repetitive biographical accounts of Hadrian’s reign in every instance. What I do provide is a discussion of the evidence and scholarship pertinent to this case study of the Hadrianic tondi. I will introduce primary source material where it is relevant, and to modern scholarly contributions when appropriate. The arch of Constantine, being one of the most recognizable monuments to survive from antiquity, has also been the subject of numerous publications, which often include consideration of the tondi. Moreover, while many scholars have included the tondi as part of their broader studies, none has undertaken a singular study employing the fresh and updated approach I take in this dissertation. Indeed, modern scholarship has often overlooked the importance of the East for its formal and philosophical connections to Hadrian’s imperial persona and imagery of the tondi, which I shall endeavor to enrich through a study of relevant
material, artistic and documentary. I provide cross cultural evidence and important prototypes for the tondi in form and content such as the Roman oscillae, clipei virtuti, and coins and medallions.

I have found that the tondi reveal a new syntax for Hadrian’s art—borrowed from Greece and its oriental neighbors. It could be argued that there was a shift of sorts between Hadrian’s imperial program and the traditions that guided the public patronage of Augustus, Domitian, Trajan and others. These differences will be duly noted, but I will also demonstrate that, as with the tondi, Hadrian could employ traditional iconography and stylistic language, while still showing, via subject matter and format, the prerogatives of an eastern ruler. In a manner not attempted before, I intend to use the tondi, especially the hunting scenes, to aid in assessing Hadrian as a cosmopolitan prince, a hellenophile, influenced by eastern king’s and princes’ activities in his own power, pastimes, and art patronage. In the process, I intend to show that the tondi represented a
kind of new art, which was tied to Hadrian's Orientalizing ideal, by which means he sought to distinguish himself from the past. Furthermore, the tondi exemplify how Hadrian used the arts to promote his personal vision of imperial virtues within the framework of long-lived ideals of a successful leader.

The core of my study begins in chapter two, where I begin by analyzing and describing the tondi as they currently appear on the Arch of Constantine. I will describe the previous scholarship that has addressed these works, as it pertains to my study. This will be preceded by a brief survey of the literary sources for Hadrian and his reign.

In chapter three, I paint a picture of Hadrian as a culturally engaged cosmopolitan ruler. His extensive travels are directly relevant to my study since they demonstrate his willingness to embrace specifically non-Roman ideas. Only by providing extensive evidence of his practical, intellectual, and emotional support of non-Roman entities can I draw the conclusion that the imagery of the tondi was derived, in large part,
from outside influences. At the same time, I will generate a picture of an emperor who could be the only possible—if not the perfect—patron for these singular reliefs. I will investigate where he went and what actions of benefaction and munificence he bestowed upon some key provinces and regions, especially those rooted in Greek heritage. During Hadrian’s three major sojourns, he traveled to Thrace, Eleusis, Achaia and Athens. It was to Athens, in particular, that he devoted much of his attention. It was granted favored status. He also visited Greek centers beyond the mainland, like Bithynia, Ephesus, Cyzicus, Smyrna, Cyrene and others. As we shall see, Hadrian’s “Greekness” shone through in his actions, art patronage, and imperial decrees concerning Greece and affected his imperial personality as a whole. Hadrian as Hellenophile is of the utmost importance in our consideration of the tondi. As Henderson stated, “His youthful devotion to Greek studies ripened and matured in the man of affairs, and bore rich fruit in one who became the most cultured and cosmopolitan of
the Roman emperors.”  

24 Hadrian's establishment of the Panhellenion and rebuilding of the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens spoke to this directly. In addition, Athens, as the heart of Greek civilization, came to see herself as Hadrian’s home away from home on three separate extended stays, and honored and valued the princeps immersed in Greek culture and devoted to Athens. In 123 A.D. Hadrian met the beautiful Greek youth Antinous, who "by birth was from Bithynium beyond the river Sangarius, and the Bithynians are by descent Arcadians of Mantinea.”  

25 Antinous appears in the tondi, which is late in Hadrian's reign and yes, after the death of Antinous in AD 130. I find that Antinous plays a key part in our understanding of the tondi, and will develop the significance of his importance and legacy. It is important to discuss Hadrian’s eastern travels and interests as prime evidence of his re-drawing the parameters virtus for

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24 Henderson, 15.

the Roman head of state.

In Chapter 4, I will look at the tondi in reference to Hadrian’s eastern travels and rich legacy, involving Oriental kingship and Eastern traditions. I will examine how the tondi, particularly the hunting scenes/themes, conveyed his personal political vision and were symptomatic of a new direction the Principate had taken in the high empire. The prerogative of the hunt originally had roots in non-Roman sources and was intended to represent Hadrian’s perception and interpretation of virtue and rulership. These origins lay in Greek, Egyptian, and Near Eastern paradigms. I will weigh the tondi against those prototypes within the contexts of each respective tradition and demonstrate how the rulers of those royal societies utilized the hunt to great political affect—as would Hadrian. Some Roman leaders followed in the footsteps of the eastern potentates not only by partaking in the hunt, but also by exploring it for political gain.

Some used the hunt more effectively than others,
who perverted the noble qualities of the chase in their distorted, vain pursuits of glory, fame, and virtue.

In Chapter 5, I will focus on the meanings inherent in the round format. By looking to various examples, I will make it evident that the history of the round format has direct and impactful bearing on our understanding of the tondi. Sources such as votive shields, coins and medallions, and marble Roman oscilla will be measured against the tondi in both form and content. Taking this into account, I shall consider the overall intent in Hadrian commissioning the tondi, especially how they became part of a new vocabulary for the representation of Roman imperial virtue (and personal conflict) that was unique to Hadrian and quite unlike his contemporaries. This will conclude the body of the dissertation and will lead me into the sixth and final chapter, where I make my concluding statements.
Chapter 2
Sources: The Tondi and the Arch of Constantine

Before analyzing and interpreting the tondi and their patron, we must first consider the literary evidence. A good place to initiate any study of ancient art/history is with the primary sources. This is both good and bad in the case of Hadrian. It is fortunate that we have anything to go on, but unfortunate that much of what we have is either fragmentary, in epitome, or not contemporary with the rule of our Emperor. As far as an ancient biography on Hadrian goes, the best place to begin would be with the Emperor himself. Do we have evidence of a Hadrianic autobiography? This has another yes/no sort of answer. It is thought that he did in fact write an “autobiography” of sorts, which took the form of a series of letters to his adopted son and heir Antoninus Pius.²⁶ Hadrian's memoirs, however, do not survive to us except by traditional Roman oral

references to it and in a single scrap of papyrus found in the Egyptian desert, which is an excerpt and copy of the original text. From this starting point, we move to the sources that may have drawn from Hadrian's now lost autobiography. Marius Maximus, a biographer of the Emperors Nerva (r. 96-98) to Elagabalus (r. 218-222), is said to have written the now lost Vitae Caesarum. Maximus died in AD 217. He is of great importance in my sequencing of ancient sources because he is also thought to be the main source for the Historia Augusta.

The first of the three most informative sources for Hadrianiac studies sometimes referred to as the Scriptores Historiae Augustae. It is a title given to the collection of biographies of Roman emperors covering the years AD 117 - 284 (with lacunae). While an extremely helpful source, it too is has

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29 Ibid.; Oppen, 26-27. See also R. Syme, Emperors and Biography (Oxford 1971); T.D. Barnes, The Sources of the “Historia Augusta” (Brussels 1978); Pollitt 1983; Boatwright 1987, 15.
30 References to Hadrian are scattered into four large sections. See Benario 1980, 1ff.
31 Benario 1980, 1.
idiosyncrasies that one must always take into account.\textsuperscript{32} Hermann Dessau originally argued for it having one author who lived at the very end of the Fourth Century AD.\textsuperscript{33} This is now the majority opinion among scholars.\textsuperscript{34} Arguments can also be made for as many as six authors.\textsuperscript{35}

The second of our most important sources for Hadrian is Cassius Dio of Bithynia. Cassius was a Roman senator (beginning under Commodus), praetor, and was twice elected consul in the early third century.\textsuperscript{36} He composed his major work, the \textit{Roman History}, sometime in the late second or early third century.\textsuperscript{37} His text chronicles Rome from its beginnings to AD 229. His work is well preserved in some parts and

\textsuperscript{33} Benario, 1.
\textsuperscript{35} This is a substantially convoluted argument and not within the purview of the present study. But for arguments see A. Momigliano, “An Unsolved Problem of Historical Forgery: The \textit{Scriptores Historiae Augustae},” \textit{Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes} 17 (1954) 22-46.
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{OCD}, 282.
abbreviated in others. Unfortunately, Book 69, which deals with Hadrian, is fragmentary and survives only in epitome by the eleventh-century Byzantine monk Xiphilinus. Despite its limitations and potential for bias, Dio’s history is an indispensable tool as we try to understand better the patron of the tondi.

The third major source is the writings of Pliny the Younger (AD 61–114).\(^\text{38}\) Pliny (nephew of Pliny the Elder) is not necessarily a direct source for Hadrian, but provides a useful basis for how we approach Hadrian’s motivations as the heir to Trajan. Pliny, having himself gone through the *cursus honorum*, served under Trajan. His mellifluous mewling for Trajan in an AD 100 speech was eventually published and made into what we now refer to as the *Panygericus*.\(^\text{39}\) As the name suggests, this is essentially a laudatory essay for Trajan and speaks to Trajan’s personal tastes in life,

\(^{38}\) *OCD*, 704. While some might not see the value in using Pliny in evaluating Hadrian and the tondi, it will become evident as the dissertation progresses that we can gain much through a reading of his work.

pastimes, and great virtues. Of particular interest is Pliny’s exposition on Trajan’s preoccupation and love for the chase:

...your only relaxation is to range the forest, drive out wild beasts from their lairs...and present yourself to the deities. \(^40\)

Pliny’s words while often hyperbolic still have to be taken seriously, since they offer the possibility of shared interest between Trajan and his adopted son and successor Hadrian. Pliny can be very useful in searching for possible continuity in imperial philosophies, and offers us a measure of the educated Roman elite.

Our next useful source after the “Big Three” is Pausanias, the Greek traveler and geographer, wrote his *Description of Greece* in the mid to late Second Century AD. \(^41\) Although he shows a marked preference for ancient Greek monuments, Pausanias is favorable enough towards Hadrian, and he provides useful descriptions

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\(^{40}\) Pliny 81.1.  
Hadrianic monuments in Greece, especially those used by cults. He also provides details regarding the offerings and arts associated with them.\textsuperscript{42}

The modern scholarship devoted to Hadrian’s Principate is extensive and wide ranging. As previously stated, I will consider the most relevant secondary sources regarding the tondi in due course as each facet of my study takes shape. Therefore, while I do not at this point provide an exhaustive annotated bibliography of more biographically oriented—versus art or archaeologically centered—studies, I will provide some select literature consulted and referenced in my dissertation.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{42} Pausanias, I.xviii.6-9. See in general, M. Boatwright, \textit{Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire} (Princeton 2000). For a discussion on the imperial cults see, A. Spawforth, “The Reception of the Imperial Cult: Problems and Ambiguities,” in M. Hoff and S. Rotruff eds., \textit{The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska} (Oxford 1997) 183-201. It will become evident in this dissertation, especially chapter 3, that Hadrian was a great patron and benefactor of Greece. Other sources for Hadrianic studies include: Arrian (2\textsuperscript{nd} century), for Arrian, see P. Stadter, \textit{Arrian of Nicodemia} (Chapel Hill 1980); Aurelius Victor (Published mid-fourth century), see C.E.V. Nixon, \textit{An Historiographical Study of the Caesares of Sextus Aurelius Victor} (Ann Arbor 1971); Eutropius (fourth century), see H.W. Bird, \textit{The Breviarium ab urbe condita of Eutropius} (Liverpool 1993); Plutarch (first and second centuries), see R. Lamberton, \textit{Plutarch} (New Haven 2001).

\textsuperscript{43} For the most recent scholarship, see A. Everitt, \textit{Hadrian and the Triumph of Rome} (New York 2009); R. Turcan, \textit{Hadrien,
The inscription in the attic of the arch of Constantine declares the Senate and people of Rome (S.P.Q.R) dedicated the arch to him in AD 315, some three years after his momentous victory over Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian Bridge. Traditionally, triumphal arches were erected to celebrate a victory (military) over a foreign enemy. This arch was the first instance where an arch stood to commemorate the victory of one Roman over another. The dedication also marked the decennalia, or his tenth anniversary as ruler of the Western Empire. Located on the triumphal route leading to the Forum Romanum, the arch of Constantine is situated near some of Rome's most...
notable and auspicious monuments.\textsuperscript{45} Constantine's arch stands at the end of the long approach from the Circus Maximus. It rises on the west flank of the Colosseum, just south of the spot where the colossal statue of Sol once stood. Also nearby are the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine as well as the Temple of Rome and Venus. The arch measures 21m tall by 25.70m wide, and 7.40m deep.\textsuperscript{46} The monument is clad with several materials: Proconnesian marble, Carrara marble and colored stones.\textsuperscript{47} The Hadrianic tondi, measuring 2.4m in diameter,\textsuperscript{48} are carved from Carrera marble and were framed by dark porphyry.\textsuperscript{49} The original location of the tondi may never be known, nor are we likely to know if there were more to the set than the surviving eight. These large roundels are part of the greater display of spolia that adorn this arch, and include several other sets of reliefs from monuments also

\textsuperscript{45} For comprehensive studies on the arch, see L’Orange and A. von Gerkan; P.Pensebene and C. Panella, Arco di Constantino. Tra Archeologia Archeometria (Roma 1999).
\textsuperscript{46} Richardson, 24.
\textsuperscript{47} Jones, 54.
\textsuperscript{48} For dimensions and detailed study of the archeometry of the arch, see P.Pensebene and C. Panella, esp. 80-81 and inserts.
\textsuperscript{49} Jones, 54-57. Richardson, 24. Only the Lion Hunt and Sacrifice to Herculese are currently set in porphyry. Each set of tondi would have all been presumably surrounded by porphyry.
representing the so-called good emperors that Constantine may have been trying to evoke.⁵⁰ Among these recycled elements are eight statues of barbarian captives in the attic, which are likely of Trajanic origin.⁵¹ Dramatic reliefs line the central arch and span the width of the attic, depicting battles between Romans and Dacians, parts of a frieze believed to have come from the Forum Traiani.⁵² The last of the reused parts are four panels in the attic of the North and South believed to be from an arch erected in AD 176 for Marcus Aurelius.⁵³

The fact that Constantine brought together and used/reused pieces from the past may also—(oh) say something about the state of craftsmanship in the fourth century. The Hadrianic tondi are located directly above the wraparound frieze from Constantine's reign. The lesser quality of the relief

work in the frieze, which depicts Constantine's "Liberation of Rome," together with the desire to reuse other reliefs is said by some to "epitomize the decline of standards that was perceived, from a formalistic perspective, to characterize the art of late antiquity."\(^54\) But this viewpoint is relative and subjective. The decline of "Classical" form is not the decline of all fourth-century art. I would say that it was more of shifting of interests and perhaps even a change of form owing to fewer imported Greek artists.

The eight tondi depict scenes of departure, hunting, and sacrifice. Ryberg believed that the scenes belonged to the realm of the private cult, more akin to the less formal rustic "religious" landscapes in Pompeian painting.\(^55\) The sacrifices offered to the cult images of four different deities are essentially private rites and modeled on a Greek mode.\(^56\) While their date is generally agreed upon as being

\(^{54}\) Jones, 52. For a discussion of Constantine’s Arch and its place in imperial architectural history see, B. Berenson, The Arch of Constantine or the Decline of Form (London 1954).


\(^{56}\) Ibid. Hadrian’s interest in Greek modes of many kinds will be explored in my chapter 3.
Hadrianic, the exact identification of the figures within each tondo is much debated. What we know, is that the main figure in each tondo surely once represented Hadrian. His likeness, however, has been re-carved into the likenesses of Constantine, Licinius, Constantius Chloras and others. It is debated which tondi actually picture Antinous and which do not. Suffice it to say, they did at one point show Hadrian engaged in scenes of hunting and sacrifice, and they did show Antinous in at least one—or more—of the tondi. Starting with the south

57 Aymard, 532 conceded that there is universal agreement that Hadrian is the chief figure in each tondo.

side of the arch and moving eastwards/right the scenes are: A departure scene with a group of four figures with a dog and a horse moving from an arched gateway towards a tree likely representing the forest/hunting grounds—possibly Rome’s woodland forest (Fig. 7). The main figure, with its now missing head, is thought to represent Hadrian, and the leftmost figure on horseback is thought to be none other than Antinous.  

Next is the sacrifice to Silvanus. Originally a god of war, Silvanus became an agricultural god, or the god of uncultivated land beyond the boundaries of tillage (Fig. 8). The significance of this would not have been lost on Hadrian who would also favor presenting himself as a bringer of bounty and future prosperity.

59 This is based largely on iconography. It is for example quite similar to the relief of the deified Antinous from Lanuvium. This is the one tondo image that most scholars agree shows Antinous for sure. See Boatwright 1987, n. 42. For full guides to Antinous sculptural representations, see H. Meyer 1991 and C.W. Clairmont, Die Bildnisse des Antinous: Ein Beitrag zur Portratplastik unter Kaiser Hadrian (Rome 1966).
This tondo is very badly damaged, especially
the main/central figure, who once represented the
Emperor standing before the God’s cult image that is
perched on a pedestal. Moving over the main archway to
the other side of the arch is the next scene, which
depicts a bear hunt (Fig. 9). Three mounted figures
ride on their galloping horses. The central figure,
flanked by the other two, represents Hadrian, with his
arms upraised and is poised to thrust a spear into the
running bear below. It might be worth mentioning here
that there has been some discussion about whether
these subjects are purely allegorical or if they are
representations of actual events from Hadrian’s life.
Boatwright is partial to the allegorical
interpretation.\(^{61}\) Bulle on the other hand makes the
connection to a real hunt recounted in both Dio and
the \textit{Historia Augusta} when Hadrian and Antinous engaged

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\(^{60}\) For Silvanus, see \textit{OCD}, 839; P. Turner and C.R Coulter, \textit{A
For the communication of the emperor’s virtues see, M.P.
Charlesworth, “The Virtues of the Roman Emperor: Propaganda and
the creation of Belief,” \textit{PBA} 23 (1937) 105-133; J.R. Fears, “The
Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology,” \textit{ANRW} II.17.2 (1981)
827-948. Hadrian’s virtues conveyed via the tondi will be
explored in my chapter 4 and 5 below.

\(^{61}\) Boatwright 1987, 200.
a wild bear in Asia Minor.  

It was there that he founded the city of Mysia, “Hadrian’s Chase” (Hadrianoutherae) in a place where he had once hunted successfully and killed a bear.  

There is also the well-known inscription from the temple of Eros in Thespiae, Greece that tells of an offering Hadrian made to the god after disposing of the animal.

Archer, Cyprian goddess’ son, Heliconian Thespiae’s lord, Who Narcissus’ fields dost own, Hadrian’s offering take, reward—Spoils of bear which he did slay, Smote from horseback in hot chase: Now O wise one, repay—Grant him Aphrodite’s grace.

Anderson has presented a very persuasive argument concerning the hunts and the literary sources. He noted that Dio mentions a boar hunt, but not the bear hunt, while the Historia Augusta mentions the bear hunt but not the boar, suggesting that the tale of the hunts were not just made up to merely explain the monument to which the reliefs must originally have

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62 Bulle, 148-151.  
63 Anderson, 103. Dio 69.10.2; HA 20.13.  
64 IG 7.1828; Henderson, 17.  
65 Anderson, 104. See Aymard, 180-182 for an explanation of the differences in source material.
belonged.\textsuperscript{66} The next tondo represents a sacrifice to Diana (Fig. 10).\textsuperscript{67} Four figures stand, two on each side, around the goddess’ cult image perched on a pedestal standing between tree branches in the center of the composition. The notable figure in this scene is the pious Emperor, standing to the left of the Goddess. We now move around the east end of the arch to the north side, looking westward. We approach the next tondo, which is a boar-hunting scene (Fig. 11). There is a long artistic and literary tradition regarding boar hunts, or more specifically, the legend of the Calydonian boar hunt. The practical, yet virtuous, aspects of the boar hunt, tied to the glorified exploits of brave heroes freeing the countryside from these deadly wild beasts, are described by poets such as Homer, Xenophon, and Ovid. As such, these tales ideally suited Hadrian’s desire for positive

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{66} Aymard, 530 argued that the bear hunt corresponded to actual events at Thespiae and that if all the hunts represented actual imperial events that all the scenes should likewise be viewed as symbolic of Hadrian’s activities.  
\textsuperscript{67} The Greek Artemis, Diana is a multifaceted goddess of hunting, forests, and groves. She is also often shown with a boar. See \textit{OCD}, 274.}
“propaganda” quite well. ⁶⁸ Again, fulfilling this heroic imagery, the huntsmen are mounted. There are three figures and the figure on the far right with his right arm raised and ready to spear the wild boar running below is Hadrian. To his right are Antinous, ⁶⁹ who in profile looks to the left, ⁷⁰ and another rider (Fig. 12). The tondo next to the boar hunt pictures a sacrifice to the god Apollo (Fig. 13). The image of the God stands on a pedestal in between one figure on the right leading a horse and to his right two more making offerings. The figure immediately next to the God presumably represents Hadrian. Of the last two tondi, the first shows a lion hunt (Fig. 14). Five standing figures fill most of the composition. To the far left, possibly the figure of Antinous leads one of the two horses. To his left is Hadrian, who like “Antinous,” rests his foot on the head of the lion who

⁶⁸ See chapter 4 below. On the Calydonian boar hunt, see Aymard, 298-318 for detailed discussion of Roman boar hunting; Anderson, 50ff; Homer, Illiad IX, Odyssey VI, XIX.; Xenophon, Cynegeticus 9-10, Agesilaus, 2.
⁶⁹ For arguments against identifying this figure as Antinous, see C. Vout, “Antinous, Archaeology and History,” The Journal of Roman Studies, Vol. 95 (2005) 88.
⁷⁰ See n. 58 above for more figure identifications.
lies dead below. If this tondo was meant to represent a real event, it draws attention to the completion of the hunt rather than the act of hunting. There is some literary support for this thesis from the late second century or early third century, in the Egyptian poet Athenaeus’ account of a poem by another Alexandrian, Pancrates, who was an acquaintance of Hadrian while he was in Alexandria in AD 130.

Athenaeus writes:

For Hadrian when he was hunting in the Libyan desert near to Alexandria, had shot this lion. It was a huge beast, and had been ravaging the whole of Libya for a long while past, and had made many districts of that land uninhabitable.

From a papyrus fragment from Oxyrhynchus, we have this fragment from Pancrates himself:

The stricken beast grew ever fiercer and tore at the ground with his paws in his rage…he lunged at them both, lashing his haunches and sides with his tale…his eyes flashing dreadful fire, his ravenging jaws foaming, his teeth gnashing, the hair bristling on his mighty head and shaggy neck…He charged against the god [Hadrian] and Antinous, like Typhoeus of old against Zeus the

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71 It is argued that Antinous was not always represented ideally, but rather more as he really was; See Birley, 284. Thus, there is some debate about the identification of this figure as Antinous. See Boatwright, 198-201 for more opinions.
72 Athenaeus XV, p. 677 d-f as quoted by Henderson, 18.
slayer of the giants.\textsuperscript{73}

While the lion is certainly dead in the lion hunt tondo, he still looks remarkably dangerous and strong even as he lies under the feet of the imperial entourage. His scale in the tondo is comparable to that of his killers. This detail speaks to the hunters’ godlike accomplishment in conquering this powerful beast. If the tondi were meant to be paired, it would seem appropriate that the lion hunt should be matched with the tondo showing a sacrifice to Hercules, just as the Silvanus panel makes a likely match for the tondo with his associated animal the bear, and Diana/Artemis with the boar tondo. As noted, the last tondo pictures a sacrifice to a young Hercules, who is shown seated with a club, accompanied by a figure of Victoria (Fig. 15).\textsuperscript{74} Four standing figures are represented below the seated to the right

\textsuperscript{73} A.S. Hunt, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri (London 1911) part 8, 73-77, no. 1085. Also see E. G. Turner, "Oxyrhynchus and Its Papyri" Greece & Rome, Vol. 21, No. 63 (Oct., 1952) 127-137

\textsuperscript{74} For the type, see Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae IV, 1, 772 no.3.920.
and Hadrian on the left.\textsuperscript{75} Aymard has argued that the whole scene represents an actual sacrifice that had taken place in Rome itself.\textsuperscript{76} Addressing the issue of sequencing, Buschor, followed by Boatwright, has proposed a counterclockwise arrangement of the panels just as they are now positioned on the arch—in pairs from the south working counterclockwise and west: departure, Silvanus, bear hunt, boar sacrifice, boar hunt, lion sacrifice, lion hunt, and Hercules/“homecoming.”\textsuperscript{77} Of course, the original ordering and ability to determine which ones belong together is impossible without new evidence coming about. In fact, there is nothing definitive to suggest that they were even intended to be paired—in twos that is—at all. Additionally, there could have been more tondi to complete the “set.”

The Hadrianic date for the tondi long has had support, a scholarly consensus since the turn of the

\textsuperscript{75} Possibly including Antinous to Hadrian’s right. See below p.106ff for identifications of Antinous.
\textsuperscript{76} Aymard, 532. He does so because of his identification of a column from a Roman urban temple in the background of the tondo. Also see Bulle, 144ff; Blumel, 95.
\textsuperscript{77} Buschor, 52-54; Boatwright, 191.
twentieth century.\footnote{For dissent, see Condurachi, 451.} While some debate concerns the date of Constantine’s arch, the early fourth century is generally favored.\footnote{A. Frothingham 1912, 368-386 argued for a high Domitiatic date. This is opposed by L’Orange and von Gerkan 1939, 4-28. For the dating, see A. Melucco Vaccaro and A. Ferroni, “Chi construe l’arco di Costantino. Un interrogative ancora attuale,” Atti della Pontificia academy romana di archeologia, Rendiconti 66 (1997) 1-60; M. Steiner, “Chi costrui l’arcodi Costantino?” Archeo (1994) 38-43; Giuliana Calcani, “La serie dei tondi da Adriano a Costantino,” in Maria Letizia Conforto and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro eds., Adriano E Costantino. Le Due Fasi Dell’Arco Valle Del Colosseo (Milano 2001) 78-102; Pensabene and Panella (1993/4) 174-75, 217-20 argue for a Hadrianic date despite Constantine’s later fourth century inscription.} There is also a variety of opinions about exact identities of others in the tondi.\footnote{See above n.58 and Bulle, 144ff.} It is however, agreed upon by most that Hadrian is/was indeed the main figure in each of the tondi—later altered to resemble others. The debate about just how many of the tondi picture Antinous is equally—if not more—controversial. Nevertheless, one thing seems certain; at a bare minimum, scholars recognize Antinous represented with Hadrian in the departure tondo. So we now have four working ideas at this point in the discussion: 1) The arch is Constantinian 2) The tondi are Hadrianic 3) Hadrian is/was the main figure in all eight tondi 4) Antinous
is represented in at least the departure tondo and potentially in the bear hunt, boar hunt, lion hunt, and sacrifice to Hercules tondi. The key point being that he is represented in the cycle. The thrust of my central thesis lies in Hadrian’s overall philosophy and attitude pertaining to, and perhaps becoming manifest, in the tondi.

