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The Image of Antinoös: Sexy Boy or Elder God?

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THE IMAGE OF ANTINOOS: SEXY BOY OR ELDER GOD?

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
Art History in the College of Fine Arts,
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By

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Lexington, Kentucky

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

THE IMAGE OF ANTINOOS: SEXY BOY OR ELDER GOD?

This thesis explores the historiography of the images of Antinoös, drawing the most evidence from the Delphi Antinoös, which shows the youth in the guise of Apollo. Building upon the discourse of Hadrian's "Greekness" and sexuality in connection to the amount of images of Antinoös he had commissioned, this paper instead argues that the images of Antinoös were created in order to further a public and religious programme by Hadrian. I found support in both Mary Boatwright and Paul Zanker as they proposed those images for a public, civic, and religious audience as opposed to private patrons more inclined to luxury. The Delphi Antinoös is a well-documented example of numerous portraits of the youth, and it is this paper's intention to depict the Pheidian inspiration sought after in the second century CE, at the time of Hadrian's reign and Antinoös's death, which illustrate the purpose of the images of Antinoös as religious and not as sexy. Hadrian's public and religious policies, his tours across the empire, and the far-reaching distribution of images of Antinoös also contribute to the conclusion of the religious audience for the images of Antinoös.

KEYWORDS: Antinoös, Classical Inspiration, Pheidias, Hadrian, Apollo

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I.

The Delphi Antinoös (see figure 1.1) was excavated in 1894 very near the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, which is located at present-day Phocis, Greece, on the slope of Mount Parnassus. The life-sized image of Antinoös has been an accepted identification of the youth since its discovery. Unfortunately, early archaeologists and historians gave the name "Antinoös" to any classicizing adolescent, causing many images of youths to be added to the repertoire.[1] However, thanks to coins, gems, and medallions which provided an early template, by 1517 the iconography of images of Antinoös was familiar enough to scholars.[2] The discovery of the *Haupttypus* became the standard work for each successive sculpture and the criteria for admission into the catalog. Théophile Homolle, director of the Ecole française d'Athènes and principal of the excavations at Delphi was the first to label the Delphi Antinoös as an image of the youth. The signature J shaped locks that can be found on many coins and gems become the prominent identifying feature. The chunky mane falls over his forehead and ears, gathering around the back of his head and partly down his neck. The identification of the statue as Antinoös does not seem to be an issue within the discourse; indeed, Clairmont and Zanker both provide their readers with multiple earlier scholars who agree on the attribution.[3]

The Delphi Antinoös is a non-imperial, non-deified portrait of Hadrian's companion, represented in a Classicistic style, and perhaps based on fifth century BCE

[1] The Greek spelling "Antinoös" (Ἀντίνοος) will be used for this paper. The alternate spellings of "Antinoos" and the more common "Antinous" are used intermittently throughout when sources are cited. Additionally, the Greek spelling will be used for the city of Antinoöpolis.
[2] Caroline Vout, *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 74.
[3] Christoph W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse Des Antinous: Ein Beitrag Zur Porträtplastik Unter Kaiser Hadrian* (Switzerland: Schweizerisches Institut in Rom, 1966), 39; Paul Zanker, (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 71967), 97.

Greek originals. With an individualized portrait head placed atop a Severe style body type, the Delphi Antinoös is a second century CE creation based upon a fifth century BCE work of Apollo. The stance and pose of the statue is modeled after a statue of Apollo by Pheidias, a Severe style Greek sculptor. With similar body types and downward head tilts, the Delphi Antinoös has been accepted as an Apollo figure since at least the early twentieth century.[4] The remnants of a band around his head indicate his connection with Apollo, as well as the temple at Delphi at which the statue was found.[5] The Antinoös statue belongs to a group of Roman copies or emulations of Greek sculptures under Hadrian's reign (117 – 138 CE) that have come to be known as classicistic, studied by Paul Zanker (1967) and later Elizabeth Bartman (2002).

Most recently, Bartman treated the Delphi Antinoös as a member of a group of classicistic youth statues based on late Classical Praxitelean types. In 2002, Bartman argued that Antinoös's portraits belong to the groups of sculptures she labels "sexy boys".[6] These sexy boys generally included fourth century BCE Praxitelean-type statues that were depicted with a curve of the body designed, according to Bartman, to exude sensuousness toward their viewers. Claiming that Romans attributed to certain male sculptures a social and sexual meaning, as opposed to simply just aesthetical or historical, she studied the meanings of certain images, assessing their figural language such as the

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1967), 97-100.

[4] Frederik Poulsen, *Delphi* (London: Gyldendal, 1920), 324.

[5] In the myth of Apollo and Daphne, Apollo pursued the nymph who did not want to marry. Upon capturing her, Daphne's mother or father (it varies by each retelling) turned her into a laurel tree. Still in love with her, Apollo declared he would always wear a wreath of laurel leaves around his head. Laurel wreaths are also symbols of victory. See H.J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology: Including Its Extension to Rome* (New York: Dutton, 1959), 141. See also, http://www.haverford.edu/engl/engl277b/Contexts/greek_myths.htm. Date accessed July 8, 2014

[6] Elizabeth Bartman, "Eros's Flame: Images of Sexy Boys in Roman Ideal Sculpture," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Supplementary Volumes. The Ancient Art of Emulations: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity.* 1 (2002): 249–71.

sinuous S curve pose, the lack of musculature in the body, and the downward gaze and head tilt in the Roman context.[7] The attitude and pose of each sculpture analyzed in the study suggest eroticism, passive homosexuality, submission, and effeminacy, indicating that these sculptures were viewed in an erotic light.[8] Bartman asserts the soft body and flesh of these sculptures are feminine in both form and in how Romans viewed them.

Unfortunately, the life of Antinoös mostly as "lover" is a key element in the discourse and scholarship of modern contemporary scholars. In many biographies of Hadrian, his "Greekness" is discussed at great length; many scholars agree on the Greek association and that because Hadrian was devoted to all things Greek and Hellenic – that he embraced Greek love – then this must be the reason that Hadrian was more interested in males than females.[9] He behaved in a manner of the Classical Greeks and was thus freer in his sexuality than perhaps other Roman males.[10] This historiography has become the foundation and a supporting condition for Bartman's inclusion of Antinoös. Images of Antinoös also qualify for this group because of the biographical information concerning Antinoös *the person*, and the sculpture's gaze and head tilt, which has been described as sullen and melancholy. Antinoös lived from about 111 to 130 CE, and was from a Roman province in the Greek East. After meeting Hadrian, the youth joined the Emperor on his travels throughout the Empire. Historical accounts refer mainly to the relationship between the two, and less on Hadrian's actions after the youth died suddenly in Egypt. Hadrian founded Antinoöpolis in Egypt, created festivals in Antinoös's honor, and also

[7] Ibid, 249.
[8] Ibid, 253.
[9] See the following for some examples: Royston Lambert, Beloved and God: the Story of Hadrian and Antinous, (New York, NY: Viking, 1984); Anthony R Birley, Hadrian: The Restless Emperor (London: Routledge, 1997); and Anthony Everitt, Hadrian and the Triumph of Rome (New York: Random House, 2009).
[10] Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor,* see pages 2, 185, and 216.

commissioned the Antinoeion, which is the possible tomb for Antinoös, at Hadrian's villa in Tivoli just outside Rome.

In her analysis, Bartman states that the most common original location for these sexy boy sculptures would have been Roman baths and villas.[11] Although villas and baths were intricately tied to Roman life, those settings were Greek in origin and in character. The subjects of the statues, too, look Greek and are still mistaken for Greek originals.[12] This characterization of Roman baths and villas as Greek reinforces the argument about Hadrian's "Greekness," his relationship with Antinoös, and then the motivation for the commissioned portraits after Antinoös died.

Antinoös's sexuality and relationship with Hadrian recall aspects of a specifically Greek homosexual culture, as the acceptable male lover was usually a slave, most often young, good- looking, and foreign.[13] Vout challenges the notion of viewership in her 2007 publication *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome*.[14] Women's bodies are often described in an overtly sexual or aggressive manner by men. She asks whether we can do the same with the images of Antinoös, "[f]etishise his body, fixating on and fragmenting its every contour…"?[15] I agree with her conclusion that we cannot do the same with the images of Antinoös, although I disagree with the melancholic descriptors still associated with the youth. Grief and melancholy are the primary labels for these images of Antinoös, and they are something with which male viewers could empathize

[11] Bartman, "Eros's Flame: Images of Sexy Boys in Roman Ideal Sculpture," 264-65.
[12] Ibid, 265.
[13] Ibid, 265-67.
[14] Caroline Vout, *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 25-27.
[15] Ibid, 25.

and "bemoan their lost youth and attractiveness."[16] Vout proposes this different reading for the images of Antinoös, not as sexual but as grief and melancholy, which male viewers may have read as a loss of youth. Viewers, male and female alike, might look at the images of Antinoös with pleasure, but according to Vout, his presence and masculinity make him a powerful entity, more like Apollo. There could be a sense of passiveness in his bearing, but even so, it cannot be construed as perhaps female images have been in the past.

Building upon Vout's criticisms of Bartman's reading, I propose that the Delphi Antinoös was not an object of the male gaze, whether erotic or not. Rather it served a different, public purpose for Hadrian, as there are differences in use, audience, and meaning for the images of Antinoös than in the Praxitelean sexy boys. As a great many images of Antinoös found outside of Rome (and thus outside of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli) were discovered at temples and other sacred sites, the use for these images are much more religious in nature, created for public policy and Hadrian's religious program throughout the Empire.

My arguments find support in Mary Boatwright's research which studied Hadrian's presentation of the image of Antinoös in terms of the cities, buildings, games, and festivals that were created in dedication to the youth, choosing to eschew the traditional discourse of Antinoös as a passive lover in life.[17] More images of Antinoös were created than for any other non- imperial person; and indeed, only the images of the emperors Augustus and Hadrian outnumber the identified images of Antinoös.[18]

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[16] Ibid, 26.
[17] Mary T Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
[18] Caroline Vout, "Antinous, Archaeology, and History," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 95 (2005): 82.

Boatwright's study proves that the dedications of the images of Antinoös were public policy, as opposed to a sexual characterization. Earlier, Paul Zanker (1967) analyzed early Classical/Severe styles from both fifth century BCE Greece and second century CE Rome.[19] He also suggested the Severe style had religious meaning in Hadrianic Rome and analyzed images of Antinoös as copies of famous Greek sculptures. Zanker claimed that many second century CE statues copies tended to be classicistic variations of fifth century BCE originals, drawing inspiration particularly from the sculptor Pheidias.

The first part of my argument will examine Hadrian's presentation of the images of Antinoös in a public religious role instead of approaching his image as a passive object for dominant viewing. Based on his biography, Antinoös has been previously relegated to merely "companion to Hadrian." However, the images of Antinoös commissioned by Hadrian will be viewed as religious policy within this paper, based on contextual information from Hadrian's reign, as opposed to any "biographical" information gleaned from ancient historians (who may have simply wanted to promote their own agendas). Zanker and Boatwright are the basis for this argument as they each propose that the images of Antinoös were for a public, civic, and religious audience rather than the private patrons of Greek culture and luxury Bartman suggested later.

The overall purpose of this examination is to study images of Antinoös in their religious and political contexts in order to understand Hadrian's public presentation of those images, and the impact this presentation had on the Roman Empire. I have chosen the Delphi Antinoös as a focus because it depicts the youth in the guise of Apollo and is perhaps a copy of an original Apollo by Pheidias. It offers material to investigate

[19] Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen,* 1967 and Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 2000.

Zanker's claim of religious meaning for the Pheidian style, or more broadly, for Severe style statuary, and to refute Bartman's claim that the image of Antinoös belongs to the sexy boy category. It is this paper's intention to demonstrate that the Delphi Antinoös is a well-documented example of numerous portraits of Antinoös Hadrian commissioned, among other monuments, as a way of promoting his religious policy.

