

THE WORLD OF THE PANHELLENION

I. ATHENS AND ELEUSIS*

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(Plates I–III)

INTRODUCTION

In A.D. 131/2 the emperor Hadrian created a new organization of Greek cities, the Panhellenion. This paper is the first of two in which we explore, from a provincial perspective, the implications of this novel initiative by Rome in Greek affairs.

The foundation of the Panhellenion belongs to a series of interventions by Hadrian in the Greek world, the others mostly in the form of acts of benefaction towards individual communities. Although Hadrian's reign marked a watershed in Greek relations with Rome, these relations had already evolved significantly over the previous two generations. The two most obvious developments lay in the overlapping areas of cultural and political life. Not only did educated Greeks and Romans now share an intellectual milieu, but a renaissance of Greek literary and rhetorical activity had begun under the leadership of provincials enjoying (more often than not) close ties with Rome. At the same time, a Roman career had become more available to ambitious Greeks; a marked increase in the numbers of Greek senators may be dated to the last quarter of the first century.

Although classical scholars tend, for convenience of analysis, to separate cultural from political history, such a distinction is particularly inappropriate to the Greek world under Roman rule. In the second century A.D., many of the Greeks prominent in Roman administration were also active in cultural life. In a wider sense, Roman attitudes to contemporary Greeks were characterized by admiration for the cultural achievements of their predecessors. Such a climate imparted a political resonance to certain kinds of Greek cultural activity, ranging from sophistic oratory to inter-city diplomacy, in which recollection of the past was a pronounced feature. These activities may also include public building, in cases where archaism of architectural style coincides with patronage by politically prominent individuals.

The nature of the Panhellenion as an institution may be best interpreted within the context of the contemporary overlap between political and cultural activity. By such means we aim to dispel some of the obscurity which, in spite of recent research, continues to dog the league. Specifically, we define the Panhellenion as a cultural and political entity by considering the extent and character of its membership and its known activities. We attempt to locate the officials and delegates in contemporary Greek society through consideration of their careers and backgrounds. We also evaluate the impact of the Panhellenion, as expressed through the movements of individuals and the development of an imperially sponsored programme of public buildings, on Athens, the seat of the league, and on the neighbouring sanctuary of Eleusis.

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Responsibility for the views expressed in this

paper and for any remaining errors remains that of the authors alone.

The following exceptional abbreviations are used:
Follet = S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle* (1976).

Oliver = J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius: Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 13 (1970).

Shear = T. Leslie Shear, Jr, 'Athens: from city-state to provincial town', *Hesperia* L (1981), 356–77.

Thompson, *Agora Guide*³ = H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora: Guide to the excavations* (3rd edition, 1976).

Travlos = J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1971).

I. THE LEAGUE OF THE PANHELLENION

In this section an attempt is made to define more precisely certain aspects of the Panhellenion: its membership, its activities, and the social standing of the Greeks who sought office in it. Our knowledge of the institution is drawn almost entirely from inscriptions, of which a total of some 54, referring either to the league, its officials, or both, is now known. Although mostly from Greece itself, seven inscriptions were found in Turkey, one in Italy and one in Libya, a diversity of provenance which nicely reflects the league's panhellenic character. Until recently, this epigraphic evidence was scattered in journals and local *corpora* and not readily accessible to the Roman historian, a fact which explains, to some extent, the comparative neglect of the Panhellenion in modern scholarship. The late J. H. Oliver did much to remedy this situation when he published, in 1970, an up-to-date *corpus* of texts relating to the league, to which a further handful has since been added.¹

Organization

Oliver has shown that Hadrian formally founded the league in 131/2, the same year in which he visited Athens and presided over the dedication of the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus. It is tempting to see the two events as connected, since the presence in Athens for the ceremony of dedication of a host of ambassadors from eastern cities would have provided an opportune moment to announce the foundation of a panhellenic institution.²

Hadrian chose Athens to be the capital of the Panhellenion; the implications of this for the city's history are considered in more detail below. The surviving inscriptions focus on two elements in the league's administrative machinery: the senior executive post, that of archon, of which no fewer than thirteen incumbents are known by name, and the council (*synedrion*) of delegates from the membership, called Panhellenes. The archon held office at Athens for a period of four years, the Panhellenes for one year.³ It is unknown how the archon was selected, but presumably his appointment was approved by the emperor. As for the councillors, they were 'elected' (*χειροτονεῖν*) by the member-bodies which they represented, according to rules of individual eligibility laid down by Hadrian, including a minimum age-limit and the requirement already to have held local office.⁴ It is clear that the membership was not uniformly represented on the council, some cities sending more than one Panhellene to Athens: thus Cyrene sent two, Sparta at least two and perhaps more.⁵

Of lesser officials we hear only of the deputy-archon (*antarchon*), to whom a treasurer should perhaps be added, since the league is found from time to time disbursing monies; among other personnel we should allow for secretaries, who maintained the 'minutes' (*hypomnemata*)⁶ of sittings of the council and perhaps drafted the official documents emanating from the league; also for more humble employees concerned with the maintenance of buildings associated with the league in Athens.

Membership

This at present is known to have embraced cities in no fewer than five provinces: Achaia, Macedonia, Thrace, Crete-and-Cyrene and Asia—the Aegean provinces. For the first time in the Roman east, a permanent territorial entity larger than a single province had been created. This membership can be tabulated as follows (see also Fig. 1):⁷

¹ Oliver, inscriptions nos. 1–50, with ch. iv, 'The Attic Panhellenion'; Follet, 125–36, with (133–4) five additional inscriptions; and Oliver, 'Panachaeans and Panhellenes', *Hesperia* XLVII (1978), 185–91. Earlier discussions of the Panhellenion by M. N. Tod, *JHS* XLII (1922), 173–80, and by P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (1934), 102–11, although out of date, contain perceptive remarks.

² Oliver, 132.

³ Oliver, no. 1, ll. 23–4, with p. 15; Follet, 134.

⁴ Oliver, no. 1, ll. 17 (election) and 18–19 with p. 14 (eligibility).

⁵ Cyrene: see l. 12 of the inscription re-edited by J. Reynolds, *JRS* LXVIII (1978), 113 with 117; Sparta: Oliver, no. 46.

⁶ See Oliver, no. 1, ll. 24–5.

⁷ Based on the inscriptions cited by Oliver and Follet (above, n. 1). For Synnada's membership, see below, p. 91; for that of Rhodes, hitherto overlooked, see Part II, *JRS* LXXVI (1986).

TABLE I

Achaia

- | | |
|-----------|-------------|
| Athens | Megara |
| Sparta | Chalcis |
| Argos | Acraephniae |
| Epidaurus | Amphicleia? |
| Methana | Hypata* |
| Corinth | Demetrias* |
- (* probably represented through the Thessalian *koinon*)

Macedonia

Thessalonice

Thrace

Perinthus

Asia

- | | |
|---------|--------------------------|
| Aezani | Thyateira |
| Tralles | Sardis |
| Miletus | Magnesia-on-the-Maeander |
| Apamea | Rhodes |
| Synnada | |

Crete-and-Cyrene

- | | |
|-------------|-----------|
| Lyttos* | Cyrene |
| Gortyn* | Apollonia |
| Hierapytna* | |
- (* represented through the Cretan *koinon*)

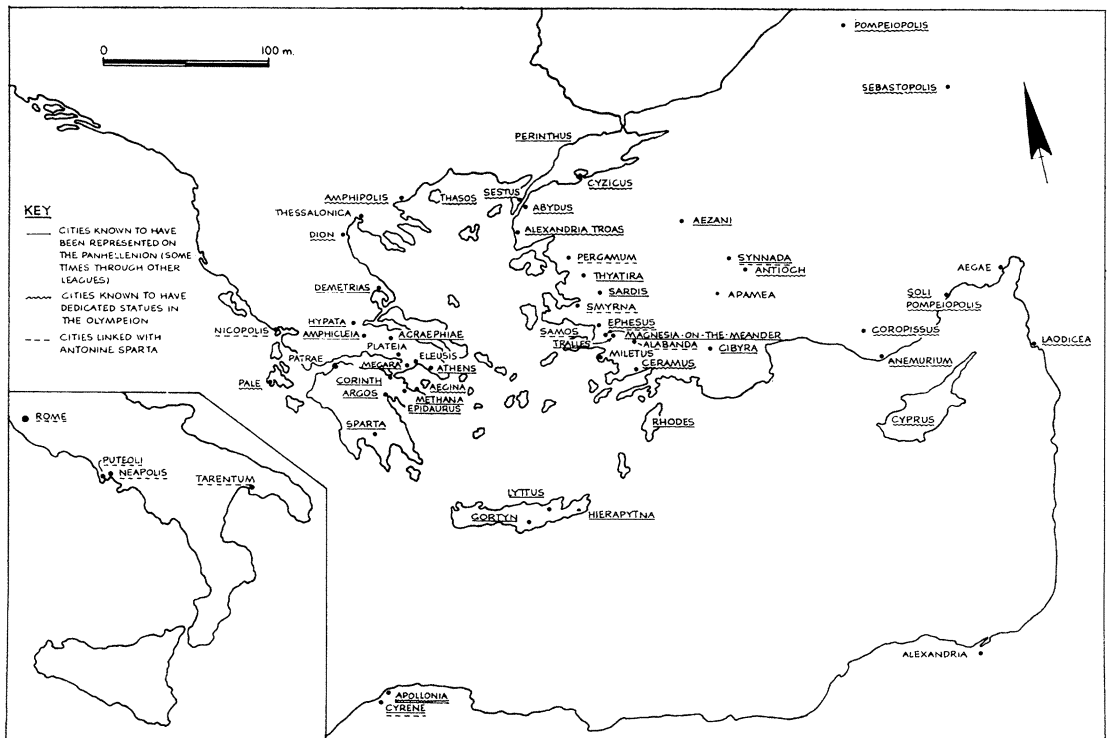


FIG. 1. MAP SHOWING THE KNOWN MEMBER-CITIES OF THE PANHELLENION, AND CITIES WHICH MADE DEDICATIONS TO HADRIAN IN THE SANCTUARY OF OLYMPIAN ZEUS AT ATHENS.

Since Aezani and Thyateira in the province of Asia, along with Cyrene in N. Africa, were already members before the accession of Antoninus Pius,⁸ it seems clear that the geographical scope of the Panhellenion reflected Hadrian's own ideas (rather than being the result, say, of later developments). On the other hand, as Oliver noted, no member-cities are attested from the Greek west, nor from Egypt, Syria or Rome's other Anatolian provinces. The significance of these absentees is not easy to evaluate. To begin with, the haphazard nature of the surviving evidence counsels caution. Since the cultural values of the Greek and hellenized cities in different parts of the empire seem to have been remarkably homogeneous, there is no reason to believe that Greek interest in Hadrian's new league was limited to the provinces represented by its known membership. But it is possible that the known limits of the league's membership reflect reluctance on Rome's part to permit the permanent union of a large part of the Greek world within an organization administered by the Greeks themselves.⁹

An inscription from Thessalonice shows that the Panhellenion divided its membership into 'cities' (*poleis*) and 'peoples' (*ethne*), 'peoples' here referring to certain regional leagues, representing (for the most part) small cities which might otherwise have had difficulty in sustaining the cost of representation at Athens; the epigraphic evidence shows that the membership of the Cretan and Thessalian *koina* were represented in this way.¹⁰

Outside Crete and Greece, the list of known member-cities is largely confined to places of some importance in a contemporary (that is, Roman) sense: Cyrene was a Roman assize-centre; Thessalonice was the seat of the proconsul of Macedonia; Perinthus was the capital of an administrative sub-division in the province of Thrace;¹¹ and Rhodes was a prestigious free city. Of the known member-cities in the province of Asia, in the Antonine period, three (Apamea, Sardis and Synnada) were, two (Miletus and Tralles) had been, and one (Thyateira) later became assize-centres;¹² Cibyra in the second century was the seat of two, Aezani the seat of one senatorial family (to use another measure of contemporary standing);¹³ and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander was to be ranked formally as seventh of the cities of Asia under Severus Alexander.¹⁴ It is striking that no evidence exists for the membership of the province's three leading cities: Pergamum, Ephesus and Smyrna. But their absence perhaps reflects no more than the arbitrary character of the evidence for the Panhellenion. As will be seen, these cities, whether corporately or through individual notables, were in close contact in the post-Hadrianic period with Athens and Sparta, the two most prestigious members of the Panhellenion in old Greece.