81 It has even been argued that he is in all but the Apollo tondo. See H. Kahler, The Art of Rome and Her Empire (Verlag 1962) 154 and H. Kahler, Hadrian und seine Villa bei Tivoli (Berlin 1950) 177 n. 151 for figure identifications.
Chapter 3

A Cosmopolitan Man

The Travels

"Orbem Romanum circumiit"\textsuperscript{82}

It is telling that when Hadrian became head of the Roman Empire he was not physically in Rome. As Dio puts it, “At the time that he was declared emperor, Hadrian was in Antioch, metropolis of Syria, of which he was governor.”\textsuperscript{83} This situation reflects a key aspect of Hadrian’s character as ruler, his extensive travels throughout the provinces of the empire. Since the journey back from Syria was a long one, Hadrian would not set foot in Rome for nearly a year after

\textsuperscript{82} Eutropius, Breviaria VII, 7, 2, in H. W. Bird, The breviarium ab urbe condita of Eutropius: the right honourable secretary of state for general petitions: dedicated to Lord Valens, Gothicus Maximus & perpetual emperor (Liverpool 1993).

\textsuperscript{83} Dio 69.2.1.
becoming emperor. Indeed, his time in Rome would be relatively brief when compared to the itinerary of other emperors. While it is true that lengthy campaigns against the Dacians had engaged his predecessor Trajan, Hadrian is credited as the most itinerant emperor by the author(s) of Historiae Augustae, stating that, “Hardly any emperor ever travelled with such speed over so much territory.”

Even before he became emperor, Hadrian had traveled extensively while serving Trajan in his campaigns. During the first Dacian war (AD 101-102), Hadrian served with Trajan as quaestor principi. After having then been a praetor, he later became a legion commander and governor of Pannonia in the second Dacian war (AD 105-106). He became consul for the first time in A.D. 108, and on the way to the east, he visited his beloved Greece. During the Parthian war (AD 114-117) he also journeyed to Mesopotamia and Syria where he became provincial governor of that

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85 HA 13.5.
province in AD 117.

After he made his way back to Rome after being named emperor, Hadrian remained in the capital for some three years. He then set out on the first of three major journeys undertaken during his Principate.\(^8^6\) The first journey lasted nearly six years and would forecast his preference for travel, resulting in his career as the peripatetic restless emperor. In fact, by the end of his life, Hadrian had spent about half of his entire reign outside Rome. It is plain to see that from a very early point in Hadrian’s career he challenged himself to become more than the successful Roman politician. He was laying the foundations and developing interests to become a

\(^{8^6}\) The task of tracing Hadrian’s steps during his reign is monumental. Thankfully, this task has been tackled with great thoroughness by several scholars, and I shall rely on their compilations and expertise in tracking the emperor’s movements during those many years. An early source is J. Dürr, \textit{Die Riesen der Kaisers Hadrian} (Wien 1881). Dürr became the model for, and beginning to, the work of many subsequent scholars. The same could be said of: Weber, \textit{Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Kaiser Hadrianus} (Leipzig 1907) and later, H. Halfmann, \textit{Die Iternera Principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich} (Stuttgart 1986). I have relied upon Henderson 1923, Benario 1980, and R. Syme, “Journeys of Hadrian,” \textit{Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik} 73 (1988) 159-170. The Historia Augusta also dates and orders the timeline in 10.1-11.2; 12.1-13.3; 13.6.14.6.
“Cosmopolitan Man” in every sense—belonging to the entire world, at home in all parts of the world, and having many spheres of interest. The eclectic and worldly character of the man was ever growing and would become manifest in his political, artistic, and architectural program.

Hadrian's imperial sojourns concern us here for their relevance to the imagery of the tondi. To that end, I shall emphasize certain locations that reveal his preference for the Orient and eastern modes of thinking. Many of the provinces in the east received Hadrian's favor by way of imperial decrees and art and architectural patronage. The evidence telling us about Hadrian’s travels is multifold. There are—of course—the modern scholars, who have assiduously compiled and analyzed the evidence; and I draw from them to examine the true breadth of Hadrian’s travels. As Ronald Syme has written, “The travels of the Caesars bring in most aspects of imperial history.”

Evidence of the travels comes from a variety of sources. Firstly, there are

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87 Syme 1988, 159.
the ancient literary sources that provide accounts of Hadrian’s activities and travels in and away from Rome. In particular, Dio and the Vita of Hadrian help us find order and a chronology for Hadrian’s trips in the empire. These accounts indicate travels and visits as distant as the threshold of Scotland in Britania to the furthest reaches of the eastern part of the empire in the sands west of Mesopotamia. According to Dio, “he had seen many [subject cities], more, in fact, than any other emperor—and he assisted practically all of them...” Secondly, there is the vast numismatic evidence. Coins tell us not just about Hadrian and his relationship and activities in Rome, they were produced in the local provinces to celebrate the emperor’s Adventus (Italiae, Macedonieae, Thraciae etc.) or as Restitutor (of the world, Achaiae, Bithyniae, Libyae etc.). Epigraphic evidence includes inscriptions honoring Hadrian in various towns or

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88 It should be remembered that the sources—while indispensable in many respects—are guides not place by place maps with dates and exact chronology. The HA for instance omits much, is selective at times, and does not provide totally satisfactory chronological details.
89 Dio 69.5.3
90 For the the complete list, see Toynbee 1967, pls. I-V.
provinces. Lastly, there is the archaeological record. A shrine, sanctuary, temple, or sculptural evidence in the provinces does not always prove that Hadrian was there, but in many cases, it does. Important examples such as specific temple sites in the eastern part of the empire benefited from priorities and favor Hadrian gave them. Thus, his gifts for major temples and locations provide evidence of his interests and concerns, and his actions and commitment reinforced and shaped the character of his life, his Principate, and his art and architectural legacy resulting in the tondi. I have also found instances where Hadrian took significant steps to rebuild critical infrastructure while at the same time bolstering and renewing civic pride.

Perhaps one line from the Vita best epitomizes Hadrian’s motivations for traveling throughout the

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91 Milestone markers and names of towns are less reliable for proving actual dates or visits, but places named after him like Hadrianoutherae, Hadrianoii, and Hadrianopolis are probable evidence for an imperial visit. For a complete list of cities in Asia that carried Hadrian’s name, see M. Le Glay, "Hadrien et l'Asklépieion de Pergame," Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, Vol. 100, livraison 1, (1976) 347-372, esp. 357ff. For more on city’s invoking Hadrian’s name, see Boatwright 2000, 104-6, 172ff.
empire: “So fond was he of travel, that he wished to inform himself in person about all that he had read concerning parts of the world.”\textsuperscript{92} This is not to say that Hadrian was constantly away from Rome for years at a time on a series of forays for his own self-serving erudition. There were many practical, useful goals and accomplishments that were central to his travels, not the least of which was inspecting, maintaining, and if needed, reforming the military might of Rome. Hadrian thought that by having a substantially large, well-funded, highly trained, motivated military force that he could maintain the peace he so intensely wanted to preserve. The sources tell us that he thoroughly enjoyed inspecting the troops in all parts of the empire and that he relished opportunities to commiserate with the soldiers and their commanders, along the way giving donatives to ensure further their favor. Dio tells us that he personally viewed and investigated every aspect of the military camps he inspected during his travels,

\textsuperscript{92} HA 17.8.
everything from equipment and weaponry to the personal, private affairs of the men.\textsuperscript{93} Dio goes on to say that Hadrian drilled the men in preparation for every kind of potential battle conditions they might have faced. It should not be forgotten that Hadrian, who frequently professed a desire for peace in the empire, had extensive military expertise and experience gained from serving in Trajan's various campaigns. And in fact, Hadrianic portraiture marks a continuation of some of the Trajanic military themes, such as a victorious Hadrian statue with him stepping on a vanquished enemy in military attire as seen in the statue in Istanbul from Hierapytna Crete (Fig. 16).\textsuperscript{94} Unlike the statues produced for his predecessor Trajan, who was first to be honored with the enemy under foot, Hadrian's enemy is rather general in appearance, which may imply his or his supporters' disinterest in Hadrian's one ruthless military campaign over the Jews.\textsuperscript{95} This victorious image of

\textsuperscript{93} Dio 69.9.2.  
\textsuperscript{94} See M. Wegner, Hadrian (1956) 98, tavv. 13a, 16c.  
\textsuperscript{95} See n. 150 below.
Hadrian from Hierapytna (Crete) demonstrated dominion and in its simplicity or vulgarity, cultural superiority over the uncivilized forces of the world as in the long tradition leading back to Alexander the Great and beyond to numerous images of the pharaoh all-victorious and the many items that placed the defeated enemies under his feet, as in the sandals of Tutankhamon. Clearly, the main message of such victorious images, rare among the preserved statues for Hadrian, conveyed assertive military power of Rome in his person, world dominion, and the importance of strong borders.  

96 Dio sums up Hadrian’s involvement with the military on his travels:

In time, both by his example and by his precepts he so trained and disciplined the whole military force throughout the entire empire that even today the methods then introduced by him are the soldier’s law of campaigning.  

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This passage asserts that Hadrian's methods were foundational and essential to excellence in the Roman

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97 Dio 69.9.4. It could be argued that Hadrian so desired a reversal of Trajan’s militarily engaged expansionist philosophy that he adopted a philosophy rooted in the belief that through utter military superiority and preparedness comes peace.
army. Hadrian surely took time on his travels, partly to train his troops as he did in AD 121, north to Britain in AD 122 by way of Gaul and Germany.  

Again drawing from Dio and the Vita in *Historiae Augustae*, the extent and duration of the *Itinera Principum* merit discussion. Having resided in Rome for two years after becoming emperor, Hadrian's first trip began around AD 121 and led to the western part of the empire: Gaul, Germany/Rhine, Britain and Spain, then to the east to Asia, Greece, and finally parts of Italy and back again to Rome around AD 125. The eastern part of this trip purposefully included Athens, Delphi, Bithynia, Mysia/Cyzicus, Pergamum, Smyrna and Ephesos. After returning to Rome again in 127 Hadrian set out in 128/129 for a trip to Africa and then back again. The next major traveling expedition that Hadrian undertook, AD 128/129, took him to Greece and then once more to Asia, Syria, Arabia, and Egypt in 130, and he returned to Athens in 131/132, Pannonia in 133 and Rome in AD 133/134.

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Favored Provinces

Most of what Hadrian did in his travels was significant. Nonetheless, I will focus on his trips and activities in parts of the empire that elucidate Hadrian’s predisposition for favoring and frequenting the eastern provinces. And in so doing, he was constructing the personal framework for him to be the only possible and most appropriate patron of the tondi. I have chosen examples that demonstrate just how important provincial cities and cultures were to Hadrian. His gifts for statues, temples, altars, and shrines were more than the customary political favors. Hadrian was heavily and personally involved. He is known to have given permission to build/rebuild those cities that won the honor of his continued and
repeated physical presence and munificence.\textsuperscript{100} The east was important to Hadrian, especially the Hellenic cities of Smyrna and Cyzicus, and the cosmopolitan cities of Ephesus, Pergamum, and Cyrene; and most important, Athens. These places are illustrative of larger themes and motives rooted in Hadrian’s desire to personally foster and preserve the integrity of the eastern provinces. As part of these interests, but treated separately, is Greece, particularly Athens as having won the Hadrianic heart and truly exceptional status.

Hadrian gave many buildings and benefactions to the city of Smyrna (Iona, Asia Minor). In AD 123/124 Hadrian traveled to meet the sophist M. Antonius Polemo who “so entirely converted Hadrian to the cause of Smyrna that in one day the emperor lavished on Smyrna a corn market, a gymnasium—the most magnificent of all those in Asia—and a temple that can be seen

\textsuperscript{100} S R.F. Price, Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial cult in Asia Minor, 6\textsuperscript{th} ed. (Cambridge 1998) 69.
from afar." It is also interesting to note that Antonius Polermo sponsored the issue by the Smyrnian mint of coins bearing the image of Antinous. Smyrna had become an important city even before Hadrian’s time. Under Tiberius the city had won the title neokoros, or “temple warden,” a provincial city granted permission by the emperor and Roman Senate to be a city for “official” imperial temples, cults, and festivities. Moreover, Smyrna was heralded as “twice temple warden,” because of its subsequent renewed support under Hadrian’s rule. Festivities in the ancient Greek world were a big part of life and culture, bringing in social and religious dynamics. To win the title neokoros was an important especially in light of the fierce competition between neighboring

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102 Opper, 190; Meyer 1991, 202-03. The cities of Asia Minor took great pride in their coins.
103 Price 1998, 64-5.
104 The Greek perception of the emperor and his role in their lives as god or divine, together with their cognitive grasp of the relationship between the emperor and the gods—especially Zeus, is a fascinating and ultimately unknowable equation. For a further analysis, see S.R.F. Price, “Between Man and God: Sacrifice in the Roman Imperial Cult,” Journal of Roman Studies, Vol. 70 (1980) 28-43.
cities who vied for imperial favor and benefaction. At Smyrna, Hadrian gave permission for the allotment of funds, the construction of buildings, festivities, and mystical rites for Dionysus and himself. These mysteries that he established were modeled on those at Eleusis, which he valued and into which he had been also initiated. The amount of money that Hadrian gave to Smyrna was tremendous—even by imperial standards. They used it for the construction of grain markets and for the aforementioned gymnasium and aleipteron. Colossal, costly marble columns were used in the construction of the Temple of Zeus, established by Hadrian and to be associated with his cult. While the temple was dedicated primarily to Zeus, the games of the “Hadrianea Olympia” were associated with his cult and he with Zeus himself. This temple is now in fragments, but evidence of numerous extant column bases suggests drums once measuring 1.8 m. in

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105 The cult of Dionysus has direct bearing on the tondi, especially in regards to the round format of the tondi and our understanding of Antinous’ presence. See chapter 5 below.

106 On Hadrian’s involvement in Greek cults and mysteries, see J. Beaujeu, La Religion Romaine a L’Apogée de L’Empire. I La Politique Religieuse Des Antonins (96-192) (Paris 1955) 164ff.

107 Price, 258.
diameter.\textsuperscript{108} This would have even rivaled the Temple of Zeus Olympia at Athens. Other evidence suggests that Hadrian’s beneficence towards Smyrna was more than just an attempt to win the people, but that being in Smyrna made him content.\textsuperscript{109} Romeo has called Smyrna the most vibrant city of contemporary Greek culture and the place where the ideal model of Hellenism was presented [with Hadrian’s help] to the Roman world.\textsuperscript{110} With this temple, Hadrian associated himself with Zeus, an act that has been rightfully identified as an early example of his interest in assimilation to Zeus, important in his subsequent architectural patronage and personal involvement at Athens and Cyzicus.\textsuperscript{111} We can see further connections between Hadrian and Zeus in the Mysian neocorate city of Cyzicus. Here the “Temple of Hadrian”\textsuperscript{112} promoted identification of Hadrian with Zeus Olympios; this concept and ideal may

\textsuperscript{108} Boatwright 2000, 159.
\textsuperscript{109} Birley’s opinion, 170.
\textsuperscript{111} Boatwright 2000, 160.
\textsuperscript{112} NW Turkey near the isle of Proconnesus near the Sea of Marmara, home of the vast and famous marble quarries used throughout antiquity. For an early study, see F.W. Hasluck, Cyzicus (1910). Mysia is also where Hadrian had his famous hunt and accompanying town named Hadrianoutherae.
have been best known in Athens, but as we have seen, it was not limited to Athens.\textsuperscript{113} Hadrian came to Cyzicus around 124 and was responsive to and sympathetic to incredible destruction the city had suffered from a devastating earthquake in 123 AD.\textsuperscript{114} So moved was he that he made enormous donations and founded—or re-founded, the temple.\textsuperscript{115} Hadrian was worshiped in concert with Zeus at the site. They held games called the “Hadriane Olympia,” demonstrating that Hadrian was thanked and honored at Cyzicus.\textsuperscript{116} Once again, we have Hadrian’s direct involvement. The Vita tells us that Hadrian “…built buildings in all places and without number, but he inscribed his name on none of them.”\textsuperscript{117} The Vita also says, “While traveling through Asia, he consecrated the temples

\textsuperscript{113} The Temple of Hadrian is the modern and common name for the temple. Price 1998, 153 considered the temple primarily for Zeus and saw Hadrian as secondarily important and emphasized appropriately.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid. An earlier unfinished temple stood on the spot.
\textsuperscript{116} Price 1998, 155.
\textsuperscript{117} HA 19.2.
which were given his name.\textsuperscript{118} This leads us to one of the literary sources for the temple that may help to explain the latter statement from the Vita. In the time of Marcus Aurelius, the orator Aelius Aristeides delivered a panegyric at the temple site. He made praise and congratulated Cyzicus for being enlightened enough to live harmoniously under imperial rule as well as having such good fortune.\textsuperscript{119} He said that Marcus Aurelius inscribed Hadrian’s name on the temple: “...of the divine Hadrian.”\textsuperscript{120} The “of the divine Hadrian” is actually a reference to the inscription observed by another literary source named John Malalas, who wrote at the end of the sixth century.\textsuperscript{121} According to Malalas, “Hadrian, having set up for himself the marble stele of a great bust, right there in the roof of the temple.”\textsuperscript{122} He was likely referring to the pediment, which along with some of the columns was still evident in the sixth century. The exact form

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\textsuperscript{118} HA 13.6.
\textsuperscript{119} DeLaine, 205.
\textsuperscript{120} Price 1998, 153.
\textsuperscript{121} But Aristeides’ speech never names Hadrian by name, but rather presumably refers to him as “the best emperor up to that time.” See Delaine, 205, 228.
\textsuperscript{122} Ashmole, 184.
of the so-called bust is not known, but a standard *clipeus* (shield) form is presumed (Fig. 17).\(^{123}\)

Cyzicene coins also show a circular feature in the pediment of a temple, which could likely be this very Hadrianic bust (Fig. 18).\(^ {124}\) And this is confirmed by the third source for information on the temple. Writing in the mid fifteenth century, Cyriac of Ancona visited the temple twice, and wrote descriptions of what he saw and experienced there—complete with sketches.\(^ {125}\) One of his sketches shows an octastyle Corinthian temple with a large circle with a figure in the center of the pediment.\(^ {126}\) If accurate, Hadrian’s prominence on the prominent and sacred location, the front pediment of one of the largest temples of the ancient world, certainly speaks to his role as patron and his welcomed completion of this great

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\(^{123}\) Though in the shield shape, it was possibly a round structural relieving element with a sculpted image in the middle. The *clipeus* tradition and there connection to the tondo/round form is of the utmost importance and is addressed in full detail in chapter 5 below.


\(^{126}\) For such a feature compare the Great Propylaea at Eleusis with a bust of Marcus Aurelius. See Ashmole, 185, no. 2.
architectural wonder. Concomitantly, the Cyziceans called him “savior and founder” of their city, which they henceforth called “Hadriane.”¹²⁷ This sort of hyperbole and use of superlative are understandable considering the size of a temple measuring 46m x 90 m on a platform 80m x 140m with columns as tall as 21m.¹²⁸ Dio said of the temple:

...the temple there that was the greatest and most beautiful of all temples...Its columns were four cubits in thickness and fifty cubits in height, each consisting of a single block of marble; and in general the details of the edifice were more to be wondered at than to be praised.¹²⁹

At other places such as Ephesos and Pergamum, we see a continuation of what appears to be a theme. There was an avoidance of sorts to have full-blown temples just for the emperor and his cult. It is true that Smyrna and Cyzicus—and other cities—had temples “of” Hadrian and they surely did honor and thank Hadrian for his rule and generosity, but the emperor’s position was not always overwhelming in every respect,

¹²⁷ Birley, 164.
¹²⁸ DeLaine, 208.
¹²⁹ Dio 70.4.1-2.
in many cases he was subordinate to that of the chief deities(s) of the temple. This is the case with Ephesus and Pergamum. In AD 124 Hadrian is known to have been in both places as he continued to traverse Asia.\textsuperscript{130} Price has argued that the temple for which Hadrian granted the title “temple warden” was not attributable to a temple “of” Hadrian, but rather a temple granted “by” Hadrian and dedicated “to” Hadrian.\textsuperscript{131} Furthermore, the fact that the name of the primary god, a goddess, Artemis, preceded Hadrian’s is an important distinction. The Temple of ‘Hadrian’ at Ephesus was ultimately still for the goddess Artemis.\textsuperscript{132}

Of a more practical matter, the city of Ephesus not only won the right of being neokoros, but it also

\textsuperscript{130} Syme 1988, 162. Hadrian made two trips to Ephesus in 124 and 129. The trip in 124 is substantiated by a letter Hadrian wrote “from Ephesus” in 124; See M. Wörrle, \textit{Stadt und Fest in kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien} (Munich 1988) quoted by Birley, 171.


\textsuperscript{132} Price, 150.
gained stability by winning the right to have essential and sustained corn supplied from the bread basket of the ancient world—Egypt. Hadrian wrote a letter to Ephesus promising the city to be among the first after Rome itself to get any surplus of Egyptian grain.\textsuperscript{133} Grain supplies and status second to Rome awarded in that important commodity (which had cost weaker emperors in Rome such as Nero their life) secured the favor of the Ephesians, whose affluence and port made her a major gateway east and west. Hadrian was linking himself with the city—and in others—perhaps ensuring his legacy by embracing eastern Greek culture by granting permission for festivals, which were centrally important and engrained into the fabric of life in cities like Ephesus.\textsuperscript{134} Ephesus was said to be Hadrian’s favorite

\textsuperscript{133} Boatwright 2000, 98.
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid., 99. This is not an extraordinary leap considering Augustus brought his own form of peace to the empire and was highly revered at Ephesus. See J. Beaujeu, 126f. Hadrian fancied himself the “New Augustus.” Games in many cities of the east carried Hadrian’s name in one form or another, at Ephesus the “Hadrianeia Olympia.” For the idea of peace through military strength, see above n.97. Despite Hadrian embracing foreign/provincial traditions, philosophies, and cultures, he also supported traditional Roman religion; See Beaujeu, esp. 112ff; HA 22.10.
city (in Asia) and they honored him with festivals, temples, games and statues in his honor including gymnastic, musical, and contests of heralds.\textsuperscript{135}

In AD 124/125 Hadrian came to Pergamum.\textsuperscript{136} Pergamum was another major metropolis in Asia with a rich Hellenic history. Pergamum measured her cultural richness purposefully with Athens's acme in the Fifth Century BC and her rulers and later constituents considered their capital as the New Athens in art, which Hadrian would have surely desired to see. Furthermore, its recent history included a towering, elegant temple for Trajan—the Traianeum—and for Zeus Phillius.\textsuperscript{137} Trajan was honored alongside Zeus, who had a colossal standing statue on the interior of the shrine's cella. Accompanying the statue of Zeus were

\textsuperscript{136} Halfmann 1986, 199; Syme 1988, 162.
cult statues of Trajan and Hadrian. Hadrian seems to have appropriated the temple, but he did not supplant his adoptive father; in essence, the temple became a Trajan-Hadrian-Zeus temple. Hadrian also took on god like status at the temple. There was a colossal monumental nude statue of him in the cella of the temple.

The Sanctuary and shrine of Asclepius had already been at Pergamum for five centuries before the second century when Hadrian expanded it. Hadrian was once again in the presence of the high god at this sanctuary, albeit in a subordinate manner. His imperial room was modest in size and one of many at the site, which had a c.100m x 200m courtyard, surrounded by four subsidiary structures including the main temple for Asclepius—modeled on the Pantheon in

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139 For arguments about the naming of the temple see, Radt, esp. 239ff.; C.P. Jones, 74; Mitchell, 136f. tidily concludes that “the temple may have started out as a Traianeum, but it evidently ended up as a Hadrianeum.”
Rome.\textsuperscript{141} A still surviving cult-statue for Hadrian stood in the room (Fig. 19). The emperor is idealized, and on its base reads “god Hadrian.”\textsuperscript{142} This marble statue of a standing nude Hadrian shows the emperor in the classic controposto stance with weight offset and one leg bent with hips turned ever so slightly and gracefully. He has a military cloak over one shoulder and one arm once upraised very much in the manner of a Hellenistic king and the Prima Porta Augustus.\textsuperscript{143} Although Asclepius as the god of healing to whom all could seek his curative power\textsuperscript{144} was not represented as a nude, Hadrian, the Hellenophile, was thusly honored in this sanctuary in his cult chamber as “a god most manifest, a New Asclepius.”\textsuperscript{145}

Before a discussion of Hadrian’s philhellenic personality and policies and their role in helping to define the tondi more precisely, I will look to one more part of the empire that the itinerant emperor

\textsuperscript{142} See Price 1998, 148 and fig. 4c.; C. Habicht and M. Wörrle, Die Inschriften des Asklepieions (Berlin 1969) 84ff.
\textsuperscript{143} Price 1998, 183-84.
\textsuperscript{144} OCD, 106. See K. Kerényi, Asklepios; archetypal image of the physician’s existence. (New York 1959).
\textsuperscript{145} Le Glay, 347ff.
visited and favored with more than just his presence. Cyrenaica, named after its the capital city of Cyrene (modern Libya, North Africa) was an ancient Greek colony, and became an administrative province of the Romans as early as 74 BC and again re-established as such by Augustus in 7-6 BC.\textsuperscript{146} In AD 128 Hadrian visited northern Africa and assisted Cyrene after damage from Jewish revolts.\textsuperscript{147} Hadrian’s principle purpose in Cyrene was to restore what had been lost. What had been there was the “Mother City” of the North African Hellenes.\textsuperscript{148} The Greek colony was some seven

\textsuperscript{146} Boatwright 2000, 173 called Cyrene one of Hadrian’s “new cities,” indicating that Cyrene was one of few Hadrianic attempts at expansion and that it along with others could serve his overall policies, approach, and goals for the empire. What she went on to call the “Graeco-Roman Urban Ideal.” See also pg. 36 above for Hadrian’s hunting adventures in Libya.