The second section of this paper will verify identification of the Delphi Antinoös portrait type. The *Haupttypus* Antinoös will be examined and compared to the Delphi Antinoös in order to establish what is accepted in the discourse today when identifying an image of Antinoös. It will also explore Zanker's evidence for the second century's interpretation of the Severe style and Pheidian inspiration. Section three will then examine the Severe style and statue types identifying the Delphi Antinoös as an Apollo, and the inspiration drawn from the Greek sculptor Pheidias through a comparison with the Kassel Apollo and Tiber Apollo. It will argue that proportions and pose do not conform to late Classical Praxitelean types, but rather to early Classical Pheidian (whether a specific Apollo statue or Roman adaptation or variation on the theme). The meaning of Pheidias, or of Severe style in general, as applied to the Delphi Antinoös, will be considered as the idea was originally discussed by Zanker. Second century CE copies or inventions were most likely based on sculptures by Pheidias, depicting the classicistic nature of Hadrian's public presentation of the image of Antinoös. And finally, section four will show how Hadrian's religious policy and program, rather than biographical anecdotes about personal relations, explain how images of Antinoös fit into the empire before Hadrian's own death.

Figure 1.1: Delphi Antinoös. Parian Marble. Ca. 130 CE.1.8 m. Archaeological Museum at Delphi.

II.

Recognizing the Delphi statue as Antinoös has become relatively simple now, due to the identification of the *Haupttypus*, or main type or even the first variant, Antinoös (see figure 2.1).[20] This bust, analyzed by Caroline Vout (2005), is the only work of Antinoös, except his obelisk, that offers an identifying inscription. Assumed to have been originally found in Syria, the bust was discovered in 1879 in the collection of the secretary of the French consulate to Beirut.[21] Fortunately, thanks to coins, gems, and medallions which provided an early template, by 1517 Antinoös's iconography was familiar enough to scholars.[22] The discovery of the *Haupttypus* became the standard work for each successive sculpture and the criteria for admission into the catalogue raisonné of images of Antinoös.

The Delphi Antinoös is portrayed with his signature cap of curly and voluminous J shaped locks of varying lengths. The shortest layer of curls lay on top of the head, with the next two or three layers falling along the middle of the head, and the longest layer covering his ears, gradually becoming slightly longer to rest on the nape of his neck. The Delphi Antinoös's hairstyle has multiple layers of curls in front of his ears, which creates a rather wind-blown look. There are remnants of a band or wreath that encircles his head, sitting atop his hair, with two strands woven around each other.

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[20] Caroline Vout, "Antinous, Archaeology, and History." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 95 (2005): 80–96. See page 85 for her discussion of this in her section "Recognizing Antinous". See also Hugo Meyer, *Antinoos: die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten : ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der hadrianisch-frühantoninischen Zeit*, (München: W. Fink, 1991).

[21] Ibid, 85. See also Edmond Pottier and Mondry Beaudouin, "Collection de M. Péretié : inscriptions," In: *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*. Volume 3 (1879): 257-271. http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/bch_0007-4217_1879_num_3_1_4390, date accessed April 1, 2014. "Piédestal supportant un buste d"Antinous; trouvé à Panias. Marbre Blanc. ANTINOωHPωί ΜΛΟΥΚΚΙΟΣφΛΑΚΚΟΟ," 259.

[22] Caroline Vout, *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome*, 74.

Drilled holes throughout the bands suggest an attachment of laurel leaves that are now lost.[23] Antinoös's facial features are often described as melancholy, a description that has been used since the statue's discovery.[24] His almost-straight brows have separately carved hairs and are slightly furrowed over his deep-set, almond shaped, and slightly heavy-lidded eyes. He is most often portrayed with pouty and full cupid bow lips that some believe to be turned in a slight frown, relating to the possible expression of melancholy. In most of his portraits, Antinoös's lips are lightly closed in what is usually described as a pout. He is depicted with soft, fleshy cheeks, a rounded chin, and straight nose.

Antinoös has a slightly emphasized collarbone, and his head is turned a quarter to his left and tilted down toward the ground. The youth's gaze is averted towards the ground or perhaps his left arm. The Delphi Antinoös's shoulders and chest are sculpted with heavy proportions but with little differentiation of musculature. His shoulders appear to be in the act of lifting an object of some sort, perhaps a bow or laurel branch, which are attributes of Apollo. The right arm was either straightened by his side or even bent at the elbow, while the left arm, held away from the body, appears as though it was bent at the elbow, holding an attribute aloft. Antinoös has a rather soft and fleshy torso, creating an impression of a pubescent body on the cusp of adulthood. Modest depressions along his stomach show some musculature, and a high hip line precedes the youth's thighs. There is a lack of fully developed sinew along his thighs and calves

[23] Chad Alligood, "The Delphi Antinous (A Reconsideration)," *Anistoriton Journal* 13 (2012–2013), no. 2 (2013): 3. See also Olivier Picard, *Guide de Delphes: Le Musee*, (Paris: Editions de Boccard, 1991); Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992): 234; and Hugo Meyer, *Antinoos* (1991), 37.

[24] Cyrille van. Overbergh, *Dans Le Levant: En Grèce et En Turquie* (Bruxelles: Société belge de librairie, O. Schepens & cie, 1899): 73. http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001862642, date accessed October 5, 2013. Quoting Théophile Homolle.

which could signify that the body type belongs to a teenaged male in transition to an adult body.

Adopting an almost contrapposto stance, the Delphi Antinoös is supporting his weight on his left leg which pushes his left hip up and out. His right knee is slightly bent, with his right foot stationed a few inches forward and away from the left. Both feet are flat on the ground. While the stance is contrapposto, traveling past his knees to his hip tilt, the pose of his shoulders does not follow suit. Antinoös's chest is open, while his left shoulder is raised slightly higher than his right, as if in the act of lifting an object. He looks relaxed as the pose is meant, but since his shoulders are mostly even, they do not conform to the counter-tilt most associated to a full contrapposto (the shoulders and arms should tilt opposite to the hips and legs).

The *Haupttypus* sculpture depicts the youth with a very similar left turn and downward tilt of the head as the Delphi Antinoös. The lock-scheme and facial iconography are still Antinoös's recognizable features, which create his "sensuous but sulky" persona.[25] The hairstyle depicted on the *Haupttypus* is actually more voluminous on the top of his head than the Delphi Antinoös, but Vout writes that his hairstyle is what "clinches the identification".[26] Although this J-lock hairstyle is an iconographical feature for portraits of Antinoös, there are some images of the youth without his particular hairstyle, a variation of his lock-scheme, or even without any hair whatsoever.[27] Although the *Haupttypus* is only bust length and without arms, a sufficient amount of the shoulders and chest has been sculpted so that musculature and proportions can be

[25] Vout, "Antinous, Archaeology, and History," 85.
[26] Ibid, 85.
[27] For example, the Antinoös Mondragone, Pio-Clementino Antinoös (Antinoös in the guise of Dionysius), and Antinoos-Osiris.

compared in both the *Haupttypus* and the Delphi Antinoös. The shoulders on the *Haupttypus* appear to be in the act of lifting an object of some sort, similar to the Delphi Antinoös's left shoulder. Both portraits share a slightly emphasized and protruding collarbone, while the upper torso depicted on the main-type is rather broad and ends immediately below the chest, which appears larger that the chest of the Delphi Antinoös. They are each sculpted with some degree of musculature, however, the *Haupttypus* exhibits a somewhat more mature and muscular depiction of Antinoös – as though he was meant to be depicted as an adult and not as an adolescent. Although the *Haupttypus* was sculpted as a bust, his shoulders do reflect an almost contrapposto stance comparable to the same stance of the Delphi Antinoös. The anatomy of the Delphi Antinoös is questionable as to whether it is individualized to Antinoös, or if it is an idealized and non-individualized body. Zanker claims that it is not personal to the youth. This image of Antinoös can be considered distinctly eclectic: according to Meyer, the body type utilizes both Severe style lines and an Archaic-like chest, but in the overall proportioning, it is generally agreed that the main influence is that of the early Classical Period.[28]

Images of Antinoös are identifiable even without the "urtypus," or original type, features. Although the hair style does, in fact, determine the identification of an Antinoös portrait, Antinoös's face is so distinctive that identification could exist on his facial features alone. This distinction can be found in the second variant of portraits, the Egyptianizing portrait of Antinoös-Osiris, which was discovered at Tivoli in 1736 (see figure 2.2). Even portrayed in an Egyptian style, the image of Antinoös is recognizable.

[28] Meyer, *Antinoos*, 37.

His hair has been covered in a traditional Egyptian headdress without the cobra, making it impossible to identify this portrait by lock-scheme. However, the portrait face of Antinoös is still discernible: his straight eyebrows above almond-shaped eyes, soft cheeks, a rounded chin, and a pouty cupid's bow mouth. His chest and torso, as well as his prominent collar bone and shoulders, are also similar to some of the other portraits, with his hip line just visible over his Egyptian kilt. His head and his stance are similar to those of past Egyptian standing figures: head up and facing forward. Although his head looks straight forward and his arms are held stiffly at his sides, the bent left knee and subtle shift of his hips exhibit the Greek influence that is found in his other full body portraits, begging the question once more about whether the body is individualized to Antinoös or not.

A third variant in the statues of Antinoös is the Mondragone Antinoös (see figure 2.3). The portrait is only of the youth's head, face, and neck. As his other portraits show, Antinoös is depicted with his usual pouty mouth, soft and full cheeks, a round chin, and straight eyebrows. Although Antinoös's cheeks are full and fleshy, he is shown with a strong jaw line. His head pose is slightly tilted down, as is his gaze, but it is angled to his right as opposed to the left for the Delphi Antinoös. His hair, however, is completely different than his usual lock-scheme. Antinoös is sporting long and wavy hair instead of his cap of curls. The hair is brushed forward from the top of his crown in waves and parted in the center of his forehead. Two small portions are brought up and tucked into a band of some sort that encircles his head. His hair is then brought around the side of his head, where it is tied into a knot at the top of his neck. Two long tendrils hang down at either side of his neck behind his ears. The tendrils are long enough that they reach the

base of the bust. Additionally, two short ringlets hang right in front of his ears, falling below part of his wavy hair that has been pulled back. "Here an Apollo coiffure has been superimposed on a personalized face, with rather surprisingly coherent results."[29] The hair greatly evokes the Severe style, although there is not a specific prototype the Mondragone Antinoös was modeled upon.[30]

Also depicting the youth with a Mondragone-type hairstyle (but still considered a direct copy from the original first variant type) is the Pio-Clementino Antinoös (see figure 2.4), which depicts the youth in the guise of Dionysuis. Covered by a crown of grapes, flowers, and a modern addition of pinecones, his hair is depicted with wavy J shaped locks covering his forehead and ears, as longer tendrils trail down the back of his neck and fall in front of his shoulders.[31] He is shown with the same straight eyebrows, heavy almond-shaped eyes, pouty lips, rounded chin, and tilted head as the Delphi Antinoös. Draped in what could be a Dionysus garment, his torso and right shoulder are bare, and display a broad chest and shoulders. Compared to the Delphi Antinoös, the clavicle and pectoral muscles are more clearly defined, as his shoulders appear to be wider, while the high hip lines are similar. Even as his legs are covered, the Pio-Clementino Antinoös's stance is discernible and very like the Delphi Antinoös. The drapery has been carved so that the body and stance of the statue are easily detected. As with the Delphi Antinoös, the weight rests on the left leg, which in turn pushes the left hip out and bends the right knee, and both of his feet are flat on the ground. The way their arms are positioned are also similar, although the Pio-Clementino Antinoös's left

[29] Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970), 141.
[30] Ibid, 141.
[31] The diadem would probably have been originally topped with a cobra or a lotus flower.

arm is raised higher as he holds a Dionysian attribute of a staff, which is topped with pinecones and probably another modern addition. Their right arms, however, are remarkably alike in position.