Admission

Hadrian's letter to Cyrene (134/5) suggests that in the early years of its existence the archon took a leading part in administering applications for membership, submitting queries to Hadrian himself.¹⁵ To judge from a surviving decree (*psephisma*) of the Panhellenes from the reign of Pius, which appears to sanction the admission of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, the admissions procedure also involved the council once it was large enough to function effectively.¹⁶

It is impossible to reconstruct the growth of the league's membership, since the evidence for the membership of individual cities for the most part provides no indication of the date of a city's admission. On the other hand, the six documents which do appear to relate directly to the admission of a new member belong either to the reign of Hadrian or that of Pius.¹⁷ This chronology, if at all significant, suggests that the league's fastest period of growth—not surprisingly—fell in the years immediately after its foundation. Whether

⁸ Oliver, nos. 27 and 50. Cyrene: inscription cited above, n. 5.

⁹ Note, however, the much wider geographical spread reflected by the embassies attending the dedication of the Olympieion: Graindor, op. cit. (n. 1), 66–9.

¹⁰ Oliver, *Hesperia* XLVII (1978), 189–90, no. 1; Oliver, nos. 41 and 19.

¹¹ A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1971), 15.

¹² *ibid.*, 65–83 *passim*.

¹³ H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* (1979), 68.

¹⁴ L. Robert, *BCH* CI (1977), 66–77.

¹⁵ Reynolds, *JRS* LXVIII (1978), 113, ll. 2–12 with 115–17.

¹⁶ Oliver, no. 5.

¹⁷ Hadrian's letter to Cyrene (n. 15); Oliver, nos. 5, 6, 45 and 50; and the Synnadan decree discussed below.

or not any cities were encouraged to join by the emperor himself the evidence does not permit us to say. But the case of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander suggests that at least some cities applied spontaneously for membership; and the evidence of Hadrian's letter to Cyrene, as will be seen, seems to show that local inter-city rivalries could fuel competition for the privilege of sending delegates to the council.

As for the requirements of membership, two documents are revealing here. The first is the decree admitting Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, the second a dedication by the Phrygian city of Cibyra in connection with its membership of the league.¹⁸ Both documents refer in the same order to the Greek ancestries of the two cities (their γένος Ἑλληνι[κόν] in the words of one¹⁹), to their history of good relations with Rome, and to the benefactions which they had received from Hadrian. No doubt the council and archon would have hesitated to let in any city with a recent history of bad relations with Rome; on the other hand, favours from the Panhellenion's founder would have constituted a strong recommendation. Beyond that, these documents show, as does Hadrian's letter to Cyrene, that admission to the Panhellenion was based on the ability of member-communities to prove their Greekness in terms, not only of culture, but also of race. Thus, since the Greek world viewed mainland Greece as its ethnic homeland, the Panhellenion united within a single institutional framework mother-cities of old Greece and their overseas colonies. It is unclear how applicants would have presented to the league their claims to a Greek ancestry—in the age of the Second Sophistic, probably through speeches by civic ambassadors before the assembled Panhellenes.

Not all member-cities were genuinely Greek foundations. Cibyra is a case in point: in connection with its membership of the league, the city claimed—for the first time in the surviving evidence—to be a 'colony of the Lacedaemonians and related to the Athenians', a claim elaborated in a Severan document from Oenoanda, but unknown in the Augustan period to Strabo, who classified Cibyra as a non-Greek foundation.²⁰ The work of 'mythographes, rhéteurs, poètes locaux ou de passage', such fabricated Greek pedigrees are attested among hellenized communities in the E. Mediterranean at least as early as the Hellenistic period. The case of Cibyra is a good example of the desire of such communities to attach themselves only to the most prestigious cities in old Greece—a preference which held a special significance, as will be seen, for Roman Sparta.²¹

Activities

In addressing this question, the historian is hindered by the paucity of literary evidence for Hadrian's reign, the surviving sources making no mention of the league's foundation. The silence of Cassius Dio is of dubious significance, since his treatment of Hadrian's reign survives only in epitomized form. As it is, our understanding of the aims of the Panhellenion must be based in part on the limited evidence for what the league actually did. This information is to be gleaned from the small number of inscriptions attesting its activities, along with a hitherto neglected passage in Eusebius.

Firstly, routine business. To begin with, the Panhellenion regulated its own membership (above, p. 82). It also provided testimonials (*grammata marturias*) for retired officials (p. 89). Like all *koina*, the Panhellenion had a religious focus. Under the later Antonines, if not earlier, it was closely linked with Eleusis (pp. 100–3). At Athens it administered a cult of Hadrian Panhellenius, which was based in a sanctuary called the Panhellenion (see below) and associated with a four-yearly festival, the Panhellenia. The league presumably appointed both the priest of the cult and the *agonothetes* of the festival, posts often—but not invariably—combined with the archonship of the league (see Table 2, below). It also exercised a general supervision over the Panhellenia. The seriousness of this responsibility

¹⁸ Oliver, nos. 5 and 6, a better edition of the latter (of which Oliver was evidently unaware) to be found in *OGIS* II, no. 497.

¹⁹ *OGIS*, *ibid.* I. 6.

²⁰ *ibid.* II. 2–3: 'Ἡ Κιβυρατῶν πόλις ἄποικος Ἀσκεδαμονίων καὶ συγγενὶς Ἀθηναίων, *IGRR* III, 500 I (Oenoanda text); Strabo XIII, 4, 17, p. 63.

²¹ L. and J. Robert, *REG* LXXXV (1972), 397. The importance of these claims to the civic mentality, and their connection with the Panhellenion, have been stressed by L. Robert and were to have been treated by him in a forthcoming book: see, e.g. *Hellenica* VIII (1960), 90–1, where the proposed contents were summarized.

is shown by the embassy to Septimius Severus—at the time probably in Antioch—undertaken in person by the archon of the day, in connection with difficulties then being experienced in attracting contestants to the festival.²²

The league must also have administered a certain amount of routine expenditure. Athenian inscriptions show that ‘the Panhellenion’ was able to distribute money to the Athenian epebes when they took part in celebrations of the Panhellenia.²³ Presumably the league was also responsible for the maintenance of the premises with which it was associated at Athens and which it could have owned: the meeting place of the council, the rooms of the league’s officers, and the shrine of the Panhellenion. To cover routine expenditure, Hadrian may have endowed the Panhellenion with revenues.

The Panhellenion occasionally engaged in the setting up of dedications and even building projects. The evidence for its activities in this respect at Eleusis are considered below (pp. 100–1). At Athens, it seems that the cost of the new sanctuary of the Panhellenion was undertaken by the league (see below). Exceptional expenditure of this kind was probably financed by subscription among the membership.

The Panhellenion could orchestrate the offering of honours to the ruling emperor. The evidence here comes from a statue-base set up by Thessalonice in honour of Pius ‘according to the decree decided upon by the Panhellenes and distributed by them to all the cities and peoples belonging to the Panhellenion, having been ratified by the emperor’. As Oliver saw, the most appropriate moment for such a large-scale vote of honours for the emperor would have been his accession, when Greek cities customarily sent congratulatory embassies to the new ruler. He also noted that the Panhellenion, by moderating the conferment of honours in this way, obviated the need for its members to send individual embassies to Pius.²⁴ It has been claimed that Hadrian, as well as Pius, was concerned by the expense which Greek cities incurred in the despatch of unnecessary embassies to their Roman superiors.²⁵ In founding the Panhellenion, Hadrian provided a channel of communication between the Greek cities and the emperor, allowing one voice to speak for the many.

The evidence so far considered concerns primarily activities best described as cultural and diplomatic. Two pieces of evidence suggest that the league could also engage in other types of activity. Firstly, the recently published letter of Marcus to the Athenians portrays the council of the Panhellenion effectively acting as a court. In the reign of Marcus and probably from the time of its constitution, the council arbitrated in cases of ineligibility brought against Panhellenes-elect.²⁶ More surprisingly, the same document reveals that the Panhellenes judged an Athenian dispute apparently unconnected with the league itself; this was a private quarrel between an Athenian citizen and the administrators of the affairs of Herodes Atticus.²⁷ The Athenian, Athenodorus son of Agrippa, may have preferred to take his quarrel with the powerful interests of a local magnate to an arbitrating body located in Athens but panhellenic in composition, and thus less subject to partiality or intimidation.

In considering the activities of the Panhellenion, P. Graindor wrote that ‘il devait, sans doute, s’intéresser à toutes les questions de nature à resserrer les liens religieux, intellectuels et moraux unissant les cités helléniques’.²⁸ This view seems to find some support from a passage in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, one unknown to Graindor and overlooked in earlier discussions of the Panhellenion. If correctly interpreted below, it suggests that the Panhellenes under Pius were concerned with a serious issue affecting social relations in the Greek cities generally—that of the Christians.

Eusebius is here quoting from the *Apology* addressed by Melito, bishop of Sardis, to the emperor Marcus. Melito refers to letters written by the predecessors of Marcus on the subject of the treatment of the Christians, among them some from Antoninus Pius:

²² Oliver, no. 21. In l. 15, ἀνανεούμεθα suggests that Severus on this occasion might have ‘renewed’ the Panhellenia’s status as a *hieros agon* (see below).

²³ Oliver, no. 18, with Graindor, op. cit. (n. 1), 102 with n. 3.

²⁴ Oliver, *Hesperia* XLVII (1978), 189–90, no. 1.

²⁵ See W. Williams, *Historia* XVI (1967), 470–83.

²⁶ Oliver, no. 1, ll. 15–21.

²⁷ *ibid.* ll. 23–4.

²⁸ op. cit. (n. 1), 106.

ὁ δὲ πατήρ σου, καὶ σοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα διοικοῦντος αὐτῶ, ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Λαρισσαίους καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἑλλήνας.²⁹

And your father, when you were joined with him in managing the affairs of the world, wrote to the cities to take no unlawful measures against us, amongst these letters being ones to the Larissans, the Thessalonicians, the Athenians and to all the Greeks.

Official documents cited by early Christian writers in tendentious contexts need to be treated with caution. But in this case it is hard to believe, as others have pointed out, that Melito would refer the emperor to letters written by his predecessor, had these documents never existed.³⁰ The identification of the addressees whom the text calls 'all the Greeks' has proved problematic. It is recognized that a league is presumably meant. Earlier commentators have seen here a reference to the *koinon* of Asia, because Eusebius elsewhere quotes a letter on the subject of the Christians addressed by either Marcus or Pius specifically to this league.³¹ But, if the recipients of the letter to which Melito referred really were addressed by Pius as πάντες Ἕλληνες or something very similar, they cannot have been the authorities of the Asian *koinon*, a body which had no claim—nor pretensions—to panhellenic standing. We suggest that the recipients were a body of Panhellenes. Under the Julio-Claudians, members of the enlarged Achaean league on two occasions were described in this way; but there is no reason to believe that an Antonine emperor would have addressed the Achaean authorities as 'Panhellenes'.³² In the reign of Pius, a league representing 'all the Greeks' was surely the recently founded Panhellenion, which inscriptions twice attest as the recipient of Imperial letters, the writer in one case being Pius.³³ Melito, moreover, will have been familiar with the Panhellenion, of which Sardis was a member.

It cannot be altogether excluded that a petition to Pius from a group of provincial Christians prompted the emperor's letter to the Panhellenion;³⁴ but communication with a panhellenic body seems a less appropriate response to a local or regional initiative. We should rather imagine the council of the Panhellenion, in a context now lost to us, debating some aspect of civic relations with Christians, prior to sending a copy of its resolution to the emperor.

Office-holders

We consider next the social standing of known office-holders in the Panhellenion and the possible benefits to them of their association with the league. Oliver offered a summary analysis of the backgrounds of these men, but its scope was limited and its conclusions somewhat distorted by his distinction between 'men of inherited wealth' and 'men of culture'.³⁵

The following table sets out the known personnel of the league, in chronological order as far as is possible.