\textsuperscript{147} Hadrian visited North Africa in 128: Syme 1985, 162; Benario 1980, 148. He may have also visited Libya on this journey, or he may have been in Libya/Cyrene in 123. Scholars do agree that Hadrian had direct interest in and involvement with Cyrene and Cyrenaica. But there is not absolute certainty about whether he actually set foot there. Some evidence seems to indicate that he was there or at least nearby on the coast of Libya. For the arguments and documentation, see P. M. Fraser and S. Applebaum, “Hadrian and Cyrene,” Journal of Roman Studies, Vol. 40, Parts 1 and 2 (1950), pp. 77-90, esp. 88; Birley, 152; Boatwright 2000, 177. J. Reynolds, “Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Cyrenean Cities,” Journal of Roman Studies, Vol. 68 (1978) 111-121; Toynbee, 121; A.J. Spawforth and Susan Walker, “The World of the Panhellenion: II. Three Dorian Cities,” Journal of Roman Studies, Vol. 76 (1986) 88-105, esp. 96ff. Concerning Jewish revolts, see n.144.

\textsuperscript{148} Birley, 152.
centuries old by the time Hadrian became involved; Greeks from Thera had founded it.\textsuperscript{149} In AD 115-117, a major Jewish uprising occurred in Alexandria, other parts of Egypt, and Cyrene.\textsuperscript{150} The revolt was mostly over by Hadrian’s accession but the damage had been done. Much of Cyrene and Alexandria’s infrastructure had been ravaged and their leaders and protecting soldiers dead. The degree to which Cyrene had been harmed is palpable in Dio’s account of events:

Meanwhile the Jews in the region of Cyrene had put a certain Andreas at their head, and were destroying both the Romans and the Greeks. They would eat the flesh of their victims, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood and wear their skins for clothing; many they sawed in two, from the head downwards; others they gave to wild beasts, and still others they forced to fight as gladiators. In all two hundred and twenty thousand persons perished. In Egypt, too, they perpetrated many similar outrages, and in Cyprus, under the leadership of a certain Artemion. There, also, 

\textsuperscript{149} See A. Laronde, Cyrene et la Libye hellenistique. Libykiai Historiai (Paris, 1987).
\textsuperscript{150} This was the so-called second Jewish revolt; the first was in Judea and was eventually crushed in AD 70 by Vespasian as recounted by Josephus, War of the Jews II.8.11, II.13.7, II.14.4, II.14.5 in: Flavius Josephus, The Works of Flavius Josephus, trans. W. Whiston (Auburn and Buffalo 1895). The third Jewish uprising was the AD 132 Bar Kokhba revolt/war focused in Judea and then moving eastward into North African Alexandria and Cyrene. The war lasted for three years. It was initiated by Hadrian’s establishment of Aelia Capitolina in place of Jerusalem and the erection of a Temple of Jupiter over the site of a Jewish temple. See HA 14.2; Dio 69.12-14; F. Millar, The Roman Near East: 312 BC—AD 337 (Cambridge 1993) 105ff.; E.M. Smallwood, The Jews Under Roman Rule (Leyden 1976); E. Schurer, History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ, vol. 1, eds. G. Vermes and F. Millar (Edinburgh 1973).
two hundred and forty thousand perished, and for this reason no Jew may set foot on that island, but even if one of them is driven upon its shores by a storm he is put to death.\textsuperscript{151}

Although these atrocities may well be exaggerated by the Greek Dio’s account, Cyrene had been devastated by the events and looked to their Greek-loving emperor to restore what had been lost. Everything from roads, to baths, gymnasia, to the most sacred temples and shrines had been damaged or lost.\textsuperscript{152}

Hadrian was highly motivated to preserve the cultural preeminence of the ancient Hellenic city Cyrene. Further leverage to aide Cyrene may also reside in the fact that Augustus himself was shown to have been inclined to favor Cyrene, as is evident in his edicts and personal interests in the city.\textsuperscript{153} There is sufficient inscriptional evidence to point towards Hadrian’s direct involvement in restoring the city.\textsuperscript{154} Hadrian was to be a savior of sorts, the “restorer of Libya.” He rebuilt much of what had been destroyed,

\textsuperscript{151} Dio 68.32.
\textsuperscript{153} Fraser, 83.
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., 84; Reynolds 1978.
the infrastructure and civic pride in her architecture, and bolstered the moral fiber of the city. He won the title RESTITVATORI LIBYAE on Cyrenian coinage.\textsuperscript{155} Fraser noted that this title provides evidence pointing to an actual imperial presence.\textsuperscript{156} Hadrian’s efforts at restoring the city had another tangential affect. He restored the Temple of Hecate in AD 119, among others, and such efforts inspired and gave impetus to the wealthy and proud elite of Cyrene to make other restorations of their own.\textsuperscript{157} Thus began a new era of urban and cultural development for Cyrene, a renaissance inspired by Hadrian. Furthermore, Cyrene was specially honored by Hadrian as it was one of few cities, not in Greece or Asia Minor that was part of Hadrian’s Panhellenion. Cyrene was inherently ultra-Hellenistic. Hadrian sought to unite Cyrene with the other favored cities of his Panhellenion, and in so doing “…acknowledged that cultural and historical eminence were as deserving of

\textsuperscript{155} See Toynbee, 121 and pl. V,5.
\textsuperscript{156} Fraser, 88 n. 58.
\textsuperscript{157} Boatwright 2000, 179.
imperial recognition as economic and political muscle."\textsuperscript{158}

Greece

Not all of Hadrian’s actions were purely altruistic, but I argue that his political support and benefactions for the Greek provinces, which Rome controlled, were inseparable from the cultural atmosphere of second century Greece. Culture and politics in that milieu went hand and hand and the leading Greeks in the administration of Athens, the heart of Greek civilization, were highly active in that cultural life.\(^{159}\) Many were members of one of the most “Greek” of all institutions, founded and fostered by Hadrian himself—the Panhellenion. This cultural and political entity was based in Athens and epitomized the purity of Greek civilization during Hadrian’s Principate. Hadrian’s interest in Greece was certainly not trivial, to say the least. He was deeply interested in preserving what he saw as the greatness of Greece’s past historical and cultural achievements, merging them with Roman imperial objectives—his objectives. He was the new steward and protector of

\(^{159}\) Ibid., 78.
Greek culture. A core feature of his Principate was to preserve and secure Greek traditions for the world, and it was tied to a reasoned and deliberate imperial program. A significant part of our understanding of the imagery of the tondi is rooted in Hadrian’s use and interpretations of Greek culture—personally, politically, and philosophically. If we count the tondi as being, among other things, products of Roman cultural history, we must understand how they fit into a culture that was in large part constructed, nurtured, and driven by a philhellenic emperor. We learn from the sources that Hadrian’s love of Greek culture flowered very early in his life. As early as age ten Hadrian “...grew rather deeply devoted to Greek studies, to which his natural tastes inclined so much that some called him “Greekling.” He was well educated in Greek language and culture, and this education and desire to learn everything he could about every place he had studied stayed with him his

161 HA 1.5.
162 Dio 69.3.1.
whole life and took him to the furthest reaches of his empire.\textsuperscript{163} Under Hadrian, Athens was established as the center of the Greco-Roman world.\textsuperscript{164} Even before he was emperor, he held archonship of Athens in 111/112 or 112/113.\textsuperscript{165} As emperor, Hadrian visited Athens on three separate occasions: 124/125, 128/129, 131/132.\textsuperscript{166}

By most accounts, Hadrian’s interest in Greece was genuinely sincere, as well as self-serving at times. By studying Athens and Hadrian’s philhellenic activities in the city and his efforts in ensuring its success and growth, we get a broader sense of Hadrian’s idea for how Greece fit into the mold of his Roman empire and his art patronage, and vice versa.

\textsuperscript{163} HA 17.8.
\textsuperscript{164} This is not to say that the primacy of Greek cultural traditions as the fountainhead for Mediterranean civilization trumped the ultimate perception of Roman superiority. Rome, after all, had conquered the Hellenic world. And the extent to which Rome influenced Greece, particularly Athens, is of special interest when we consider Hadrian’s activities in the city. For Rome’s influence on Athens, see C. Habicht, “Roman Citizens in Athens (228-31 B.C),” in M. C. Hoff and S. I. Rotroff, eds., The Romanization of Athens. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996) (Oakville, Connecticut 1997). On the complex process of "acculturation," see P. Veyne, "The Hellenization of Rome and the Question of Acculturation," Diogenes 106 (1979) 1-27.
\textsuperscript{165} Boatwright 2000, 144.
Hadrian wanted to contribute to the preservation of Greek traditions and would see Athens as capital of Greece, which would in turn be the cultural capital of the empire—both morally and intellectually.\textsuperscript{167} Pausanias wrote, "Hadrian, a benefactor to all his subjects and especially to the city of the Athenians."\textsuperscript{168}

Prominence of the hunting motif in the Hadrianic tondi is self-evident, but what might not be as readily apparent is how the hunting theme would have been understood to have inherently virtuous and practical value.\textsuperscript{169} Was there something especially Greek in the act of hunting that would have attracted Hadrian to it? Was there value in an activity that had not always been considered to be particularly Roman but which was deeply rooted in the history of Oriental and Greek kings and aristocracy? The fact that Hadrian chose to include Antinous as a hunting companion in

\textsuperscript{168} Pausanias I.3.2.
\textsuperscript{169} Whilst briefly introduced here, I will give a fuller treatment of the multicultural implications and significance of the hunting theme in chapter 4.
the tondi might hold some of the answers to these and many other questions.\textsuperscript{170} Representing a youth in this manner, as the ideal hero engaged with the emperor in the noble chase spoke to the educational values of just what it meant—or took—to be truly Greek and truly virtuous. In Hadrian’s Athens of the second century what it meant to be a genuine Hellene, through and through, was defined and governed by Hadrian’s Panhellenion. I hope to demonstrate that there was educational value in activities like the hunt—serving as a measure of training and preparation for the young/youth and older men as well. An education in all things Greek was one of the touchstones of Hadrian’s new organization, which he officially established and founded in AD 131/132.\textsuperscript{171} One of the functions of the Panhellenion was the administration of the imperial

\textsuperscript{170} I will discuss Antinous in more detail later in this chapter. 
\textsuperscript{171} A.S. Benjamin, "The Altars to Hadrian's Panhellenic Program," Hesperia, Vol. 32, No. 1. (Jan.–Mar., 1963) 57, believed that the actual idea for the Panhellenion may have been hatched in AD 125, perhaps in connection with his first imperial visit to Athens. For the founding of the Panhellenion, see Boatwright 2000, 147f.; Birley, 215; D. Willers, Hadrians Panhellenisches Programm, Archäologische Beiträge zur Neugestaltung Athens durch Hadrian (Basel 1990) esp. 54-68; Syme 1985, 162f.; Beaujeu, 178; Romeo, 21ff.; Spawforth and Walker 1986, 88-105; Graindor, 102-111.
cult of “Hadrian Panhellenius,” based in the sanctuary of the Panhellenion.\textsuperscript{172} Associated with the Panhellenion and the cult were the festivals and games of the Panhellenia, the chief participants of which were the epheboi of Greece. The games, like those at the Athenian schools, were part of the training and development of the Athenian youth.\textsuperscript{173} Greek cultural education known as \textit{paideia}, the education of male youth to become man in his true and ideal form, had been adopted for the cultured elite of Italy as well.\textsuperscript{174} \textit{Paideia} can simply mean “culture;” and education in Greek cultural history was a key element in securing a city’s—a person’s—Greek ethnic identity, which was essential for the Panhellenion. This was part of the current of the Second Sophistic, which formed the Isocratean idea of Greekness in these

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\textsuperscript{172} The administration of the league could have been conducted in the complex of the Olympieion. See Willers, 26-27, 54.
\textsuperscript{173} Spawforth and Walker 1985, 82.
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terms. It is often argued that Hadrian’s personality was defined chiefly by his love of Greek culture and civilization. And ironically, the Spanish born Roman emperor’s Panhellenion demanded that member cities/peoples substantiate their worthiness by demonstrating a genuine link to the Hellenic genos through direct descent from those groups that formed the original genetic pool of all Greeks. This raises the question then: Is a true Greek born or made/educated? What wins out, personally edifying passions, inquisitiveness, and acquisition of paideia, or bloodline? Furthermore, Paideia was won and expressed by the use of literary rhetoric, and very importantly, through traditionally Greek athletic and religious activities. As part of the makeup of the members of the Panhellenion, the Second Sophistic insisted on the importance of paideia as being at the heart of one’s intellectual aptitude and status in

175 Romeo, 21.
176 Ibid. This is a somewhat anachronistic, but no less apt, parallel.
177 Romeo, 31.
imperial Rome and Athens of the second century. In Hadrian’s case, it seems that cultural attainment and elements of Greekness were obtained through the force of his initiatives, sheer will, and his personal activities in such things as the hunt and reviving old Hellas.

The Panhellenion served many purposes, both cultural and diplomatic. It was inaugurated by Hadrian himself on his third visit to Athens at a time when Athenian culture and politics merged and when more and more Greeks were becoming directly involved in Roman politics. Philostratus, in his Lives of the Sophists, reported on Polemo’s speech at the inauguration of the Panhellenion at the site of the new Olympieion, which was being consecrated and dedicated to Olympian Zeus:

[Polemo] fixed his gaze, as was customary, on the thoughts that were forming in his mind, then flung himself into his

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178 Romeo, 32. This also raises the question of the conflict within the Panhellenion as to whether Eugenia or Euglottia wins out. See also, E.L. Bowie, "Greeks and Their Past in the Second Sophistic." in M.I. Finly ed., Studies in Ancient Society (London 1974); G. Bowerstock, Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire (Oxford 1969).

179 The hunt will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4 below.

180 Spawforth and Walker 1985, 78.

181 See above n. 101.
speech, and delivered a long and admirable discourse from the base of the temple. As the premium of his speech he declared that his [Hadrian's] initiative had not been without divine inspiration.\textsuperscript{182}

Thus, Hadrian established the \textit{Panhellenion} for very significant and specific reasons. The \textit{Panhellenion} was a major mechanization to promulgate and grow his broader panhellenic agenda, which he likely truly believed in. Additionally, through the activities of the league he would further the proliferation and practice of the imperial cult, all under the aegis of the \textit{Panhellenion}. This in itself produced an added measure of Imperial control over the subjugated peoples of the empire—free and/or independent or not. If the culture and politics of Athens were inseparable and if Hadrian controlled "the culture of culture" then he was placing himself in a very advantageous position to indulge his personal actions and political agenda. The advancement of the imperial cult was one of the functions of the \textit{Panhellenion}, but further

analysis of its makeup and other functions is warranted.

Spawforth and Walker described the Panhellenion as "a cultural and political entity defined by the extent and character of its membership and its known activities."\(^{183}\) Hadrian determined that the seat of the Panhellenion would be in his beloved Athens.\(^{184}\) The membership of the Panhellenion was comprised of delegates from the five major Greek provinces: Achaia, Macedonia, Thrace, Crete—and—Cyrene and Asia—Aegean provinces.\(^{185}\) The individual members were called Panhellenes, and comprised of senior executives, the archons, and the council, the synedrion. By definition, the league was diverse and it would have fit nicely into Hadrian's continuing attempts to move away from the "warlike" policies of Trajan and create


\(^{184}\) Hadrian went through great pains to ensure this via explicit imperial decree and personally submitted proposals to the Roman senate. See Romeo, 22; V. Morrotta, "Il Seanto ed il Panhellenion," Ostraka 4 (1995)157–167. Most of what we know about the specific aspects of the Panhellenion comes down to us in the form of epigraphic evidence: See Romeo, 21 and Spawforth and Walker 1985, 79.

\(^{185}\) Within the major regions were thirty three member cities. For the list, see Romeo, 23 and Spawforth and Walker 1985, 80.
a Pax Romana—as did Augustus—thus forming what Toynbee called "a vast brotherhood of peoples, each contributing their share to its common culture."¹⁸⁶

Early in its history, Hadrian was directly responsible for admission into the Panhellenion, via the archon whom served him. As previously mentioned, there is a sense of irony in his direct role in determining who got in by gauging an applicant's level of Greekness in their culture and ancestry. Most of the cities from the Greek mainland were automatically admitted because they were considered to be of the so-called mother cities of Greece.¹⁸⁷ Among them were Athens, Sparta, Argos, Corinth, etc. Thessaly, which was considered an ancestral cradle of the Hellenes, was likewise admitted. In these instances and others, direct lineage from the original Greeks was a key component in winning admission into the Panhellenion. It was a Greek purity test of sorts.

The Panhellenion at Athens functioned as a religious institution and was in time closely linked

¹⁸⁶ Toynbee 1936, 596.
¹⁸⁷ Romeo, 24.
with Eleusis.\textsuperscript{188} It administered the cult of "Hadrian Panhellenius" and its accompanying sanctuary. It was also closely linked to the four-yearly festival the Panhellenia.\textsuperscript{189} Hadrian did use the Panhellenion in a very practical sense as well. It brought to Athens delegates from around the eastern part of the empire and gave him direct lines of communication with many cities. The imperial cult in Athens was of great importance and was vigorously supported by Hadrian.\textsuperscript{190} Hadrian enabled the cult not just from an ideological standpoint, but also through his rebuilding of the Temple of Olympian Zeus—the Olympieion. This was one of many buildings and benefactions for Athens, and its largest temple, and its location served as a prominent neighbor for the new Panhellinon. Hadrian did not have the Olympieion tailored to Roman architectural conventions. The style of the Olympieion and the other Hadrianic buildings in Athens was a blending of architectural traditions, resulting in a uniquely and

\textsuperscript{188} See Graindor, 118-135.
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid., 102-111.
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid., 140-158.
appropriately Graeco-Roman architecture.\textsuperscript{191} The
Olympieion in particular is exemplary and
representative of Hadrian's aims in forming the
Panhellenion and vital to Hadrian's masterful Graeco-
Oriental-Roman program.\textsuperscript{192}

The Olympieion is of foremost importance.\textsuperscript{193}
Intended to be the largest temple in Athens in the 6th
c BC as planned by Peisistratos and re-initiated in a
second monumental order and partially completed in 174
BC for a second patron Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria,
The Olympieion to be incorporated into the new quarter
of the city, which Hadrian established and named
"Hadrianopolis."\textsuperscript{194} This Temple of the Olympian Zeus in
Athens had a long building history and its completion

\textsuperscript{191} See D.E. Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament in
Rome," \textit{Papers of the British School at Rome}, Vol. 21 (1953) 118-
151.

\textsuperscript{192} Hadrian was also responsible for other civic benefactions and
major building projects in Athens, such as the so called Library
of Hadrian, the Pantheon of Athens, the colossal aqueduct, the
Roman Agora, and the Gymnasium. For extensive bibliography,

\textsuperscript{193} See Willers 1990, esp. 26-54.

\textsuperscript{194} HA 20.4. For the history of the building and the site, see W.B.
Dinsmoor, \textit{The Architecture of Ancient Greece} 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed. Revised
Ancient Athens} (London 1971) 402-411; Spawforth and Walker 1985,
under Hadrian was somewhat protracted. It might not have been until 124/125 that Hadrian formulated the plan for the completion of the temple, concurrent with the formulation of the *Panhellenion*.\(^{195}\) It was on his second journey to Athens in 127/128 that he dedicated the temple and assumed the title "Olympius."\(^{196}\) On his third journey to Athens in 131/132 he consecrated the then mostly completed temple and inaugurated the *Panhellenion*.\(^{197}\) This temple would be the crowning achievement in Hadrian's panhellenic program and owed its completion to Hadrian's patronage.\(^{198}\) Perhaps interest in this temple had been also fostered by Augustus. Suetonius' account is ambiguous but suggests that the temple was in fact brought to completion under Augustus:

> Each of the allied kings who enjoyed Augustus' friendship...clubbed together to provide funds for completing the Temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens.\(^{199}\)

But the fact remains that the temple was brought to completion under Augustus:

\(^{195}\) See n. 171 above.
\(^{196}\) *HA* 13.6; *Dio* 69.16.1; Willers, 26ff.; Syme 1985, 163; Graindor, 218.
\(^{197}\) Syme 1985, 165; SIG\(^3\) 842: Epidaurus.
\(^{198}\) See above pg. 77f.
completion by Hadrian and at the time would be one of the largest temples in the ancient world.\textsuperscript{200} Hadrian showed his typical political acuity in the way he contextualized his own cult and statues in the temple with that of the chief god Zeus. He dedicated a colossal chryselephantine statue of Zeus for the main sanctuary.\textsuperscript{201} It was a magnanimous and fitting gift for the home of the panhellenic league; the chief deity of the Greeks was made monumental and manifest in this most important of temples.\textsuperscript{202} Hadrian's own statues were part of the temple, too. Both Dio and Pausanias tell us of statues of the emperor there. Pausanias' account describes one of Hadrian that could have been indeed a colossus of Hadrian behind the temple, perhaps also of ivory and gold.\textsuperscript{203} Other statues of Hadrian were given by the members in the Panhellenion, the so-called "colony statues" and set up at the temple. Together with the bronze statues may have been

\textsuperscript{200} Benjamin, 60 noted that the final touches were probably finished in 137. For the measurements and detailed plans see Willers 1990, 27-29, 33-40, 107ff. (plates).
\textsuperscript{201} Pausanias 1.18.6; Boatwright 2000, 152.
\textsuperscript{202} Benjamin, 59.
\textsuperscript{203} Pausanias 1.18.6; Dio 69.16.1; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 93.
statues personifying colonies of mainland Greece, Athens included.\textsuperscript{204} Both were accompanied by four huge statues of Hadrian in rare Thasian and Egyptian stone at the temple.\textsuperscript{205} The overall monumental temple with its competing statues of Hadrian certainly outnumbering if not crowding the cult image of Zeus Olympias would have rivaled and if not to Hadrian and his adherents, surpassed the Parthenon and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

This brings us back to the creation of the Panhellenion, a union of Greeks who fervently advocated and celebrated "Greekness" above all else. This Panhellenion was founded by the philhellenic Hadrian, who centered their activities and their philosophical and symbolic core at a temple dedicated to the chief Greek god Zeus. This temple of Olympian Zeus, the Olympieion, was clearly identifiable with the imperial cult and specifically with Hadrian entitled Olympios. It was through the Panhellenion, the cult and its related activities that Hadrian's

\textsuperscript{204} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{205} Ibid.; Willers, 51-53.
grip on the cultural soul of Athens tightened and through which his propensity towards activities that made one more Greek and increasingly noble heightened.

Beyond the excellent and elevated status of Olympian Zeus, head of the pantheon and the cosmos, and ready model for many heads of state including Hadrian, religious content, reverence and respect had led Hadrian to model the rituals for the Panhellenion on the Eleusian Mysteries. Again, Augustus provided an important precursor as Augustus in 21 BC had been initiated into the Eleusian Mysteries;\textsuperscript{206} and yet greater intensity and personal commitment is evident with Hadrian who chose to be initiated twice into the Eleusian Mysteries, sacred to the Athenians.\textsuperscript{207} Not since Augustus’ time had any Roman emperor been initiated into the rites.\textsuperscript{208}


\textsuperscript{207} Beaujeu, 165.

\textsuperscript{208} Which is all the more fascinating considering that part of Augustus’ agenda at the start of the Principate was to discredit Marc Antony by labeling him a Greek, or as being too “Greek.” But this was a century and a half before Hadrian’s Principate. P. Zanker, \textit{The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus}, transl. A. Shapiro (Ann Arbor 1990) 261, believed that Augustus initially
...following the example of Hercules and Philip, [Hadrian] had himself initiated into the mysteries.²⁰⁹

On his second visit to Athens, Hadrian was initiated into a highest grade at the mysteries.²¹⁰ Hadrian's devotion to not only the arts and letters of Greece, and Athens in particular, but also his advancement and fulfillment of the Eleusinian religious rites over time reveal his depth of commitment and desire to be Athenian. He immersed himself in every time-honored aspect of becoming a learned Greek or Athenian sophist,²¹¹ as well as in his benefactions,²¹² his creation of the super-Greek Panhellenion, and his utter and sincere devotion to ancient religious rites. Additionally, he brought back stability and a return

²⁰⁹ HA 13.1. According to Graindor, 119 probably on his first trip through Greece in 124/125.
²¹⁰ Dio 69.11; Graindor, 119.
²¹¹ Beaujeu, 167-170. For the evidence see, Beaujeu, 165-170 and Graindor 1934, 118-135.
²¹² Such as new provisions for an ensured annual grain dole. See S. Follet, Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle (1976)115. Spawforth and Walker 1985, 90 attribute this, and connect it to, the establishment of the Panhellenion; Also see Dio 69.16.1-3. Other reforms having a positive economic impact on Athens revolved around the olive oil and fish industry. See Botwright 2000, 91, 147; Birley, 177; Follet, 116ff.
of constitutional government to Athens.\textsuperscript{213} Hadrian contributed to a reform of government with new laws that were redrafted versions of the ancient laws of Draco and Solon.\textsuperscript{214}

Hadrian not only followed Augustus in building benefactions and new laws that were more favorable, but also re-emphasized the imperial cult, which had been useful to Augustus.\textsuperscript{215} The imperial cult in Athens (and elsewhere) was an important tool for consolidating disparate parts of the empire.\textsuperscript{216} The cult, like the \textit{Panhellenion} itself, in one measure connected the Greek world under a common cause. The 94 altars (surviving) of Hadrian in Athens, in concert with the \textit{Panhellenion}'s administration of the cult, were signs of his efficacy of rule and evidence for his widespread worship in Athens.\textsuperscript{217} Besides the statues for Hadrian Olympios in the Olympieion, many

\textsuperscript{213} Oliver, 1981, 414.
\textsuperscript{214} Birley 177f. Oliver 1981, 412-423; Graindor 1934, 73ff.
\textsuperscript{215} Benjamin, 57; Beujeau 126ff, Graindor 1934, 170f. Though, Augustus adhered to the conservative mindset of Rome and forbade open worship or naming himself god in the capital. But in other parts of Italy, and especially in provinces like Greece, such limitations were not necessary.
\textsuperscript{216} Benjamin, 57.
\textsuperscript{217} Ibid.
altars were set up for and dedicated in Athens to Hadrian Olympios, "Savior and Founder." Hadrian's relationship with the ruling god of the Greek world and his temple would have been a powerful one. Benjamin eloquently encapsulated this relationship: "The dedication to Hadrian throughout the Greek world attests the size and importance of the emperor cult and bears witness both to the effectiveness of Hadrian's vigorous program of travel and his panhellenic interests." Hadrian immortalized himself in another fashion by linking himself with Athens' own hero king, Theseus. An arch was erected close to the Olympieion and right on the line between old Athens and the new quarter—Hadrianopolis, which Hadrian established (Fig. 20). At about 60 feet tall by 40 feet wide, the gate is part triumphal arch, part city 

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218 Ibid., 60.
219 Benjamin, 61. The are 270 total surviving inscribed altars to Hadrian in the Greek world, 95 from Athens, plus 154 inscribed statue bases, 47 from Athens. Most altars and bases carry the epithet Olympios and most are inscribed with "savior, founder, and benefactor." For the complete list see Benjamin, 61-86. For more tabulations and significance of the imperial statues erected in Athens and throughout the Roman world, see J. M. Hojte, "Imperial Visits as Occasion for the Erection of Portrait Statues?" Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bd. 133 (2000) 221-235.
220 HA 204.
gate. The arch physically and symbolically cemented Hadrian's permanent influence on Athens. The gate has an inscription on each side. On the side facing old Athens it reads: "This is Athens, Theseus' city once," and on the side facing Hadrian's new quarter it reads: "This is Hadrian's, not Theseus' city."