Bartman's group of Praxitelean sexy boys shows significant differences in proportions, stance, and mood when compared to the Delphi Antinoös; although the head tilt and downward gaze of each statue is a large part of why Antinoös was included as a sexy boy. An example of a sexy boy is the Apollo Sauroctonos (see figure 2.5) which is a Roman copy of a fourth century BCE Praxitelean sculpture. With straight eyebrows, a long straight nose, and a small mouth, Apollo's facial features are not of an individual, as opposed to the Delphi Antinoös. This sculpture was not created as a portrait, but rather as a whimsical portrayal or perhaps even a mockery of the god by Praxiteles.[32] The youth's hair, indicative of a divine hairstyle, is wavy, parted in the center, and pulled around to the back. It is secured with a head band of sorts, so that his seemingly long locks are pulled up and off his neck. His head is titled down and to the left, creating an averted gaze toward the ground, and he does not gaze at the viewer. His torso exhibits minor definition but it is not shown as a "heroic male" that was also popular among the Romans. Although he does not completely lack definition (the depression down the middle of his chest, as well as the high-rising line above the groin, give slight definition), he is depicted in an S curve leaning pose of the body, which creates a diagonal from head to foot, and is a factor that often creates the necessity to lean against a support. The left shoulder is also pushed up, which is demonstrated by the

[32] Apollo was a hunter and as a child killed a python. This sculpture depicts the god perhaps as a young Apollo. The title "Lizard Slayer" is puzzling as there does not exist an association with a lizard in any story of Apollo. See Edward J. Olszewski, "Praxiteles' 'Apollo' and Pliny's 'Lizard Slayer,'" *Notes in the History of Art*. 31.2 (2012):2-9.

displacement of his weight away from the left side of his body. The left foot is slightly behind the right, bringing the left hip down while the right hip is pushed somewhat up and out.

Bartman does admit that Antinoös's images indicate some inconsistencies within her argument.[33] As most of his images borrow from fifth century BCE body types instead Praxiteles's fourth century BCE types, and his hair is usually not in the divine or sexy boy coiffure but his normal cap of curly hair, the treatment for his portraits raises issues for his sexy boy classification.[34] Even so, she argues that he becomes the passive object – both erotic and submissive – because of his label as "Hadrian's beautiful lover," as well as the tilt and gaze; perhaps including him in her paper based on his biography.

Few historians contemporary to Hadrian mention the Emperor's favorite. Ancient texts give a sparse amount of information regarding the youth, usually relegating Antinoös to a side story of Hadrian's Egyptian tour. For example, Dio Cassius (150-235 CE), a second century CE historian, wrote mainly of Antinoös's death. His biography of the youth is rather short.

> Antinoös was from Bithynium, a city of Bithynia, which we also call Claudiopolis; he had been a favourite of the emperor and had died in Egypt, either by falling into the Nile, as Hadrian writes, or, as the truth is, by being offered in sacrifice. For Hadrian, as I have stated, was always very curious and employed divinations and incantations of all kinds. Accordingly, he honoured Antinoös, either because of his love for him or because the youth had voluntarily undertaken to die (it being necessary that a life should be surrendered freely for the accomplishment of the ends Hadrian had in view), by building a city on the spot where he had

[33] The only image associated with Antinoös that may conform to her Praxitelean-type "sexy boys" is a so-called Antinoös as Bacchus or the Conservatori Antinoös. This sculpture though is more likely designed on a Hellenistic model (see also Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen*, 1967, page 99).

[34] Bartman, "Eros's Flame: Images of Sexy Boys in Roman Ideal Sculpture.," 269. Rarely does Antinoös adopt a hairstyle other than his own. The Pio-Clementine Antinoös is one such example where his curls are longer and intended to portray a god-like hairstyle. The Mondragone Antinoös is another.

> suffered this fate and naming it after him; and he also set up statues, or rather sacred images of him, practically all over the world.[35]

Much of what has been written about Antinoös depends upon writings such as Dio's. This biographical element, however, is not a sufficient way to establish the personal relationship between Hadrian and Antinoös, or even what actually happened once Antinoös died. Facts are pushed to the sidelines as gossip and biases take over. Antinoös (ca. 111-130 CE) was born in Bithynia, a Roman province in northwest Asia Minor (modern Turkey). On one of Hadrian's tours of the Empire, probably around 123 or 124 CE, the emperor met the youth, who became his hunting companion and favorite. For the next seven years, Antinoös would accompany Hadrian on tours around the Empire, would hunt with him in various locals, and, one would assume, generally never stray too far from his side. In 130 CE, on Hadrian's tour of Egypt, Antinoös drowned in the Nile, prompting Hadrian's wish to have the youth deified, although it was never recognized by the Senate.

The depiction of Antinoös as "sulky" or "melancholy" has been used since the Delphi Antinoös was first discovered in 1894, described by Théophile Homolle.

> The body is young and beautiful. Its elegance is equaled by its force; its flesh is so supple that it seems to be alive and to pulse, and the chest seems to swell with a healthy and powerful breath. The shoulders are as wide as those of an athlete, but they fill out with softness. The legs are fine and of a charming shape. The head, encircled of a branch from under which the curls of hair harmoniously frame the face, inclines to the side with a grace

[35] Dio Cassius, *Dio Cassius' Roman History, with an English Translation by Earnest Cary, on the Basis of the Version of Herbert Baldwin Foster.*, vol. 8, 9 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982): 445 and 447.

> that is not without a sadness, and the eye, under the shadow of the brow, has a bit of melancholy.[36]

This interpretation of the youth's gaze has remained affixed to the Delphi Antinoös since his discovery, and indeed, the portrayal has also been used to describe the gaze and manner of many other images of Antinoös. The gaze of Elizabeth Bartman's sexy boys are all described in a similar approach; they are "suspended in a state of self-imposed reverie" with "limpid" and "[l]owered eyes… a further sign of submission".[37] Similarly, Caroline Vout writes, "One moment he seems contemplative, the next coy. Is he avoiding our eyes, or unaware of our presence, unreachable, pondering his life with Hadrian, confronting his imminent death? Is he passive boy, strapping young male, all powerful god?"[38] The idea of being passive or all-powerful seems to be a moot point in much of the discourse, even if the Delphi Antinoös is meant to depict Apollo.[39] Instead of referring to any image of Antinoös in this way, I offer the idea that perhaps the Delphi Antinoös is looking down at the objects he originally held in his hand, as opposed to looking down as a passive object or even in melancholia. Indeed, his musculature and stance, and his depiction as Apollo, could also lead one to view him in a masculine manner; and to interpret his direct gaze, accompanied with straight and low brows, as a somewhat dominant figure in a state of concentration.

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[36] C. van Overbergh, *Dans Le Levant: enGrèce et En Turquie* (Bruxelles: Société belge de librairie, O. Schepens & cie,1899), 73. http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015063880580;view=1up;seq=11. Date accessed April 1, 2014.
[37] Bartman, "Eros's Flame," 250, 267, and 253 respectively.
[38] Caroline Vout, "Hadrian, Hellenism, and the Social History of Art," *Arion* Third Series, 18, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2010): 64.
[39] Ibid, 64.

Why is it so important to recognize the images of Antinoös, and to establish his images as masculine and his gaze as in concentration instead of sadness or passivity? The majority of the discourse surrounding both Hadrian and Antinoös covers their (at least Hadrian's) seeming propensity for all things Greek. Hadrian was the emperor with serious Greek leanings, taking a young male lover as Greeks would do, and even going so far as to establish a cult for that male lover.[40] This is not a discussion of his "Greekness," however. Hadrian wished to have Antinoös deified, and although it would not happen, Hadrian did name a city after him and presented images of Antinoös in a classical Greek manner, possibly in order to further his own religious program.

The earlier scholarship of Paul Zanker (1967) suggests that the images of Antinoös were not sexy boys. He does not study the statues of Antinoös in terms of social audiences as Bartman does, but rather in how the statues of Antinoös offer the most informative evidence for the Hadrianic-Antonine interpretations of early classical models. A majority of the conserved heads and statues are replicas and variants of the so-called "urantinoos"; the master of the urantinoos took the composition from the early Classical or Severe style, based on the different body types with which the images of Antinoös are shown.[41] Zanker states that the master of the urantinoos, specifically the master of the body type of the Delphi Antinoös, probably used the Tiber Apollo as the basis for his work.[42] Even in statues of Antinoös that do not belong to the urantinoos type, early Classical inspiration can be found; for example, the Antinoös Farnese (see figure 2.6) which is modeled after the Doryphoros by Polykleitos (see figure 2.7).[43]

[40] Ibid, 60. Vout states that "Hadrian can be seen as giving flesh to his Philhellenism by acting Athenian."
[41] Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen*, 97.
[42] Ibid, 97.
[43] Ibid, 7-8 and 10-11. The Doryphoros is an instance of *umildungen*, which is a work based on a single Classical model but was modified to reflect the taste of the time it was copied. See also Jerome J. Pollitt,

According to Hugo Meyer (1991), there are four typological groups in which the images of Antinoös can be placed: there are nearly eighty replicas of the *Haupttypus* (the largest group), with about five variations of the "stirngabelvariante" (essentially, signature forehead locks), the Mondragone, and the Egyptian type.[44] Both Zanker and Meyer agree that the Delphi Antinoös is replicated from the *Haupttypus*. I agree that the body type with which the Delphi Antinoös is portrayed is not, in fact, an individual characterization of the youth. As with the majority of the images of Antinoös, the face can be relatively accurately reconstructed whereas there are significantly different versions of the body.[45] Indeed, various Severe style body types were used as props for Antinoös's portrait head many times. [46]

Zanker describes Classicistic sculptures as eclectic creations. He identifies key traits of Classicistic creations including elaborate hairstyles (appears as though many different styles are combined in one), as well as placing individualized heads and faces on classically inspired bodies. Sculptures created especially during the Hadrianic and Antonine periods tended to combine aspects from both their own contemporary styles and the Severe/early Classical time period. Ridgway states that although Pheidias's Kassel and Tiber Apollos were originally created in the early Classical style, the second

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"Klassizistische Statuen by Paul Zanker," *The Art Bulletin* 59, no. 2 (1977): 266. Repliken, the familiar copies, intended to be as exact as possible, of famous Classical originals; Umbildungen, works based on a single Classical model but modified so as to reflect the taste of their own time; Neuschopfungen, works that combine features of several different Classical models; and Neubildungen, works that recreate a particular Classical style without reference to specific models.

[44] Meyer, *Antinoos*, 15.

[45] Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen*, 97.

[46] Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen*, 97. See also, Bartman, "Ero's Flame: Images of Sexy Boys in Roman Ideal Sculpture", 269, note 99.

century CE copies are categorized as Classicistic creations because of their Classical body types and poses that are juxtaposed with Roman pseudo-archaic hairstyles.[47]

For clarification, according to Brunilde Ridgway (1970), the Severe style does not equal the Severe period.[48] If one is discussing the Severe period, then images *are* Severe in style as they were created during that time period (usually considered 480-450 BCE and also classified as the early Classical period); in the Severe style, however, images *appear* Severe but are actually a revival or an adaptation from a later time (such as the Roman copy of the Kassel Apollo). A sculptor could exactly replicate a Severe prototype, partially change it, or completely transform it as artists could modernize Severe works or even "Severize" modern ones.[49] Head types, hairstyles, facial features, and expressions can all be altered as the sculptor saw fit. Ridgway lists six criteria that make up the Severe style in sculpture: simplicity or severity of forms (heaviness in facial features and drapery), change in drapery (folds are created in order to show the contouring of the body), a change in subject matter (characterization becomes differentiated into either Apollo or human being), emotion (interest in the mechanics of expression), motion (figures in action produced from a combination of characterization and emotion leading to a narrative), and finally, the predominate use of bronze in sculptures.[50] These criteria show the transition from the Archaic style of the sixth century BCE to the Severe or early Classical style of the fifth century BCE.