TABLE 2

Name	Date of Office	Home City	Reference	
I. Archons				
(* also held the <i>agonothesia</i> and priesthood of the league † also held the former ‡ also held the latter)				
1	Cn. Cornelius Pulcher‡	Hadrian	Corinth	Oliver, nos. 35–6

²⁹ *EH* IV, 26, 10.

³⁰ See the discussion by F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), 559–61.

³¹ *ibid.*; T. D. Barnes, *JRS* LVIII (1968), 37–8.

³² *IG* VII, 2711, ll. 10, 62, 68, 102, and 2712, l. 45. See U. Kahrstedt, *SO* XXVIII (1950), 70–5.

³³ Oliver, nos. 21 and 29.

³⁴ Millar, *op. cit.* (n. 30), 560–1.

³⁵ Oliver, 130–1.

2	Q. Alleius Epictetus*	Hadrian or Pius	Epidaurus	Oliver, no. 39
3	T. Flavius Cyllus*	153-7	Hypata	Oliver, nos. 9 and 28
4	Tib. Claudius Jason Magnus†	157-61	Cyrene	Oliver, nos. 10 and 30
5	L. Flavius Sulpicianus Dorio	161-5	Hierapytna	Oliver, no. 11
6	T. Flavius Xenio	165-9	Gortyn	Oliver, no. 12; Follet, 127-8
7	Papius Rufus	169-73	?	Oliver, no. 1, ll. 23-4
8	Iulius Damostratus	173-7	?	Oliver, no. 1, l. 16
9	Flavius Amphicles	between 177 and 189	Chalcis	Oliver, no. 15; Follet, 128
10	T. Aelius Geminius Macedo*	189-93	Thessalonice	Oliver, no. 40; Follet, 128-9
11	M. Cocceius Timasarchus	197-201	Rhodes	Oliver, no. 21; Follet, 129
12	(Aurelius?) Rufus?†	between 177 and 217	Perinthus	Follet, 129-30
13	Casianus Antiochus <i>qui et</i> Synesius	third century	Athens	Oliver, no. 120; Follet, 130
14	Aristaeus	?	?	Oliver, no. 20; Follet, 130-1
15	Anonymous	?	?	Oliver, no. 13

II. *Antarchon*

16	M. Aurelius Alcamenes	209/10	Athens	Oliver, no. 23
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III. *Other agonothetai of the Panhellenia*

17	Herodes Atticus	Hadrian	Athens	Oliver, 129-30
18	Al[-----]	about 240	?	Oliver, no. 25
19	Anonymous	?	?	Oliver, no. 13

IV. *Other priests of Hadrian Panhellenion*

20	Anonymous	?	Asia	IG II ² 3623
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V. *Panhellenes*

21	C. Curtius Proclus	Hadrian	Megara	Oliver, no. 42
22	P. Cae(---) Dionysius	Hadrian	Aezani	Oliver, no. 27
23	Iulius Amyntianus	Hadrian or Pius	Tralles?	Follet, 133
24	A. Maecius Faustinus	Pius?	Corinth?	Follet, 132
25	M. Ulpius Apuleius Eurycles	156	Aezani	Oliver, nos. 28-30
26	M. Ulpius Damasippus	Pius?	Amphicleia	Oliver, nos. 31 and 32
27	C. Iulius Arion	Pius or Marcus	Sparta	Oliver, no. 2
28	Cornelius Miletus	Pius or Marcus	Miletus	Follet, 133
29	Corinthus son of Nicephorus	Pius or Marcus	Sparta	Follet, 134
30	Spendon son of Spendon	Pius?	Sparta	Oliver, no. 48
31	Neon son of Neon	Pius or Marcus	Sparta	Oliver, no. 47
32	T. Statilius Timocrates Memmianus	Commodus	Argos	Oliver, no. 34
33	M. Iulius Praxis	Marcus	Apollonia	Oliver, no. 8
34	Secundus son of Menander	between 193 and 197	Demetrius	Follet, no. 134

35	Dionysius	between 132 and 212	Methana	Oliver, no. 43
36	Pardalas	between 132 and 212	Lytos	Oliver, no. 41
37	Xenagoras son of Pasicrates	between 132 and 212	Sparta	Oliver, no. 46
38	Coranus	between 132 and 212	Megara	Oliver, no. 44
39	Heraclius	between 132 and 212	Megara	Oliver, no. 44
40	Paramonus son of Aphrodisius	between 132 and 212	Acraephniae	Oliver, no. 26
41	Primus	between 132 and 212	Apamea	Oliver, no. 33
42	Vedius Prophetus	after 132	Argos	Follet, 133
43	Sebon	after 132	Gortyn	Follet, 132

VI. *Panhellenes-elect*

44	Sophanes son of Sophanes	174/5	Athens	Oliver, no. 1, ll. 15–20
45	Epigonus son of Epictetus	174/5	Athens	Oliver, no. 1, ll. 20–33
46	Nostimus son of Dio- nysius	174/5	Athens	Oliver, no. 1, ll. 27–30

Almost all the senior officers of the league—the archons, antarchon, *agonothetai* and priests—can be identified as Roman citizens; the odd man out, Aristaeus (no. 14), is known only from an inscription in which his full name is not given; he too is likely to have been a *civis*.

Some of these men or their descendants held equestrian or senatorial rank; two at least also held office in Rome's service:

Cn. Cornelius Pulcher (no. 1), a member of an old Epidaurian family but himself based at Corinth, was an *eques*, holding (before his archonship) the posts of procurator of Epirus and *iuridicus* of Alexandria and Egypt.³⁶ If not the first, he was probably the second archon to hold office, his appointment perhaps to be connected with the need for experienced administrators in the early years of the league's existence.

T. Flavius Cyllus (no. 3) was a kinsman (grandfather, probably) of Flavia Habroea, mother of the *vir consularis* M. Ulpius Eubiotus Leurus.³⁷

Tib. Claudius Jason Magnus (no. 4), in the letter of the Panhellenion to the *koinon* of Asia, is styled ὁ κρᾶτιστος.³⁸ This predicate of rank is of uncertain significance: 'the problem which one faces in Achaia and Macedonia is when to accept the predicate . . . as indicating the *latus clavus* . . . or as proclaiming the recognized authority of an important *eques*'.³⁹ No other evidence exists to show that this Cyrenaean family enjoyed senatorial rank; Jason Magnus seems best understood as an *eques*.

L. Flavius Sulpicianus Dorio (no. 5) was the father of a Roman senator, L. Flavius Dorio Polymnis, who had already embarked on his senatorial career before his father's archonship in 161–5, because he must have held his quaestorship of Pontus-et-Bithynia before the province was transferred to an Imperial legate in 161.⁴⁰

T. Flavius Xenio (no. 6) as an ex-archon was also styled ὁ κρᾶτιστος—best taken, as with no. 4, to indicate equestrian rank. His grandson bore the same predicate while still a child; it has been suggested that he was the son of a Roman senator.⁴¹

Flavius Amphicles (no. 9) belonged to a family which, in the third century, produced senators and a *vir consularis*.⁴²

³⁶ *PIR*² C 1424.

³⁷ Oliver, *Epigrafi e Ordine Senatorio* II (1982), 589–91.

³⁸ Oliver, no. 30, l. 7.

³⁹ Oliver, op. cit. (n. 37), 592.

⁴⁰ Halfmann, op. cit. (n. 13), nos. 109 and 109a. For new evidence on this family, see G. Camodeca, *Epigrafi e Ordine Senatorio* I (1982), 539–42.

⁴¹ Oliver, no. 12 and in op. cit. (n. 37), 593.

⁴² Oliver, op. cit. (n. 37), 591–2.

T. Aelius Geminius Macedo of Thessalonice (no. 10) served the emperor as *curator* of another city in the province of Macedonia, Apollonia.⁴³

(Aurelius?) Rufus (no. 12), attested by Philostratus as *agonothetes* of the Panhellenia and perhaps by an inscription as archon and priest in the Panhellenion, came from a family which produced 'many consuls' (πολλοὶ ὑπατοὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος), although he himself is not known to have been a Roman senator.⁴⁴

Herodes Atticus (no. 17) was the son of a *vir consularis* and himself pursued a senatorial career.

Their Roman connections place these men in the élites of their native cities—as in some cases do the offices held by their forbears: leaving aside Herodes, earlier members of the family of T. Flavius Cyllus (no. 3) held high office both locally (in Hypata's Imperial cult) and regionally (in the Thessalian and Amphictyonic leagues and at Delphi, where the father of Cyllus was *agonothetes* of the Pythia⁴⁵); and the father of Sulpicianus Dorio (no. 5) served as high-priest of the Cretan *koinon* in 129.⁴⁶ Others among the Panhellenion's high officers can be similarly placed socially: Q. Alleius Epictetus (no. 2) was priest of Asclepius and *agonothetes* of the Asclepeia in his native Epidaurus, besides holding high office at Athens, including the eponymous archonship; M. Cocceius Timasarchus (no. 11) was three times *agonothetes* of the Rhodian Haleia and belonged to a family of Rhodian notables;⁴⁷ Casianus Antiochus *qui et* Synesius (no. 13) belonged to a family which produced at least two Athenian archons.⁴⁸

The possession of wealth is implicit among families with equestrian and senatorial connections, as among men who held high office locally or in regional leagues. It is implicit too in the tenure of the Panhellenion's archonship and *agonothesia*. The former post involved travelling to and fro from Athens and residence in the city; even if these expenses were paid by the league, no doubt the archon was also involved in the provision of hospitality at Athens; so the post would best have suited men of means. *Agonothetai* of the Panhellenia were probably expected to subsidise the cost of the festivals which they supervised; at any rate, Philostratus associated this office with two sophists famous for their wealth. The fortune of one of these, Herodes Atticus, is too well known to require comment; the other, Rufus of Perinthus (no. 12), Philostratus described as 'the richest man in the Hellespont and Propontis'.⁴⁹ Other high officers can also be identified as rich men: Xenio (no. 6) was associated with two public endowments, one conferred on Eleusis, the other on Gortyn, his native city (see below); Macedo made a generous gift of 10,000 cubits of wood to Thessalonice for the construction of a basilica, perhaps coming from his own stands;⁵⁰ and it has been suggested that Timasarchus (no. 11), also *agonothetes* at Olympia, received this honour from the Eleians 'in exchange for a considerable financial "quid pro quo"'.⁵¹

Where more is known about them, then, the high officers of the Panhellenion can be defined socially as members of the leading families of their home cities: they belonged to the same stratum of provincial society which provided Rome with its intake of eastern knights and senators. On the other hand, although the possession of equestrian status is assured for one archon (no. 1), and perhaps can be inferred for another two (nos. 4 and 6), no archon can be identified as an active Roman senator. While bearing in mind that at least three archons (nos. 7, 8 and 14) are no more than names, one might, with caution, assert that the chief executive post in the Panhellenion tended to be held by notables whose own careers, as opposed to those of kinsmen, had not taken them into the Senate.

⁴³ Oliver, no. 49, now republished as *IG* x, 2, 181.

⁴⁴ Philostratus, *VS* 597.

⁴⁵ J. A. O. Larsen, 'A Thessalian Family under the Principate', *Class. Phil.* XLVIII (1953), 86–94.

⁴⁶ *Inscr. Cret.* iv, no. 275.

⁴⁷ G. Pugliese Carratelli, *PP* v (1950), 77, no. 1. Family: C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos II, Inscriptions* II (1941), nos. 458 (in ll. 4–5, [Ἀγλωχάρτου] should perhaps be restored and a reference recognized to M. Cocceius Aglochartus, the archon's father), and 479.

⁴⁸ Oliver, 106–7, n. 8, *pace* whom there seems no good

reason for identifying Antiochus as a son of C. Iulius Casianus Apollonius, archon *c.* 200.

⁴⁹ Philostratus, *VS* 549 (Herodes) and 597–8 (Rufus).

⁵⁰ Oliver, no. 49.

⁵¹ So H. Pleket, *ZPE* xx (1976), 7–8, commenting on *PP* v (1950), 77, no. 1, where Timasarchus is described as τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην τῆς τῶν μεγάλων Ἀλίων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ὀλυμπίων; but it seems doubtful whether τῆς applies to both *agonothesia*, as Pleket believed.