Thus, Hadrian surpassed Augustus in linking Athens to his own person, to Hadrian. More than Augustus had accomplished in Athens, Hadrian became a necessary link and facilitator to Old Hellas. Indeed Augustus came to be seen as a superhuman presence often with gifts for and from the gods, while solidifying the province of Achaia, (southwestern Greece). Hadrian was more encompassing as he intended to promote Athens as central to his world vision, and vital to uniting the Greeks in the Mediterranean with Asia, and serving his own elevated position.

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221 See Willers, 72-85.
222 IG II² 5185. Two identical arches were erected in Eleusis and dedicated to by the Panhellenes fifty years later. For Roman building in Eleusis, see G. Mylonas, Eleusis and The Eleusinian Mysteries (1961).
223 Oliver 1981, 415.
Antinous

He set up statues, or rather sacred images, of him, practically all over the world.²²⁴

It was in AD 123/124 that Hadrian is thought to have encountered in Bithynium—formerly Claudiopolis—the Greek youth Antinous.²²⁵ I believe that Hadrian's affection for Antinous was very much more than a minor diversion or episode in the life of the electively impassioned philhellenic emperor. Antinous was actually from an upland city near Bithynium called Mantinium, near the border of Bithynia and Paphlagonia. The sheer mass of evidence involving Antinous ranges from art, architecture, numismatics, epigraphy, literary documentation, cult sites and cities named after him make conservative dismissals about his impact on Hadrian's Principate seem very

²²⁴ Dio 69.11.4. The dissemination of statues of Antinous in antiquity is beyond question. In fact, on a block of Pentelic marble dated to the period of Hadrian, we have evidence of an order emanating from the imperial chancery to make cult statues of Antinous. Moreover, the writer of the inscription is proposed to have come from the hand of Hadrian himself. See J. Oliver, "Greek Inscriptions," Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Archaeology at Athens 10 (1941) 77.

²²⁵ Benario 1980, 149; Syme 1985, 161; Halfmann, 194; Birley, 158.
illogical. The sources do mention Antinous, and considering the scarcity of sources on Hadrian, any mention at all becomes significant. There is no literary evidence of joint activity between Hadrian and Antinous until Pancrates' testimony of their epic hunt together in the Libyan desert. Antinous is mentioned again as being with Hadrian in Egypt in AD 130, but this time it was the occasion of Antinous' mysterious death by either self-sacrifice or accident. Both Dio and the Vita mention this event. In antiquity, Antinous’ death was shrouded in mystery, as it still is today. Why did it happen and what was the lasting affect; and for my purposes in particular, how did those events come to have bearing on the original tondi imagery? The nature of the relationship between Antinous and Hadrian has been greatly debated. On October 24 AD 130 near Hermopolis—city of Toth—

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226 For arguments against, see L. Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire. (New York 1982) 132.
227 See above pg. 36-7.
228 Dio 69.11; HA 14.5.
229 In chapter 5 I entertain the possibility that the round format of the tondi have certain properties that could have served to commune with the dead, especially the dead who met with tragic ends.
Antinous’ life ended, just two days before the Egyptian festival of Osiris.\textsuperscript{230}

Hadrian favored Greece for many things, not the least of which was the embracing and continued traditions of Classical Greece, which saw relationships between older men—erastes—and younger boys—eromenos—as being common, that is to say, just part of life.\textsuperscript{231} "Greek love" was not, however, part of the cultural makeup of the more conservatively leaning Rome,\textsuperscript{232} in the same way that Hadrian's indulgence in Greek mystery cults were not something he could openly participate in without scrutiny in Rome.\textsuperscript{233}


\textsuperscript{231} See Lambert, 78-81.

\textsuperscript{232} Love between men and boys were a Greek rite of passage that was shared by Hadrian's predecessor Trajan. Neither would have viewed these relationships as impinging on their manhood in any way. See C.A. Williams, Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity (New York 1999).

\textsuperscript{233} The ability to release from his inhibition in the Greek milieu is evident by the enticing possibility that Antinous was with Hadrian at Eleusis in 128 when Hadrian was initiated into the higher grade; See n. 106 above. Hadrianic coins from Eleusis label Hadrian as being "Reborn"; See BMC III Hadrian no. 1094; Graindor 1934, 38; T.D. Barnes, "Emperors on the Move," Journal of Roman Archaeology 2 (1989)247-61. This is interesting given that later evidence at Eleusis honors Antinous, and the fact that
met Antinous in 123/124 at a time and age (13-14) about which a relationship could begin, then by 130 Antinous would have been in his late teens or perhaps twenty years old, after age twenty or so their relationship would have become untenable. Perhaps the timing for a sacrifice was serendipitous, and at the same time tragic. Dio seems to have believed that Antinous’ death was no accident and was "in truth, by being offered in sacrifice." For Egyptians to drown in the Nile like the god Osiris was to be reborn like Osiris and would win divine honors for the dead. According to the Vita, at Antinous' death Hadrian

Roman coinage is known to have significant allegorical meanings beyond the literal, which I will discuss in chapter five; See Graindor 1934, 131. For Antinous coins, see Myer, 135-143; J.M.C. Toynbee, "Greek Imperial Medallions," Journal of Roman Studies 34 (1934) 65-73.

234 This is more likely than the two of them meeting in 117 on Hadrian's first trip through the province because Antinous would have been too young at the time even in the Greek perception of acceptability.

235 The point was adeptly made by Birley, 158ff. Traditionally, the cutoff age as it were was after late adolescence. The many extant images of Antinous speak for a young male between the ages of 15-20. For studies on Antinous sculpture and portraits, see Myer 1991; C.W. Clairmont, Die Bildnisse des Antinous. Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 6. (Bern 1966).

236 Dio 69.11.2. See also Beaujeu, 243-244.

"wept for him like a woman."\textsuperscript{238} The chance for his companion to be reborn could have given him solace. It could also have been the voluntary last act of filial love and devotion as the Vita suggests, "For some claim that he had devoted himself to death for Hadrian, and others, what both his beauty and Hadrian's sensuality suggests."\textsuperscript{239} Subsequent to his death, the apotheosis of Antinous was heralded as a star that crossed the sky carrying the soul of Antinous.\textsuperscript{240} The spot upon which Antinous died was consecrated and the new city of Antinopolis was founded.\textsuperscript{241} Antinous was immediately deified.\textsuperscript{242} In fact, his deification skipped the usual Roman Senate's

\textsuperscript{238} HA 14.5. Obviously a slight.
\textsuperscript{239} HA 14.6; J. Voisin, "Apicata, Antinous et quelques autres. Notes d'épigraphie sur la mort volontaire à Rome," Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome-Antiquité 99 (1987) 257-80. And suicide seems more unlikely considering a well-known relief of Antinous was found at Lanuvium in Italy. In it, Antinous appears as the god Silvanus. Inaugurated in 136, the cult at Lanuvium for Antinous and Diana forbade suicide and its adherents were forbidden to be properly laid to rest if they took their own lives.
\textsuperscript{240} Dio 69.11.4.
\textsuperscript{242} HA 14.7 tells us that Hadrian himself ordered the deification of Antinous.
approval process. In essence, the new city grew up around the legend of Antinous and his temple/tomb. There he would be merged with Osiris, and elsewhere he would be merged with other gods such as Silvanus, Dionysus, Hermes, Pan, and the hero Adonis. The festival in his honor, the Antinoeia, was initiated and the seeds were sewn for a cult of Antinous that would spread across the entire Roman world and would endure for centuries.²⁴³ Pausanias' account of Antinous and his place of imperial favor, both in life and death is telling:

Antinous too was deified by them; his temple is the newest in Mantinea. He was a great favorite of the Emperor Hadrian. I never saw him in the flesh, but I have seen images and pictures of him. He has honors in other places also, and on the Nile is an Egyptian city named after Antinous. He has won worship in Mantinea for the following reason. Antinous was by birth from Bithynium beyond the river Sangarius, and the Bithynians are by descent Arcadians of Mantinea. For this reason the Emperor established his worship in Mantinea also; mystic rites are celebrated in his honor each year, and games every four years. There is a building in the gymnasia of Mantinea containing statues of Antinous, and remarkable for the stones with which it is adorned, and especially so for its pictures. Most of them are portraits of Antinous, who is made to look just like Dionysus. There is also a copy here of the painting in the Cerameicus which represented the

engagement of the Athenians at Mantinea.²⁴⁴

Hadrian had apparently permitted or ordered the elevation of Antinous as a God. Soon after his death, Antinous was worshiped, as Pausanias tells us, at his hometown of Mantinea, but the cult spread. Not surprisingly, it was embraced in Athens.²⁴⁵ Recent discoveries at the estate of Hadrian's confidant, the Athenian millionaire Herodes Atticus,²⁴⁶ have unearthed a colossal statue of Antinous.²⁴⁷ Thus, it appears that cultured and influential elite helped to spread his cult in cities throughout the empire. The cult had cachet for adherents. Art bearing the likeness of Antinous became a valuable commodity and a sign of one's high standing, not to mention being a way to earn imperial favor. Valuable objects from the tombs of contemporary aristocrats bearing the likeness of Antinous speak to his prominence. Opper noted a recent

²⁴⁵ See Graindor 1934, 140ff.
²⁴⁷ Opper, 190.
find in the Republic of Georgia that has provenance in the west. Its dislocation from its place of origin and subsequently found in such a distant tomb exhibited how "Hadrian's private obsession turns into a cultural [and political] tool." I began my discussion of Antinous by recounting the Pankrates poem about Hadrian and Antinous hunting in the Libyan Desert. We also learned of the ill-fated trip on the Nile in Egypt where Antinous met his end. It is to Egypt that I return for us to really appreciate Antinous' importance to Hadrian, and on his bearing on Hadrianic art and architecture, including the tondi.

We know that the itinerant Hadrian traveled the world—twice to Egypt. He would bring the world back with him, in a manner of speaking, to Rome and his estate at Tivoli. Tivoli was to be Hadrian's refuge from Rome and a reminder in its art and architecture of all the places he had seen and experienced in his travels. After Antinous' death and Hadrian's return to

\[248\] Ibid., 191.  
\[249\] Ibid.
Rome, he spent a great deal of time at Tivoli, especially between AD 131 and his death in 138.\textsuperscript{250} Hadrian's life experiences, in harmony with his travels, gave him motive and direction for the program at Tivoli. It was to be a microcosm of the world he traveled and a reflection of his knowledge of history and tradition.\textsuperscript{251} The Vita says that Hadrian's villa at Tibur was:

...marvelously constructed, and he actually gave to parts of it the names of provinces and places of the greatest renown, calling them, for instance, Lyceum, Academia, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poecile and Tempe. And in order not to omit anything, he even made a Hades.\textsuperscript{252}

The overall theme of the villa was eclectic. The intent, as MacDonald put it, "was to populate the villa with symbolic representations of society's cultural foundations."\textsuperscript{253} Egypt's place in the makeup of Tivoli as surmised by scholars is the possible identification of long pool perhaps suggestive of canal at Canopus in the Delta of Egypt and the

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{250} J.J. Pollitt, The Art of Rome, c. 753 BC-AD 337: Sources and Documents (New York 1983) 166
\textsuperscript{251} W. MacDonald and J. Pinto, Hadrian's Villa and its Legacy (New Haven 1995) 139. For the Villa, see also H. Kahler 1950; S. Arigemma, Villa Adriana (Roma 1961); J. Raeder 1983.
\textsuperscript{252} HA 26.5.
\textsuperscript{253} MacDonald and Pinto, 141.
\end{footnotes}
terminal fountain house, a concave nymphaeum recalling
the Serapeum (precinct of the Egyptian god Sarapis)
marked on the Severan marble plan of Rome.\footnote{See L. Richardson Jr., A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (Baltimore and London 1992) and his bibliography. MacDonald and Pinto, 108-111 interpret the Serapeum and Canopus as Triclinium and Canal respectively and say there is no absolute evidence linking them to Egypt other than the accompanying egyptianizing statues found in their areas.} The
crocodile in green stone, Cipollino or Carystian marble, found in the pool is the one certain image
that was found here and evoked Egypt.\footnote{See H. Kahler, Hadrian und seine Villa bei Tivoli (Berlin 1950); J. Raeder, Statuarische Austattung der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli (Bern 1983).} This part of
the villa could have been a substantial reminder of Egypt as well as testament to its lasting effect on
the memory or conscience of the Emperor with regard to Antinous. The images of Antinous found at Tivoli have
been known to many scholars.\footnote{See above n.235.} At least ten images of Antinous have been uncovered at the villa. Several others associated with the villa, but whose exact location therein is not known, include Antinous in the guise of an Egyptian pharaoh and late Egyptian
(Fig. 21), Alexandrian-Roman imagery of the god
Osiris. Most images of Antinous are posthumous, and may well date after AD 134 when Hadrian returned from Egypt and the East and could have added to the art and architectural program at Tivoli in earnest. In addition to the statues of Antinous, an authentic, traditional Egyptian monument with hieroglyphic inscription is the granite obelisk in Rome (Fig. 22). This obelisk rich in symbolism is connected to Antinous’ divinity and in this case indicative of the resting place for the dead. This obelisk of Antinous—also known as the Barberini Obelisk—on the Pincian Hill in Rome was lying in fragments outside Porta Maggiore of Rome in the 16th century. It is now thought to have been transported to Rome from Antinopolis in Egypt in antiquity. Some wrongly claim that it was at some point on the Palatine Hill in Rome. As we shall see, Hamestad’s old theory that

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257 See Myer. The Egyptian assessment was made by Dr. Elizabeth Walters.
the obelisk stood in the Canopus at Tivoli has proved to be prophetic of a new theory. Where it stood in Rome is one issue, and until recently, scholars have agreed that it originally came from Antinopolis in Egypt. However, recent discoveries at Tivoli have not only changed this theory but have altered scholarly opinion on how Antinous should be viewed in the broader context of Hadrian's Principate. Now, every work of art that pictures Antinous, including the Hadrianic tondi, needs to be reconsidered.

Under the direction of Zaccaria Mari there have been ongoing excavations at Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. The 1999 excavations led to the discovery of what the project is now calling the Antinoeion of Hadrian's Villa. Its location on a stretch right

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See also the earlier W. MacDonald and J. Pinto, Hadrian's Villa and its Legacy (New Haven 1995).

How dubious or not this theory is remains open. For the Antinoeion, see Z. Mari and S. Sgalambro, "The Antinoeion of Hadrian's Villa: Interpretation and Architectural
before the great vestibule of the villa places the various structures of the Antinoeion in a very prominent and highly visible location (Fig. 23). The discovery published in 2007 has revealed the remains and foundations of huge structures with a large exedra, numerous architectural elements, and some sculptural fragments in the Egyptian style.\textsuperscript{263} A large part of their identifications are based on the remains of a masonry foundation between the now lost twin temples, which has been connected to the obelisk of Antinous in Rome on the Pincian Hill (Fig. 24). The excavators argue that the Antinoeion is not simply a mausoleum, cenotaph, or a cult site, but rather that it is a true tomb for Hadrian's favorite Antinous.\textsuperscript{264} The inscriptions on the obelisk speak of the Antinous cult and have the sepulcher inscriptions regarding

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\textsuperscript{263} Ibid., 91, 98. They believe that most, if not all, of the known Antinous statues in the Egyptianizing style came from the area of Antinoeion. However, this can be disputed and there is no scholarly consensus on this issue yet.

\textsuperscript{264} Ibid. Clairmont, 17 also believed that Tivoli had become the main cult site. Dr. Brian Currur of Penn State University notes that the inscriptions on the obelisk also mention Hermopolis. He also says that there is still no concrete evidence making this a tomb for sure. See also n.269 below.
Antinous' tomb. Reliefs on the sculptural fragments from the cellae of the temples are analogous to those on the obelisk, where Antinous appears as the God Antinous-Osiris. They have identified other sculpture fragments or plinths as once supporting two Egyptianizing red granite telamonic statues found in the town of Tivoli in the 16th century. Likewise, they also recognize the white marble Antinous-Osiris statue in the Vatican as having come from a temple cella in the Antinoeion at Tivoli. The layout of the remains indicates a funerary monument with mausoleum and the brick stamps of the structure date to soon after AD 130, the date of Antinous' death.

Furthermore, the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the obelisk could indicate that it originally stood at Tivoli. One passage reads, "Antinous rests in this tomb situated inside the Garden property of the

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265 Mari and Sgalambro, 91.
267 Ibid, 91, and n. 25. Clairmont, 16f. also placed said statues in the Egyptian style at Tivoli.
268 Mari and Sgalambro, 97.
If, as it now seems plausible, the obelisk originally stood in the villa for all to see, and if the recent excavation of a large complex at Tivoli that could serve as a tomb and shrine are true, then Antinous could not have been merely a passing acquaintance in the Emperor's life. The contention that Antinous was a brief episode in the life of Hadrian, and historically of no importance seems unlikely. The evidence points to a person of central importance to Hadrian. Furthermore, his favorite activities with his paramour were not utterly shunned in Rome and could have become part of Hadrian's artistic program—his Imperial propaganda. The Antinoeion put Antinous front and center, and so too did the tondi. In the tondi we have the Emperor and his favorite engaged in the eastern and Macedonian-royal, and Greek-Roman elite's virtuous hunt for all.

269 Mari and Sgalambro, 99; Grenier, 225,229; Boatwright 1987, 242ff for the permutations and variations on the translations; Grimm et. al., 61, 82. For more on the inscriptions and other viewpoints about the obelisk’s original location, see Brian Curran et al, Obelisk: A History (Cambridge 2009) 48-49, 306 n. 27 who argues that the obelisk was in fact originally from Antinopolis in Egypt.

270 This does not have to be an either-or question. He doesn’t have to be buried in Tivoli to be important.
to see. The identity of Antinous in the tondi, however, warrants further attention.

The matter of which of the tondi Antinous is pictured in has not been fully resolved by scholars. I have discussed in previous sections how some believe the tondi to be representations of hunts and events that actually took place. But visual evidence within the tondi is also useful in making determination concerning Antinous. The major characteristics of art depicting Antinous has been most recently, and exhaustively, broken down by Hugo Myer. He divides works into a series of categories based on general types, general types with variants in hair and forehead, the so-called Mondragone types, the Egyptianizing, and variations or non-type types. But generally speaking, Antinous is relatively easy to identify, and his monuments are often the most refined examples of Hadrianic sculpture, masterful as well in terms of quality among imperial sculpture of the

Second Century AD. Helpful characteristics of Antinous include his thick hair, facial features and often broad chest and shoulders leaning back over opposing angle of hips (Fig. 25a,b). His thick, full, tousled looking hair, is almost wig-like with curling locks in shapes of C's and J's, or serpentine in appearance (Fig. 26). His youthful body is typically Hadrianic and idealized, recalling the 470's BC but fuller in the chest, thick in the buttocks, both emphatically sensual. His face often has a serious and internalized expression, with pouting mouth and broad, child-like cheeks that deny a specific age. Through his pose, down turned head and internalized glance and idealized body, many statues of Antinous can convey a focused sense of purity, and perfection of form of a youth not self-aware or self-satisfied (Fig. 27); at his worst, the statue such as his over life sized statue as the god Dionysos can convey gloomy, narcissism (Fig. 28). Most scholars use these recognizable features of Antinous to aide in identifying Antinous in the

\[273\] See Myer, 52-53.
tondi. Together with the other relevant contextual factors that I have been addressing, which aid in identifying Antinous, we can usually make confident determinations; but many times this is subjective in nature and all might not see the same things. This is certainly the case with the tondi. Only Kahler has identified Antinous in all but one of the tondi—the sacrifice to Apollo.  

Meyer, Stuart Jones, Clairmont, Bulle, and Bonnano accent the boar hunt as containing a figure of Antinous, but with varying degrees of certainty. Meyer himself tentatively placed Antinous in the boar hunt and classified the type as "uncertain." Reinach supports the presence of Antinous in the boar hunt as well as in the departure

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274 Kahler 1950, 177ff; Kahler 1963, 154.  
275 Myer 1991, 131-132, 218-221; H. Stuart Jones, "Notes on Roman Historical Sculptures," Papers of the British School at Rome, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1905) 233, following Arndt, saw as the images as general types and not true portraits; Clairmont, 56-57; Bulle, 153-154; A. Bonnano, Portraits and Other Heads on Roman Historical Relief up to the Age of Septimius Severus (Oxford 1976) 96, 100. C. Vout, "Archaeology and History," Journal of Roman Studies, Vol. 95 (2005) 88, following Dietrichson very tentatively regard this figure as Antinous based largely on the way he turns his head back and looks down and to one direction.  
276 Though he entertains the possibility of the lion on relating to the actual event heralded by Pankrates. Maull, 59 also thinks lion.
tondo,\textsuperscript{277} of which only the latter is recognized by Boatwright as representing Antinous.\textsuperscript{278} Based upon the contextual evidence I present in this dissertation, and comparisons with other known works displaying the iconographical and stylistic characteristics discussed above, I for sure identify Antinous in the departure and the boar hunt. In both, the hair, the soft idealized facial features with aquiline nose and straight brow are indicative of Antinous. I regard the lion and bear hunt as being good possibilities, rather than what Myer might call "uncertain." In the bear hunt tondo Antinous' head could conform to a variant with slightly altered hair, a more compact skull and higher cheekbones. The figure in the lion hunt is less like Antinous than the others. The body is of the idealized, classicizing type, but the head and face raise questions. The variations in the head are similar to those in the bear hunt, but with even more compact circular curls in the hair. And the chief

\textsuperscript{277} S. Reinach, "Les Têtes des médallions e l'arc de Constantine à Rome," \textit{RA}, ser. 4, 15 (1910) 126-128. \\
\textsuperscript{278} Boatwright 1987, 199.
difference is the presence of facial hair, which is atypical in portraits of Antinous. But I argue that it could be a last representation of Antinous as he appeared in early adulthood during the last moments of his life as he accompanied Hadrian in the Libyan Desert in AD 130.\textsuperscript{279} If it is a sound premise that the tondi were already breaking with convention, then the possibility of altering imperially controlled image(s) for Antinous in the tondi may permit another type of Antinous in the lion hunt.

\textsuperscript{279} A theory supported by: J.C. Grenier and Coarelli, "Le tombe d'Antinous à Rome," MEFRA 98 (1986) 252; Maull, 59; Rejected by Boatwright 1987, 196, 199 who identified as an attendant. This attribution is suspect considering the so-called attendant has his left foot on top of the Lion's head in an equally as triumphant like fashion as the emperor himself.
Chapter 4

The Tondi and the Hunting Tradition

Hadrian’s enthusiasm for traveling throughout the empire is clear. The evidence supporting this is extensive. In the previous sections, I have placed Hadrian in his beloved Greece on several different occasions. And as we have seen, he traveled to many other parts of the Greek world, as far away as the greater Near East, Asia, and north Africa. Hadrian’s exposure to and embracing of Greek and other cultural traditions has become part of his legacy, perhaps a cultivated legacy. In his wide-ranging travels, he did in fact have broad access to and knowledge of Eastern monarchs and princes and their means of conveying strength and right of rule through official state imagery. The emperor Hadrian had been to Greece, Egypt and the Near East on more than one occasion.\textsuperscript{280} It was in the Eastern parts of the Roman realm where Hadrian

\textsuperscript{280} See above pg. 41ff. for Hadrian’s travels. See below Chapter 5 for discussion on the so-called province coin series, which in many cases commemorated Imperial visits.
may have been conditioned, consciously or otherwise, to develop certain aspects of himself as a new kind of head of state. They were far-off places where he had the freedom to be an individual and pursue people and private interests, which then went on to form part of his imperial identity—such as the hunt on the tondi.\textsuperscript{281} If we focus on the hunt, which is not unreasonable to do considering Hadrian’s fervor for the chase and the significant role it played in his life, we find an activity that had a long-standing and rich tradition in contributing to the identity of Eastern rulers, which in turn was reflected in their own art and greater public personae.\textsuperscript{282}

If I were to work from my premise that the tondi were new and innovative at the time for Roman imperial “historical reliefs,”\textsuperscript{283} then it would be beneficial to

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\item[\textsuperscript{281}] This may reveal important aspects of Hadrian vital to the changes that followed his Principate when emperors became ever increasingly separated from their constituency.
\item[\textsuperscript{282}] See above pg. 111ff.
\item[\textsuperscript{283}] J.M.C. Toynbee 1934, xxvii–xxviii argued for the notion that the term historical relief and what it means is ephemeral from one era to the next and that any comparisons between Hadrian’s reign and, say, Trajan’s is somewhat unfair. Essentially, one history can be based on concrete events and picture it as such in art and another history can be based on a era’s—a leader’s—revelation of ideas and likewise picture them that way. In
\end{itemize}
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first survey traditions for Roman hunting in general before those non-Roman examples. While hunting imagery on a public monument in Hadrian’s day was not to be expected, the art of hunting was something that had roots much deeper in Roman social history, earlier in the empire and reaching back to the republic.284 The tradition for Roman aristocrats and leaders actual hunting habits does have precedence, but the lack of artistic prototypes for the tondi in all the Roman world points to inspiration falling outside of Rome. So both the Republic, and by historical extension the tondi in Hadrianic times, owe some debt of appropriation to other, more eastern cultures. Such

another earlier publication, *The Art of the Romans* (New York, 1965) 49, Toynbee defined “historical” relief as “… all those stone and marble reliefs of an official character which depict public events, past or present, legendary or actual, or which represent in narrative or in allegorical or symbolic form the political ideas and propaganda of those who sponsored their sculpting.” 284 The question of whether the Romans hunted or not has been argued at length by others. My concern is where and how hunting traditions worked their way down to Hadrian and how the meaning of the hunt conveyed much more than just sporting fun. This is an important consideration and in the subsequent sections, I will elucidate how public knowledge and visual exposure via public art to the emperor’s hunting habits could have bolstered his image. For arguments about if and/or under what circumstances, the Romans started hunting, see and C.M.C. Green, “Did the Romans Hunt?,” *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 15, No.2 (Oct. 1996) 222-260; Anderson; Aymand; F. Orth, “Jagd,” *RE* 9 (1916) 558-604.
borrowings began at the dawn of Roman world domination and cultural hegemony. They ultimately found a proper Roman context and came to be not eschewed but rather welcomed as part of a formula of virtues inseparable from the overall formula for aristocratic, and even more so, imperial standing in all circles of life.