As she suggests, the Kassel Apollo is considered to appear Severe in style and was not created during the Severe period. His face has visible traces of the Severe Style

[47] Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculptures* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 184-185.
[48] Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, 3.
[49] Ibid, 142.
[50] Ibid, 8-11.

(for example, his heavy face, large eyes, and the drilled centers of the hair over his forehead), but he is an example of classicistic art because of the Severe face with his eclectic hairstyle.[51] This classicistic version dating to Hadrianic times was made more "romantic" than perhaps the original version; for example, Ridgway writes the parted lips were more pronounced, the forehead is taller as the contour of the locks were rounded, and the hair in general is closer to the cranium in the Roman version of the Kassel Apollo.[52] There is heaviness about the face, particularly the eyes and chin, an example of Ridgway's first trait of the Severe style, "severity of forms." The eyelids acquired more volume, appearing as thick rims around the eyes. Perhaps most importantly to this study is the third trait, which is the noticeable change in subject matter during this time period. Leaving the Kouros type (straight and stiff standing figures) behind, Apollo became one of the main subjects, recognizable by certain grandeur and *ethos*, as well as a longer hairstyle.[53] As sculptures' hairstyles reflected the contemporary styles, Apollo's hair thus became an emphasis on his "otherworldliness".[54] Additionally, Severe style sculptors emphasized their interests in motion and emotion, the fourth and fifth traits as listed by Ridgway, meaning that the stationary and almost vacant-looking Kouros type youths were replaced with the moving and emotional images of Apollo and others.

Similar traits can be found when analyzing the Delphi Antinoös. His association with Apollo cannot depend upon hairstyle or drapery, as neither sculpture is depicted with drapery and the hairstyles represent different ideas and people, but we can evaluate the traits of emotion, motion, and subject matter (characterization as it leads to a

[51] Ibid, 140.
[52] Ibid, 140.
[53] Ibid, 9.
[54] Ibid, 10.

narrative). The Delphi Antinoös does indeed elicit emotion – his own and from his viewers as well. Emotion is usually the most forthcoming idea as one looks upon the Delphi Antinoös, as he is usually described as sad and melancholy, although I disagree with that interpretation; I believe that the youth is peering at his hand in concentration, similar to the Pheidian Apollos, which will be discussed in section three. The image is also shown in motion. Standing in a slight contrapposto, the placement of the right leg and foot, as well as the forward movement of his left arm, shows the Delphi Antinoös as if he has taken a step. And finally, the subject matter with which the image is connected is Apollo.[55] During the Severe period, subject matter was distinguished between Apollo, some other deity, or human being, yet the Delphi Antinoös is an image that manages to produce a feeling of both divinity and humanity.

[55] Many myths surround the god. Twin brother to Diana, the goddess of the hunt, Apollo was the god of music, poetry, art, oracles, archery, plague, medicine, sun, light, and knowledge. His attributes included the lyre, laurel wreath, the python, and bows and arrows. Of particular note is his patronage to Delphi as he was the prophetic deity to the Delphic Oracle. That he was Diana's brother and the patron of Delphi is especially enlightening when establishing the Delphi Antinoös as an emulation of Apollo.

Figure 2.1: Haupttypus, bust of Antinoös with identifying inscription. Probably from Syria. Marble, Private collection. Image from Caroline Vout's "Antinous, Archaeology, and History." The nose is a modern attachment that has since been removed.

Figure 2.2: Antinoös - Osiris. Parian marble. 130-138 CE. 2.41m. Museo Vaticano.

Figure 2.3: Antinoös Mondragone. Marble. 95 cm. Paris, Louvre.

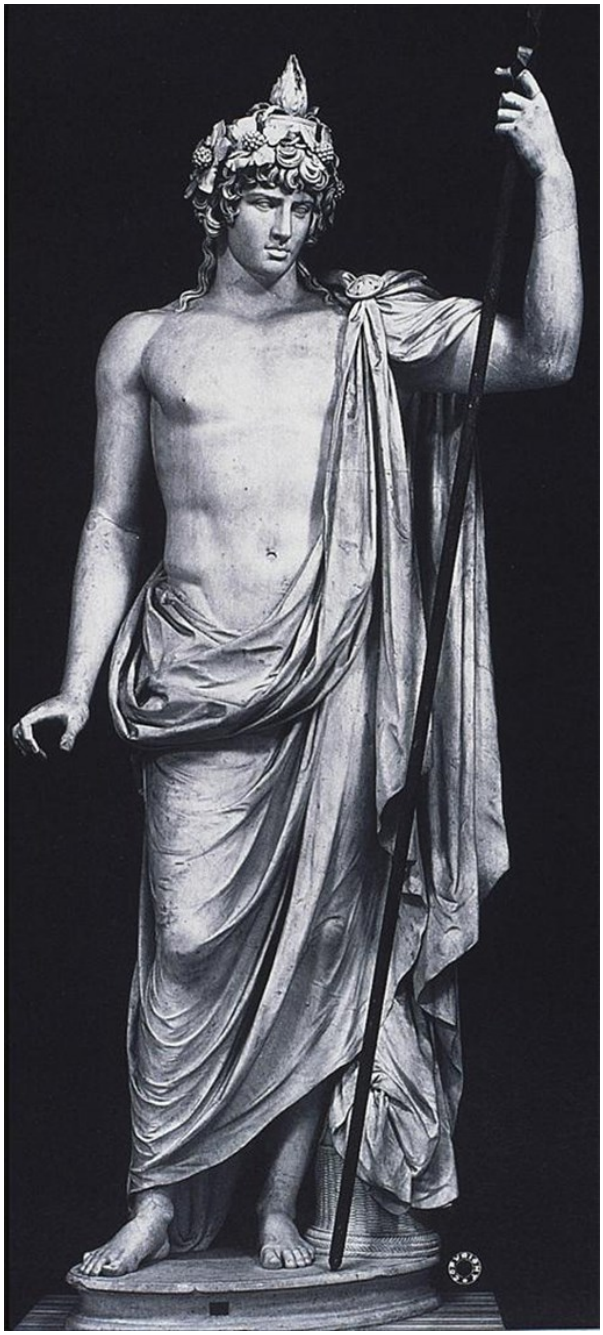

Figure 2.4: Pio-Clementino Antinoös. Marble. 130-138 CE. Museo Pio-Clementino.

Figure 2.5: Apollo Saurocotonos. Marble. 1st-2nd Century CE Roman copy of a 350-340 BCE Greek original. 1.49 m. Musee du Louvre.

Figure 2.6: Antinoös Farnese. Marble. 130-137 CE. 200 cm. Museo Nazionale di Napoli.

Figure 2.7: Polykleitos. Doryphoros. Copy of late Classical BCE Greek original. 2.12 m. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

III.

As images of Antinoös were created for Hadrian's religious purposes, not for sexual "Greek" private purposes, the images of Antinoös were modeled on the divine qualities and religious purposes of Pheidian Apollos. The works created by Pheidias encouraged copies to be made during the second century CE and Hadrian was absolutely motivated by religion and divinity. Indeed, the Delphi Antinoös has been considered a copy of either the Tiber or the Kassel Apollo, both attributed to Pheidias. The ancient Greek sculptor will be examined in this section in order to establish the divine and religious nature of his work, and will distinguish the Pheidian identification as it differs from the slightly later Polykleitan and later still Praxitelean styles, in order to prove the inspiration the style provided for the Delphi Antinoös.

Considered *the* Severe style sculptor, Pheidias (ca. 490-430 BCE) worked mainly during the Severe/early Classical Period, and in Hellenistic/Roman and neo-classical times when aesthetics or evolutionary schemes ruled. He is recognized as the leading sculptor who evoked the change from Severe to Classical Style in the early classical period, and is regarded as the finest sculptor of the fifth century BCE. According to Ridgway, the Classical Period generally refers to the second half of the fifth century BCE, with the style described as a concept of both excellence and admiration.[56] His style described as being of grandeur and beauty, Pheidias's fame and reputation spread across centuries, from his lifetime to even Byzantium, and many copies of his work appeared within that long time frame. However, because none of Pheidias's original statuary

[56] Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles,* 3-4.

works survive, it is rather challenging to pin down his exact style, except for early accounts of his ability to portray images "divinely."

An important and dominating aspect of Pheidias's style was his ability to realistically portray the human figure, and he achieved his masterful representations of expression and feelings through body pose more than the image's face. In addition to his mastery of anatomy, Pheidias also perfected drapery carving, which added to the realism of the human form and was used to express motion. With these aspects, Pheidias created an "idealizing air and timelessness" within his images, almost removing them from an everyday, regular human experience.[57] Although Pheidias was lauded for his ability to portray humans, it was the divine that gained him the most praise. The Latin terms *maiestas* (majesty), *pondus* (importance), and *pulchritude* (beauty) used frequently to illustrate the artist's style, and according to the Greek "phantasia" theory (wherein art evolves from simply imitation of nature to the artist's expression of intuition and imagination), Pheidias "had a perfect imagination and an intuitive awareness of the nature of the gods."[58] His was an ability that could visibly translate spiritual beliefs into sculptural forms. Indeed, later Roman writers admired his ability to convey a certain air of impressiveness to his divine figures.[59] Pliny the Elder, especially, considered him to be the first sculptor to create the ideal body type: "he is rightly held to have first revealed the capabilities of sculpture and indicated its methods."[60]

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[57] Claire Cullen Davison and Birte Lundgreen, *Pheidias: The Sculptures & Ancient Sources*, ed. Geoffrey B. Waywell, vol. 1, 3 vols. (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 2009), 637.
[58] Ibid, 635.
[59] Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles*, 161.
[60] K. Jex-Blake, trans., *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* Chicago: Argonaut Inc., Publishers, 1968): 43.3 4.54 "primusque artem toreuticen aperuisse atque demonstrasse merito iudicatur." However, Pliny and others, such as Pausanias, were biased in their writings; by omitting information, offering their own interpretations, and creating conclusions based upon their own contemporary ideas rather than on the original classical ideas, their histories should be read with caution.

His two most famous cult statues, which represent the pinnacle of his career, are the Athena Parthenos and the Zeus of Olympia, both now lost and destroyed. The Athena Parthenos (see figure 3.1) is perhaps his most famous work, and the importance of the work throughout antiquity can be seen in the large number of inspired copies still existing (indeed, there is even a modern copy of the Parthenon and Athena in Nashville, Tennessee). The Zeus of Olympia (see figure 3.2) was commissioned by the authorities at Olympia, who wished for a work that could rival the Athena Parthenos.[61] These two colossal works are Pheidias's most well-known statues and lend credence to his ability of portraying the divine. They represented the stature to which other sculptors aspired, show just how long and far-reaching his skills were admired, and also to illustrate his personal style in order to connect it to the style in which the Apollos are portrayed. Several scholars have compared the Delphi Antinoös to a fifth century BCE sculpture. There are three possible Severe type statues on which the Delphi Antinoös could be based: the Tiber, Cherchel, and Kassel Apollos which have all been attributed to Pheidias. Although the copies we have now date to the mid-second century CE, the originals have been generally dated to 450 BCE by many scholars today.