The Panhellenes were more of a mixture socially. Some can be identified, once more, as men of high standing locally: C. Curtius Proclus (no. 21) twice served as Boeotarch and was rich enough to finance twenty pairs of gladiators for a local spectacle; T. Statilius Timocrates Memmianus (no. 32) was a member of a distinguished Epidaurian family and himself served in the highest offices of the Achaean and Amphictyonic leagues;⁵² and A. Maecius Faustinus (no. 24), as well as holding the duovirate at Corinth, belonged to a family which later, it now seems, entered the Senate, and was related to the emperor Gordian I.⁵³

The known Panhellenes from Asia also tend to be notables. Iulius Amyntianus (no. 23) was evidently the brother of the princely C. Iulius Severus, a suffect consul under Hadrian;⁵⁴ Cornelius Miletus (no. 28) belonged to a prominent local family;⁵⁵ and M. Ulpius Apuleius Eurycles (no. 25) went on to hold high office in the province of Asia (see below).

On the other hand, of 25 known Panhellenes or Panhellenes-elect, as many as 14 or 15 (nos. 29–31, 34–41, perhaps 43, and 44–6) were not Roman citizens. Since, by the Antonine period, the leading families of Greek cities usually possessed Roman citizenship, the fact that over half the known Panhellenes were *peregrini* in itself suggests that the council was by no means dominated by the narrow social stratum which supplied the high officers of the league. This impression is confirmed in the case of Sparta's Panhellenes, the inscribed local careers of four of whom (nos. 27, 29, 30 and 31) have survived. None of them can be connected with the city's leading families, nor with tenure of the posts particularly associated with the local élite (such as the eponymous patronomate, the gymnasiarchy and agoranomate, the priesthoods and the position of *bouagos* in the ephobic training). Nor does any of them seem to have been especially rich. In the case of C. Iulius Arion (no. 27), perhaps the descendant of a freedman, his modest means are only emphasized by his proud recording of an act of financial sacrifice on Sparta's behalf: when, on the occasion of an embassy to Naples, the trip took longer and his travelling expenses therefore were greater than anticipated, he paid the additional amount himself, without seeking a refund from Sparta on his return home.⁵⁶ This man was no Herodes Atticus.

Analysis of the social origin of known Panhellenes suggests that, although they included Greeks from the élites of member-cities, as many as half seem to have held a somewhat lower place in local society: they represented, one might say, more the 'rank-and-file' of Greeks active in civic politics during the second century. It cannot be said, then, that the Panhellenion catered merely for the political and cultural preoccupations of provincial magnates: the council, at any rate, provided a stage for a broader stratum of provincial society.

Oliver noted that some of the league's personalities 'strike one particularly as men of culture', citing the Panhellenes C. Curtius Proclus (no. 21), A. Maecius Faustinus (no. 24) and Dionysius son of Hermogenes (no. 35), all three of whom are styled *rhētor* in honorific inscriptions; the archon Antiochus *qui et* Synesius (no. 13), head of the Museum at Athens, and the *agonothetes* Rufus (no. 12), a famous sophist; Herodes Atticus (no. 17), also a distinguished sophist, can be added to his list. Cultivation or *paideia* was the mark of all educated Greeks: as such, it must have been normal among the high officers and councillors of the Panhellenion, drawn as they were from the upper strata of their cities. Thus Flavius Amphicles (no. 9) was a former student of sophistic rhetoric under Herodes Atticus;⁵⁷ and Eurycles of Aezani (no. 25) could be praised by the Athenian Areopagus for (among other things) 'concerning himself with *paideia*' during his term at Athens.⁵⁸ But the Panhellenion does not seem to have been a forum of Greek intellectuals as such:

⁵² This man and his family are restudied by A. Spawforth, 'Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: some prosopographical notes', *ABSA* LXXX (1985), forthcoming.

⁵³ See Oliver, *AJPh* LXXXIX (1968), 345–7, with the new inscription from Italy, M. C. Franco, *Epigraphica* XXXIII (1971), 82–90.

⁵⁴ Follet, 133; for Severus, see Halfmann, *op. cit.* (n. 13), no. 62.

⁵⁵ A. Rehm, *Didyma II: Die Inschriften* (1958), no. 361, giving details of his own and his family's office-holding.

⁵⁶ *SEG* XI, 501, ll. 5–6: συνθύτης ἰς Νέαν πόλιν, ὑπερχρονίαν μὴ λαβών, with L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* II (1969), 1182.

⁵⁷ Philostratus, *VS* 57–8.

⁵⁸ *OGIS* II, 505, ll. 7–8.

cultural 'specialists'—sophists, rhetors and so on—by no means dominated its milieu, to judge from the surviving evidence, and men such as Pulcher (no. 1) and Eurycles, as well as the Spartan Panhellenes, seem better considered as Greeks active in political life.

It remains to consider the possible attractions of service in the Panhellenion. There is some evidence to show that such service was seen as a source of personal prestige. It is not hard to believe that the high offices became posts of distinction in Greek circles. In the reign of Severus, the daughter of Geminius Macedo (no. 10) was proud to record that her father had been 'the first man from the most brilliant city of the Thessalonians to become archon of the Panhellenes'.⁵⁹

The letter of M. Aurelius to the Athenians suggests that the post of Panhellene was also thought of highly. It records at least three cases of Athenian Panhellenes-elect whose eligibility for office had been challenged in the council by individual fellow-citizens.⁶⁰ The background to these episodes is obscure, but is likely to have lain in the personal rivalries characteristic of local politics in the Greek cities. It is significant that the attempt to unseat a Panhellene-elect could be seen as a means of political attack: evidently a seat on the council was deemed worth having in the Athens of the 170s.

The prestige of service in the league in part would have arisen from the Panhellenion's association with the ruling power: it was founded by a Roman emperor and was a Roman institution, for all that it was manned by provincials. There were also the blandishments of a stay in Athens. Not only had the city been provided with splendid new amenities by Hadrian and Herodes Atticus, but intellectually it was 'swinging' at this date;⁶¹ so it must have been socially, being not only a centre of Greek cultural life, but also playing host to personnel of the league coming from at least five provinces, as well as to other Greek notables. The prospect of breathing for a while the cosmopolitan air of Antonine Athens might well have seemed congenial to a Greek from Aezani or Cyrene.

Service in the Panhellenion might also have been seen as a means of furthering one's career. If Pulcher (no. 1) was at all typical, the archonship was usually held by men advanced in years. But the age-limit for Panhellenes was relatively low, as is clear from the career of Eurycles of Aezani (no. 25). He also provides the most obvious instance of a Greek who sought to benefit personally from his association with the Panhellenion. The evidence derives from the remarkable series of testimonials written in his favour following his term as Panhellene, which fell in 156. A total of five such letters of testimonial are attested, copies of three of which have survived (they had been inscribed at Aezani for public view). Four were composed by the archon and the Panhellenes and addressed respectively to Antoninus Pius, the city of Aezani and (two letters) the Asian *koinon*: the fifth was addressed to Aezani by the Athenian Areopagus. Although none of the three surviving testimonials says as much, it is likely that they were all solicited by Eurycles. In the case of the letters from the league, three were written during the archonship of T. Flavius Cyllus, who appears to have been personally well disposed to Eurycles and perhaps inclined to oblige him in this matter.⁶²

These testimonials provide an insight into what was probably a routine part of the league's activities; they also imply that its recommendation was thought likely to carry weight among the addressees (including the emperor). Eurycles presumably wished to be drawn to their attention in order to enhance his personal prestige, with a view to his future career. It is entirely appropriate to the value attached to *paideia* in this period both among Greeks and by emperors that the Panhellenion should stress Eurycles' distinction in this respect.⁶³

Some details of his career are known. Five or six years after his term as Panhellene, in 162 or 163, he held the post of *curator* to the Ephesian *gerousia*, an appointment which he owed to the proconsul of Asia and in the course of which he entered into direct

⁵⁹ Oliver, no. 49, ll. 7–9.

⁶⁰ Oliver, no. 1, ll. 15–23 and 27–9. Oliver, p. 40, also believed that Popillius Pius (ll. 30–5) was a Panhellene-elect.

⁶¹ So E. Bowie in M. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Society* (1974), 196.

⁶² *OGIS* II, nos. 504–7 (cf. Oliver, nos. 28–30). In no. 504, ll. 11–12, Eurycles is described as ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸν θαυμασιώτατον ἡμῶν ἄρχοντα Φλάβιον Κύλλον φιλοτιμίας κεχρημένον.

⁶³ *ibid.* ll. 8–10: ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ διάδηλον ἑαυτὸν πεποιτηκέν[αι].

correspondence with the emperors Marcus and L. Verus.⁶⁴ An Aphrodisian document records that Eurycles twice served as high priest of the Asian *koinon*, the second term falling between 180 and 190; also that he held (at an earlier date) the post of *curator* of the free city of Aphrodisias, an appointment which must have come directly from the emperor.⁶⁵ Since he held his second high priesthood some 25 to 30 years after his term as Panhellene, it follows that he held this last post while still a young man, perhaps in his early thirties. At such an age, it is easy to believe that he sought out his clutch of testimonials from Athens with a view to his future advancement. How efficacious they were one cannot say; but one addressee, the Asian *koinon*, later twice conferred on Eurycles the post of high priest, and with his two curatorships, he also entered Rome's service.

II. ATHENS, SEAT OF THE PANHELLENION

Hadrian chose Athens as the seat of the Panhellenion not merely as a result of his personal affection for the city but also, no doubt, because he shared the common view of educated Romans and Greeks that Athens was the cradle of Greek civilization; as such, the city was the most appropriate—and the least controversial—centre for a panhellenic union.

As the home of the Panhellenion's administration, Athens provided the physical setting for most of the league's activities. The presence there of Panhellenes and higher officers, all of whom, along with their personal attendants and (from time to time, no doubt) members of their families, needed to be housed and fed, will have swollen significantly the number of foreign residents in the city. By the same token, the cosmopolitan nature of Athenian society must also have been much enhanced.

Certain of Hadrian's benefactions to Athens also deserve emphasis. His extraordinary programme of building there is discussed below (pp. 92–105). Under the principate, the city continued to suffer, like most Greek cities, from sporadic shortages of grain. Hadrian took steps to alleviate this situation by providing the city with an annual grain supply (σῖτος ἐτήσιος), as Cassius Dio records in a chronologically imprecise passage.⁶⁶

Whether Hadrian established an endowment for the purchase of grain, or whether he arranged for shipments from source, is unclear—as is the connection, if any, between this measure and the offering of 'first fruits' to Eleusis by the membership of the Panhellenion (see below). More important, although little remarked upon, is the unprecedented nature of this imperial intervention in the victualling of a provincial city. Rome took action from time to time—usually upon request—to ease grain shortages in the provinces.⁶⁷ But hitherto the emperors had guaranteed an annual supply of grain for one city only—Rome itself. It is attractive to connect Hadrian's innovatory action at Athens with the city's new role in relation to the Panhellenion.

Hadrian's reign also saw the foundation of three new agonistic festivals at Athens, one certainly and probably all three being instituted by the emperor himself. Unfortunately, the dates of these new foundations are not certain. The establishment of the Panhellenia by Hadrian is recorded by Dio in the same chronologically imprecise passage as the setting up of the grain supply; but this festival's foundation seems best placed no earlier than that of the Panhellenion, with which it was closely associated.⁶⁸ The year 131/2 has been suggested for the foundation of the Hadrianeia; and the Olympieia, the festival associated with the cult of Zeus Olympius, were founded between 128 and 132.⁶⁹ Only the first of these three is certainly attested as an imperial foundation, but the other two probably were as well: in the case of the Hadrianeia, of which no *agonothetes* is attested, Hadrian perhaps presided as perpetual *agonothetes*, even after his death.⁷⁰ In each case, the new festival

⁶⁴ Oliver, *Hesperia* Suppl. 6 (1941), 93–6, no. 11.

⁶⁵ J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982), 185–9, no. 57.

⁶⁶ LXIX, 16, 1–3; cf. Follet, 115.

⁶⁷ For an aspect of these interventions, see M. Wörle, *Chiron* 1 (1971), 325–40.