It was said in Livy 1.4.8–9 that Romulus and Remus, the mythical founders of Rome, hunted out of both necessity and out of duty to protect their people:

The boys, thus born and reared, had no sooner attained youth than they began—yet without neglecting the farmstead or the flocks—to range the glades of the mountains for game. Having in this way gained both strength and resolution, they would now not only face wild beasts, but would attack robbers laden with their spoils, and divided up what they took from them among the shepherds, with whom they shared their toils and pranks, while their band of young men grew larger every day.²⁸⁵

The literary evidence as to whether the Romans hunted or not does exist and takes a decisive turn in the account of Polybius, who tells us of the hunts of Scipio the Younger in the 2nd century B.C.:

Scipio, availing himself of this [hunting] and regarding himself as if he were a king, spent the whole time that the

army remained in Macedonia after the battle of Pynda in this pursuit, and, as he became a very enthusiastic sportsman, being of the right age and physique for such an exercise, like a well-bred dog, this taste of his for hunting became permanent.\textsuperscript{286}

In fact, hunting in the so-called Regal Period of Roman history seems to have been practiced on many different levels for reasons of sheer necessity, to sporting, to religious ritual. Green pointed out that Virgil in the \textit{Aeneid} 7.651 took it for granted that the early Romans hunted and in considering all other ancient sources there seems to be no evidence whatsoever that hunting was socially rejected even before the time of Scipio and the second Punic war in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC.\textsuperscript{287} The beginnings of Roman hunting traces back even farther into the seventh and sixth centuries with the Etruscans. Archaeological and artistic evidence demonstrates the Etruscans hunting for sport, religious purposes, protection, and and

\textsuperscript{286} Polybius, 31.29 from W.R. Patton, \textit{The Histories of Polybius}, vol. 6 (Cambridge 1968).

\textsuperscript{287} Green, 226, 7. Aymard, 29 on the other hand limited the hunt in the early period to be not much more than something out of need for protection and pastoral survival.
displays of courage and skill.\textsuperscript{288} However, much of the evidence was produced for private consumption. But as Green also rightly pointed out, many of the Roman hunting exploits followed in the steps of their Etruscan forbearers. The Etruscan’s power and wealth grew and so too did their hunting, especially for the aristocratic class.\textsuperscript{289} The Sixth Century BC Tarquinian Tomb of the Hunter is evidence of this. Paintings of animals, hunters, and implements of the hunt decorated the walls.\textsuperscript{290} In addition, the Latins of the late Regal Period valued representations of the hunt, which could have been imported from Greece and Egypt.\textsuperscript{291} Anderson has pointed to the time in the second century after the wars against Hannibal, the Macedonians, and Syrians as being the beginning of the age of Roman sport hunting.\textsuperscript{292} The hunt may have been one aspect of the lives of the early Latins, but the hunt in the “Grand Manner” was thought to have derived from the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item See Green, 231. See also G. Camporeale, \textit{La Caccia in Etruria} (Rome 1984) esp. 29, 33, 54, 79; Aymard, 26ff.
\item Green, 232.
\item Ibid; Camporeale, 114-115.
\item Green, 235.
\item Anderson, 83. See also Aymard, 34.
\end{enumerate}
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Hellenistic Kings. It was a learned activity taken up by Roman nobility out of respect for the role played in these now conquered kingdoms. It is also interesting to note that it may have been due to the simple fact that the Romans had all new access to vast tracts of land won in their various campaigns, stretches of previously unavailable territories ripe for hunting exploits.

A resounding affirmative answers the question of whether the Romans hunted (at all). But the meaning of the hunt in the early periods and into the Republic is of more value. The sources for the tradition as well as the value in the hunt can be found in those very monarchies that were absorbed into the Roman sphere by the end of the second century—a subject to which I will return. But before we further trace the Roman tradition in hunting and explore the perceptions of the hunt as being Greek, oriental, or “non-traditional” for the Roman aristocratic and political

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293 Ibid. The Roman’s inheritance and use of the Hellenistic Hunting model will be addressed below.
294 Aymard, 54.
milieu in the Late Republic and beyond—and what bearing that may have had on Hadrianic times—we should consider the eminent role hunting played in the social traditions of the East. Here I shall demonstrate that there was likely a means to an end in Hadrian’s choice for the subjects in the tondi. The means find parallels in the traditions of the East. These traditions were then appropriated by those such as Scipio, Pompey, Sulla, Augustus, Nero, Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian. The hunting tondi, however, do not appear derivative from any specific monumental Roman visual source. But the visual sources for the tondi, the cultural sources, and the literary evidence in non-Roman contexts are extensive. It is here where the heritage of Hadrian’s tondi lay.

It could be said that later Greek aristocrats took to hunting in part to emulate the heroes of Greek myth such as Theseus, Odysseus, and Heracles, who were themselves princes. For example, the great Odysseus

295 Though Tuck argues for a Domiatic originator in his article about the Equestrian Statue of Domitian from the misenum of Augustales, see n. 18 above.
296 Anderson, 15.
himself fought a raging wild boar in the Odyssey:

...the boar... with bristling back and eyes flashing fire... stood before them... But Odysseus with sure aim smote him on the right shoulder, and clear through went the point of the bright spear, and the boar fell in the dust with a cry, and his life flew from him.297

So too did the heroes Hercules slay the Nemean Lion, and Meleager the Calydonian Boar, both of which have numerous representations in the arts.298 And as far back as the seventh century artists were very often depicting the wise centaur Chiron, teacher of the greatest of Greek heroes Achilles,299 engaged in the hunt.300 While the subject of the lion hunt was known since the Archaic period in Greek art, the Orientalizing phase of the Eighth–Seventh Century BC bring to light that Greek artists’ motifs were incorporating their knowledge of artistic examples from places like Egypt and southwest Asia.301 These Asiatic and Oriental origins had come to be part of

298 For representations of the hunts, see Anderson, 156 n. 2, 157 n. 10. See Homer, Iliad, 9.529–605.
299 Homer, Odyssey, 12.69.
300 Xenophon, Cynegeticus, 1.1; Green, 232.
301 Anderson, 2–3.
the Greek vocabulary: a “gesture of royalty” from those eastern monarchs who pursued and celebrated the hunt as part and proof of their power, which were then later adopted by Macedonian rulers in the fourth century and incorporated in their official imagery, such as the famous but not preserved statue group of Alexander the Great's lion hunt.302

The course—or path—of my arguments are meant to ultimately navigate us to the point where we can see how Hadrian’s choice in subject matter for the tondi became in a way a natural and easy one for the peripatetic/Greekling/pius herald of a new golden era of protection and peace for Rome. That the Greeks valued the hunt as synonymous with strength and by extension could celebrate a leader or Macedonian ruler, and that these associations and values could be extended further to support one as a legitimate ruler came from a variety of eastern sources as well as the Greek use of the hunt in education. But the hunt was just one element of Greek and “royal” identity and

302 J.J. Pollitt, Art in the Hellenistic Age (Cambridge 1986) 38. A point to which I will speak below.
behavior that came down from outside origins. Xenophon, an Athenian,\textsuperscript{303} wrote Cyropaedia, a highly regarded work in Antiquity, as a historical romance of sorts about the Achaemenid Cyrus the Great.\textsuperscript{304} To the Greeks and Macedonians Cyrus was famous for his benevolence to and respect for the cultural traditions of those nations under his control, and would come to be the exemplar of the perfect king and leader.\textsuperscript{305} Cyropaedia was a treatise on the ideal and perfect general and prince—a king—who fully encompassed a truly educated, benevolent, brave, brilliant military leader and head of a strong and principled government. Integral to the making, or make-up, of the perfect ruler was his thirst and love of the hunt, and how he worked it into the very fabric of his court. Cyrus had institutionalized the hunt—the “royal hunt.” Even in his youth Cyrus had a vigor for the hunt where “…he exterminated the animals in the park by chasing them and striking them with javelins, cutting them down at

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\textsuperscript{303} OCD, 762.
\textsuperscript{304} See Xenophon. Xenophon in Seven Volumes, 5 and 6, trans. W. Miller (Cambridge 1914); OCD, 250.
\textsuperscript{305} Green, 238.
\end{flushleft}
such a rate that they were no longer able to collect
game for him,” to the point at which the young Cyrus
said, “I will think that every wild animal is being
reared for me.” In the *Cryopaedia* Xenophon wrote
about Cyrus’ total devotion to the hunt and that he
set his mind on its role in the mechanism of his
court:

Cyrus took the members of his court out hunting whenever
there was no compelling reason for him to stay home. But
when he had to, he hunted at home the animals that had been
reared in the parks, he never used to dine himself until he
had sweated...

Xenophon also wrote about the younger Cyrus (commander
of the Greek mercenary army and the Persian Legions in
Asia Minor in 408 BC). In his *Anabasis* Xenophon
tells the story of the younger Cyrus heroically
hunting a bear and describes him as “… the greatest
lover of hunting…” and one who “… loved to meet danger
in facing wild beasts.” Xenophon’s truly influential
work on the merits of hunting as applied to the ideal
monarch was his *Cynegeticus* (“The Hunting Man”). It

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306 Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.4.4-15, as quoted by Anderson, 59.
307 Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.1.34-38, Ibid., 60.
308 *OCD*, 250.
was instructional in many senses. It was both practical and moral. It was in great part rooted in the activities that later were cultivated by those such as Alexander and made part of his royal prerogative—and thereafter by the Romans of the Republic and then following down to the high imperial era of the “Good Emperors” and Hadrian. But before turning to that and of the evolution of the royal privilege of the hunt, we should further delve into this more eastern archetypal mode of the royal hunt and its place in the patronage of those monarchs. Foundational to this, and to Hadrian’s tondi for that matter, is the political notion of a ruler being protector of the people, as strongman, head of state, provider and benefactor of the masses and virtuous victor over those wild forces that threaten the physical boundaries and moral fiber of their domain.
Egypt

We know about Hadrian and Antinous’ triumphant and heroic hunt and destruction of the wild lion rampaging in the Libyan Desert in AD 130.\textsuperscript{310} And we know of his visits to Egypt and his many travels in north Africa.\textsuperscript{311} Furthermore, there can be no doubt about the lasting place Egypt had in Hadrian’s memory considering the prominence of the Canopus and Serapeum at his Tiber Villa.\textsuperscript{312} Lastly, there is also the aforementioned tempting theory that the Pinician obelisk once also made up part of the decorative and cultic program at Tivoli.\textsuperscript{313} So what about the legacy of the hunt in Egypt itself, in particular how it played into the activities of the ruling class in the New Kingdom?

Hunting scenes in Egyptian art do not necessarily invite the same kinds of questions that western

\textsuperscript{310} See above, pg.36.
\textsuperscript{311} See above, pg. 65, 98.
\textsuperscript{312} See above, pg. 100. See also, n. 254 about the identities of the structures.
\textsuperscript{313} See above, pg. 101ff.
hunting imagery does. Nevertheless, it is valuable to investigate some examples to demonstrate that the tradition had come about very early and survived until the Ptolemaic period.\textsuperscript{314} Starting very early, the so-called "Hunter’s Palette" from Tell el-Amarna, dating to ca. 3200-3100 BC/predynastic is thought to have come from the burial of a very important, perhaps aristocratic, person (Fig. 29).\textsuperscript{315} The exact meaning and function of the palette remains unclear, but it is a rich, complete, early example of highly variegated hunting imagery within an importance archaeological context.\textsuperscript{316} Visually and idealistically, the palette shows the many human figures trying to bring order to the frenetic collection of wild beasts.\textsuperscript{317} From the time of the burials of predynastic Egypt to the Old Kingdom lifestyle of its nobility many frequently

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\textsuperscript{314} For a brief but hardy guide for lion hunt scenes in ancient Egypt see W. Wrezinski, \textit{Löwenjagd im Ahten Aegypten} (Leipzig 1932).


\textsuperscript{317} N. Grimal, \textit{A History of Egypt} (New York 1997).
engaged in the sport of desert hunting, bringing down everything from wild oxen to antelopes. There was a continuity of Egyptian noble hunting.\textsuperscript{318} In addition, from the burial complex of the Dynasty 5 King Sahure at Abusir are some the finest reliefs from the Old Kingdom. One relief shows the Pharaoh as archer centrally positioned and overlapping with the many-registered relief as he, in a typically static pose for Old Kingdom reliefs, is poised to unleash another volley on the multitude of beasts, which already have been impaled by arrows (Fig. 29b).\textsuperscript{319} The artists of the New Kingdom would later appropriate many of the Old Kingdom hunting motifs.\textsuperscript{320} As we know, Old Kingdom and then Middle Kingdom Egypt was certainly not the same kind of political environment as New Kingdom Egypt. The nature of pharaonic rule was certainly a major factor in shaping imperial Egypt. Finding

\textsuperscript{318} J. Breasted, \textit{A History of Egypt} (New York 1909) 91.
\textsuperscript{319} See L. Borchardt, \textit{Das Graviden Des Königs S’a’hu-re} (Leipzig 1910); T. el-Awady and V. Bruna, \textit{Aubsir XVI: Sahure–The Pyramid Causeway: History and Decorative Program in the Old Kingdom} (Prague 2009).
\textsuperscript{320} W.S. Smith, \textit{Interconnections in the Ancient Near East: A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia} (New Haven 1965) 151–152.
commonalities between one empire in Egypt and another in Rome would seem to be more constructive for finding more analogous Eastern paradigms for the tondi and their patron.

The king of the Old Kingdom in Egypt, it could be argued, had a more cloistered existence compared to the dynamic pharaohs of the New Kingdom. It was in the New Kingdom where the hunt came to mean so much more than just a necessity of life. It became very symbolic for the wider propaganda of the Great House. Pharaoh of the New Kingdom was released unto the world and all the world was to know his many great and supreme royal deeds. The king and his image in the New Kingdom were not one of total austerity and “immobility” but rather that of an ever increasingly “approachable” king.\textsuperscript{321} That is not to say that the imperial pharaoh inherited nothing from their forbearers.\textsuperscript{322} However, encoded in the make-up of the great king was his personal strength, both physical and intellectual, and

\textsuperscript{321} J. Breasted 1937, 351; D. Redford, \textit{Akhenaten: The Heretic King} (Princeton 1984) 30.
\textsuperscript{322} D. Redford 1984, 30 stated that indeed the Middle Kingdom paved the way for the final evolution of the “strong man” king of the New Kingdom.
intermingled with that was his great bravery in facing those forces that threatened the very life of his kingdom and the welfare of his own physical being.

The golden age of the king as great hunter in Egypt came in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The king engaging wild beasts came to be highly symbolic. It came to stand for his actual or potential success on the battlefield. The chaotic forces of nature needed to be crushed so that order could prevail, and the king would make himself the living embodiment of “Order.” Redford noted that the first great wealth of surviving literature speaking to the manifestation of the so called “sportsman king” came during the reign of Thutmosis III. The king’s strength was directly related to what he did on the hunt.

(This is) a compilation of the deeds of mighty valor that this Good God performed, viz. every successful deed of (personal) bravery... whenever he spent a little time in relaxation hunting in any foreign land, the number of animals he bagged would be more than that the entire army. He shot seven lions in the space of a moment, and bagged... twelve wild bulls in one hour.

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324 Redford 1984, 30.
325 Ibid., 30-31.
This compares quite closely to what Pliny said about Trajan in his *Panygericus*:

> Your only relaxation is to raze the forest, drive out wild beasts from their lairs... and present yourself to the deities.  

In both cases, the actual involvement of the respective rulers was very important. Now Trajan may not have been trying to cultivate a public image via the hunt—although he may have—like we shall see Hadrian did, but Trajan did convey his own version of “strong man” imagery through commissions like his column, his arch at Beneventum, and friezes on the Arch of Constantine.  

The greatest hunter of Dynasty Eighteen was Amenophis III. Hunting was among the favorite diversions of the king. Amenophis III continued the “sporting king” tradition, which his forbearer Amenophis II had firmly established. They were true

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326 Pliny, *Pany. 81.1.*  
327 To be discussed below p.188f.  
328 Breasted 1937, 350.
big game hunters, going after dangerous lions, elephants, and wild bulls. Not only was the king fulfilling his monarchial role as valiant slayer of beasts, he was very vigorously and actively setting out to establish a hunting legend, while at the same time remaining a god who dispenses a victim. On one occasion, Amenophis III is known to have slain a proverbial herd of wild bulls in one day—170 wild bull! And the great deed was even recorded on a number of large commemorative scarabs, some of which read, “statement of the lions which his majesty took by his own shooting from year 1 to year 10 (to wit) 102 fierce lions.” This was a direct and calculated endeavor to capitalize on this public display of physical prowess and make it a public manifestation. Redford made the extremely cogent point that interestingly during Amenophis III’s reign there was

no great war. Egypt had no need to go to war as it had swelled its empire nearly as far as it could go—it was an era of “Pax Aegyptica.” One could easily argue that the king was so fervently pursuing a policy of “make my great hunts known throughout the empire” because he had no great military opportunities to prove himself as conqueror of the foes of Egypt and protector of the people. The hunt was like a proxy to demonstrate virtues traditionally won in battle by crushing the skulls and bones of the enemy. While the king likely did not suffer from a deep-seated sense of inadequacy, he did need to legitimate himself on many different levels just as the much later Roman emperors did. Not only did the Egyptian king need to establish his physical and manlier qualities, he was also bound to broadcast his intellectual capacity. Contemporary text praised the Eighteenth Dynasty monarchs such as Thutmosis III:

There was nothing at all that he did not know. He was ‘Thoth’ in everything, there was not any subject of which he was not knowledgeable… he was more conversant with the

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332 Redford 1984, 39.
This thirst for knowledge is another similarity Hadrian shared with his imperial counterpart from nearly fifteen hundred years earlier. Like the New Kingdom Egyptian ruler, Hadrian sought to, "...inform himself about all he had read concerning all part of the world." Like Amenophis III Hadrian ruled in a time of peace. Also like Amenophis, Hadrian sought to extol his virtues using whatever means he could, some actual military conflict. But perhaps unlike the Egyptian Kings of the New Kingdom, Hadrian also used the occasion of the hunt to satiate his personal needs in an altogether different mode, a point to which I will return. I do not mean to suggest that Hadrian was looking directly to this one pharaoh and was actively striving to be a new Amenophis III or Thutmosis III—no such evidence exists. The point is that there are

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334 HA 17.8.
335 And for the leaders of both cultures, regardless of the act, whether private or not, a deed not seen or made known was as good as not doing it at all. Public knowledge of the virtuous or great act was as important as the thing itself. But the idea of "virtue" had a decidedly different meaning in the propaganda of the Roman Emperor or the second century.
striking similarities that we can learn from. In addition, the traditions, which became firmly cemented into the identity of the Egyptian monarch were long lasting and were transmitted both within that political and artistic heritage and without. The most famous of tombs, that of the Dynasty 19 pharaoh Tutankhamun, had a heroic lion hunt scene depicted on one side of a richly decorated royal chest, and a multi-animal hunt on the other (Fig. 30). The king valiantly on his own with “his own arm” and his own bow slays several of the beasts, some of which that turn to face the king.\textsuperscript{336} He, too, was making his godly bravery and strength known to all. This was in addition to the complete and fully functional hunting chariot in the tomb. In addition, at the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu we see vigorous hunts of lion and bull in relief on the pylons of the temple (Fig. 31).\textsuperscript{337} This is by no means an exhaustive survey of hunting imagery in Egyptian art, nor is it the


\textsuperscript{337} See also W.F. Edgerton and J. Wilson, Historical Records of Ramses III (Chicago 1936).
complete picture of the place it had in the propagandistic repertoire of the king; and it was not the only defining characteristic of the king. It was a part of his identity, as to how big a part we could debate. Nevertheless, the fact of the matter is, the ground laid by the New Kingdom pharaohs would be continued for more than a millennia until Ptolemaic Egypt where the kings still assumed this royal right as part of their canon of behavior. Even at that late stage, the kings were still symbolically ridding the people and the country of dangerous raging hippos.\footnote{338 See Aymard, 48-9.} In one way or another the hunts always spoke to virtues—and courage—of the king, but whereas in Egypt it was a god king littering the earth with the bodies of fallen prey, in Mesopotamia it was the mortal man who tracked and bravely disposed of beasts that threatened his realm.\footnote{339 Frankfort, 10.}
The Near East

By my outstretched arm and impetuous courage fifteen mighty lions from the mountains and the forest I seized with my hand, and fifty lion cubs I carried away, and, in the city of Calah and the palaces of my land, put them in cages, and I caused them to bring forth their cubs in abundance, Urmindinash I captured alive with my hands, (and) herds of wild oxen, elephants and lions,...gazelles, wolves, panthers... all the beasts of plain and mountain, I collected in my city of Calah, letting all the people of my land behold them.  

The Assyrian king Assurnasirpal II trumpeted this wondrous feat in the Ninth Century BC. Similar to the Egyptian “sporting king” of the New Kingdom the Assyrian ruler made it known to all that by his own hand and through his singular courage the land was free from threats. The kingly function of the hunt in Assyria resided in the fact that the animals were

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340 D.D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylon (Chicago 1926) 189.
341 The question of transmittance of hunting as part of the royal prerogative of the king and also reflected in literature and art has been debated as moving from Egypt to the Near East or vice versa. Most scholars seem to favor the former. See J.H. Wallis Budge, Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum, Reign of Assurnasirpal (London 1914); Wreszinski, 1-27; B. Meissner, “Ägyptische und vorderasiatische jagdarstellung zu wagen,” Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft 8 (1934) 1-14; J.H. Breasted, Assyrian Relief Sculpture and the Influence of Egyptian Art (London 1932); W.S. Smith, Interconnections in the Ancient Near East: A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia (New Haven 1965) 117-18; Anderson, 1-10.
themselves dangerous creatures that only the king—
with the divine help of the gods—could slay. It was
at once the dutiful act of the monarch and the pious
act of the chief servant of the gods, thus making what
he had done sanctioned and legitimized by the gods.
Some of the earliest surviving reliefs depicting the
Assyrian royal hunt date to the late second millennium
BC during the reign of Ashurnasirpal I. In these
reliefs from the base of an obelisk the King of
Nineveh wields the bow and pursues bulls, oxen, and
onagers. Even earlier examples exist in cylinder seal
impressions from the twelfth century belonging to the
Assyrian king Ninurta-Tukulti-Assur. The royal hunt
panel reliefs of greatest import are those of
Assurnasirpal II, originally from his palace at Nimrud
(Fig. 32). In them, the king hunts with bow and arrow

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342 See E. Unger, “Der Obelisk des Königs Assurnasirpal I aus
Nineve,” Mitteilungen der Airotientalischen Gesellschaft 6 (1932)
48 ff.; P. Albenda, “Lion Hunt Relief BM 124534,” Journal of Near
Eastern Studies, vol. 31 no. 3 (Jul 1972) 167-178, esp. 170-172.
343 W. Stevenson Smith, 117-118, indicated that the earliest known
of such scenes date to the Thirteenth Century and that they are
similar to the standard form of battle scenes, both of which may
owe form and content to Egyptian prototypes. For the cylinder
seals in general, see H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, A Documentary
Essay of the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East (London
1939).
from his chariot as lions both lay underfoot the horses and pursue from behind. The king remains as the central focus of the composition as one lion is directly confronting him from behind. The king, at the apex of the panel, drives the force of the composition downward into the decidedly—and intentionally so—ferocious lion that poses a real threat to the king. His heroic stature in the face of danger raises him to almost god-like status.\textsuperscript{344} In these panels and in Assurnasirpal’s hunts in general he raises his actions to a level of the otherworldly. He called on the gods:

\begin{quote}
Urta and Nergal, who love my priesthood, intrusted to me the wild creatures of the field, commanding me to follow the chase... in my hunting [from] chariots [and by my lordly attack I brought down with (my) weapons...\textsuperscript{345}
\end{quote}

In this quote, the king takes on the role of aggressor—active not passive—in everything he does. He invokes the gods’ names to make it a holy event and in so doing his heroic, superhuman feats originate in

\textsuperscript{344} Albenda, 176.
\textsuperscript{345} Luckenbill, 189.
the divine.\textsuperscript{346} The sources and the reliefs speak to a directed program of propaganda aimed at elevating the king in the minds of the contemporary spectator to the level of great protector just maybe one notch below the gods themselves.