The Tiber, Cherchel, and Kassel Apollos will be individually analyzed in order to depict the slightly different interpretations of each, and to possibly provide a more concrete idea of the prototype for the Delphi Antinoös. The Tiber Apollo (see figure 3.3) is considered to be based on an original work by the Greek sculptor Pheidias.[62] Discovered in 1891 in the Tiber River in Rome, the Tiber Apollo is a "slimmer, weaker,

[61] James K. Smith, "The Temple of Zeus at Olympia," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 4 (1924): 153–68.
[62] Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen*, 91-92; Davison et al, *Pheidias: The Sculptures and Ancient Sources*, 433-437.

and sentimentalized" treatment of a Severe type Apollo, although the statue was probably reduced from the effects of the river.[63] The Tiber Apollo's hair is brushed down to his forehead and curls are pulled back and tied in a loose ponytail. Loose waves are long enough to reach his shoulders and cascade around his neck. With a rather pointed face, the Tiber Apollo is depicted with straight eyebrows, heavily rimmed eyes, a straight and pointed nose, and a rather pinched but full mouth. His head is tilted down, looking away from the viewer. Apollo's left arm has been broken up to his shoulder, but his right is intact, beginning at the wrist. His left arm is raised at the elbow and his muscles are tensed, signifying an object was held at eye level above his shoulder at which Apollo was looking (perhaps a laurel branch, bow, or both). This would explain his head tilt. A small part of a bow that was held in his right hand is still visible on the right knee, which helps to identify the figure as Apollo.

Only some musculature is visible throughout Apollo's body. Light depressions can be seen in the stomach, representative of some present musculature, and he has a rather high hip line that leads to legs which are fleshy and soft. Apollo has both feet flat on the ground, with the right slightly in front and out to the side of the left. Standing in the contrapposto pose, Apollo's weight is placed on his left leg, as his right knee is bent, causing his left hip to be pushed up and out. He seems to stand in full contrapposto with counter-tilted hips and shoulders. His left hip is up and his left shoulder is brought down, while the right hip is pushed down and right shoulder is brought up.

The Tiber and Cherchel Apollos present great differences in the treatment of a similar anatomy. Found in 1910 in the gardens of N. Louis in Cherchel, the Cherchel

[63] Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen*, 91-92.

Apollo (see figure 3.4) is slightly larger than the Tiber.[64] With wider proportions and more powerfully modeled musculature, the Tiber and Cherchel Apollos share similar poses and head positions. The face, too, is wider, flatter, and softer than that of the Tiber's. There is also a large tree trunk with the Cherchel that depicts a falcon and snake, and a quiver at the foot of the statue. The Cherchel is considered a more faithful replica to the original (depicting a powerful and muscular form) whereas the Tiber is slimmer depicting a less faithful rendition. The Tiber Apollo has been compared to the Dresden Athena/Athena Lemnia type (see figure 3.5) by earlier scholars, because of their similar inclination of the head. This comparison is used to accept the attribution to Pheidias if one accepts the attribution for the Athena Lemnia.[65]

The Kassel Apollo (see figure 3.6) has also been attributed to Pheidias, and according to Davison, the original dates to the early Classical period (480-460 BCE) but is sometimes considered later to 450 BCE based on the style.[66] The Kassel Apollo was probably found in 1721 in the grounds of an Imperial Roma villa on Lago Di Sabaudia between Nettuno and Terracina.[67] The sculpture was cleaned and partly restored in 1973-73.

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[64] Davison et al, *Pheidias: The Sculptures & Ancient Sources*, 436-437.

[65] Ibid, 434. See also Davison et al, 45-68 for more information on the Athena Lemnia, as well as Adolf Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek sculpture: a series of essays on the history of art*, (Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1964) for the original attribution and Kim J. Hartswick, "The Athena Lemnia Reconsidered," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87, no. 3 (1983): 335–46 for her argument against it. There have also been attempts to associate the Tiber Apollo with the Apollo of the Marathon Group at Delphi by Pheidias, although little evidence is available to support this theory. The Apollo of the Marathon Group at Delphi is mentioned because of the attribution to Pheidias, which is most likely dated to 460-450 BCE, near to Pheidias's well-established career. Constructed at the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, dedicated to Apollo, the god of the sanctuary, some scholars have attempted to associate the Tiber with this Apollo. Claiming the Tiber's feet would fit perfectly in the holes on the base, the pose and head tilt show a different outcome in that it is more of a standalone sculpture rather than part of a group. Although the Marathon Group is at Delphi like the Delphi Antinoös, this association is not considered in this paper because of the sparse evidence surrounding the idea.

[66] Ibid, 418.

[67] Ibid, 419.

Although generally attributed to Pheidias, the attribution remains unclear and rather debated among the discourse today. Eva Maria Schmidt (1966) states that the Kassel Apollo is generally considered a work of Pheidias, compiling a work dedicated to the main type and its replicas as well as creating a list (current at the time) of scholars and to whom they attribute the Kassel Apollo.[68] More currently, Davison and her fellow writers agree that the Kassel Apollo is most probably Pheidian, as well as a reproduction of a lost bronze masterpiece that was created from 470-460 BCE, based on parallels of sculpting with the Riace bronze statues also by Pheidias.[69]

The Kassel Apollo is recognizable in at least twenty three marble copies and two bronze figurines (it has also been identified on gems and coins).[70] It is quite probable the Greek original was both well-known and important, which resulted in its popularity during the Roman period. Based on the number of copies created of the Athena Parthenos, the number of copies of the Kassel Apollo could mean the original Apollo was a cult statue of a similar accolade as Athena or Zeus (although no colossal statue has been mentioned). This could also signify how highly prized the Apollo was in antiquity, particularly in the second century CE when inspiration for the images of Antinoös was based on such sculptures. Not all scholars have attributed the Kassel Apollo to Pheidias, though. Adolf Furtwängler as early as 1893 assigned the sculpture to Myron.[71] Much more recently, Evelyn Harrison attributed the Kassel Apollo to Kalamis.[72]

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[68] EvaMaria Schmidt, *Der Kasseler Apollon und seine Repliken* in *Antike Plastik: Herausgegeben Im Auftrage Des Deutschen Archalogischen Institutes Von Walter-Herwig Schuchhardt,* Lieferung V, (Berlin; Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1966): 7.

[69] Davison et al, *Pheidias: The Sculptures & Ancient Sources*, 418.

[70] Ibid, 417.

[71] Adolf Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture a Series of Essays on the History of Art*, ed. Al. N. Oikonomides (Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1964), 190-197. He attributes it to Myron based on the stance and upper part of the head, and also wrote that the hair expresses divinity and power, although some late scholars believe it to be a classicizing arrangement. See Ridgway (1981) and Schmidt (1966) for the argument for a classicizing hairstyle. Davison (2009) though believes that a style such as this is not

The Kassel Apollo's hairstyle is depicted with curls around the front of his head, similar to a low crown on the forehead. His hair has been brushed down from the crown of his head and the curls are parted in the middle. The hair is then brought back in four braids that have been banded together at the base of his head, with no hair touching the nape of his neck. Two tendrils rest on his shoulders on either side of his neck but behind the ears. The hairstyle depicted on the Kassel Apollo makes the Pheidian attribution a hard one to determine, and is a complication in trying to date the statue because of the eclectic arrangement and combinations of flat locks, braids, and frontal curls which result in a classicistic designation.[73]

Apollo has hooded, heavy-lidded, almost almond-shaped eyes beneath straight brows, and a straight, rather aristocratic nose (the tip of which appears to be a modern addition). Apollo's bottom lip is fuller than his top on a parted cupid's bow mouth. Slight dimples are carved at the corner of his lips and he is depicted with a rather knobby chin. His ears are only visible from the side of his head, and his jaw line is rather strong for his rounded face. No cheekbones are visible as he has soft cheeks (yet they are not so soft as to be considered too youthful), and there is a spot on his chin that could signify a modern addition but it is not clear. The Kassel Apollo's head is slightly

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inconceivable from a master sculptor as similar hair combinations can be found on the Artemision Zeus and the Omphalos Apollo Type (see page 418).

[72] Evelyn B. Harrison, "Pheidias," in *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture*, ed. Olga Palagia and Jerome J. Pollitt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 64-65. See also Evelyn B. Harrison, "Early Classical Sculpture: The Bold Style," in *Greek Art, Archaic into Classical: A Symposium Held at the University of Cincinnati April 2-3, 1982*, ed. C. G. Boulter (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 40–65. She does not doubt that this statue was an important icon (especially based on coins from both the Hellenistic and Roman periods), but that the style does not match any other by Pheidias. The attributes that were originally depicted (a defensive bow and laurel branch) indicated a "warder-off of evil" and could possibly have been attributes of the Apollo Parnopios (seen by Pausanias). She claims the identification is probably the Apollo Alexikakos by Kalamais, and states that the stance and facial type is very similar to the Aphrodite Sosandra and other works by the sculptor.

[73] Davison et al, *Pheidias: The Sculptures & Ancient Sources*, 418.

turned as he gazes down, although not at the ground, but rather at something just below eye level. The torso remains stiff recalling some lingering influence from late Kouros type statues, and the stance (specifically the movements in the legs and the stiffness in the torso) was found in many early Classical statues. Apollo's torso narrows slightly and tapers to the waist, exhibiting a high hip line. Defined musculature is exhibited in his chest, arms, and stomach. Apollo is meant to be seen as a mature adult and this is shown by the amount of muscle and sinew present is his chest, stomach, and legs (especially in his calves). Scholars do not appear to doubt that the Kassel Apollo is, in fact, a depiction of Apollo. They all agree with the identification, although they do differ on the artist and dating.

There are some similarities that exist between the three sculptures. They all depict a young nude male with a broad chest and shoulders. Although both of Antinoös's arms have been broken, and Tiber's left arm is broken, the sculptures' right shoulders and arms are similarly positioned down and pulled back. The left shoulders of the Tiber Apollo and the Delphi Antinoös are pulled up and in the process of reaching forward, whereas the Kassel Apollo's shoulders appear to be on the same level. Antinoös has a broad chest and shoulders, but the arms, legs, and stomach are fleshier than the Kassel Apollo's, and more comparable to the Tiber Apollo's, suggesting the original model for the Delphi Antinoös was, in fact, the Tiber Apollo. Each statue is also posed in a slight contrapposto stance with their feet flat on the ground. They all have their left hips pushed out, causing their right knees to bend with their right feet placed before the left legs. Additionally, based on Kassel's lightly clenched fingers, Apollo would have held a bow and a laurel branch, crown, or locust to signify his

attribution as Apollo, just as the Delphi Antinoös is identified as Apollo with similar attributes.[74] The support accompanying Apollo was added by the copyist and depicts a quiver and strap, which are also attributes of Apollo. Finally, the tree trunk attached to the Cherchel Apollo also identifies the sculpture as the deity.

Zanker's study is not simply a question of another famous Greek sculptor's original work, but of how classicistic sculpture (or even new inventions) is a subject in its own right as an indicator of the spirit and ideals in the time of its creation.[75] Although deeply defined musculature is missing from the Delphi Antinoös, the wide shoulders, narrow hips, and the general modeling of the body is certainly comparable to certain Severe style sculptures. It shows the particular taste of the second century CE under Hadrian's reign that most copies of Severe or early Classical works were sculpted during that period, especially when works such as the Kassel Apollo were copied almost exclusively during this time.[76]

The Kassel Apollo, however, was not a new invention. The fact that at least thirty five copies were created can attest to that claim. The loose hair curls are formal characteristics of the Hadrianic period, but there is still a Severized styling of the face and body (the "dreamy" expression and the details of the face).[77] The Kassel Apollo was most probably an inspiration for the Delphi Antinoös as a divine figure. Still, divine inspiration and physical inspiration are two separate matters. Although their stances and poses are quite similar, the body with which the Delphi Antinoös is portrayed is not the Kassel Apollo, but rather the Tiber Apollo.

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[74] John Boardman, *The Cambridge Ancient History: Plates to Volumes V and VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 28.
[75] Pollitt, "Klassizistische Statuen by Paul Zanker," 266.
[76] Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen*, 117.
[77] Ibid, 107.