⁶⁸ Follet, 115–16 and 129.

⁶⁹ Follet, 348 and 346.

⁷⁰ Follet, 348.

enjoyed the status of a 'sacred contest' (*hieros agon*). This status was in the emperor's gift. Its significance lay largely in the fact that victors in 'sacred contests' (*hieronikai*) were entitled to substantial privileges in their native cities, including immunity from local liturgies.⁷¹ As a result, festivals with 'sacred' status must have tended to attract the ablest competition. Hadrian also upgraded an existing Athenian festival, the venerable Panathenaea, by granting it this same status, the new privileges conferred on Panathenaic victors specifically including a triumphal entry to their home cities (*eiselasis*).⁷² This innovation appears to have taken place early in the reign of Hadrian. It is worth stressing that, as a result of Hadrian's agonistic benefactions, Athens can be said, without exaggeration, to have been transformed into the agonistic centre of the Greek world, no other city playing host to as many as four 'sacred' festivals.

As the home of the Panhellenion, Athens enjoyed a special place within the league. Athens permitted member-cities to set up decrees on the Acropolis in connection with their admission; fragments of three of these have been found.⁷³ The Panhellenion also distributed money to the Athenian ephebes (above, p. 83). The status of Athens in the league explains why—as was remarked earlier—the cosmopolitan character of the city was more pronounced in the post-Hadrianic period. There is insufficient space to discuss all the evidence for the presence in Antonine Athens of overseas Greek notables (particularly Asian ones).⁷⁴ Worth emphasizing here is a particular aspect of this development, one noted by Oliver:⁷⁵ the forging of close personal ties with Athens by Greeks active in the Panhellenion.

To begin with, personal ties could be formed with prominent Athenians, as in the case of the Cretan archon Sulpicianus Dorio, who set up a statue at Athens of the late wife of Herodes Atticus, 'for the consolation of his friend'.⁷⁶

Notables active in the league could receive Athenian honours. The Areopagus permitted a statue to be set up in Athens of the daughter of an Argive Panhellene.⁷⁷ The same body honoured the Panhellene Eurycles of Aezani with a public statue and portrait, as well as writing a flattering testimonial for him⁷⁸ (the Areopagus in this period was evidently a prestigious source of testimonials; another for a Mylasan *grammatikos* has recently been published⁷⁹).

Personalities of the Panhellenion were also granted Athenian citizenship and resided in the city. The senatorial descendants of two archons, the Thessalian T. Flavius Cyllus and the Euboean Flavius Amphicles, were Athenian citizens and residents in the third century.⁸⁰ The archon Q. Alleius Epictetus, a native of Epidaurus, was himself an Athenian citizen and held high office there, although his ties with Athens could have predated his service in the Panhellenion.⁸¹ The Cretan archon T. Flavius Xenio seems to have been a benefactor of Athens, perhaps while in office, and his family, probably through him, acquired Athenian citizenship (see below).

Tantalizingly fragmentary evidence survives for the remarkable career in old Greece of a notable from Phrygian Synnada called Tib. Claudius Attalus Andragathus. The brother of an Asiarch, he seems to have served as his city's ambassador to the Panhellenion in or shortly after 131/2 (see below). Out of this embassy, evidently, grew his close ties, not only with Athens, but also with Sparta and Plataea. Attalus has recently been identified as an Athenian citizen of the deme of Sphettus and eponymous archon at Athens in 140/1. A lacunose dossier of Athenian documents, recently re-edited by D. Geagan, shows that he

⁷¹ A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (1940), 185 and 343, n. 56.

⁷² Follet, 331–3.

⁷³ Oliver, nos. 45 and 50; also the Synnadan decree discussed below.

⁷⁴ Note, from Mylasa, M. Iulius Apellas, Athenian citizen and archon of the Eumolpidae: *IG* III, 731; also *IG* IV², 955 and J. Crampa, *Labraunda* III, 2, *The Greek Inscriptions* (1972), nos. 58–9 and p. 171; from Ephesus, M. Tigellius Lupus, Athenian citizen and herald of the *boule* and *demos*: J. S. Traill, *Hesperia* XLVII (1978), 303, no. 28, ll. 5–6, with *Hesperia* LI (1982), 211–12, no. 16 and D. Knibbe and R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* xxxiii (1979),

124–5. Arrian of Nicomedia, Athenian citizen and archon in 145/6: Oliver, 'Arrian in two roles', reprinted in *The Civic Tradition and Roman Athens* (1983), 66–75. Also the Athenian notable married to an Asiarch's daughter: *IG* II², 3704.

⁷⁵ *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio* II, 589.

⁷⁶ Oliver, no. 11.

⁷⁷ Oliver, *Hesperia* XLVII (1978), 190–1, no. 2.

⁷⁸ *OGIS* II, no. 505.

⁷⁹ Crampa, *op. cit.* (n. 74), no. 66.

⁸⁰ Oliver, *op. cit.* (n. 75), 589–92.

⁸¹ Oliver, no. 39.

also served as Athenian priest of Dionysus under Hadrian and Pius. During this term, he became involved in the affairs of the Athenian guild of Dionysiac artists, corresponding on their behalf with both emperors. His long tenure of this priesthood suggests that he was living in Athens in the 130s and 140s.⁸²

While priest at Athens, Attalus also held the priesthoods of two Plataean cults, those of Zeus Eleutherius and the Concord of the Greeks, both of which celebrated the Greek achievement in the Persian wars. Athens had a long association with these cults, stretching back at least as far as the third century B.C.; she perhaps belonged to the obscure 'league of the Greeks', otherwise known to have comprised only Boeotian cities, which administered them.

In the aftermath of the Panhellenion's foundation, the two priesthoods seem frequently to have been held by Greeks with Athenian citizenship, and Athenian epebes took part in the festival of the Eleutheria.⁸³ Among the priests from Athens two notables of the Panhellenion can be recognized. One was an anonymous Greek from Asia, who also held the priesthood of Hadrian Panhellenius (Table 2, no. 20); the other was Attalus of Synnada.

The overseas career of Attalus, although the stages of its development remain unclear, presents a striking demonstration of enthusiasm for old Greece on the part of a Phrygian Greek moving in the orbit of the Panhellenion. The Athenians seem to have been keen to maintain this Synnadan connection: the nephew of Attalus, also called Claudius Attalus, was honoured in his home city with a statue set up by the Athenian *demoi*.⁸⁴

III. THE PANHELLENION IN THE CONTEXT OF HADRIANIC BUILDING IN ATHENS

Hadrian's Gift of Buildings to the Athenians

The most striking material sign of the revival of Athens under Hadrian was afforded by the emperor's gift of new buildings to the city. The scale and quality of Hadrian's endowment outstripped any other imperial gift to a provincial city. Hadrian's transformation of Athens into a city fit to be the capital of the Panhellenion recalls Hellenistic royal benefactions to the city, which had long been regarded as a 'showcase' of Greek culture.⁸⁵

The distinctive surviving buildings, notably Hadrian's Arch and the 'Library' which are well known to modern visitors to Athens, influenced the course of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British neo-classicism through the work of such architects as James 'Athenian' Stuart.⁸⁶ Some of the original features of Hadrianic architectural decoration in Athens evidently stemmed from the completion of the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, the most prestigious of Hadrian's projects (p. 93).⁸⁷ It seems likely that the building programme was under way at the time of the temple's construction and in the years following the dedication of the sanctuary and the inauguration of the league. Unfortunately the size of the available workforce is unknown, and it is impossible to calculate the number of buildings under construction at any one time. The elements of the 'Late Hadrianic Style', an innovation at Rome as in Athens, were analysed some thirty years ago by the late D. E. Strong. He traced the origins of the style to the prosperous

⁸² D. J. Geagan, *TAPhA* CIII (1972), 133–55; Follet, 191–3, *pace* whom there is no reason at present for preferring to identify the archon with the nephew of Andragathus, also called Attalus, but not, it seems, an Athenian citizen.

⁸³ Geagan, *ibid.* 152–5 and 156–8 (other Athenian priests of Concord; note too *IG* II², 1990, ll. 3–4, an Athenian priest of Zeus Eleutherius in 61/2); also the Plataean inscription published by R. Etienne and M. Piérart, *BCH* xcix (1975), 51–3. Eleutheria: Follet, 349.

⁸⁴ *MAMA* vi, no. 374.

⁸⁵ A. Kokkou, 'Ἀδριάνεια ἔργα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας', *ADelt.* xxv (1970), 150–73; Travlos, *passim*. For individual

sites, see the references given below. On Hellenistic patronage of Athens, see H. A. Thompson, 'Athens and the Hellenistic Princes', *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* xcvi (1953), 254–61; D. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King* (1984), 77; P. Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque* (1976), 229.

⁸⁶ J. Stuart-N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* I–IV (1762–1816). This remains the only source of measured drawings of several major Hadrianic monuments. For the influence of this work on contemporary taste, see J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival* (1972) and David Watson, 'Athenian' Stuart (1982).

⁸⁷ S. Walker, 'Corinthian capitals with ringed voids: the work of Athenian craftsmen in the second century A.D.', *AA* (1979), 103–29.

cities of western Asia Minor, where Hellenistic traditions of design were long maintained.⁸⁸ But in Athens local features were also prominent, and some of the plans were derived from those of imperial buildings in Rome.⁸⁹ The hybrid nature of the Hadrianic building programme may have resulted from a need to economize, using plans and detailed designs already in the imperial repertoire. Some of the marble imported to Athens is known to have come from imperially owned quarries.⁹⁰ But Hadrian, whose personal interest in architecture is well documented,⁹¹ may also have intended a deliberate fusion of Roman, Athenian and Hellenistic Greek elements of design and decoration. The new buildings of Athens were a stylish mixture of Greek and Roman traditions appropriate to the physical setting of a Panhellenic League founded by a Roman emperor.

Developments were concentrated in two areas. The first, around the Olympieion, has been associated with a new quarter of Athens believed to have been founded by Hadrian.⁹² An arch (Pl. I, 1) was constructed over what is believed to be an ancient processional route leading to the Olympieion. The arch bears two inscriptions which since late antiquity have been taken to mark the site of the boundary between old and new Athens.⁹³ The wording of the inscriptions is remarkably similar to that of a stele, said to have been set up by Theseus to mark the boundary between Ionia and the Peloponnese (Plutarch, *Theseus* 25, 3). The analogy was surely intentional, for Theseus is mentioned in both texts of the Hadrianic arch, in which all of the Roman emperor's titles were omitted, thereby equating him with the legendary founder of Athens.⁹⁴ But though the stele of Theseus evidently marked a territorial division, the Hadrianic arch was not built on any existing or newly constructed boundary. It may have been intended as a monument to Hadrian's embellishment of Athens. Described as 'Founder and Saviour' on over one hundred altars known from Athens, Hadrian may have had some claim to call the city his own.⁹⁵ Moreover, the similarity between the texts may not have reflected the function of the two monuments so much as the parallel achievements of the two 'founders' of Athens. That some conceptual link was intended between the arch and the Panhellenion is suggested by the discovery of two replicas of Hadrian's arch at Eleusis, dedicated by the Panhellenes some fifty years after the construction of the original (below, p. 102).

To the south of the arch, on a different alignment, lay the precinct of the Olympieion (Pl. I, 2). The colossal temple to Zeus was vowed about 515 B.C. by the sons of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratus. For democratic Athens the project was apparently too expensive and probably also politically undesirable. After many centuries work was resumed with a new plan under foreign patronage, that of the Seleucid monarch Antiochus IV Epiphanes (176–165 B.C.), and, 150 years later, that of the Roman emperor Augustus. The sanctuary was finally completed by Hadrian, who dedicated the colossal chryselephantine statue in A.D. 131–2 (above, p. 79).⁹⁶

Around the temple were dedicated statues of Hadrian, including two in Egyptian and two in Thasian stone, and, behind the temple, a colossus dedicated by the Athenians, 'worth seeing' according to Pausanias (I, 18, 6), for it outclassed the statues erected by 'every city' (no names or groups are specified) in honour of Hadrian (Fig. 1).