Together with the royal hunting reliefs of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud, the panel reliefs of Assurbanipal’s palace at Nineveh are among some of the most informative in the examination of the hunt in Assyria (Fig. 33).\textsuperscript{347} Ashurbanipal’s hunts are violent and border on the appalling as we share in the agony of the fallen and dying lions. How active the king was in actually hunting down the lions really is not the point. Despite the fact that the reliefs depict something that in reality were probably more of wanton slaughters than anything else, may be beside the point. The hunting parks of the palace were stocked for the pleasure of the king so that he was symbolically able to bring down the wild forces of

\textsuperscript{346} Albenda, 176–77.
nature, which was his duty to control.\textsuperscript{348}

I, Ashurbanipal, King of the Universe, King of Ashuri in my recreating on foot seized a raging lion of the plain by the ears, and with the help of Ashur and Ishtar, lady of battle, I pierced its body with my own lance... in my royal sport, I seized a lion of the plain by its tail, and at the command of Ninurta and Nergal, the gods whom I trust, I smash its skull with my own mace.\textsuperscript{349}

Once again, the hunt is religious in part, as some of the scenes even depict the kind pouring libations over the dead lions. More so, however, the hunt was to be a "kingly function" performed in plain sight for all to see.\textsuperscript{350} Moreover, at some point the hunt had become a privilege in which only royalty could partake.

I return to the Persians, who most likely inherited their tradition of the royal hunt from the Assyrians.\textsuperscript{351} The Assyrian kings created a model of sorts for the Persian monarchs, including the proliferation of the luxurious hunting gardens—the paradeisos—where the king could indulge himself and prove himself as a mighty, heroic king protecting his

\textsuperscript{348} Curtis and Reade, 51.
\textsuperscript{349} Barnett, 53–54.
\textsuperscript{350} Anderson, 67.
people.\textsuperscript{352} There were many wonders in these parks, and together with the wild beast that roamed therein it was the ideal place for the king. In fact, the king was sure to have these lush and well-stocked parks wherever he went both near and far throughout the empire.\textsuperscript{353} We should now also return to the model of the upright ruler and exemplar of leadership and bravery—Cyrus the Great. Xenophon regaled him in \textit{Cyropaedia} and in it wrote about the upbringing and education of this/a perfect prince. An integral part of his education was the time he spent in the \textit{paradeisoi} fortifying his virtue.\textsuperscript{354} He was learning to become “ideal in every sense—a true warrior citizen.”\textsuperscript{355} The hunt was an education of the intellect as much as it was an exercise of the body. The most critically important aspect of the hunt, however, was that it made a man into something better than he would have been without such experiences. Everything I have

\textsuperscript{354} Xen, \textit{Cyr.}, 1.4.5-11. 
\textsuperscript{355} Green, 248.
written above about the hunt in this dissertation comes down to *meaning*. Why hunt? Xenophon wrote in *Cynegeticus* about the value of hunting:

In fact they saw that this is the only one among the pleasures of the younger men that produces a rich crop of blessings. For it makes sober the upright men of them, because they are trained in the school of truth (and they perceived that these men they owed their success in war, as in other matters); and it does not keep them from any other honorable occupation the wish to follow, like other and evil pleasures that they ought not to learn. Of such men, therefore, are good soldiers and good generals made. For they whose toils root out whatever is base and froward from mind and body and make desire for virtue to flourish in their place—they are the best, like they will not brook in justice to their own city nor injury to soil. Some say that it is not right to love hunting, because it may lead to neglect of one’s domestic affairs. They are not aware that all who benefit their cities and their friends are more attentive to their domestic affairs than other men.\(^{356}\)

Xenophon’s message about the instructional value of hunting is clear. He also likened the hunt to a “gift bestowed on heroes” such as Theseus, Odysseus, and Achilles.\(^{357}\) The hunt was to Xenophon an invention of the gods to be imitated by the greatest and noblest of men. Hunting was the means by which men could learn excellence in other things like war, and anything else that called for superiority of mind and body. He went

\(^{356}\) Xen, *Cyr.* 12.7–10.  
\(^{357}\) Ibid., 1.1.
so far as to say that the first thing a young man must learn in boyhood is the art of hunting.\textsuperscript{358}

The Persian hunting motif in the arts often has a more generalized iconographical meaning and does not necessarily have to be a real/historical/actual hunt per se. The king’s suppression of the hostile forces of the empire comes in more than just man versus beast representations. A relief from Persepolis on the Hall of Hundred Columns shows a royal figure fighting a lion (Fig. 34). The relief does not represent a “real” event as much as it symbolizes the more general, but no less powerful, image of a powerful king. In addition, the absolutely non-accidental intent of the entire artistic program at Persepolis is unmistakable.\textsuperscript{359} Furthermore, the arts at Persepolis were just as much about “reminding people of their own importance” as they were about expressing the majesty and power of the king himself.\textsuperscript{360} The royal hero type over lion-monster motif at Persepolis was an equally

\textsuperscript{358} Xen, \textit{Cyr.}, 2.1.  
\textsuperscript{360} J. Boardman 2000, 148.
vivid message in that supernatural forces were being suppressed (Fig. 35). There are no comparable monumental Persian examples to the Assyrian relief types from Nimrud and Nineveh. But despite this absence the literary tradition can be paired with other royal arts that display hunting imagery and interest. Several cylinders show the king engaged with an animal in more of a full-fledged hunt like those of the Assyrians. One such agate rolling represents Darius hunting lions from his chariot (Fig. 36). Others depict the typical monster-type creatures more familiar in the palace reliefs, but in the seals they are the quarry of the royal hunter in the chariot.\footnote{For the seals in general, see B. Buchanan, \textit{Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals} (Oxford 1966); J. Boardman, \textit{Greek Gems and Finger Rings} (London 1970). For the concept of “heroic control” and “heroic combat” on the seal impressions from Persepolis see M. Garrison and M. Root, \textit{Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets}, volume 1, \textit{Images of Heroic Encounter} (Chicago 2001).}
The Greek World

The prototypical ruler in the Greco-Roman world would come to be Alexander the Great. The model for Macedonian kingship owed no small debt to the Oriental monarchs. The total extent to which Alexander was a scion of Oriental kingship is beyond the scope of the present study. Although, it will become clear that his image as the great king was in large part derivative of, or in imitation of, the Persian monarch. The ideal sovereign that Xenophon described Cyrus as being in Cyropaidia and Cynegeticus was widely embraced in the more heterogeneous Hellenistic kingdoms in later times. The world-changing power of Alexander’s monarchy thusly stretched and extended the propaganda of the Persian Empire he absorbed and unified with his own. Alexander’s own father Philip II may have incorporated hunting imagery into his tomb at Vergina

362 D. Springborg, Western Republicanism and the Oriental Prince (Austin, TX 1992) 73.
363 Ibid.
in a large frieze on the façade (Fig. 37).\textsuperscript{364} Plutarch tells us of a famous hunt by Alexander where he tests his own skill as well as those of his soldiers, whom he had perceived as becoming weak/soft after the Macedonian defeat of the Persians:

Krateros set up a memorial of this hunt at Delphi and had bronze statues made of the lions and the dogs, and also of the king locked in combat with the lion, and of himself coming to the king’s aid. Some of these figures were made by Lysippos; others by Leocnares.\textsuperscript{365}

This was one of the most famous depictions of Alexander—though now lost. This so-called “Krateros” monument was mainly a celebration of Alexander’s bravery, but it was also one that would have been recognized by contemporary educated Greeks as Alexander likening himself—via the hunt—to eastern potentates.\textsuperscript{366} Pollitt remarked that this lion-hunting monument exemplified Alexander’s attempts to evoke his divinity, as Alexander’s image even alluded between

\textsuperscript{364} See M. Andronikos, Vergina: The Royal Tomb and the Ancient City (Athens 1997).
\textsuperscript{365} Plutarch, Alexander, 40.4 And of special interest is a hunting monument for Alexander at Thespiae mentioned by Pliny, N.H. 34.66—Thespia being also connected to Hadrian’s own hunting exploits.
\textsuperscript{366} J.J. Pollitt 1986, 38.
himself and the great lion-slayer Hercules, son of Zeus.\textsuperscript{367}

The later importance of the hunt is a major Hellenistic art motif resulting from quite possibly the best example of hunting imagery connected to Alexander. The “Alexander Sarcophagus,” found in a grave chamber at the royal necropolis at Sidon has a very significant lion hunt scene on it (Fig. 38).\textsuperscript{368} It was likely made for King Abdalonymous, the last king of Sidon. Alexander appointed Abdalonymous after the epic 333 BC Battle of Issos. The sarcophagus dates to Alexander’s lifetime or shortly after. But stylistically it is both Late Classical Greek and Hellenistic. The major panel on one of the long sides depicts Abdalonymous in Persian dress riding on horseback with another rider to his left who most have identified as Alexander (This scene is closest in style and composition to the Hadrianic boar-hunt

\textsuperscript{367} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{368} See K. Shefold, Der Alexander-Sarkophag (Berlin 1968); V. von Graeve, Der Alexandersarkophag von Siden und Seine Werkstatt (Berlin 1970). The lion hunting sarcophagi would go on to be widely popular for both official and private patrons. See B. Andreae, Die römischen Löwenjagdsarkophage (Berlin 1980); B. Andreae, Die symbolike des Löwenjagd (Opladen 1985).
The reason for having such an image would have been to enhance his own royal image via the “sport of kings”—with the king of kings Alexander—and to equate himself, as Alexander did, with moral aptitude and promotion of the arête that was understood to develop from hunting. To the Macedonians hunting was part of what it meant to be man. In addition, regardless of social standing one’s worth among his peers was measured against his exploits and accomplishments in the chase. The social value of the Roman aristocrat and elite would feed on this idea while simultaneously evoking Alexander for greater political objectives in a more Roman context.

Alexander would later prove to be an extremely effective model upon which to base one’s rule. Among the keener of emperors, Augustus and Hadrian would closely follow Alexander’s democratic treatment of subjugated peoples. Alexander’s “freedom of the

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369 Pollitt, 38.
370 Tuck, 245.
371 Anderson, 80.
372 See D. Spencer, The Roman Alexander: Reading a Cultural Myth (Exeter, 2002).
Greeks,” allowing them to be relatively independent, fostered a more accepting local body politic to ultimate authority under the Macedonian. This model was wisely followed by some later Romans.\textsuperscript{373} Basically it boils down to how the later emperors could most efficiently and powerfully convey imperium, virtue, piety, and peace by drawing out the most widely accepted characteristics of their eastern imperial, princely predecessors. Like any other form of propaganda, the hunt served as a tool to convey a sharp public message—some used it to better effect than others did. Xenophon, however, had a much more egalitarian view in his grand ideas about the overall benefits of the chase. To him it was just as much about the practical and educational value as it was about laying the building blocks for future princely aspirations. Polybius also recognized that hunting was not the sole means to achieve stature for the ambitious Roman, but rather it served as a valuable

\textsuperscript{373} Springborg, 89.
proving ground. 374

374 Green, 246.
The Roman Tradition

Preceding the Late Republic and early empire, we should again recognize Xenophon who was known to have influence not only on morality espoused by Hellenistic rulers but also accepted by contemporary Italian and Roman elite.\textsuperscript{375} An important example is Scipio Aemilianus (185 BC-129 BC) who was a fervent and ardent supporter of Xenophon; Scipio Aemilianus as an aristocratic, highly visible Roman military figure in the Republic, was perhaps the first to also be known for his hunting.\textsuperscript{376} Apparently the criticism earned by Scipio Aemilianus was prompted by concerns regarding his over zealousness for the hunt and lack of proper balance between private activities such as the hunt and the public, military and civic avenues most valued for the career of a leading citizen and aristocrat. As previously discussed, Italians and Romans did not view the hunt as a frivolous nor shameful endeavor—even in

\textsuperscript{375} Ibid, 248. This author also points to evidence supporting the belief that a Roman gentleman of the second century B.C. need read no further than Xenophon’s Cyropaidia.

\textsuperscript{376} See Orth, 502 FF; A.E. Astin, Scipio Aemilianus (Oxford 1967).
the imperial period. Polybius praised the hunt, and Scipio in particular for using it to build character and bravery. However, Scipio flaunted publicly his consuming passion for the hunt, something that was still—and ultimately—connected to eastern and oriental kingship and hence, his extreme pursuit of the hunt was abrasive and unusual. The activity of the hunt was secondary and personal, and was not to replace the valued civic, military and religious positions and achievements that constituted a great man, his cursus honorum (his honored career elevating his rank and standing as well as that of his descendants who benefited from his achievements). In contrast to these traditions and values of the Italian and Roman elite, the Macedonian king Alexander the Great undertook the hunt as integral to royal activities of his monarchy, and clearly needed no second thought to value the hunt as a royal

378 For the cost of such an imbalance and the political ramifications, see A. Erksine, “Hellenistic Monarchy and Roman Political Invective” CQ 41 (1991) 106-120.
prerogative, a direct legacy from the Orient. He was the epitome of monarchos, sole ruler. For Alexander the hunt symbolized total power and dominion over the world, other regions or other peoples, employed by earlier kings in the ancient Near East just as they could also employ animal attack scenes such as the massive lion of the Persian king and empire at Persepolis, the Apadana of Darius I in the late 6th c BC, which attacked and began to eat the bull representing the older region and former kingdoms of Mesopotamia. As we have seen, hunt imagery had served many generations of rulers in the ancient Near East and Egypt. Alexander the Great nonetheless could also reconcile the hunt as training and “sport” readying him for war. Balance seems to been part of his greater consideration to judge from views held by later authors such as Arrian and Plutarch. It is impossible to answer if Alexander conveyed an ideal ruler and empire creator in his own time. Surely

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379 Aymard, 45.
380 In general, see E. F. Schmidt, Persepolis (Chicago 2010).
381 See above, n. 365.
Augustus's interest in and competition with Alexander suggest that Alexander may have been successful in creating a world empire and promoting “civilization” while destroying anything that may pose a threat to that civilization.

For Julius Caesar and the early Caesars the hunt and the employment of hunts in the arena and for the public games varied. While not renowned for their own hunting, they used and brought the “hunt” directly to the masses whom they sought to placate and pacify. Julius Caesar staged what would more appropriately be termed slaughters more so than hunts. Augustus who also was not known to have hunted supported the sporting aspect as beneficial training for the youth of Rome. Augustus did use the staging of games, gladiatorial combats, and staged hunts (slaughters) very effectively. Varro remarked how the private

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382 Suetonius, Caesar, 10, 39. Dio, Caesar, 34.22. Decried by Cicero, Nat. D. 2.64 as being a pitiable moment as the many animals fell and greatly suffered.

383 Aymard, 95-96.

384 Suetonius, Augustus, 39. In fact, Augustus used the theatre and the games as a bonding experience of sorts for himself and the
hunting parks [the descendent of the Asiatic paradeisoi] of the Roman nobility began to grow in great numbers late in the second century BC. \(^{385}\) The respectability of the hunt, the role it could play in building physical strength and moral character, and the inherent solemnity of the hunt was lauded by Horace. \(^{386}\) In addition, Vergil, also a poet serving Augustus, reported that the Romans and early Latins had hunted. \(^{387}\)

Despite evidence for the hunt as an ever-growing part of the Roman leader’s identity, there were still no known monuments celebrating this theme as we have seen with other Mediterranean cultures. However, moving into the first century A.D., the emperors began to incorporate it into what they thought to be good

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\(^{387}\) Vergil, *Aeneid*, 7.651; Aymard, 103 ff.
ideas. My aforementioned point about knowing how to balance properly one’s personal interests and inclinations with those of the state has no better example than in Nero. In almost every way possible Nero misunderstood—or did not care because he was mentally unstable—his political position. It is quite possible that nothing could speak to this better than what Suetonius had to say about Nero’s own foray into the realm of hunting:

Since he was acclaimed as the equal of Apollo in music and of the Sun in driving a chariot, he had planned to emulate the exploits of Hercules as well; and they say that a lion had been specially trained for him to kill naked in the arena of the amphitheater, before all the people, with a club or a clasp of his arms.388

The appearance of the Roman emperor naked in public would not have been within the realm of decorum. Needless to say, Nero had become quite deluded in much of what he did. This planned display was very different from the heroic exploits of Alexander, Amenophis III, or Assurnasirpal. Nero’s desire to be seen as Hercules was in itself not flawed, nor was his

388 Suetonius, Nero, 3. The event itself was probably commemorated with a medallion struck in limited numbers, see Aymard, 194.
interest in using the hunt (in this case the slaying of a cornered animal in the arena) to symbolize of greater virtues than he may have possessed. The public arena as the means to present himself as Herakles rather than in vainglorious works of art was unacceptable and degrading to any aristocrat, and such inappropriate extremes were certainly not to be done by the head of state, the Princeps. Nero had always pushed the limits of his position and authority. It is indisputable that like Hadrian, Nero was a philhellenic. But unlike Hadrian, performance was desired by and done in public by Nero violating traditions and mos maiorum, Roman values. Again, the arts as performance were not to be done by any self-respecting Roman aristocrat. Nero's chief loves were singing, playing the lyre, poetry, acting, and chariot racing. Nero’s love of all things Greek, however,

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389 For Nero’s slaughters in the amphitheater, see Aymard, 194. Dio Nero, 62.15.
391 Ibid., 10, 12, 22; Tacitus, Annals, 14.4, in Tacitus, The Annals and the Histories, trans. A.J. Church and W.J. Brodribb
was distorted. It became the driving force behind his endless self-adoration. His role as Hercules was a way to gain what he thought to be public love, desire, adulation and applause. Nero’s addiction to Greek culture and the things Romans perceived to be “eastern” in origin were at the root of many of the troubles he encountered. Unlike Augustus’ keen political acuity in almost everything he did and careful use of Greek imagery in the arts, Nero's excesses and self-centered indulgence won ire from his citizenry, the elite and the army, all of whom he needed for his own political security. Valuing Greek culture was one thing, but placing that culture ahead of Roman civilization in the clumsy way that Nero did ultimately spelled his doom. Suetonius says that Nero went so far as to say things like, “Greeks are the only people who know how to listen… they only ones who deserve to hear me and my art.” 392 Nero’s follies seem almost limitless. He could have used his personal

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interests to position himself as learned, cultured, worldly, and brave; but instead he squandered the chance to prove any virtue to the Roman people. We could argue that Nero's bizarre behavior was probably just part of who he was. Nero immersed himself in non-traditional pursuits for two reasons: lack of any real clearly formulated policy of any kind; and the absence of concrete military triumphs during his reign. Unsuccessful, Nero was fashioning himself as a new kind of model emperor; unlike Augustus had done before him and like Hadrian and others did after him, there was no attempt by Nero to make palatable the actual, total power of the emperor and convey it as a publicly well received ideal: the Princeps, first among equals. Nero did try to use imagery to promulgate and disseminate his "image." Suetonius tells us of a coin that Nero had struck, which showed him on the reverse playing the lyre. And in other coinage Nero presented himself as a divine Hellenistic ruler-type,

393 For some of the aspects and oddities of Nero's Principate, see M.P. Charlesworth, "Nero: Some Aspects," JRS 40 (1950) 75-7. For the demise of Nero and the many voids in his accomplishments, see M. Griffin, Nero: The End of a Dynasty (London 1984).
394 Suetonius, 25.
at times in the guise of Alexander the Great or as Apollo himself—the embodiment of Greek art and civilization. Many things caused Nero’s self-destructiveness and gross misunderstanding of the Principate, not the least of which was his inability to balance personal tastes with the political underpinnings of his position as head of state. The year of the rapid succession of four emperors was perfectly inaugurated by Nero’s own last dying words, which encapsulate his Principate:

Dead! And so great an artist! Jupiter, what an artist perishes in me!

Of the emperors of the later first century A.D., Domitian (r. 81-96) tried to employ the hunt in his imagery as emperor. As we have seen, hunting itself was not new to Rome or to the Roman nobility, but what remained to be seen even in Domitian’s era was the adaptation of hunting imagery for the aristocracy into

397 Dio *Nero*, 63.29.2.
a public and civic context. The public display and use of such propagandistic imagery benefitting the emperor’s public image—rather than destroying—was lacking. The Hellenistic sources were there to be appropriated by Domitian and for other first-century Emperors. Tuck rightly pointed to the Hellenistic iconographical sources that informed the many fourth-style frescoes at Pompeii in places like the House of the Hunt and the House of Octavius Quartio.\footnote{Tuck, 222.} Tuck also argues that Domitian was himself attempting to redefine the \textit{virtus} of the emperor in the first century and furthermore that this virtue could find an acceptable outlet in the hunt and imperially sanctioned \textit{public} imagery and commissions.\footnote{Ibid.} We know that Domitian enjoyed hunting at his Alban estate, as we read in Suetonius:

He took no interest in arms, but was particularly devoted to archery. There are many who have more than once seen him slay a hundred wild beasts of different kinds at his Alban estate and purposely kill some of them with two successful shots in such a way that the arrows gave the effect of horns.\footnote{Suetonius, \textit{Domitian} 19; Aymard, 194.}
Upon scrutiny of the sources concerning Domitian and the hunt, it is hard to accept Tuck’s argument that Domitian was looking to redefine virtus and arête.\(^{401}\) Tuck argued that an equestrian monument of Domitian from the Sacellum of the Augustales of Misenum is the earliest known [public] image of the emperor as hunter (Fig. 39).\(^{402}\) The statue shows the emperor riding on a rearing horse with his arm upraised, which Tuck claims was once an image of the emperor with a javelin (now missing) about to thrust it into prey (now missing) at the feet of the horse. Furthermore, taking into consideration the above quote of Suetonius it becomes more difficult to see how this monument—discovered not in Rome but from the ancient naval port city of Misenum—was a way for the Domitian to redefine the virtues of the emperor. In all that he did, it seems as though Domitian operated through fear, the fear of

\(^{401}\) Ibid. We should keep in mind, however, that Suetonias, writing under Hadrian, took the senatorial/patrician position against Domitian. He is an indisputed source but needs to be taken as fairly biased. The true redefinition of the virtues via the hunt came under Hadrian, which I will discuss in chapter 5 below.

\(^{402}\) See n. 18 above.
his contemporaries, family, and fear even in how he engaged in the hunt. Speaking of Domitian, Pliny described the emperor’s campaign of fear as being “unreliable as a teacher of morals.”\textsuperscript{403} Dio tells us more about Domitian’s unsavory character as it relates to the hunt. His jealousy of those that outdid him in something that should have been for sport or to “build upon and redefine virtues” is clear:

Indeed his [Glabrio, who was a great slayer of beasts in the arena] prowess in the area was the chief cause of the emperor’s anger against him, an anger prompted by jealousy. For in Glabrio’s consulship Domitian had summoned him to his Alban estate to attend the festival called the Juvenalia and had imposed on him the task of killing a large lion, and Glabrio not only had escaped all injury but had dispatched the lion with most accurate aim.\textsuperscript{404}

By extolling Trajan’s virtues and his approach to hunting, Pliny points to the emperor’s love of the chase—the pursuit of the quarry—as much as the capture, as this was the most challenging part and

\textsuperscript{403} Pliny, \textit{Panegyricus}, 45.3. For commentary see B. Redice, “Pliny and the Panegyricus,” \textit{Greece and Rome}, vol. 15, no. 2 (October 1968) 166-172. As with Suetonias, Pliny had his biases. He worked for Trajan and shared the senatorial hostility to Domitian. He compared the tyrant Domitian to the liberator Trajan.

\textsuperscript{404} Dio \textit{Domitian}, 67.14.
thus the most laudable.\textsuperscript{405} And in the subsequent parts he infers that Domitian was quite different from Trajan in that the lowly and gloomy Domitian enjoyed only the distorted rush of the kill and that indeed one’s thrills—or sick and twisted pleasures—“tells us the most about his true worth, his moral excellence, and his self-control.”\textsuperscript{406} Just as Nero had misconstrued a great many things, so too did Domitian misuse the opportunity of the long-standing “Royal Hunt” to evoke kingly behavior and uprightness in the oriental tradition. If the monument from the Misenum Augustales was in fact a hunting monument, which is not known with certainty, it would have functioned very differently, and I argue would not have had the multilayered meaning and impact of Hadrian’s tondi. This stems in large part from the two very different personality types and Hadrian seeming to time and time again prove his political adeptness. Although

\textsuperscript{405} Pliny, \textit{Panegyricus} 81. Trajan’s hunting to be discussed below. Ronald Syme, “The Imperial Finances under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan,” \textit{JRS} 18 (1930) 55-70 and Brian W. Jones, \textit{The Emperor Domitian} (London 1992) wrote revisionist accounts of Domitian emphasizing his policy of “moralism” and rich patronage of literature, the arts, and building programs.  

\textsuperscript{406} Ibid., 82.
admittedly, Tuck’s arguments for making it a hunting monument by identifying: Domitian’s clothing as non-military dress; his civilian footwear; and lack of military imagery on the chest, are all valid, they do not account for the other oddities associated with the statue. The fact that the original face of Domitian was later replaced with that of Nerva as part of the Damnatio Memoriae does not explain why then Nerva, who had no history of engaging in the hunt or drawing upon it as part of his own new propagandistic aims, would use it in this case, unless of course it was simply to replace Domitian. Ultimately, the lack of something does not allow us to assume to insert an animal beneath the feet of the horse that Tuck argued as being terrified by an original beast belonging to the composition. Even in Domitian’s attempts to make more of a noble sport of the hunt at his Alban estate in the tradition of the paradeisos—thus evoking oriental monarchs and perhaps even Alexander the Great, he managed to distort and deceive.⁴⁰⁷ On its face, his

⁴⁰⁷ For Domitian at the Alban estate, see B.W. Jones, The Emperor
hunting was not as expressive of a strongman ridding the people of a dangerous force of nature by his sheer strength, will, and bravery. If we judged only from the sources, his hunting appeared more a selfish diversion at best. Said hunting monument would have had utterly different meaning and context given its patron, its composition, and accompanying architectural context within the temple, and the location at Misenum, which was a vibrant and important town, but it was not Rome—if we were to think the tondi were originally in Rome. In order to effectively use the theme and iconography Domitian would have had to have been a more credible vessel for Hellenic and oriental evocations to begin with. The idea that he was redefining virtus, as it was understood by the Romans, would not seem to apply here given his less successful Hellenophile program. The public perception of Domitian would have to be more favorable to make such associations with the hunt credible or forceful—as I believe they were with Hadrian. Perhaps then,

there are two possible conclusions. Either this monument was never intended to be a hunting monument, or it was and it laid the groundwork for a tradition carried out to full effect by Hadrian. I hold to the former, but the latter cannot be ruled out without further evidence.