The Delphi Antinoös is depicted as Apollo, the main god of the Delphi, at which this image of Antinoös was placed and found centuries later. The "halo" around his head is a clear indication of this; and although the metal leaves that were originally applied are lost, the close, winding shape of the branches, along with the dense rows of about twenty- five pin holes, show a faithful adoption of a laurel wreath.[78] The body type with which the Delphi Antinoös is sculpted is a classicistic imitation from the Tiber Apollo, about which Zanker has noted that versions of the Tiber Apollo's body type were created and used for portraits of the youth during the Hadrianic period. The Tiber Apollo is attributed to the fifth century BCE sculptor, Pheidias, who is credited mainly with the unnatural ability to portray divine beings. Although the Delphi Antinoös demonstrates the downward gaze and head tilt as other sexy boys display, that feature alone should not automatically equate Hadrian's presentation of the images of Antinoös with passivity and submissiveness. Indeed, even the Tiber Apollo's head is tilted similarly to the Delphi Antinoös, and their gazes can also be interpreted as concentration while looking at the objects – the attributes of Apollo – they once held in their hands.

[78] Meyer, *Antinoos*, 37.

Figure 3.1: Varvakeion Athena. Roman marble miniature copy of the colossal chryselephantine Athen Parthenos, ca. 432 BCE, by Pheidias. 2nd century CE. 50 cm. National Archaeological Museum of Athens.

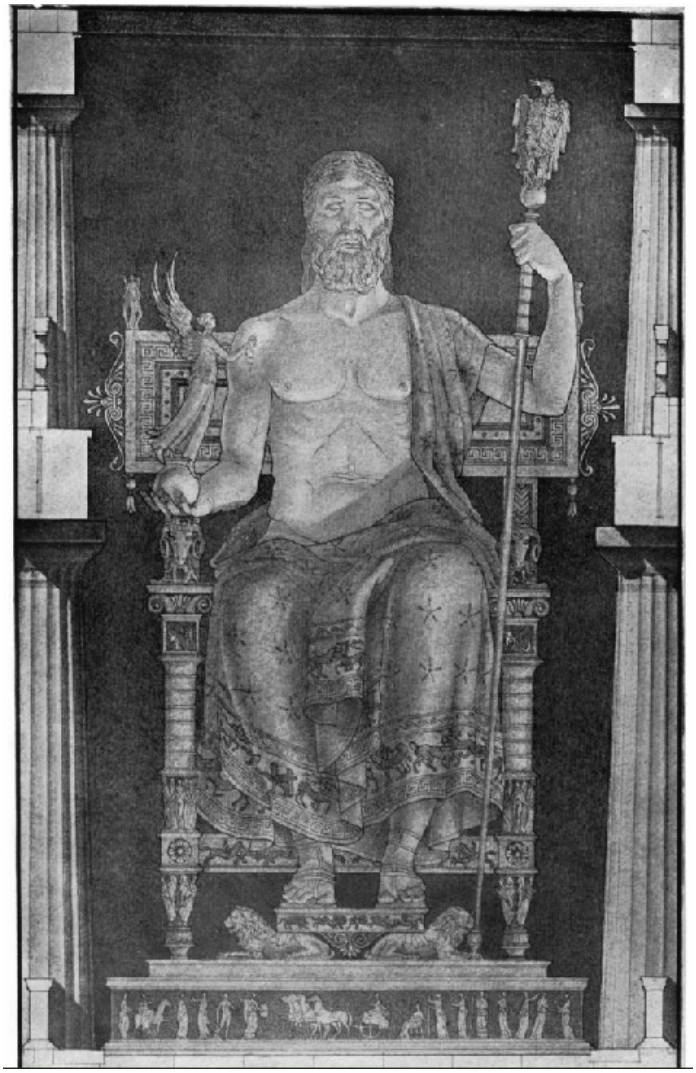


Figure 3.2: Recreation of Zeus at Olympia. 1924. Drawing by James K. Smith, based on descriptions by Pausanias as well as other source material he found.

Figure 3.3: Attributed to Pheidias. Tiber Apollo. 120-150 CE, 2nd century CE copy of 5th century BCE Greek original. 2.04 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme.

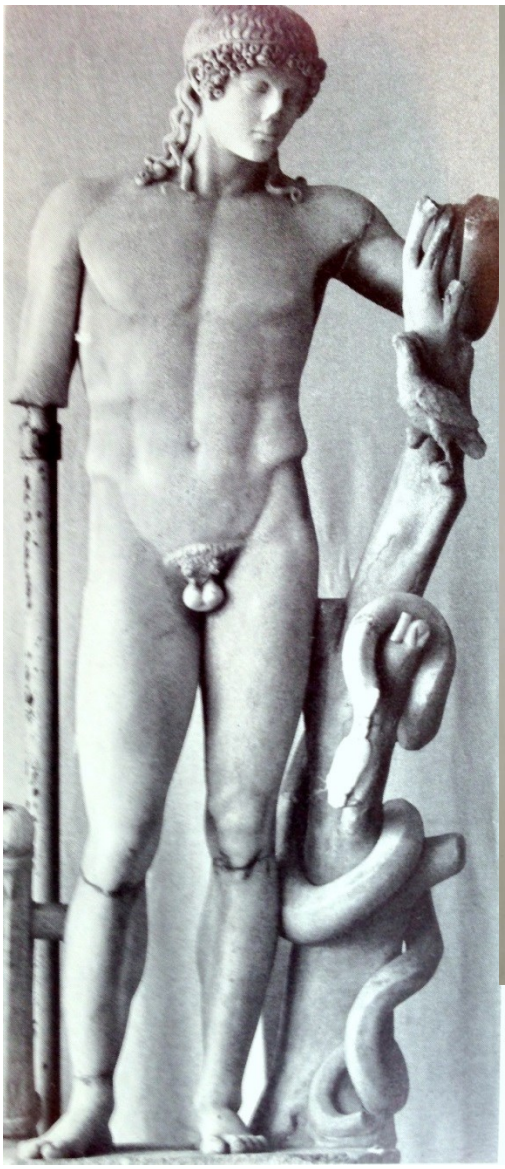


Figure 3.4: Attributed to Pheidias, Cherchel Apollo. 130-150 CE, Roman copy of 5th century CE Greek original. 2.10 m. Cherchel Museum.

Figure 3.5: Attributed to Pheidias. Athena Lemnia. Copy of original work of 450-440 BCE. Marble. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Germany.

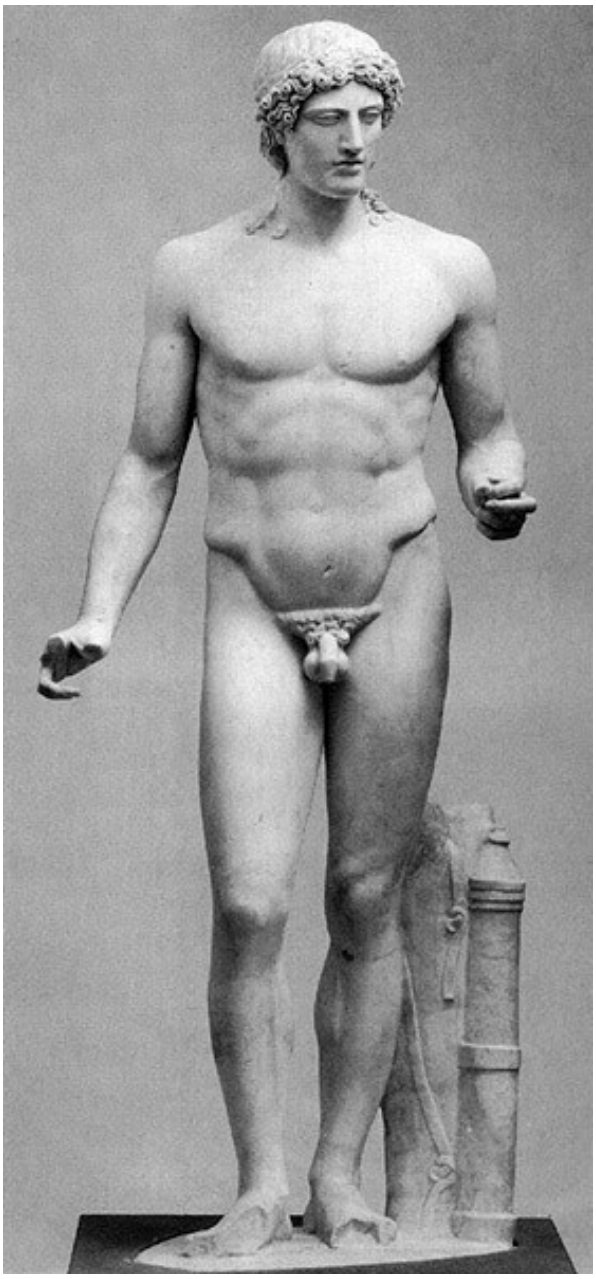


Figure 3.6: Attributed to Pheidias. Kassel Apollo. 2nd century CE Roman copy of a 5th century BCE Greek original. 1.97 m. Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen.

IV.

This final section examines how the use of Severe style sculptures and body types for images of Antinoös connects to Hadrian's empire and religious programming. Contrary to Bartman's idea of Antinoös as a sexy boy used for private sexual purposes, the use of Pheidian Apollos as inspiration for the Delphi Antinoös shows a religious following that linked the Roman Empire with the city of Rome and its citizens. Quite opposite of other empires, Rome was relatively unintegrated and unimposing when conquering a new land.[79] The religious influence of Rome did indeed spread around the Empire, and was helped along especially by Hadrian's founding of his own festivals and other such influences. However, Rome did not generally remove any cults or local religions. Hadrian traveled through much of the Roman Empire, and especially in the Greek East, to which he appears to have donated more works than in any other place (see appendix B, Table 1). Compared to Trajan and other emperors before him, the number of Hadrian's colonies and new cities were very low. Hadrian's benefactions went even one step further than any of his predecessors. He commissioned more buildings than Trajan, and instead of adding to his adoptive father's utilitarian donations, Hadrian's buildings were incredibly religious in nature.

While on his travels, Hadrian restored tombs of past heroes and famous Hellenistic temples, renovated archaic sanctuaries and shrines connected with the

[79] Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome: A History*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 317.

Imperial cult.[80] Hadrian restored or embellished at least twenty-one temples outside of Italy, and contributed to thirty-one other religious structures.[81] The interactions between Hadrian and many of the cities he visited were a result of trying to preserve or promote the unique history of that particular place, as well as unifying that religious life with the Imperial cult and Hadrian himself: for example, the connection with festivals and new or restored temples. In Megara, Hadrian completely rebuilt in white marble an archaic Temple of Apollo that was associated with the Lesser Pytheia games and was honored with the epithet "Pythios."[82] Hadrian did not convert any of the existing temples for Roman gods. Rather, he kept them for what they were meant, for the gods for whom they were originally built; the Emperor believed he was continuing the life of the glorious past with his projects.

Although there was no such thing as *The* Imperial Cult, the different provincial communities shared the common element of worship for the emperor, his family, or his predecessors, and incorporated this worship into their own traditional cult. The Imperial Cult was offered to the emperor and his deified predecessors in every province in the Empire, and celebrated with temples, festivals, prayers, and priesthoods.[83] Many towns and villages did indeed create their own cults to honor certain Roman religious tenets even when they did not necessarily have to do so. This in turn created a sense of unity between the communities both locally and within the

[80] Ibid, 313.
[81] Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 127-128. Boatwright excludes the temples in Rome and instead focuses on his work around the Empire. She evaluates Hadrian's renovations as a whole in order to understand some of his aims and effects of these activities. See also Birley, *Hadrian the Restless Emperor*, 223.
[82] Ibid, 29. "Pythios" like Pythian Apollo. He was also given this title at Delphi.
[83] Beard et al, *Religions of Rome: A History*, 313.