The bronze statues set in front of the temple were, Pausanias says, known to the Athenians as 'the colonies'. These, which have not survived, may perhaps be identified as personifications of the colonies of mainland Greek cities, including Athens. If so, the

⁸⁸ D. E. Strong, 'Late Hadrianic architectural ornament in Rome', *PBSR* N.S. VIII (1953), 118–51, esp. p. 134.

⁸⁹ S. Walker, art. cit. (n. 87) and Shear, 376.

⁹⁰ This point was first raised in discussion by G. S. Barrass. See Pausanias I, 18, 9 for the use of Phrygian marble at Athens; on the imperial quarries, see M. Waelkens, *Dokimeion* (1982), 125, n. 338.

⁹¹ Dio Cassius LXIX, 4; *SHA, Hadrian* 19, 9–13.

⁹² *SHA, Hadrian* 20, 4–5; Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Olympieion'. See also M. Zahrnt, *Chiron* IX (1979), 393–8.

⁹³ See n. 92. The texts: *IG* II², 5185; *SEG* XXI, 820; XXIX, 198. On the architecture, see Travlos, 253;

Strong, art. cit. (n. 88), 131; W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Korinthische Normalkapitelle* (Erg.-heft 16, DAI Rom, 1970), 72 and n. 281; Walker, art. cit. (n. 87), 111–13.

⁹⁴ The analogy is noted by E. Vanderpool, 'Some Attic Inscriptions', *Hesperia* XXXIX (1970), 44.

⁹⁵ A. S. Benjamin, 'The altars of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian's Panhellenic Program', *Hesperia* XXXII (1963), 57–86. The arguments were developed in depth in a seminar paper (as yet unpublished) by Professor C. P. Jones.

⁹⁶ Travlos, 402–3; Heilmeyer, op. cit. (n. 93), 57, no. 237. H. Abramson, *CalifStCLAn* VII (1974), 1 ff.; Walker, art. cit. (n. 87), 107–9.

figures would also have reflected, perhaps intentionally, the relationship between Athens and some member-cities of the Panhellenion.⁹⁷

Two Problematic Sites: the Sanctuary of the Panhellenion and Hadrian's Gymnasium

To the south of this precinct a new temple was constructed within a peristyle court which had two *exedrae* incorporated within its walls (Pl. II, 1). The plan, clearly of Roman derivation, recalls that of Hadrian's Library (p. 96). Though near the Olympieion, this sanctuary was aligned with the adjacent classical temple of Apollo Delphinus, still surviving in the second century A.D. The structure, apparently of Hadrianic date, has been identified as the sanctuary of the Panhellenion mentioned by Pausanias, who linked it with the cults of Zeus Panhellenius and Hera Panhellenia.⁹⁸ Inscriptions link the league of the Panhellenion with the cult of Hadrian Panhellenius and the festival of the Panhellenia, founded by the emperor.⁹⁹ It is a reasonable inference that this cult was housed in the same sanctuary, which according to Dio Cassius (LXIX, 16) was built by the Greeks for their own use with the emperor's permission: Τὸν τε σηκὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ Πανελλήνιον ὠνομασμένον, οἰκοδομήσασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε. 'The Greeks' here should probably be taken to mean the member-cities of the Panhellenion, with which institution the homonymous sanctuary was closely connected (see above). Dio also described the sanctuary as a *sekos*, a description that could be applied to the excavated remains to the south of the Olympieion. But there is no archaeological or epigraphical evidence for the nature of the deities worshipped in this sanctuary, which was razed to its foundations to provide building material for the third-century defences of Athens, which incorporated parts of the south and east walls in their circuit.

To the south of the Ilissos stream is another building said to be of Hadrianic date, partially preserved only at foundation level. This is thought to be a large peristyle aligned with the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus. It has been identified as the gymnasium promised to the Athenians by Hadrian, another endowment mentioned by Pausanias.¹⁰⁰ Circumstantial evidence has been adduced in support of this identification. The gymnasium was the subject of a letter of Hadrian to the Athenians, the text of which was copied on a stone stele discovered in the neighbourhood of the peristyle.¹⁰¹

Moreover the Hadrianic building lies close to the site of a classical palaestra which was superseded in the second century A.D. by a bath. Epigraphic evidence suggests that this may have been the site of the gymnasium and *dromos* of Kynosarges.¹⁰²

The area east of the ancient Agora

It has, however, also been suggested that Hadrian's new gymnasium lay not here but to the east of the Stoa of Attalus in the heart of the ancient city (Fig. 2, 3). Here foundations of a building, thought to be of second-century date, were excavated by H. A. Thompson shortly after the Second World War.¹⁰³ The location would fit the order of Hadrianic buildings listed by Pausanias (the gymnasium follows the library, located immediately to the east of the excavated site). Unfortunately the excavations were too limited to yield conclusive evidence for the date and function of the building. Nevertheless, this site is the key to the second area of Hadrianic activity in Athens, for it evidently links new developments with the administrative centre of the ancient city (Fig. 2).

The development of the Agora in the first and early second centuries A.D. has been described recently by T. Leslie Shear Jr.¹⁰⁴ While Hellenistic patrons defined the boundaries of the ancient area with long stoas, the Romans began to encroach on the

⁹⁷ *Contra* Benjamin, art. cit. (n. 95), 58–9.

⁹⁸ Travlos, 429; Benjamin, 59.

⁹⁹ P. Graindor, op. cit. (n. 1), 170.

¹⁰⁰ Travlos, *AAA* III (1970), 7, fig. 1. Kokkou, art. cit. (n. 85), 165–7.

¹⁰¹ *IG* II², 1102. T. Sauciuc, 'Ein Hadriansbrief und das Hadriansgymnasium in Athen', *AM* xxxvii (1912), 182–9. Travlos, art. cit. (n. 100), 11–13.

¹⁰² Travlos, 340.

¹⁰³ H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* xix (1950), 321, fig. 1 and 326, pl. 102. Kokkou, art. cit. (n. 85), 167.

¹⁰⁴ Shear (see abbreviations, p. 78). This valuable account, unfortunately not illustrated, contains references to earlier reports on the buildings discussed below.

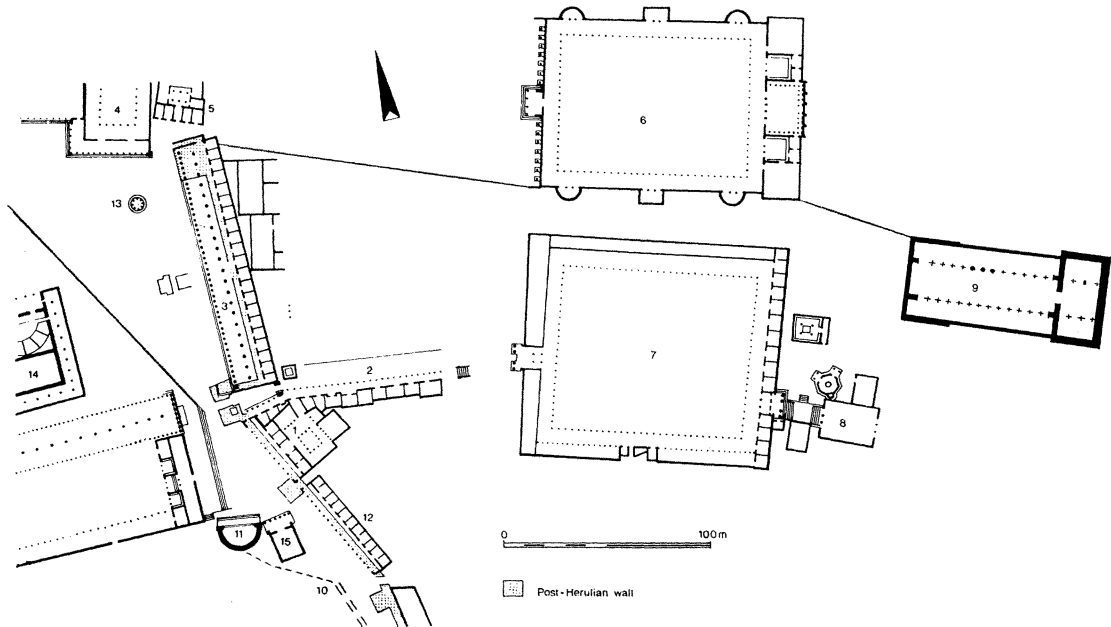


FIG. 2. PLAN OF THE AREA TO THE NORTH OF THE ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS.

centre of the Agora itself with new buildings such as the Odeion of Agrippa (Fig. 2, 14), and with the Temple and Altar of Ares, a classical building transported from an unknown site and possibly rededicated in honour of Augustus' grandson and favoured heir Gaius Caesar, who was honoured at Athens as the new Ares.¹⁰⁵ The south-west temple was also constructed at about this time of blocks transported from Thoricus.¹⁰⁶

The turn of the first and second centuries A.D. saw a burst of activity around the margins of the Agora. A double-sided Doric stoa was built to the north-west; its northern side flanked the Panathenaic Way at the point of entry into the Agora from the Dipylon Gate.¹⁰⁷ The Library of Pantaenus (Fig. 2, 1), a private endowment comprising an imperial shrine, stoas and other amenities besides books, was built to the south of the Stoa of Attalus.¹⁰⁸ The *demos* of Athens paid for a pedestrian street leading past the eastern colonnade of the library via a flight of steps to the propylon of Athena Archegetis (Fig. 2, 2).¹⁰⁹ At the north end of the Stoa of Attalus a large basilica was constructed, incorporating the east wall of a small Augustan stoa (Fig. 2, 4). The foundations of the basilica are only partially excavated, having been largely destroyed by the construction of the electric railway to the Piraeus. On the evidence of pottery and coins recovered from the foundations, the building apparently dates to *c.* A.D. 110–20.¹¹⁰

Shear suggested that the basilica was designed as a pendant to Hadrian's Library, some 165 m to the east.¹¹¹ There are some difficulties with this view. Though the two buildings share an alignment, they appear to differ considerably in architectural decoration, and the dating evidence for the basilica suggests that this is the earlier of the two structures.¹¹² Moreover, immediately to the east of the basilica stood a private residence with several rooms arranged around a peristyle court (Fig. 2, 5). This house was converted from a Hellenistic extension to a classical building (also apparently privately owned)

¹⁰⁵ *IG* II², 3250. Shear, 362 and nos. 26–8.

¹⁰⁶ W. B. Dinsmoor Jr., 'Anchoring two floating temples', *Hesperia* LI (1982), 425.

¹⁰⁷ *Hesperia* XLII (1973), 370–82. Thompson, *Agora Guide*³, 94–5; figs. 3–4. Shear, 369–70 suggests that the stoa was funded by the *demos*.

¹⁰⁸ Thompson, *Agora Guide*³, 131–4 with earlier bibliography. On Pantaenus see J. H. Oliver, *HThR* LXXII (1979), 157–60. See also Shear, 370–1.

¹⁰⁹ Thompson, *Agora Guide*³, 127–31; reconstruction, 128, fig. 64. Shear, 371–2.

¹¹⁰ Thompson, *Agora Guide*³, 100. Shear, 376–7. On the dating evidence, see *Hesperia* XLII (1973), 136–8.

¹¹¹ Shear, 376.

¹¹² *Hesperia* XLII (1973), 136. The fragmentary decoration of the interior of the basilica is unpublished. Susan Walker would like to thank Professor Shear for allowing her to see it in 1976.

shortly after the basilica was completed. The house obscured any architectural embellishment of the east wall of the basilica.¹¹³ No entrance to the basilica could have been set opposite the entrance to the Library. In fact the principal entrance to the basilica was through a colonnaded portico to the south, linking it with the Agora.

The most remarkable of Hadrian's gifts to the Athenians is partially extant (Pl. II, 2). Pausanias describes it thus (I, 18, 9):

But most splendid of all are one hundred columns: walls and colonnades alike are made of Phrygian marble. Here, too, is a building adorned with a gilded roof and alabaster, and also with statues and paintings; books are stored in it.