Trajan, as we have seen, had a history for his hunting habits, but unlike Domitian, he used the hunt for more than just a means to indulge his blood lust. He saw the hunt—if we can believe even a little of Pliny’s words—as instructive, moral, good exercise, and an appropriate diversion for one who did not let it detract from the functions of the state. Truly, in the tradition of Cynegeticus, Pliny makes sure to say that Trajan first took care of the important matters of state before he took to diversion of any kind.  

Similarly, he is quick to point out that the hunt was merely part of and not all of what made Trajan great. Trajan honorably made proper devotions to the deities after the hunts and hikes: “in the older days… these

\[^{408}\text{Pliny, Panegyricus, 81.}\]
were the skills that formed the leaders of the future.”\textsuperscript{409} This recalls Xenophon’s claim that hunting “made sober and upright men... and good soldiers and generals.”\textsuperscript{410} Pliny saw Trajan’s hunts to be moments when he could fortify and build upon the moral worth and virtue he already possessed. He acknowledged that Trajan properly balanced his “serious” responsibilities with moments of leisure:

...he turns to relaxation like this. For it is a man’s pleasures (yes, his pleasures) which tell us most about his true worth, his moral excellence and his self-control.\textsuperscript{411}

Hadrian’s hunting was a sincerely loved activity—a private one until the tondi. He, unlike others who erroneously played the virtue card as applied to the hunt, managed to effectively display his interest in the hunt and reap all the positive associations that could come along with it. And if he was unpopular or not all the better. At the same time, he was still keeping it private by giving only visual expression in marble. He very adeptly—in fact

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{409} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{410} Xenophon, \textit{Cyn.}, 12.7.
\textsuperscript{411} Ibid., 82. Aymard, 492 called Trajan’s hunt an “honorable distraction.”
\end{flushleft}
ingeniously—had it both ways. If he wanted the hunt to prove his manliness, propitiousness, valor, and ability to symbolically protect Rome from dangers—like so many monarchs had done before him—then he would have to make it known through this commission and not literally seen by the people. For the Romans any good and noble deed not seen or made explicitly public was as good as not done at all and of no account.\(^{412}\) If indeed “huntsmen are to be commended because they assail powers hostile to the whole community,”\(^{413}\) then it would be of no renown if knowledge of the deed were obscured. To be the ideal, Hadrian had to convey, embody and uphold two traditions: all-powerful and protective ruler like those from the east of old,\(^{414}\) and the “first” and yet best citizen, Princeps of Rome like Augustus. Both ideologies, merged as one, would be key for Hadrian’s message in the tondi. In the three tondi that depict the boar, the bear, and the lion, the animals are


\(^{413}\) Xenophon, *Cyn.*, 13.12.

\(^{414}\) Aymard, 485.
either being chased in the so-called “predator control hunting” manner or are dead, as is the case with the lion. The butchery of the Assyrian relief panels was abandoned—but the heroism retained, and the cruelty of Domitian was not even a thought. No killing is on display in the tondi. Hadrian rightly grouped the tondi with the sacrifice roundels to reinforce and to balance with the message of the hunting scenes. He considered all of the hunts, whether actual or not, an act of personal piety and respect for the Roman gods.415

I have previously discussed Hadrian’s attempts to in many ways model himself as a “New Augustus.”416 Hadrian’s was a time of peace—relative peace. It, like the Pax Romana under Augustus, was also a time of relative stability. Hadrian’s ability to win renown, triumphs, and military glory like his adoptive father Trajan had done, or even like the archetypal Alexander, was not in the cards. He had tasted such

415 For the religious implications of the hunt, see Aymard, 506–513.
416 See n. 134 above.
glory serving under Trajan in his campaigns but never won it for himself as emperor. The images on the tondi could have met some of those needs. He could have virtue and virtus without conflict. Virtus, the virtue so deeply rooted in military action truly could be redefined in the hunts.\textsuperscript{417}

On the more practical side of the meaning of the hunt—these hunts—for Hadrian as a man, who had no wars of his own, were those things advocated by Xenophon, such as: improving sight; hearing, strength; keeping oneself young and vigorous; and good war training and preparation.\textsuperscript{418} Of greatest importance to Hadrian, as the herald of the next golden age for Rome,\textsuperscript{419} would be “...for men who are sound in body and mind may always stand on the threshold of success.”\textsuperscript{420} Interestingly, a very close friend of Hadrian gave new life to Xenophon’s treatise on hunting with an updated Cynegiticus in the second century. Arrian of

\textsuperscript{417} I give the emperor’s virtues considerable attention in chapter 5.

\textsuperscript{418} Aymard, 469ff.

\textsuperscript{419} See n. 20 above.

\textsuperscript{420} Xen, Cyn. 12.5.
Nicodemia, also known as the “new Xenophon,” authored a similar work by the same title and in the same literary tradition as the original *Cynegeticus*. Hadrian had named his friend Arrian to many high-ranking positions including legate of Cappadocia, senator, and then later Arrian went on—like Hadrian had done with such vigor earlier on—to serve as archon of Athens. Arrian also wrote the definitive history of the Macedonian lord of the first 'world' empire, Alexander the Great. Arrian’s hunting treatise followed the general approach as Xenophon’s original. It also stressed the moral and instructive possibilities that the hunt could bring. The character of the participant was fortified by his hunting techniques and by properly recognizing that the hunt could make an individual more sound of body and mind. It could be argued that Arrian’s version was even more moralizing than Xenophon’s was.

423 See pg. 72 above.
The inclusion of Antinous in the reliefs make the eight tondi, which evince a sense of them originally belonging to a “hunting monument,” make this even more than just a courageous pursuit of wild animals and ridding the world of violence and danger.\textsuperscript{425} Hadrian’s triumph of Athens as the “new Theseus” was found again in the tondi.\textsuperscript{426} He was making himself one with Theseus and Hercules by paralleling and appropriating their heroic deeds.\textsuperscript{427} And from the Greeks, he was bringing in part of the tradition that was central to the Panhellenion he founded—the games and training of the epheboi.\textsuperscript{428} Antinous, who was clearly important to Hadrian, was to be included in this public monument, which was totally unprecedented. The ephebes were young men of training age. Was Hadrian using the hunt as a subject here, combining the upbringing of a Greek youth—and this youth Antinous—with the prerogatives of a monarch in the mold of so many great ones before him? Arrian advocated for a man to start hunting just

\textsuperscript{425} Boatwright 1987, 201.
\textsuperscript{426} See pg. 90 above for the discussion of the gate/arch of Hadrian at Athens.
\textsuperscript{427} Boatwright 1987, 201.
\textsuperscript{428} See pg. 74 above.
as he was leaving boyhood. Plato called on the educational value of the hunt as instilling a great sense of honor and a thing when done properly “men who hunt this way have their thoughts fixed on godlike manhood.” It was the attempt of mortal men to train the young men of the day to join in surpassing the heroics of antiquity. Antinous would have been at the perfect age for this, which makes us recall the Oxyrhynchus papyrus painting the duo as “godlike… slayers of giants” in their famous hunts together. Considering the sacrifice to Diana, this one tondo reignites the heroic Calydonian boar hunt conducted by Meleager—aided by Theseus—to placate Artemis after the folly and hubris of king Oeneus who had omitted proper offerings to the goddess of the hunt.

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429 Arrian, Cynegeticus, 1.1.
430 Plato, Laws, 822d-24 (The quote is Anderson’s, 22).
431 See above 93-94 for the relationship between men and boys in antiquity. Arrian, Cyn, 14.1 also wrote about the close bond that could be formed between men and young boys who hunt together. This is not very different from the youth of today who hunt with older boys, brothers, fathers, and friends.
432 See above pg. 36.
433 See Homer, Iliad, 9.529-605); see Aymard, 515, for the later use in the funerary sense on sarcophagi. For the representation of the Calydonian boar hunt in art see S. Woodford and I. Krauskpf, LIMC 6/1.414–35. For mythological sarcophagi in general, see Toynbee 1934, 164-202; Anderson, 126 FF.
Hadrian’s possible goal then was to involve Antinous in the hunt in a very public way. Once again, united in the tondi they were erastos (singular as Hadrian is the leader-lover) and eromenos (Antinous— the beloved and student). The philhellenic Hadrian was incorporating the hunt into the paideia, which was appropriate in the making of an ideal heroic prince even in the mode of the Greek heroes themselves.\textsuperscript{434} Like with the education of Achilles by the centaur Cheiron the wise, a hero could win virtue and honor through the chase.\textsuperscript{435} Hadrian’s hunting expedition could have served to better himself as well as his pupil—education of man and youth to better their ideal form.\textsuperscript{436} Unlike any statue of Domitian from Misenum ever could have, the tondi could have redefined the notion of arête and what it was to be an excellent and virtuous ruler. Hadrian found acceptable common ground for this insertion of a Greek youth into his monument for the eyes of all Rome to see. The

\textsuperscript{434} See Aymard, 483–502.
\textsuperscript{435} Ibid, 487–488; Jaeger, Paideia, III, 180 ff.
\textsuperscript{436} See pg. 7f. above.
common ground was the hunt, at least in the manner captured in the tondi. It was a way for him to bring home his clear devotion to Antinous in a complex iconographic scheme that touted more than just a meaningless jaunt in the wood. The noble hunt could be read in a variety of ways as a result. It was indeed a means to train the youth of the day for leadership roles of tomorrow, but it was also the real life extraction of Antinous from his native Bithynia when he was a boy to train with Hadrian in the glorious hunts. This was very much the way young Spartan boys were taken from their families to undergo their own trials preparing them for manhood and future battle—the agoge. Hadrian’s message and motivation in involving hunting imagery then is also somewhat different from the motivations of his predecessors both in Rome and in the royal societies of the east. His message relied on those traditions and used them to stand for both the typical leader as strongman and brave protector together with his role as the ideal, “kingly,” archetypal prince. The hunt could be made
public through the justification that the emperor was also displaying Roman virtue in just as effective a manner as if he had really brought down a leader of an enemy state of Rome with a real spear on a real battlefield. The inclusion of the boy Antinous was just one part of Hadrian’s wider Hellenic tendencies wherein he very keenly praised all things Greek but at the same time was sure to make public his Romaness and respect for Roman traditions. Thus, in the tondi he very rightly—or righteously—made the appropriate sacrifices to the Roman gods, fulfilling his functions as chief priest of the state cult. Hadrian managed to balance all of these things in this one monument with great success. It is my contention that these scenes, particularly the hunting tondi, could not have been
met with popular approval with any other patron except Hadrian. He was the perfect initiator in the perfect time with ideal historical context to bring the tondi to fruition.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁷ For hunting in the Antonine Age, see Aymard in general, but especially 163ff. and 537ff.; Anderson, 122-153.
Chapter 5

The Round Format

In this chapter, I offer an interpretation of the tondi as being completely original in their combination of classicizing historical relief with the round format. The shape of the reliefs had roots in clipeus virtuti (shield of honor), Roman coinage, and the enigmatic Roman marble oscilla. The tondi still relied on the traditional imagery of the sacrifice, but they also offered the hunt as a theme to speak to Hadrian’s virtues as well as his personal passions and tragedies. In the second century, the reliefs would have been their own kind of currency with a unique message to be circulated visually.

In my sixth and seventh consulships, when I had extinguished the flaws of civil war, after receiving by universal consent the absolute control of affairs, I transferred the republic from my own control to the will of the senate and the Roman people. For this service on my part I was given the title Augustus by decree of the senate, and the doorposts of my house were covered with laurels by public act, and a civic crown was fixed about my door, and golden shield was placed in the Curia Julia, whose inscriptions testified that the senate and the Roman people gave me this in recognition of my valor, my
clemency, my justice, and my piety.\textsuperscript{438}

These were not Hadrian’s words but those of Augustus. Augustus was given the reward of the golden shield proclaiming his virtues as the ideal statesman. Copies of the shield were disseminated and hung throughout the empire for all to see (Fig. 40).\textsuperscript{439} Augustus’ pride in winning virtus, clementia, iustitia, and pietas is clear. The shields were a means to deliver his propaganda over vast distances to many cultures around the empire, but nowhere was it more important than in Rome. The shield itself was derived from earlier sources and was often reproduced in art and coinage.\textsuperscript{440} In time, Augustus sought to be identified with these virtues. Most importantly, his virtues were effectively promoted and established as his alone, and


\textsuperscript{439} The last surviving \textit{Clipeus Virtutis} of Augustus is a marble copy found at Arles. S. Weinstock, \textit{Divus Julius} (Oxford 1971) 229 and pl. 18.

\textsuperscript{440} Representations of the shield are numerous. For collections, see Seston, \textit{CRAI} (1954) 286 FF; T. Hölscher, \textit{Victoria Romana} (1967) 102-112; H.W. Benario, ANRW II, 2 (1975) 80 FF. In Augustus’ own forum, the shield form was applied to depictions of Jupiter Amon and other divinities in shields in the second story of the porticos flanking the temple of Mars Ultor. For the sculptural program of the forum, see E. Simon, \textit{Augustus: Kunst und Leben in Rom in die Zietenwend} (Munich 1986).
every successor of merit would seek to achieve acclaim equivalent to that of Augustus. They would stress their own particular virtues, some virtues more than others—Hadrian included. The tondi of Hadrian conveyed a different set of virtues and ideas in a different time, place, medium, and with a different patron. But these reliefs and their format and meanings still owed much to Augustus and his virtues originally emblazoned as his special civic merit on his public and commemorative shield awarded to him from the Senate and Roman People in 27 BC.

The origins of the commemorative shield, or clipeus virtuti, predate Augustus, although he celebrated it and perhaps motivated the Senate to devise it as a supreme and yet traditional honor for his great achievements. To the Greeks and the Hellenistic kings the shield was a military decoration hung in temples for bravery. Shields of this kind were dedicated in temples, inscribed with honors,\(^{441}\) or had

\(^{441}\) As was the shield of Aeneas in Aeneid, 3.288.
the portrait of the dedicator on them.\textsuperscript{442} The ruler’s shield, an important device (and a Greek contribution as it concerns figured imagery) reached back to Homer as seen in his description of the shield for godlike Achilles made by the smith god Hephaistos and delivered to him from his goddess and mother Thetis.\textsuperscript{443} Helios, god of the sun, and the gorgon Medusa were often projected on the surface of the shields of heroes and kings alike, but the faces of the gods and protective Medusa were replaced by the godly Alexander the Great.\textsuperscript{444} The ruler’s shield took on the form of the portrait tondo in the fourth century and in fact even had funerary use in Greek tombs.\textsuperscript{445} The head of Alexander on the shield started with Alexander merging with Helios-Dios, and in fact, he often took on the guise of or was merged with Helios, as he had in art

\textsuperscript{442} S. Weinstock, 233 n.5.
\textsuperscript{443} Homer, \textit{Illiad} XVIII
and coins. As we have already seen in this study, to the Romans, Alexander the Great had become legend—a man of superhuman achievements and virtue. His glorious deeds of great “things done” made him eternal, if not divine. For the elite of Italy and Rome, Roman art inherited and often chose to embrace the masterful arts of the Greeks with a pronounced interest in the successful imagery for heroes, the gods, and the incredible Alexander the Great.

For Alexander, and later the Romans, “the essential requirement for the successful charismatic ruler is the possession (in his subjects’ eyes) of power regarded as coming from outside, not from normal human nature”—which we can label as imperial virtues. Fears defined virtue as “the power operative influence inherent in a supernatural being.”

\[447\] Ibid, 423.
making him the embodiment of power.\textsuperscript{449} While the Roman virtues were not exactly analogous to the Greek philosophical virtues ascribed to kings into the Hellenistic period, they still gave the appearance of having been derived from them. For these virtues to be outright copies of Greek virtues would have been anachronistic and perhaps in some of the virtues inappropriate for a Roman.\textsuperscript{450} Traditional Italian and Roman values placed virtus 'first'. Scipio, Pompey, and Julius Caesar excelled in virtus, the "manliest" of the virtues and directly tied to military accomplishment.\textsuperscript{451}

Returning to Augustus, we must remember that he proclaimed virtues that he chose to be most significant. There was no canon of virtues per se, but rather an individual or political choice on the part of the emperor. The Greek monarchs would have liked to


\textsuperscript{450} A. Wallace-Hadrill, 301ff. The four cardinal virtues of Greek philosophical thought on kingship being andreia (bravery), sôphrosune (temperance), dikaiosune (justice), and sophia (wisdom). For the idea of the Roman virtues having derived from the Greek, see M.P. Charlesworth, "The Virtues of a Roman Emperor: Propaganda and the Creation of Belief," \textit{PBA} 23 (1937) 105-133.

\textsuperscript{451} For the virtues as they apply to Caesar, see Weinstock, 230ff.
be seen by their communities as saviors, benefactors, and helpers to the people. Augustus may have adopted these general notions and practices. He was using a different language, and wisely chose to be Princeps, first among equals, but actually without peer as the chief among citizens, and in his Res Gestae highly valued the title, Pater Patriae in 2 BC making him father of the nation. Augustus built upon this foundation, and eclipsed all as his time, unlike Julius Caesar’s, was a time of peace—his gift, Pax Romana. The virtues of Augustus on the shield would have spoken to that. In spite of lacking the military career of Julius Caesar or Scipio, Augustus held superior virtus as he brought peace and prosperity promoted by an empire under Rome that military conquest had sought and never realized until Augustus' leadership. Like Julius Caesar, Augustus chose clementia (clemency), a virtue for the ideal head of state. Interestingly, both Julius Caesar and Augustus chose to absorb their non-Roman foes and opponents

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452 Fears, 106.
453 So named in 2 B.C. (Res Gest. 34).
rather than harm them; however, those foes helped to murder Julius Caesar while Augustus had successfully obtained their support. With Augustus, Iustitia conveyed that he ruled in a just manner, or rather, without obvious tyranny. And pietas, piety, fulfilled tradition and won deep reverence from the people and was another important safeguard from any competition. Thus, each virtue was well employed by Augustus and helped his overall success. His perceived concern for his people and Rome’s traditions—both civic and religious—made Augustus worthy of his special title, Augustus, august head of state. The shield made Augustus Rome’s savior.

Like Julius Caesar and Augustus, Hadrian had visited the great cities of the east but Hadrian invested and returned. He valued and was impressed with what he had seen. To bridge the east and west, Augustus had often employed an Athenian or Classical imagery. Hadrian found greater potential in and could successfully merge the artistic symbolism used by his Roman predecessors and his eastern counterparts. As
known in classical Greek art of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the round format beyond bowls and shields was rare but not unknown. Most important is the special honor given to trophies once hung and indeed included shields won from the opponent; such victory shields were known to have been on the epistyle of the Parthenon and on the metopes of the Tholos of Epidauros. At Delos, a possible hero shrine to king Mithridates of Pontos in the sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace, 102-101 BC, bore portrait busts of his favored courtiers carved in marble with and on the shield or tondo. The military honor was important in all of these examples. Similarly, Hadrian’s colossal temple at Cyricus bore a giant imago clipeata of sorts of the emperor in the central part of the pediment of that largest temple in the ancient world (Figs. 17-18). It was said that,

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455 R. Winkes in, “Pliny's Chapter on Roman Funeral Customs in the Light of Clipeatae Imagines,” AJA 83 (Oct. 1979) 481-484 admits that in the debate concerning the imago clipeata still was not determined, but uses Pliny to explain its importance to the Romans and to Virtus. See also R. Winkes, “Clipeata Imago,” Studien zur einem romischen Bildnis (1969) 6, 10-15.
“Hadrian, having set up for himself the marble stele of a great bust, right there in the roof of the temple.”

Bulle recognized that this passage referred to Hadrian’s bust in the form of the *imago clipeata*, as also used in relation to Marcus Aurelius is evident in the remains from the pediment of the propylaia at Eleusis; the latter serves also as evidence of continued use of the military shield after Hadrian’s era. It is possible that the tondi of Hadrian in Rome were part of this military tradition, important to the Greeks and to the Romans, and extended to embrace figured scenes rather than the portrait bust or the war shield at its simplest form. I will develop this discussion later, namely that his tondi were a means with which Hadrian could convey his imperial virtues and fitness to rule. They could have become the Hadrianic version, or the “New Augustus” version, of the *Clipeus Virtutis* that once hung throughout the empire led by Augustus. Hadrian was seeking to extend...

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456 See above pg. 57 and n. 114.
457 Bulle, 161. This connection between the shields and the tondi is contested by Condurachi, 457–8.
458 Maull, 57, says that Hadrian fully intended the association with the *Clipeus votivus*. 
the definition of virtus to include the hunt.\textsuperscript{459}

Hadrian’s military service came at a time before he was emperor, thus he did not claim it as his own. Hadrian gained much experience under his predecessor and father-in-law Trajan. Hadrian could have patterned his career and imperial imagery after Trajan, but in the arts as we shall see, Hadrian chose to develop his own ideals. He successfully served under Trajan, the superlative commander who claimed and was recognized for specific virtues with which he wanted to be identified. Trajan was able to reveal many of his virtues with his defeat of the Dacians.\textsuperscript{460} Trajan’s extensive empire surpassed that of Augustus; his dominion won through war, and with his conquests, he extended the realm, romanitas, and pax romana; hence Trajan in many respects fulfilled the ideal Princeps defined by Augustus. But through a strenuous military career, Trajan’s wars and victories also produced peace. Trajan in fact surpassed Augustus in the traditional Roman virtus, military honor and

\textsuperscript{459} Tuck, 240.  
\textsuperscript{460} See Dio, Trajan, 68 and Plin, Pan 10.
achievement, because Augustus had no great military record. Although he claimed one with the defeat of Brutus and Cassius and the conquest of Egypt. The column of Trajan commemorating his Dacian wars (AD 105-106, 114-117) was designed and still conveys the Emperor Trajan as the focused commander, thoughtful and decisive ruler and divinely recognized savior. His military achievements and excellence, his virtus, are paramount and in all a purposeful balance is also achieved with scenes on the column to demonstrate his clementia for the enemy, as well as his pietas.\footnote{For the column, see F. Corelli, The Column of Trajan, trans, C. Rockwell (Rome 2000).} For sure the column was mostly about his virtus, the war won by Trajan Dacius who would also be given the name ‘Optimo Principi’ (as early as AD 100 and officially in 114) because “in the eyes of all [he is] equally highest and best.”\footnote{Plin., Pan. 88.} Pliny’s lengthy Panegyricus certainly fulfilled its name to extol the many virtues of Trajan.

On Trajan’s arch at Beneventum other virtues are
made evident in the many relief panels (Fig. 41).\textsuperscript{463} To Pliny, Trajan was the best of the Principate and the superlative Princeps. Nowhere was this more evident in the imperial imagery than in the reliefs on the arch of Trajan at Beneventum wherein Trajan is being divinely elected by Jupiter to lead the Roman people (Fig. 42); divine bounty and prosperity represented by other deities adore him while the passageway permit city goddesses to escort him and children of Italy who benefit from his alimenta program (Fig. 43). The alimenta program was essentially a donative program that would allow for the distribution of free corn to the children and poor of Italy.\textsuperscript{464} Such actions and planning demonstrated his providentia, his foresight or forethought in providing for the people, like a father who provides for his family.\textsuperscript{465} This virtue was important to his people, who looked to the emperor for help and valued him as an all-knowing ruler able to meet their needs and award safety. Rufus Fears

\textsuperscript{463} For the Arch, see C. Pietrangeli, L’Arco di Triano a Benevento (Novara 1947).

\textsuperscript{464} Pliny, Pan. 26. See also A. Von Domaszewski, “Die politische Bedeutung des Traiansbogens in Benevent,” ÖJH 2 (1899)173-98.

\textsuperscript{465} Charlesworth, 115-16.
eloquently said of the arch that it did in pictures what Pliny did in words.\textsuperscript{466}

Hadrian’s achievements as represented in the tondi are twofold. His pietas is evident in the sacrifice scenes and thus maintained something of the more traditional, time-honored Roman virtues. But on a new level of meaning and with new imagery, he and Antinous, like the deeds of the Greek heroes, had made this event epic both physically and spiritually in the hunting and sacrifice scenes of the tondi. And their doings were thus celebrated and even commemorated in divine-like honors even, as we have seen, on votive shields. Like those heroes, Hadrian and Antinous are depicted in the tondi as an epiphany coming into Rome after a hard-fought and successful battle, except in this case Hadrian was making his virtus known through his and Antinous’ war with wild animals. The tondi were a potent way to exercise his role as protector of the people and possessor of virtues that would have been understood on a deeper

\textsuperscript{466} Fears, 917.
level by the aristocratic audience, and in a broader sense by those who could make connections and find abilities demonstrated here that are necessary for effective leadership.