Empire. Hadrian viewed religion as a unifying force, reaffirming the importance of local cults and their cities while also integrating them with the Roman Emperor.[84] In identifying himself with different factions of religious life (including Olympian gods, members of the imperial family, and Homeric and other heroes), Hadrian promoted the general integration of emperor (himself) and gods.[85] By extension he also promoted the integration of Antinoös and gods. Cults established throughout the Empire, both privately and by Hadrian, honored Antinoös in various ways. One such cult created to honor Antinoös was established in a town south-east of Rome called Lanuvium, shortly following the death of the youth. A group of free and slave men formed a religious association in order to worship both Diana, the goddess of the hunt and twin sister to Apollo, and Antinoös (possibly connected to the group because of dying so close to the founding date).[86] This group dined together six times a year – one for both gods' birthdays, as well as four of the group's dignitaries' birthdays – and paid a monthly fee in order to ensure that a proper burial would be made for the member (almost like a funeral insurance plan). There may be some arguments as to whether this is in fact a "religious" organization as the feasts dined on Diana and Antinoös's birthdays were given the same importance as the other four dinners. However, because of the association's direct link to both Diana and Antinoös in the name, as well as the importance placed upon receiving the proper funeral rituals, many members must have viewed the association as quite religious. This association with Diana also supports a

[84] Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 142.
[85] Ibid, 129.
[86] Beard et al, *Religions of Rome: A History*, 272-273.

common identification of Antinoös with Apollo, as well, supporting his connection to a religious audience.

Hadrian sponsored both local and empire-wide unification in his religious policy. Spanning mainly across Greece and Asia Minor, as well as into Egypt, Hadrian's festivals and games were celebrated by many; his festivals created in part to foster Hellenic culture and civic life. Hadrian's accomplishments, building donations, and his travels among the cities of the Roman Empire are a direct link to his presentation of Antinoös. Some scholars believe the honors associated with Antinoös were remarkable, uncharacteristic, and probably caused the hostile stories about the youth.[87] However, Hadrian had already restored six tombs for past heroes, poets, and great leaders before the death of Antinoös, among the dozens of other temples and shrines he rebuilt or renovated. The honors Hadrian bestowed on his companion, then, can be cast in a less anomalous light since his "concern for heroes… precede[d] Antinous's death and heroization".[88]

There is no evidence to prove that Antinoös was formally deified by official Roman senatorial decree ("senatus consultum").[89] However, there is substantial evidence for Antinoös's worship throughout the Roman Empire: coins, temples, inscriptions to the god Antinoös, and even an Egyptian regional calendar which records a sacrifice on his birthday.[90] With all the evidence shown for the official deification for previous emperors, adopted sons, and imperial women, it seems unlikely that Antinoös was

[87] See Anthony Birley, *Hadrian the Restless Emperor*.
[88] Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 140.
[89] Vout, *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome,* 12.
[90] Ibid, 12.

actually deified but accidentally forgotten from the record of the imperial cult.[91] Antinoös was not an imperial or a dynastic figure and he is not described in inscriptions as a divus. It is not likely that he was ever officially deified by the Roman senate; however, it is more likely that he was deified by the Egyptians because of his death in the Nile. His drowning connected him to the Egyptian god Osiris. Where Antinoös drowned would then mark the spot that would shortly become Antinoöpolis, the city named for the new deity.[92] In addition to the youth's deification and the founding of Antinoöpolis, Hadrian commissioned many portraits of Antinoös in various religious guises, not only as Apollo, but also as Dionysus and Osiris. The guise of Antinoös as Osiris is not unexpected, because of Antinoös and Hadrian's journey to Egypt as well as Antinoös's death in the Nile.

Mari and Sgalambro (2007) collaborated in writing an article combining the architectural plan and reconstruction of the Antinoeion. The Antinoeion is what they believe to be Antinoös's actual tomb and not simply a temple associated with the youth.[93] Although the identification of the tomb rests largely on the obelisk, there are many other pieces of evidence the authors use to show this structure was actually the tomb. For example, the position of the structure is typical with funerary monuments and mausolea attached to large villas, the structure – based on brickstamps – dates to about 130 CE when Antinoös drowned, and the masonry shows a hasty execution, beginning probably after Hadrian's return to Rome from his Egyptian excursion.[94] Indeed, trying to identify the complex as a true tomb for Antinoös, the authors compare the Antinoeion to

[91] Ibid, 114.
[92] Antinoöpolis was founded not long after Antinoös's death. It was already a city when Hadrian named it that, probably in 130 CE. It remained until it was abandoned sometime in the tenth century.
[93] Zaccaria Mari and Sergio Sgalambro, "The Antinoeion of Hadrian's Villa: Interpretation and Architectural Reconstruction" in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 111.1 (Jan. 2007), 83-104.
[94] Ibid, 97.

works in the Campus Martius already donated by Hadrian. Mari and Sgalambro compared the structure to the Serapum in the Campus Martius, as well as to some other monuments. Similarities between the buildings include a related size between the enclosures, the exedras of both structures – reconstructed by scholars – had semicircular porticos, and a similarity in the chambers connected to the exedrae. Although the authors concede that it may not be entirely believable that all of the Egyptian-like portraits of Antinoös were from the Antinoeion, they state that at least some of them were, including the colossal Antinoös-Osiris.

In terms of buildings and cities created, and how Antinoös and his death influenced some building donations, games, and festivals, as well as promoting Hadrian's reign, Antinoöpolis remains a primary example. Antinoöpolis in Egypt may have marked the spot of the youth's drowning, but there were plenty of advantages of placing the city in that particular spot: there already existed a harbor, a temple of Ramses II, and a native inhabitation.[95] Some of the buildings in Antinoöpolis were directly related to the cult of Antinoös. These included strong Egyptian characteristics and elements of the imperial cult as practiced in the Greek east, and also included the sanctuary of Antinoös-Osiris and possibly the obelisk of Antinoös.[96] Antinoöpolis, although in an Egyptian setting, is a significant illustration of a city with Roman imperial characteristics interlaced with Greek elements and traditions.[97]

The location of the obelisk is an important factor in discerning the Antinoeion as a tomb. Antinoös's obelisk (see figure 4.1) was created almost as an advertisement for the new god, and especially in his Egyptian form. Its original location was either in

[95] Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 190.
[96] Ibid, see pages 190-196.
[97] Ibid, 190.

Antinoöpolis in Egypt or perhaps at the Antinoeion in Rome, but it is currently located on the Pincian Hill in Rome and known as the Barberini Obelisk.[98] Although Boatwright (in both 1987 and 2000) believes the obelisk was originally located in Antinoöpolis and then transferred to Rome, Mari and Sgalambro disagree. The latter authors state that the obelisk was certainly made in Italy because of both its structural characteristics and its style of hieroglyphics; and it was probably the Antinoeion that housed the obelisk of Antinoös. The obelisk depicts the new god, Antinoös-Osiris, praying for Hadrian and Sabina. Indeed, the east side of the obelisk depicts Osirantinoös's prayer to Re-Harachte (the Egyptian sun god Re) asking for the deity to reward Hadrian.

The results found within this last section proves that the audience for the images of Antinoös were not luxurious practitioners of "Greek love", but visitors to shrines, public religious festivals, and members of local civic institutions. Hadrian's connection to religion, no matter its place or type of origin, was further proven by the number of religious building donations he completed throughout the Empire. By the time of his death in 138 CE, Hadrian had built or restored twenty temples or shrines, added sculptures and architectural decorations to some others, and worked on seven tombs, cementing his identification with religion of almost any type.[99] With close to one hundred building donations, there seem to be no distinct pattern across the Empire, although the greatest number of benefactions can be found in the Greek East and central Italy. These contributions did not always guarantee a city's revitalization. For example, Magara in the Greek East; Hadrian rebuilt the Temple of Apollo and it did not

[98] See Mari and Sgalambro (2007), pages 83, 85, and 99; Boatwright (1987) 239-260,; and Boatwright (2000), 193.

[99] Boatwright. *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 127. The actual gods, members of the Imperial family, and heroes of the buildings Hadrian worked on were miscellaneous, coming from different cultures and religions.

appear to have made much difference in the city as it failed to prosper even then.[100] Hadrian's personal traits – his curiosity and intelligence, among others – as well as the already established Roman ideology, competition between cities, and the importance placed on images all combine as inspirations for each building and engineering donation around the Empire.

An unofficially termed imperial cult honoring Hadrian and his predecessors, as well as Antinoös, spread among the provincial communities, and created a sense of unity. These cults were not demanded of each community, although Hadrian certainly sponsored such local and empire-wide unification in religion. This unification is most likely what led to provincial communities honoring Antinoös and establishing the link between the youth and other elder gods such as Diana (at Lanuvium) and Apollo (indirectly at Lanuvium and most certainly at Delphi). Although Antinoös was never officially deified, there is considerable evidence for his worship, particularly the vast number of coins on which the image of Antinoös is portrayed. If recognition as a god is a formal decision of the senate, then it is not through *consecratio* but admission to a temple of Rome. The Antinoeion is the temple to Antinoös, and probably his tomb as well.

The evolution of meaningful style as examined by Zanker – the use of Pheidian sculptures as inspiration for the master of the original Antinoös type – is further proof that Hadrian and the audience for the images of Antinoös were of a religious nature. The Delphi Antinoös depicts the youth as Apollo. The connection and inspiration of the Tiber Apollo figure stands to reason that the statue was meant to represent a religious

[100] Ibid, 32.

following for a spiritual people. That the statue was found at the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, the band encircling his head, and the stance and pose of the body also indicate Apollo. The Delphi Antinoös was of a religious figure and was meant for more than a passive object for viewing. It was meant for an empire whose emperor sponsored local and unifying religion, and the Delphi Antinoös was another step in creating that.

Figure 4.1: Obelisk to Antinoös, also known as the Barberini Obelisk. 132-138 CE. Pincian Hill, Rome.

Appendix A: Italica

It is interesting to note Hadrian's hometown, Italica. His focus on the Greek East is doubly interesting not only because of his attributed "Greek leanings", but also because Hadrian paid more attention to the East than even to his native city. Hadrian never visited his hometown while he was emperor, but Dio Cassius did write that "he showed the city great honor and bestowed many gifts."[101] Italica, north of modern day Santiponce, Spain, was the westernmost city to receive Hadrian's favor. Although there is little evidence that points directly to Hadrian as the one who made the most substantial changes in the city, the dating of the archaeological evidence, as well as the urban form associated with the Greek East buildings, has scholars attributing many of those benefactions to Hadrian. It appears as though Hadrian designed the town in a similar layout to the capital, with only three other towns that surpassed Italica in size at the time.[102] In the northwest sector of Italica, the "nova urbs" (or "new city") is dated to the first half of the second century, and is constructed with an orthogonal layout with porticoed streets, wealthy residents, and monumental public buildings. Some of those public buildings included an amphitheater that sat twenty-five thousand people, baths connected to the aqueducts, a gymnasium that connected to the baths, and the Traianeum (the gymnasium and the Traianeum both resembled the Library of Hadrian in Athens, further pointing to the probability of his benefactions to the city).[103] The Traianeum was a temple constructed to honor Trajan (also from Italica) and became a

[101] Dio 69.10.1
[102] Ronald Syme, "Hadrian and Italica," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 54.1 and 2 (1964), 144.
[103] Boatwright. *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 162.

center for the Imperial cult during Hadrian's reign, which reinforced personal ties between the emperor and imperial family and the provinces of the Empire.[104]

The closest Hadrian ever came to visiting Italica was in 122 CE, after he left Britain as he traveled to Tarraco; indeed, it has been mentioned that perhaps Hadrian did not visit Italica because he did not feel at ease there.[105] The exact dates for the Traianeum and other buildings are unknown; Ronald Syme (1964) mentions that an inscription of 135 CE, set up at Tibur, commemorates the benefactions Hadrian created in the province of Baetica, in which Italica is located.[106] The benefactions Hadrian bestowed upon Italica became more of a memorial for his native parents, as well as his adoptive parents (as evidenced particularly by the Traianeum), instead of a site with slightly more individually personal leanings, such as Tivoli in Italy made for himself or even Antinoöpolis in Egypt. There has been no mention of any type of dedication to Antinoös in Italica. When Hadrian was actually in Spain, it was at least a year before he met Antinoös, though the timing of the benefactions came around or a little after the youth's death and deification. Even so, Hadrian did not spread the cult of Antinoös to Spain and the west as much as he did in the east. It could have been that the site was not created to honor past heroes or other like figures since no other temple was mentioned other than the Traianeum (once again alluding to the idea of this town as a memorial to his parents).