Like the Library of Pantaenus, Hadrian's Library (Fig. 2, 6) was much more than a repository of books. Shear's interpretation of it as a 'forum of culture' is attractive.¹¹⁴ Though the function of the building and the decorative details were rooted in the Greek world, the over-all design was based on that of the Flavian *Templum Pacis* at Rome.¹¹⁵ In size and alignment the Library matched the neighbouring 'Roman Agora' (Fig. 2, 7). The two *fora*, dwarfing the buildings of the ancient Agora, were an assertion of *romanitas* at the centre of the Greek world.¹¹⁶

The 'Roman Agora' has not been completely excavated; its remains have been the subject of much controversy.¹¹⁷ The western Doric propylon was dedicated to the founder Athena by the *demos* of Athens. Funds for its construction were given by Julius Caesar and Augustus, who was asked to contribute to the cost by the epimelete Eucles, son of the archon Herodes of Marathon.¹¹⁸ The over-all plan of the 'Roman Agora' is similar to that of Caesar's Forum at Rome; he also built *fora* at Alexandria and Antioch.¹¹⁹ The form of the western propylon differs markedly from that of the rest of the market, which may not be contemporary.¹²⁰ The peristyle was apparently repaved under Hadrian, and at the same time the famous text regulating the sale of oil was inscribed on the gate of Athena Archegetis.¹²¹

Augustan plans may have included the rebuilding of the area to the west, linking the market with the old Agora. The classical shops beneath the Library of Pantaenus, apparently sacked during the Sullan raids on Athens, were left standing until the last decades of the first century B.C., when the site was levelled as if in preparation for building. But another century was to pass before the area was developed by a private donor.¹²²

An arcaded building thought by some to be the *Agoranomion*, headquarters of the market officials, was built to the east of the peristyle, with which it was linked by an Ionic propylon (Fig. 2, 8). The date of this structure is also controversial.¹²³ Near the western propylon were found fragments of a similar arcade of smaller scale, bearing an inscribed dedication to Antoninus Pius by the Council of the Five Hundred and two *agoranomoi*.¹²⁴

¹¹³ *Hesperia* XLII (1973), 136.

¹¹⁴ Shear, 375-6, nos. 77-8.

¹¹⁵ *id.*; see also J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*² (1982), 269. An account of the remains is given by M. A. Sisson, 'The Stoa of Hadrian at Athens', *PBSR* XI (1929), 50-72. See also Kokkou, *art. cit.* (n. 85), 162-5. On the architectural decoration, see Strong, *art. cit.* (n. 88), 131, and Heilmeyer, *op. cit.* (n. 93), 75 with no. 295.

¹¹⁶ Shear, 376; here the library is linked with the north-east basilica.

¹¹⁷ Travlos, 28-9, figs. 38-45. See the earlier accounts given by P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste* (1927), 183-97; H. S. Robinson, *AYA* XLVII (1943), 291-305, and K. Tuchelt, *IstMitt* xxxi (1981), 180 and n. 74.

¹¹⁸ The embassy of Eucles is recorded on the inscribed propylon, *IG* II², 3175. A statue of Lucius Caesar was set on the top of the pediment: *IG* II², 3251. Neither text records the endowment of a market.

¹¹⁹ Shear, 359 and nn. 16-18. The literary sources do

not record such a project at Athens.

¹²⁰ Robinson, *art. cit.* (n. 117), 300.

¹²¹ *IG* II², 1100, re-edited by J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (*TAPH*A XLIII, 4, 1953), 960-3. See also P. Graindor, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 74-9; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (1942), 189-92; Follet, 117 and n. 4.

¹²² Shear, 359.

¹²³ The dedication inscribed on the architrave (Travlos, 39, figs. 47-8 and 41, fig. 50) refers to the Θεοὶ Σεβαστοί, and is thought to be a Claudian or Neronian honour to Augustus and Livia. It may, however, have been copied from an earlier structure on the same site, or may even refer to Roman emperors as a group. Part of this structure is now located in front of the Parthenon (Travlos, fig. 50). There is then no reason to accept his view that on the grounds of find-spots of other inscriptions the *Agoranomion* must have been located to the west of the Roman Agora (Travlos, 37).

¹²⁴ *IG* II², 3391; Travlos, fig. 51.

The 'Pantheon': meeting place of the Panhellenion?

A large building, apparently of Hadrianic date, has been partially excavated to the east of the 'Roman Agora' and the Library of Hadrian (Fig. 2, 9). In the rush to complete identifications of the buildings listed by Pausanias, this has been identified as the Pantheon, the temple of all the gods.¹²⁵ The excavated remains (Pl. II, 3) consist of part of the foundations of the north wall, which follows the alignment of an ancient street. The wall is thickened at the east and to a lesser extent at the western end of the building, where it returns to the south. Here the beginning of an internal division was discovered, continued in the centre of the building by a row of cruciform piers and at the eastern end by a square pedestal base. The thickened walls at each end are similar to those of the Curia in the Roman Forum, rebuilt by Diocletian after the fire in A.D. 283 on the lines of Flavian and Augustan predecessors.¹²⁶ The Curia was entered through a porch wider than the hall; its form in elevation is illustrated on the coinage of Octavian.¹²⁷ The distinctive easternmost pier of the Athenian building suggests a difference in function between the east end and the main hall of the building; here, too, was apparently a porch wider than the hall. The internal cruciform piers, which may have supported arcades or vaults, are found in second-century basilicas, for example at Smyrna and Doclea.¹²⁸

Indeed, the excavated remains of the 'Pantheon' do not justify its identification as a temple. The building is perhaps better identified as a vast basilica; in view of its apparently Hadrianic date, it is worth pointing out that the hall is of a capacity to house the representatives of the cities and leagues entitled to membership of the Panhellenion. The interior measurements of c. 64 × 40 m are two and one-third times those of the Curia at Rome.¹²⁹ The latter accommodated about 300 senators, seated on chairs set on a pair of plinths with three steps each.¹³⁰ By analogy the basilica in Athens would have seated 700 in comfort in separate chairs; on benches many more could have been accommodated.

Evidence of comparable buildings from Greek sites is sparse. Though several references to meeting-places of leagues survive in the literary and epigraphic sources, the only assembly-hall of a league that has been securely identified archaeologically is the *Thersileion* at Megalopolis, headquarters of the Arcadian League.¹³¹ This is of the familiar squarish plan used for other classical *bouleuteria* and for the *Telesterion* at Eleusis (p. 103). Its capacity has been estimated as 6,000 seated on benches and 10,000 standing.¹³²

The scanty remains identified as the meeting-place of the Amphictyonic League at Delphi are of little help in defining the forms of Greek meeting-halls. Of greater interest is Pausanias' detailed description of the *Phokikon* (x, 5, 1-2), which could in many respects be applied to the basilica at Athens. The description so fits a Roman basilica that one wonders if a contemporary structure is meant.¹³³

The building is large in size, and within are columns set along its length. Tiers of seats stretch from the columns to either wall, and on these the Phocian delegates are seated. Toward the far end there are neither columns nor benches but a statue of Zeus and of Athena and of Hera. That of Zeus is on a throne, with the others one on either side, the Athena standing on the left.

¹²⁵ G. Dondas, *AAA* I (1968), 221-4; II (1969), 1-3; *ADelt* xxv (1969), Chron. 19-23 for reports of the excavations. The identification was cautiously reported by Kokkou, art. cit. (n. 85), 159-61 and appears in Travlos, 439. Shear, 375, sees the foundations as the substructures of a podium temple larger than the Parthenon. The relationship with the 'Roman Agora' is well illustrated by Travlos, fig. 362.

¹²⁶ A. Bartoli, *Curia Senatus* (1963); P. Zanker, *Forum Romanum* (1972), 10, abb. 9-12.

¹²⁷ Bartoli, op. cit. (n. 126), fig. 1 reproduced by Zanker, fig. 8. The coin was issued in 29 B.C.

¹²⁸ Ward-Perkins, op. cit. (n. 115), 287, fig. 186 (Smyrna); 253, fig. 161 (Doclea). Both are basilicas set alongside *fora* in the western manner.

¹²⁹ As estimated by F. Coarelli, *Guida Archeologica di Roma* (1976), 168.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ W. Macdonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (1943), esp. pp. 97-126, 'The Federal Leagues'.

¹³² *id.* 204. Pausanias VIII, 32, 1 describes the building as 'the council-house built for the Ten Thousand Arcadians'. He saw it in ruins.

¹³³ On Delphi, see Macdonald, op. cit. (n. 131), 123, and on the *Phokikon*, *id.*, 261. In view of the disparity between this description and the attested forms of other Greek meeting-halls, Macdonald (Pl. xvii) restored a building with a single interior row of columns alongside a three-aisled alternative.

This passage shows that the divine patrons of the league were honoured in the assembly chamber, just as statues of Zeus Boulaeus and Hera Boulaea were dedicated in the *Bouleuterion* at Athens. Some Greek council-chambers were adapted in Roman times to accommodate imperial statues.¹³⁴ It is then very likely that Hadrian Panhellenius, the founder of the Panhellenion, was honoured in the council-chamber of the Panhellenes, along with Zeus Panhellenius and Hera Panhellenia. The centre in which the Panhellenes met was not necessarily the location of the league's cult (see above, p. 94).

Hadrian's Buildings in later times

The later history of Hadrian's Library, the 'Roman Agora' and the basilica to the east may reflect their original importance to the city of Athens. The northern line of the post-Herulian wall (Fig. 2, shaded) lay alongside the southern wall of the Library.¹³⁵ The 'Roman Agora' and the basilica to the east lay within the defences. The ancient Agora was deliberately demolished by the Athenians to provide building material for the defensive wall.¹³⁶ Hadrian's Library, in contrast, was left untouched, though its ashlar masonry could have been put to better use than could many of the decorative orders taken from the Agora for the western sector of the defences. The north, west and east walls of the Library may have been strengthened at this time.¹³⁷ It is possible that the Library housed a garrison, not necessarily of Roman soldiers but perhaps a local militia recruited from the ephebic school which survived until the invasion of A.D. 267. As in other fortified cities of this period, no evidence of occupation by a local militia survives; excavation of the Library, now in progress, may throw some light on the problem.¹³⁸ Of standing buildings north of the Acropolis, the 'Roman Agora' and the basilica to the east may have been spared to house the administrative centre of Athens in the late third and fourth centuries.¹³⁹ They may have been selected for practical and military reasons, but another factor could have been their importance to the Hadrianic development of Athens. This, no less than the area to the north of the Ilissos, was Hadrian's new city.

The most enduring of Hadrian's gifts to the Athenians was an aqueduct bringing much-needed fresh water to the city from Mount Parnes. This was the first aqueduct to bring water to Athens from an external source since the days of Peisistratus; it was even revived when the city expanded dramatically in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁴⁰ Endowed during Hadrian's visit of 124–5, the aqueduct was completed under the patronage of Pius in 140.¹⁴¹ The urban terminus was a reservoir high on the slopes of Mount Lycabettus, from which a network of pipes brought water to 'the new Athens', as the inscription has it.¹⁴² This must have been a vital amenity for the Athenians and also for the influx of visitors to the city in the Antonine period. The provision of water allowed the construction of a number of bath-houses, public and private.¹⁴³ An extension to the system was built along the north slope of the Acropolis, descending on an arcade (Fig. 2, 10) to a fountain-house located at the

¹³⁴ Pausanias 1, 3, 5 for Zeus Boulaeus. See the discussion by Macdonald, *op. cit.* (n. 131), 136–7, and K. Tuchelt, 'Buleuterion und Ara Augusti', *Ist. Mitt.* xxv (1975), 91–140, esp. 136 ff.

¹³⁵ We are indebted to I. Knithakis and F. Malouchou-Tufano for information on the current excavations.

¹³⁶ On the post-Herulian defences, see Travlos, *Πολιοδομική Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (1960), 121–4; *Dictionary*, 161, 163, 179. See also H. A. Thompson, 'Athenian Twilight A.D. 267–600', *JRS* XLIX (1959), 64–5; F. Millar, *JRS* LIX (1969), 12–29 and G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (1981), 653–5, n. 42.

¹³⁷ Travlos, ΠΑΕ 1950, 52. Compare the later history of Building 'M' at Side, Pamphylia, a structure of similar plan to Hadrian's Library and of uncertain function: A. M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side* (1963), 109–21.