The round format of the tondi may have roots in another powerful medium for conveying the imperial virtues—coinage. Toynbee called Hadrian’s coins and medallions “the greatest historical monument of Hadrian’s reign” and “the finest record of political achievement ever produced at Rome.” The striking of coins from Hadrian’s reign produced a large and varied inventory. A survey of the various types, which range from the Hadrian’s adoption by Trajan, early policy (domestic and foreign), imperial vows, and into the later years will not be revisited here. But I do

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467 Toynbee 1934, 3.
468 For the imperial coinage, see H. Cohen, Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain communément appelées médailles imperials (Paris 1880-92); F. Gnechi, I medaglioni romani 3 vols. (Milan 1912); H. Mattingly, Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire (London 1928); BMC: H. Mattingly, Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum (London 1923); P. Strack, Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts. II: Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Hadrian (Stuttgart 1933).
hope to demonstrate that by looking at the coinage in certain cases where virtues are conveyed and messages are being spelled out, as it were, we can see correlations with the tondi. Obviously, coins are round, but after getting beyond this fact and seeing how the round format played into the conception of the Hadrianic tondi helps to further our understanding of them and their patron. If we keep in mind that the coins of any emperor were a potent instrument for fashioning opinion in the empire, perhaps even influencing men’s views, then we can see how the tondi were doing the same thing. With his coinage, Hadrian was emphasizing his character as a second Augustus and re-founder of Rome. Some directly state the idea of Augustus being reborn as “Hadrianus Augustus Pater Patriae.” I have already made the point that the tondi were a way to certify the character of the emperor and would be “read” by the people and based on what they were seeing. They would

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470 Charlesworth, 110.
471 Mattingly 1925, 219.
472 Ibid, 217 f.
confirm that they needed him in a variety of ways, so too, was the coinage a major vehicle for the propagation of belief. Indeed, the overall character and thrust of each reign could be determined by what types of personifications and virtues were included in the coinage. The virtues that Hadrian had incorporated into his coinage were many, but interestingly he is only one of three emperors to mint all four of the Augustan virtues. And under Hadrian the first conscious series of virtues was minted with Pietas and Virtus. It comes down to the simple point that the reason why the emperors used the coins for propaganda is the same reason why they are so valuable to the modern historian: they were (and still are) the single best vehicle for dissemination of the official imperial propaganda. What they were was portable—portable and widely distributed. The use of the

473 Charlesworth 1937, 110 believed very strongly in the coins’ ability to have real influence in focusing political emotion on the imperial house. Pears, 912 however, thought that the role of the coins in the overall Imperial propaganda was small. Further skepticism can be found in G. Belloni, “Significato storico-politico della figurazioni e délla scritte delle monete da Augusto a Triano,” ANRW II, 1 (1974) 997ff. And quite to the contrary Toynbee 1934, 3 thought that the coins conveyed the essential characteristics of the whole empire.

coinage was no different from the use of large-scale building projects, sculptures, and historical reliefs. It became the exclusive prerogative of the imperial house. The inclusion of virtues in the imperial mint spiked sharply during the reign of Hadrian, which in itself was linked to the direction of the texts of the time, such as Pliny’s *Panegyricus*. In AD 128 Hadrian became innovative once again in that for the first time he instituted core virtues into the imperial mint. The instituting of Liberalitas, Indulgentia, Patientia, Pudicitia, Tranquilitas, and also Clementia, and Iustitia marked the first time for a deliberate “gallery of virtues.” The virtue of Liberalitas appeared for the first time in the Hadrian’s coinage. It stressed that the emperor had a moral obligation to provide for his people, and only

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476 Ibid., 156. Norena, 155-6, 163, also breaks down in graph form the relative distribution and frequency of virtues and iconographic categories of imperial Denarii from Vespasian to Severus Alexander. See also Wallace-Hadrill 1981, 310-311, for the pattern of distribution.
477 Wallace-Hadrill 1981, 312. This author also believes that the upsurge can be directly correlated to the writings of those, such as Pliny, who spoke to the human virtues of the emperor, which make him an ideal and perfect ruler.
one possessing *virtutis*, which was also common in Hadrian’s coins, could ensure that. It makes sense that without possessing certain virtues the emperor could not deliver to the people what they needed, which came from other virtues like *Liberalitas*. The result of this and any message sent on the coins was that the emperor had the inherent power and virtue to provide for the people.

Like Augustus before him, Hadrian looked to unify the empire and make it a unified state, a homogenous world body. Hadrian’s enduring legacy is in his travels to the farthest reaches of the empire and his acceptance—and in some cases love—of the cultural traditions of each of those disparate parts. As a result, Hadrian sought to give visual, artistic expression to this idea in his great “province” coin series medallions. The impetus for the province series is definitely linked to Hadrian’s grander conception of the empire and himself as its main

478 Pliny, *Panegyricus*, used the term *Liberalitas* more than a dozen times when describing Trajan’s virtues.
479 The idea is Toybee’s 1934, xxvii.
480 All struck in the period between AD 134–138. See Mattingly 1925, 220, who places to AD 134–35.
functionary. Hadrian’s travels to all parts of the empire do not need to be completely revisited here.\textsuperscript{481} But re-emphasis on Hadrian’s belief that all parts of the empire deserved imperial beneficence and recognition is warranted. Part of the motivation for traveling as he did was to give a public face to his policies in all countries and cities of the empire. What better way to show oneself as a great benefactor imbued with Liberalitas and Clementia for those people than to make appearances as he did? He was often praised upon those visits as “restorer” or “benefactor” or “liberator.”\textsuperscript{482} If his truly was a vision of a unified empire, a one-world state, in the mode and approach of archetypal leaders like Alexander and Augustus then a great memorial of sorts was justified. And as such, the province series that in many ways were a microcosm of the man and his ideals for Rome and “...personification represented on his coins... are intended to convey, symbolically, the essential characteristics and significant features,

\textsuperscript{481} See chapter 3 above for the travels.
\textsuperscript{482} See pp. 67, 197 above.
one might almost say the ‘group-psychology’ of the various provinces and province cities.” The personifications of the provinces represented in numismatic language, imperial ideas. The very use of the words “ideas” and “personification” speaks to an abstraction, an embodiment, or message. The coins came to be a visual, mass-circulated record of Hadrian’s achievements in all parts of the empire. It has been said that Hadrian’s effort to make concrete his policy of peace, consolidation, and inclusion (and in some cases personal submission to) other cultures was his own version of the traditional historical relief bespeaking a military victory or any other kind of canonized commemoration. That is to say, that the coins were, like the personifications on them, abstractions – things based in ideas.

The importance of the provinces in Hadrian’s

483 Toynbee, 3.  
484 The hypostatized nature of some of the “deities” represented on the reverse sides of the province series is addressed in J.M. Toynbee, “Picture-language in Roman Art and Coinage,” in Mattingly Essays, 205ff.  
485 Toynbee 1934, xxvii.
general era even found expression in the Hadrianium—the temple to the Divine Hadrian,\(^{486}\) which was built by Hadrian’s successor but is still a powerful index of Hadrian’s imperial policy.\(^{487}\) While Antoninus Pius did not himself have as much of the personal interests in the trappings of the provinces as Hadrian did, he was still honor bound by tradition to uphold the legacy of his predecessor. But Pius did recognize the importance of maintaining the same policies of acknowledgement and support of the provinces. Originally, more than twenty reliefs adorned the temple as architectural decoration.\(^{488}\) This lasting monument conceived by Antoninus Pius for the posthumously deified Hadrian was perhaps the perfect culmination of Hadrian’s Principate. It combined his divine nature with the provinces, the parts of the empire he embraced repeatedly. The Hadrianium and its provinces would be the posthumous memorial and an epitome to the peoples

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\(^{486}\) Now surviving in the form of the Roman stock market.\(^{487}\) For the temple, see Toynbee 1934, 152–9. L. Cozza, ed., *Tempio di Adriano: Lavori e studi di archeologia pubblicati dalla soprintendenza archeologica di Roma* I (Rome 1982).\(^{488}\) Though, there is some debate as to exact original location of the reliefs. See Toynbee, 20–21.
and places part of Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli, which was a visual microcosm of the parts of the empire to which he gave favor. And both are like the province coin series in that respect.

Lastly in my points about the Hadrianic coinage are the bronze medallions struck during Hadrian’s Principate and afterwards. Recognized as current money in Rome these pieces, were not intended for mass circulation—relative to regular coinage. The medallions were aimed at a special, select audience and would have been presented to people as presentation pieces. One important point about the medallion is that they were made under the direct supervision of the emperor.489 Medallions existed before Hadrian’s era, but the first large-scale striking came under Hadrian.490 The advantages of the medallions were many. Since they were under the direct supervision of the emperor, the subjects could be more unconventional with more illusionistic possibilities

489 For the medallions, see Gnecci, I medaglioni romani (1912); Mattingly 1928.
490 To this and the following general discussion of the medallions I and indebted to Toynbee 1934, xxix F.
and could refer to things of a more particular interest or personal nature. Due to the larger size and small-scale striking, more time and skill could be spent on making them a medium for artistic expression not possible on regular coinage. As with the province series of regular issue coins, the medallions served as a vehicle to convey the interests of the emperor. In the case of the medallions, however, artistic expression could be given to tastes of an even more personal nature. Two such medallions depicting Hadrian on a rearing horse hunting a lion and bearing the inscription *Virtuti Augusti* are directly analogous to the boar and bear hunt tondi on the Arch of Constantine (Fig. 44). This close affinity between the two has not been lost on modern scholars.\(^\text{491}\) And while the medallions are glorifying Hadrian’s courage in the hunt they are declaring his virtus. This long-standing, ever-used virtue of the Romans, yet ever elusive for Hadrian, was being applied here to the

\(^{491}\) Condurachi, 453, goes so far as to suggest they and the tondi, owning to stylistic similarities, could have come from the same workshop. The medallions may in fact predate the tondi. H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* (London 1923) III... pg. CXX, dates them to AD 128.
victory won in the chase and not on the battlefield.\textsuperscript{492}

This was the actual redefinition of the imperial virtues to include the hunt. The richness and many-textured aspect of the Hadrianic tondi continue to have parallels in other sources and other media. And given the lack of precedence for the round format for a large-scale historical relief such as the tondi it becomes less a question of speculation about how we should interpret the tondi and more about how many layers of meaning and inspiration the tondi have.\textsuperscript{493}

There is one final piece relevant to that surround the tondi and their origins and use of the round format. While no one source is definitive, the derivatives of both the shields and the coins have proven to be more analogous than exact. But the comparisons are as legitimate as they are with the

\textsuperscript{492} For a discussion on the limited opportunity for the aristocracy of Rome to achieve virtutis in the traditional sense, see M. Roller, Constructing Autocracy: Aristocrats and Emperors in Julio-Claudio Rome (Princeton 2001).

\textsuperscript{493} The hunt on Roman coinage was unique when the Hadrianic medallions were struck. But a trend of sorts for this kind of iconography was picked up by his Antonine successors and coins of nearly identical appearance were struck by Commodus and Marcus Aurelius. See Aymard, 526–27.
Roman marble oscilla (oscillum in the singular). The oscilla were rustic cult objects for Bacchus/Dionysus. Archaic Italian cults found great popularity in the first and into the second century, to which most of the oscilla have been dated. Most of the surviving oscilla come from Pompeii and Herculaneum, though there are examples elsewhere. Properly speaking the objects and the word “oscillum” does not always mean a tondo image. The other forms of the oscilla are the pinax (a framed rectangle), the pelta (a broad lunate shield), and masks. But the tondo (or thin disk) is my primary concern and the form that has the best correlation to the Hadrianic tondi. These small objects—on average approximately one and a half feet in diameter—were likely originally hung by a hook from the architrave, one to each intercolumniation in

496 Some have been discovered in Roman Gaul, Athens, and Tivoli.
497 See Taylor, 84, for the parsing of the word.
a peristyle (Fig. 45).\textsuperscript{498} The lone definitive mention of the objects in the sources comes from Virgil’s Georgics where he described cult practices directed to Bacchus:

\begin{quote}
The sons of Theseus through the countryside hamlet and crossway set the prize of wit, and on smooth sward over oiled skins dance in their tipsy frolic. Furthermore the Ansonian swains, a race from Troy derived, make me cry with rough rhymes and boisterous mirth, grim masks of hallowed bark assume, invoke thee with glad hymns, o Bacchus, and to thee hang puppet-faces on tall pines to swing.\textsuperscript{499}
\end{quote}

In this quote, the oscillation quality of the masks is assumed as being part of a larger celebration whereby they are suspended from the branches of trees. The art of suspending the tondi oscilla in the later Pompeian settings was central to their meaning.\textsuperscript{500} This is something to which I shall return below.

The oscilla are also related to the paintings in


\footnotesize\textsuperscript{499} Virgil, Georgics 2.387-96, in Vergil, Bucolica, Aeneid, and Georgics of Virgil, trans. J.B. Greenough (Boston 1900).

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{500} Taylor, 84.
Roman domestic settings. Frescoes from Stabiae depict trees with suspended objects much in the manner described by Virgil. The cubiculum fresco from the Villa of Publius Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, reconstructed in The Metropolitan Museum, displays shields and masks in different scenes. The wall paintings provide valuable two-dimensional evidence for the display of the oscilla. But to gain an even better understanding of the oscilla and how they relate to the tondi we may turn to something I have already discussed in this chapter—the clipei. The military shields hung in temples had apotropaic qualities in addition to their honorific attributes. Many Pompeian oscilla have similar apotropaic subjects (gorgoneion, head of Jupiter Amon, etc.). Marble tondi correspond to the original metal military shields. An obvious prototype would be the aforementioned shields with the heads of Jupiter Amon from the Attic

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501 See Dwyer, 250 n. 13.
502 See Taylor, fig. 4.
503 Taylor, 93.
505 Dwyer, 251.
of the Forum of Augustus (Fig. 46). In the Pompeian examples, however, they have become “Dionysiac armor” for an altogether different context. And the frescoes from a room in the villa at Oplontis depict circular shields hanging from the architraves that would have been votive in nature (Fig. 47).

Other important tondi/oscilla from Pompeii are those that represent mythological characters (faun, maenads, satyrs, etc.) in the act of sacrificing and/or dancing. This type evidently was meant to represent Bacchic tympana. Very importantly, this type has no architectural precedent, which makes them closest in theme and style to the Hadrianic tondi. The position of the tondi/oscilla at Pompeii within the intercolumniations is directly analogous visually to the placement of the Hadrianic tondi above the lateral bays of Constantine’s arch. This is further evidence that Constantine possibly reused the tondi in

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506 See above n. 440.
507 They could have served as decorative objects as well.
508 Taylor, 93, says these would be understood as thank offerings made by warriors and that they were fundamentally votive.
509 Dwyer, 251.
510 Bulle, 163.
a way that was similar to the now lost original Hadrianic “hunting monument.” There is evidence in a Trajanic coin that furthers this possibility, which is even more similar to the disposition of the garden oscilla. The gold aureus features on the reverse a now lost arch or gate with the legend “Forum Trajan.” (Fig. 48) The arch is thought to have been part of the entrance to Trajan’s forum. On the coin is an arch with one main, central doorway flanked by columns on either side. There are two aedicule to either side of the central passage with two additional columns each. All columns are the same height and reach to the attic of the arch. Above the central passage and each aediculae are circular designs that resemble either clipei virtutis or imaga clipetata. But the most

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511 Constantine even reused the tondo form on the east and west ends of the arch where he contributed original Sol and Luna tondi. For Constantine’s predilection for Sol/Apollo and the sun god’s cult in general, see M. Wallraff, Christus verus sol: Sonnenverehrung und Christentum in der Spätantike (Münster 2001). For the moon goddess Luna, see C. Koch, Gestirnverehrung im alten Italien: Sol Indiges und der Kreis der di Indigetes (Frankfurt 1933).


514 According to P. Zanker 1970, 499-544 the imago clipeata ob the coin was an immediate precursor and belonged to military imagery.
striking thing is that they are located between the columns and below the attic in exactly the same manner as the Pompeian oscilla in the intercolumniations of the peristyle.\textsuperscript{515} Furthermore, the subjects of the Pompeian types are often of sacrifices, dancing, and hunting, many times in Hellenistic rustic landscapes. Once again, we have evidence of similar sacrifices in similar “sacro-idyllic” landscapes. One example from Pompeii in particular has striking similarities. In the House of the Citharist,\textsuperscript{516} probably from the intercolumniation, we have a tondo image of a youthful satyr involved in part of a ceremony for the cult of Bacchus (Fig. 49). Others of similar style with the simple raised fascia include a young Hercules accompanied by a boar and an old satyr making offerings to a herm (Fig. 50). There is a Tivoli connection as well to some of these same tondi types.

\textsuperscript{515} A point not lost on Dwyer, 251-52, but he does not make the connection with the coin and the lost arch.

\textsuperscript{516} For the house in general in an older but useful study, see G. Fiorelli, \textit{Descrizione di Pompei} (Napoli 1875).
“Found near the Canopus”\textsuperscript{517} of Hadrian’s villa there is a surviving tondo with a young satyr with a staff and panther skin over his shoulder as he holds a thyrsus (Fig. 51). This scene and the others here described are part of the rustic or archaic religious beliefs that were being practiced in the second century. The manner in which the Tivoli tondo would have been situated is not known, but given the similarities—albeit with a ridged fascia, maybe it could have been in a garden setting.\textsuperscript{518} And like the gardens at Pompeii, Hadrian’s entire villa could be said to have been a place where culture and nature came together. The religious aspects of the gardens at Pompeii are clearer than at Tivoli. But the growing list of things at Tivoli (the Canopus, Serapeum, the Antinous statues, the Antoneion and accompanying obelisk) does indicate that the villa was a coming together of an imperial getaway on the Tiber with a broader


\textsuperscript{518} The Tivoli garden thought to be part of the stadium is discussed by H. Kahler, 1950, and R. Vighi, \textit{Villa Hadriana} (1959).
memorializing quality, making the villa its own kind of rustic cult site. The ex-voto quality of the Roman oscillae are like many Graeco-Roman hanging votive objects, some of which also have a “triumphal flavor.” The oscillae have even been likened to the Dionysiac cultic use of mirrors and that the marble oscillae would have been understood to be, in part, mirrors—both suspended and hand-held. The mirrors were apotropaic and amuletic. They were part of funerary contexts as well as cultic practices. The mirrors were linked to immortality and were associated with transformation and rebirth, and the mirror could even bring the living in communication with the dead.

While all these considerations and possible format prototypes for Hadrian’s tondi have been approached more cautiously in this chapter, the last oscillae associations with Dionysic cult connection is tempting to consider less restrictively, but no less

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519 Taylor, 87.
520 Ibid., 96f.
521 See L. Balensiefen, Die Bedentung der Spiegelbilder als ikonographisches Motiv in der antiken kunst (Wasnuth 1990).
522 Taylor, 99–100.
legitimately and responsibly. As part of cultic practices, a maenad in a panel painting from Pompeii approaches a post-and-lintel shrine (a syzygium), carrying a mirror (Fig. 52). The shrines were connected to hero worship—dead heroes. The mirror and shrine allowed for the living to commune with the dead. It was a portal of sorts. If we reconsider the Trajanic coin, which depicted a portal/gate into his forum, and which also has the clipei in between the engaged columns—in the vein of the oscilla in the Pompeian peristyle intercolumniations—we can by extension draw the comparison of the coin to the theoretical Hadrianic hunting monument. Among other things, the round format chosen by Hadrian for his tondi may be akin to the oscilla themselves, and like the shields they were suspended in the spandrels of his monument like they were on Trajan’s gate and Constantine’s arch. The tondi were many things all at once, and thus utterly revolutionary at the time. They

523 The point is R. Taylor’s, 99, 101, who draws from J.B. Ward-Perkins and A. Claridge, *Pompeii A.D. 79* (Boston 1978) 66. Their conclusions helped to give shape to my own, which are entirely original.
were commemorative of battle(s)—against beasts—won by heroes. They were part of sacred rites communing with a fallen hero, who himself was often likened to Dionysos and worshipped the world over as a god. They were an attempt to revitalize the memory of brotherly heroic deeds and sacred offerings and perhaps make that memory everlasting—immortal, thus giving the spirit of the living patron the same peace he had hoped to bring his favorite who tragically died on the Nile under mysterious circumstances.
Chapter 6
Conclusion

This dissertation has considered a series of tondo reliefs, which were absolutely unique and innovative when they were created more than eighteen hundred years ago. They were as unprecedented as works of art as Hadrian was as ruler. Not before them or since has anything come to light that is comparable in form, content, and meaning. The tondi reflected their patron’s goal to redefine the parameters of the princeps. It was also his aim to inaugurate a second golden age for the Roman Empire making him the “New Augustus,” herald of the latest Pax Romana, but yet at the same time his own man.\(^{524}\) The tondi were visual manifestations for the new direction the empire was

\(^{524}\) For Hadrian’s reinvigoration of Augustan ideas, see pg. 168 and n. 134 above.
moving, an empire led by a man whose body and mind were often not within the pomerium, but who never forgot its religious, political, and cultural traditions.\textsuperscript{525}

One of my project’s major contributions to Hadrianic art historical studies has been that it has brought together individual major elements of Hadrian’s life and art patronage and considered them as a whole system working together, side by side as part of a formula determining the nature of the Hadrianic tondi. In past scholarship Hadrian’s travels, provincial munificence, love of Greece and the youth Antinous, passion for and import placed on hunting, ruling style in ways evoking the orient, and conveyance of virtue, together with the sources for the tondo’s round format, have all been researched in one way or another. This, however, has created a limited understanding of the reliefs and they have existed in a vacuum of sorts. Only by taking all of these elements into account at the same time can the

\textsuperscript{525} For the travels, see above pp. 41ff.
big picture of the tondi be fully grasped. By more carefully exploring each formerly disparate aspect of Hadrian’s reign, we are able to realize that he used the tondi as one of many media to promote himself, his virtues, power, pastimes and philosophy. Thus, the reason this dissertation devoted so much space to each of the aforementioned areas of interest was to firmly establish, prove, or build a case for their patron’s utterly unique qualities. The tondi were different and new because Hadrian’s life course was different.

Hadrian’s peripatetic ways and cosmopolitan nature gave shape to his ultimate embracing of and favor to the many cultural traditions that made up the fabric of the provinces—the empire. His travels to the east and knowledge of those foreign traditions informed his political ideology and flowed into him becoming culturally engaged in a very real and tangible way. It is not enough to say simply that the tondi were influenced by Hadrian’s travels to the eastern parts of the empire without firmly establishing and proving the underlying premise by way
of examples and exposition. I argue that this well-rounded approach has been the strength of this study. In the future I hope to further refine the breadth of each chapter as presented here—and the study as a whole. Future projects will benefit from the knowledge gained through this comprehensive, overall study of topics that seem without end.

The provinces were important to Hadrian and the evidence illustrates nothing less than an emperor who had a personal interest in preserving and perpetuating their respective cultural traditions. The *paideia* aspect of the tondi is part of the cultural ties to Hadrian’s favored Greece.\(^{526}\) We have seen how he, more than any other emperor before him or since, connected himself to the home of the Hellenes and in many ways made it his own. His vigor in supporting the Greek cause shined though in his establishment of the Panhellenion.\(^{527}\) The hellenophile Hadrian became personally involved in its activities and development. In addition, central to the Panhellenion’s activities

\(^{526}\) For discussions on the *paideia*, see above pg. 7-8, 75-76.
\(^{527}\) For the Panhellenion, see above pg. 74f.
was the proper education and upbringing of the youth. Hadrian embroiled himself right in the middle of this endeavor by becoming erastes and taking on Antinous as his own ephebes. Antinous' inclusion in the tondi—a Roman public monument—side by side with the emperor could have been in part justified by this culturally rooted idea.\[^{528}\]

To be sure, the hunting theme had precedence in the east, but seems to have been unknown for Roman historical relief before this time. By evidencing the historical and art historical traditions of the hunt in eastern royal societies, this study has demonstrated the ways in which those kings symbolically used the hunt to either bolster or create their own strength, virtue, and political authority.\[^{529}\]

Hadrian would come to use the hunting theme to similar affect in the tondi. He also masterfully merged the beneficial political aspect of the hunt with the inherent and philosophical ramifications of the hunt.

\[^{528}\] For Antinous, see above pg. 92ff.
\[^{529}\] For the hunting tradition in those cultures, see above pg. 124-150.
The hunt was written about by those such as Xenophon as being perfect training for the perfect prince.\textsuperscript{530} It made one strong in mind and body, built character, and solidified one’s morals and integrity. For Hadrian, it would be all the better to combine this with the panhellenic idea of using the hunt to educate young boys and involve them in the noble chase as soon as they were old enough to hold and wield a weapon. The hunt was also identified as fundamentally virtuous if done properly and with honor befitting the great heroes of hunting lore. The Romans of the Republic, and even before, utilized the hunt as a diversion and as a means to train for battle, just as Alexander had done. Those very same Romans were to become the heirs of Alexander’s great monarchy, regardless of Rome as a republic or empire. Alexander himself hunted in the fashion of his Persian predecessors whom he conquered and absorbed into his own idea of Macedonian monarchos. And those very same Persians owed a debt in their tradition of the hunt to their royal

\textsuperscript{530} See above pg. 140-41.
counterparts from Egypt and Assyria who made the hunt a royal prerogative and ultimately a part of their public face—their propaganda.

The tondo’s unique round format for a monumental imperial public relief, like the hunt itself, evoked a new sense of imperial virtue. In this sense, the tondi became a kind of imperial marble currency bespeaking an emperor imbued with *virtus*, among other things. Hadrian’s coins and medallion series spoke to this as well; they also conversely brought hunting imagery as part of their transmission of the imperial virtues. The *clipei virtuti* were a long-standing tradition commemorating men’s victories, honor, and bravery in battle. Emanating from the Greek world and later adopted by the Romans, the shields evolved and became at the same time military honorific objects and grounds for divination of the ruler and/or his deeds. Hadrian’s round tondi images were monuments to his battles on the hunting field, honoring him and Antinous as both heroes and gods through their epic

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531 For the virtues, and *virtus*, see above pg. 183ff.
532 For the shields, see above pg. 178ff.
struggles recounted by the sources.\textsuperscript{533} The tondi “hung” on an original unknown monument like they now “hang” on the Arch of Constantine and like the shields hung in temples.

The act of hanging and oscillation of tondo and other forms had roots in the more obscure as well—the Pompeian oscilla of varying types.\textsuperscript{534} The Hadrianic tondi were to be the Pompeian oscilla of their day. Like the shields, the oscilla hung in the intercolumniations of buildings. But dissimilarly, the oscilla were linked to and part of rustic and ancient cultic practices in both the Roman and the Greek contexts. The oscilla were bound to Dionysiac cults, divination, resurrection, and communion with heroes who met with tragic and unforeseen ends. The oscilla could thus serve as apotropaic objects and a means to gain access to those very same fallen souls and perhaps bring them peace. Hadrian’s tondi communicated those same concerns and applied them to the cult of Antinous, who met with his own tragic end on the Nile.

\textsuperscript{533} There heroic deeds are recounted above pg. 33, 36.
\textsuperscript{534} For the oscilla, see above pg. 202ff.
River. Nevertheless, Hadrian was politically keen and alert enough to balance this with the sacrifice tondi, which demonstrated his patriotic and pious devotion to the tradition Roman rites.

The Hadrianic tondi were truly singular monuments commissioned at the perfect time in Roman history by the perfect and most fitting patron bringing them to fruition. Their imagery was certainly derived from the east. They came to serve as a monument to and a summation of an emperor who would see to himself and Rome being united with the rich and laudable cultural traditions of his one-world unified state.
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