[104] Syme, "Hadrian and Italica", 7.
[105] Ibid, 145. Boatwright does not give a date, but rather a general time period, concluding the construction took place in the mid-second century. Additionally, Syme also mentions Hadrian's habit of parading his superior knowledge, leading one to infer that this was a reason he did not win affection from the 'Italicenses'.
[106] Ibid, 144.

Appendix B: Charts and Maps of Hadrian's Roman Empire

Table 1
Cities with temples renovated, restored, or completed by Hadrian; see Map 1.[107]

Cities, Country/Province	Temple (restored, completed, or renovated)
Abae, Achaea	Apollo (restoration or completion)
Antioch, Syria	Nymphs, with Zeus (new construction by Hadrian)
Antium, Italia	Unknown (restoration or completion)
Argos, Achaea	Hera (restoration or completion)
Aricia (Nemi), Italia	Unknown (restoration or completion)
Athens, Achaea	Hera and Zeus Panhellenion Pantheon (new construction by Hadrian) Olympieion – Roman Agora (restoration or completion)
Claros, Asia	Apollo (restoration or completion)
Cupra Maritime, Italia	Dea Cupra (restoration or completion)
Cyzicus, Asia	Zeus (restoration or completion)
Gabii, Italia	Juno Gabina? (restoration or completion)
Heba, Italia	Unknown (restoration or completion)
Italica, Baetica	Traianeum (new construction by Hadrian)
Lanuvium, Italia	Hercules? (restoration or completion)
Mantinea, Achaea	Horse Poseidon (restoration or completion)
Megara, Achaea	Apollo (restoration or completion)
Nemausus, Gallia	Basilica Plotinae (new construction by Hadrian)
Nomentum, Italia	Unknown (restoration or completion)
Smerna, Asia	Imperial Cult –Z. Akraios (restoration or completion)
Tarraco, Tarraconensis	Augustus (restoration or completion)
Teos, Asia	Dionysus (restoration or completion)

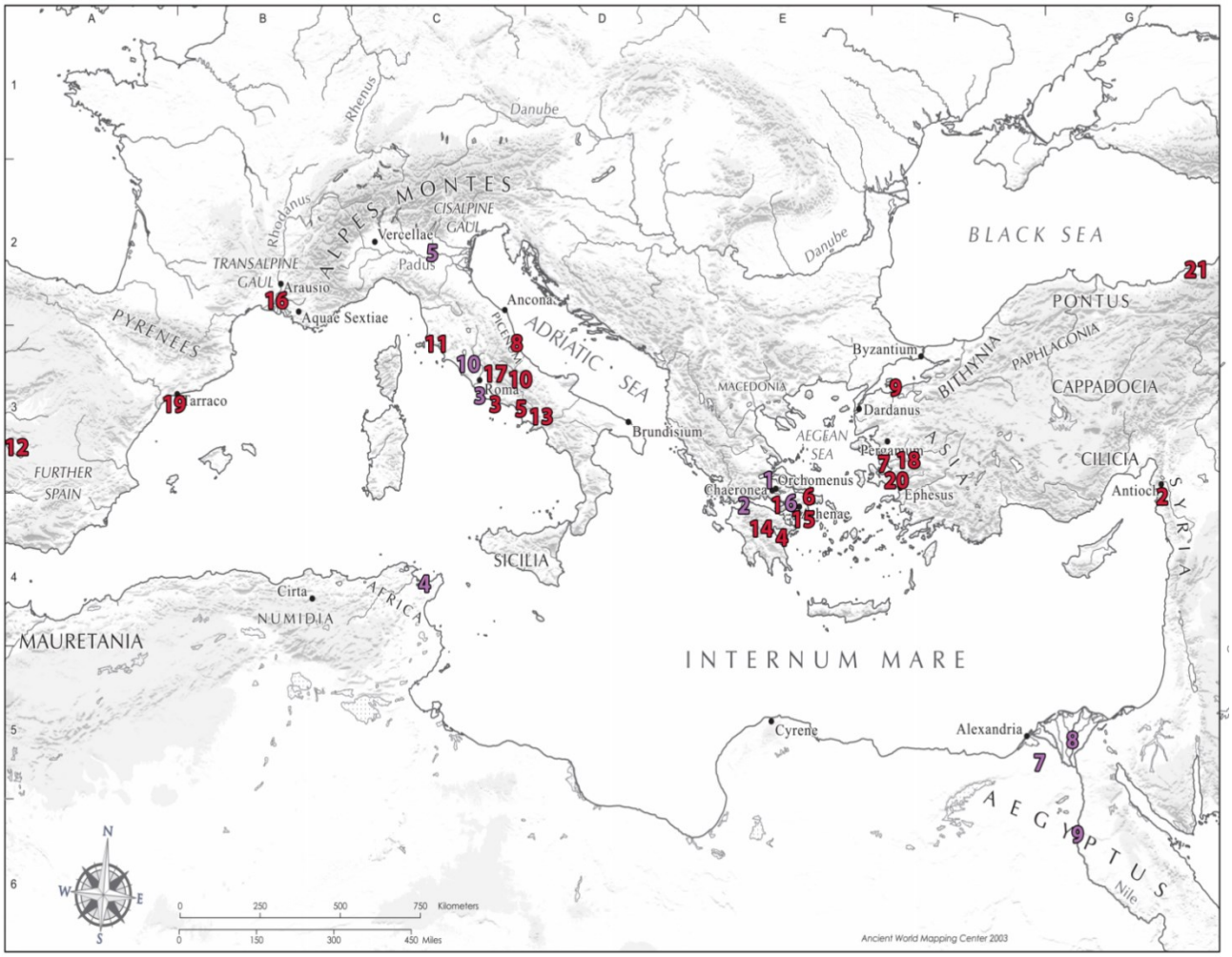
[107] See Mary T Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 110-111 for her Table 6.2 from which this chart is cited.

Table 2
Provenance for sculptures of Antinoös outside of Rome, see Map 1.[108] See also Clairmont, for his catalogue on the Antinoös repertoire.[109]

Image of Antinoös (Figure number in Clairmont)	Original or Found Location	Repository
Portrait bust (11)	Rome	Florence, Uffizi Gallery
Portrait bust (13)	Probably Rome	Madrid, Prado
Antinoös-Apollo, head (17)	Unknown	Roma, Capitoline Museum Galleria
Statue (19)	Rome	Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Antinoös, head/neck (20)	Unknown	Paris, Louvre
Antinoös, head/neck (21)	Unknown	Copenhagen National Museum
Antinoös, head (22)	Unknown	London, British Museum
Antinoös-Aristaios (23)	Unknown	Paris, Louvre
Antinoös-Vertumnus (25)	Tivoli	Rome, Villa Albani
Antinoös-Dionysus (27)*	Tivoli, Villa Hadriana	Vatican, Sala Rotonda
Antinoös-Dionysus (28)	Rome, Quirinal Hill	Banca Nazionale
Antinoös-Dionysus, head (34)	Tivoli	Leningrad
Antinoös-Dionysus, head (37)	Rome, Villa Pamphili	London, British Museum
Antinoös-Ganymedes (39)	Tivoli	Liverpool, The Lady Lever Art Gallery
Antinoös Mondragone (58)*	Italy	Paris, Louvre
Antinoös-Osiris (N/A)*	Tivoli	Vatican Museums

[108] Figures of Antinoös with an (*) by them, in tables 2 and 3, signify images discussed within this paper.
[109] Clairmont, *Die Bildniss Des Antinous*.

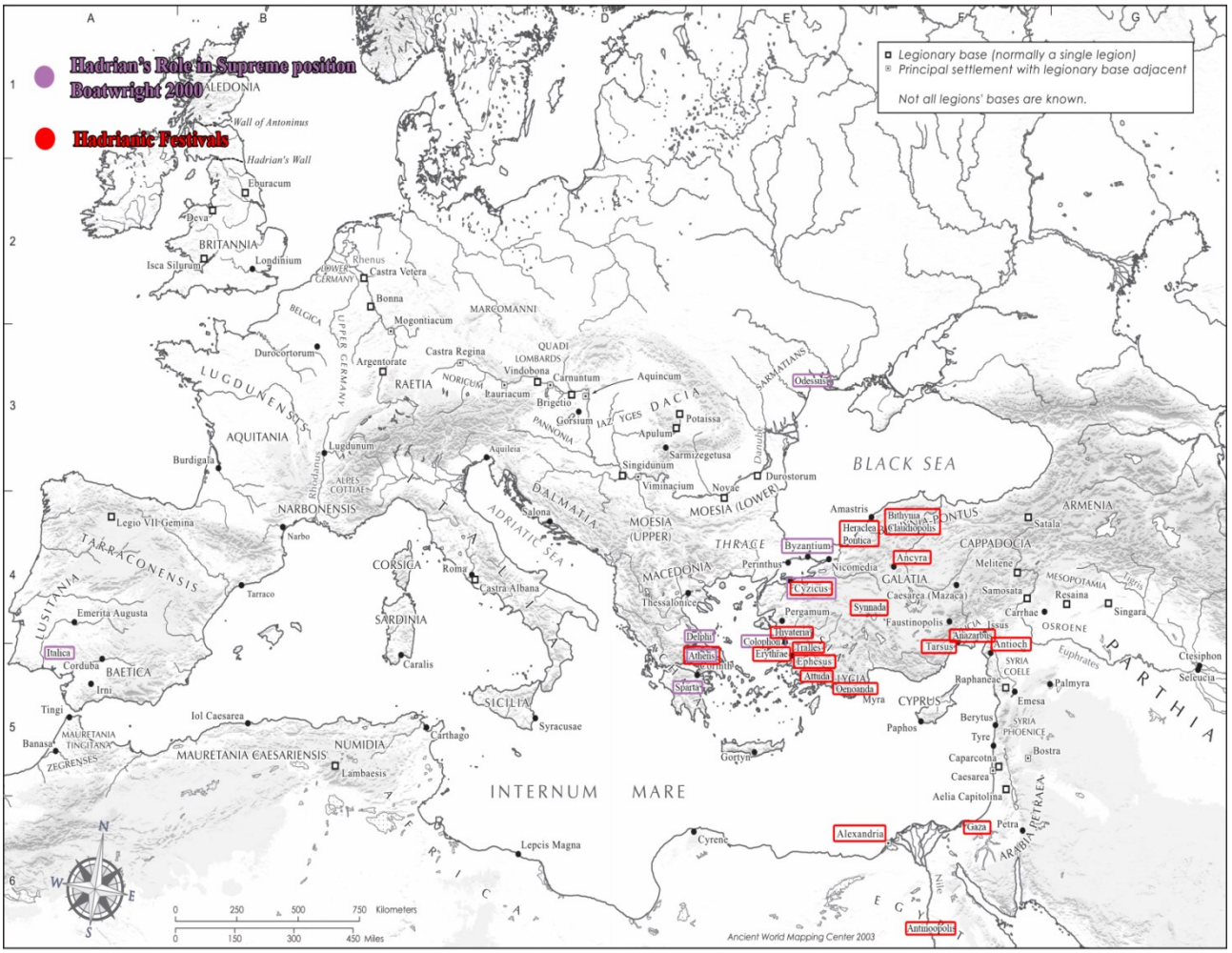
Map 1 - Cities with Temples renovated, restored, or completed by Hadrian (in red) and provenance for sculptures of Antinoös outside of Rome (in purple).[110]



[110] Maps 1, 2, and 3, are sourced from Ancient World Mapping Center from University of North Carolina at Chapel. Hill. Accessed from http://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/free-maps/roman-empire/.

Map 2 – Hadrian's shrine and supreme position throughout Italy.

Map 3 – Hadrian's festival and supreme positions throughout the Roman Empire.



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