¹³⁸ On the lack of evidence for local militias in the later

third century, see R. Macmullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the later Roman Empire* (1963), 138. For a mid-third century *phourion* on the Athenian acropolis, see *IG* II², 3193. This is thought to be the work of Illyrius, *proconsul Achaiae* under Valerian (D. Geagan, *ANRW* 7, I (1979), 410).

¹³⁹ Possible evidence of administrative activity in this area may be seen in the tetrarchic decree, *IG* II², 1121. This does not indicate that Hadrian's Library was originally intended as an archive (*contra* Sisson, *art. cit.* (n. 115), 66).

¹⁴⁰ E. Ziller, 'Untersuchungen über die antiken Wasserleitungen Athens', *AM* II (1877), 120–2. A. Kordellas, Αἱ Ἀθῆναι ἐξεταζόμεναι ὑπὸ ὑδραυλικῆν ἔποψιν (1879), 78–89, 114–22. Travlos, 242.

¹⁴¹ The Latin inscription (*CIL* III, 549) adorned an arcaded portico set in front of the reservoir.

¹⁴² The portico is illustrated by Stuart and Revett, *op. cit.* (n. 86), ch. iv, reproduced by Travlos, 243.

¹⁴³ Travlos, 180 ff.

south-east corner, the highest point of the Agora (Fig. 2, 11).¹⁴⁴ A stoa was built opposite, lining the eastern side of the Panathenaic Way (Fig. 2, 12).¹⁴⁵ A monopteros, possibly also a fountain, was constructed in front of the Stoa of Attalus and the early Hadrianic basilica (Fig. 2, 13).¹⁴⁶ No doubt in response to the increased prestige of the Panathenaic festival, the Pompeion at the Dipylon Gate was rebuilt for the first time since the destruction of the classical building in 86 B.C. at the hands of Sulla. An *agonothetes* of the Panathenaea probably funded the rebuilding between A.D. 134 and 165.¹⁴⁷ In about 150 the Odeion of Agrippa (Fig. 2, 14) was rebuilt after a disastrous fire. Significantly, the repairs were speedily completed, in contrast to the repairs of the Pompeion, and the opportunity was taken to convert the Odeion into a meeting-place and lecture-hall for sophists and philosophers. The entrance was turned into a stoa to accommodate larger crowds. The façade was decorated with figures of tritons and giants whose torsoes were based on the figures of Poseidon and Hephaistos on the pediments of the Parthenon, and with figures of seated philosophers.¹⁴⁸

The decoration of the converted Odeion thus included contrived references to the art of the fifth century B.C. A striking architectural expression of interest in the classical past may be seen in the re-erected façades of three classical temples, transported to the Agora from Attic rural sanctuaries which had apparently fallen into disuse. The temple of Ares and the south-west temple were probably moved in the first century A.D. (p. 95). Recent re-evaluation of the ceramic evidence and of the superstructure of the south-east temple (Fig. 2, 15) suggests that it was reassembled in the first half of the second century A.D., before the construction of the adjacent Antonine nymphaeum, and that it was composed of Ionic elements from the Temple of Athena at Sunium.¹⁴⁹ The contrast between the ancient Agora, now filled with 'instant' classical buildings, and the Fora to the east must have been striking indeed. The identification of the deities worshipped in the south-east and south-west temples remains unclear. What is certain is that the south-east temple, the nymphaeum and the stoa (above) were deliberately orientated to command a view over the Panathenaic Way. All three buildings may have played a role in the expansion of the major Athenian festival that took place under Hadrian (pp. 90-1).

Pius completed Hadrian's aqueduct, which doubtless lay beyond the resources of local technology, but in his reign patronage of building at Athens largely reverted to individuals. Of these the most distinguished, despite his stormy relations with the Athenians, was the millionaire sophist Tib. Claudius Atticus Herodes of Marathon, who gave public amenities to many Greek cities and sanctuaries.¹⁵⁰ At Athens, his gifts included a capacious Odeion constructed against the south slope of the Acropolis, augmenting the Odeion of Agrippa (above).¹⁵¹ To mark his *agonothesia* of the Panathenaea in 142-3, he endowed a marble stadium of markedly archaizing design on the site of a racetrack levelled in the fourth century B.C. (Pl. III, 1).¹⁵² Set into a gully east of the Ardetos Hill, the stadium was approached by a bridge across the Ilissos river. This carried a road from the Lyceum, a classical gymnasium still in use in Roman times.¹⁵³ It is perhaps worth noting here the number of bath-houses and peristyles found in the partially excavated area north of the Olympieion.¹⁵⁴ Some may belong to luxurious private houses, the development of which may have been spurred by the increased numbers of foreign notables active in Antonine Athens (above, pp. 91-2); others may have been used by visiting athletes, who were probably obliged to undergo preliminary training for contests in the city.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁴ Reconstruction by S. Walker and N. Sunter in Thompson, *Agora Guide*³, 151, fig. 77. For the aqueduct, see p. 143 and p. 142, fig. 72.

¹⁴⁵ Travlos, 436. Thompson, *Agora Guide*³, 137.

¹⁴⁶ W. B. Dinsmoor Jr. in *Hesperia* XLIII (1974), 412-17. See also Thompson, *Agora Guide*³, 117.

¹⁴⁷ Geagan, art. cit. (n. 138), 399. See also Travlos, 477.

¹⁴⁸ H. A. Thompson, 'The Odeion in the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia* XIX (1950), 31-141.

¹⁴⁹ Dinsmoor, art. cit. (n. 106), 410-52.

¹⁵⁰ P. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus: un milliardaire*

attique et sa famille (1931); W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* I. *Biographie*; II. *Inchriftenkatalog* (1983).

¹⁵¹ Travlos, 378 ff.

¹⁵² C. Gasparri, 'Lo stadio Panatenaico: documenti e testimonianze per una riconsiderazione dell'edificio di Erode Attico', *ASAA* LI-LII (1974-5), 313-92.

¹⁵³ Travlos, 345. For the route to the stadium see the plan, p. 291.

¹⁵⁴ *id.* 180 ff. and plan, p. 171. See also Zahrt, art. cit. (n. 92).

¹⁵⁵ The evidence comes from Olympia: Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* v, 43; Pausanias v, 21, 12-24.

Herodes' stadium, praised by Pausanias and Philostratus, was used for contests held during the Panathenaic festival and presumably for the 'sacred' festivals instituted under Hadrian. The donor was so closely associated with this building that he was buried in a monumental tomb overlooking the stadium from the east. In a corresponding position on the hill to the west stood a temple dedicated to the Tyche of Athens, approached from the stadium by a flight of steps.¹⁵⁶

The stadium was later made into a gladiatorial arena. Appropriately, after restoration subsidized by the Athenian magnate Averoff, it was used for the first modern Olympic Games, revived by the Baron de Coubertin in 1896.¹⁵⁷

The early years of Pius' reign thus saw the consolidation, by imperial and private patrons, of work initiated by Hadrian to make Roman Athens a Greek capital and a showcase of Greek culture. The Antonine buildings were designed in the style developed for Hadrian's building programme. Private patrons were thus able to express a visible identification with the motives of the philhellene emperor, and to continue to provide an appropriate setting for the activities of the Panhellenion and of other protagonists in the revived centre of Greek culture.

IV. ELEUSIS AND THE PANHELLENION

As well as its spiritual significance to the individual as the home of the most potent mystery-cult in the Roman empire, for educated Romans and Greeks of the second century Eleusis was also a cultural symbol, since its 'two goddesses gave wheat to the city of Athens and the city in turn gave it to all the Greeks and barbarians'.¹⁵⁸ In the Classical period, tribute had been paid to Demeter and Core as the progenitors of Greek agriculture. This took the form of offerings of *aparchai*, first fruits of wheat and barley, which the Athenians obliged their allies, and exhorted all Greek cities, to send to the sanctuary at Eleusis.¹⁵⁹

It is clear that, at least in the later Antonine period, the Panhellenion was closely linked with Eleusis.¹⁶⁰ Eleusinian inscriptions record dedications by the Panhellenes on two occasions 'from the first fruits of Demeter's harvest'.¹⁶¹ The dedications are each dated by the term of the then archon; since the post was held for a four-year term, the implication is that the Panhellenes offered such dedications no more than once every four years. One of the dedications cannot be precisely dated; the other belongs to the archonship of Flavius Amphicles, a pupil of Herodes Atticus, and can be placed between 177 and 189.¹⁶² Exactly what the Panhellenes dedicated on these occasions is not known. But they appear to have been copying, probably deliberately, an Athenian practice of the Classical period, when the Eleusinian *hieropoioi* were required to dedicate to Demeter and Core the grain left over from the annual *aparchai* after certain offerings had been set aside; such dedications (ἀναθήματα) were associated with inscriptions recording that they had been set up ἀπὸ τοῦ καρπῶ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς. It appears, then, that the member-cities of the Panhellenion revived the ancient custom of sending first fruits in kind to Attica, for dedication to Demeter and Core. In the Classical period, this practice had had a practical significance for the Athenians, since it created an accessible reserve of grain at Eleusis.¹⁶³ If the membership of the Panhellenion was also sending grain to Athens, it would be tempting to recall the annual supply of grain instituted by Hadrian, and ask whether the two developments might not be connected. But the one dated dedication, belonging to the

¹⁵⁶ Gasparri, art. cit. (n. 152), 379–80 for the tomb; 367–75 for the temple. Herodes' wife Annia Regilla appears to have been first priestess: *IG* II², 3607; Gasparri, 374.

¹⁵⁷ The conversion to an arena apparently occurred in the third century. The site was gradually abandoned after the Herulian invasions: Gasparri, 316. For the modern excavation and use of the stadium, see also C. H. Weller, 'The story of the stadium at Athens', *BAIA* III (1911–12), 172–7.

¹⁵⁸ Aristides, *Or.* xxii, 4.

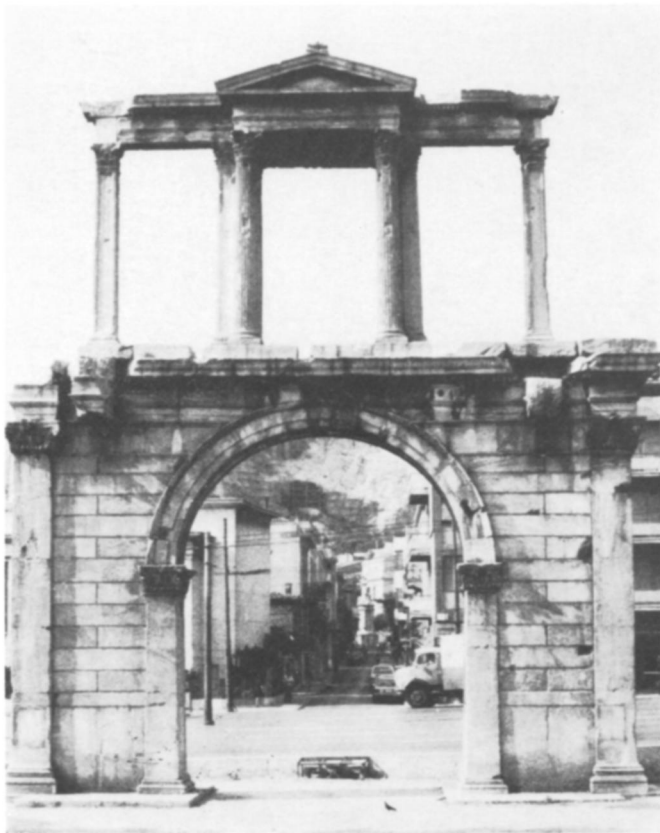
¹⁵⁹ R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (1969), no. 73.

¹⁶⁰ The link was first noted by M. N. Tod, *JHS* xliii (1922), 178.

¹⁶¹ Oliver, nos. 15 and 16; Oliver, no. 15 with Follet, 128.

¹⁶² Meiggs-Lewis, *ibid.* (n. 159), ll. 40–4.

¹⁶³ See M. Jameson in P. Garnsey and C. R. Whitaker, *Trade and Famine in Antiquity* (1983), 10–11.



(1)



(2)

(1) HADRIAN'S ARCH FROM THE EAST. *Photo S. Walker.* (2) THE TEMPLE OF OLYMPIAN ZEUS. *Photo S. Walker.*



(1)



(2)

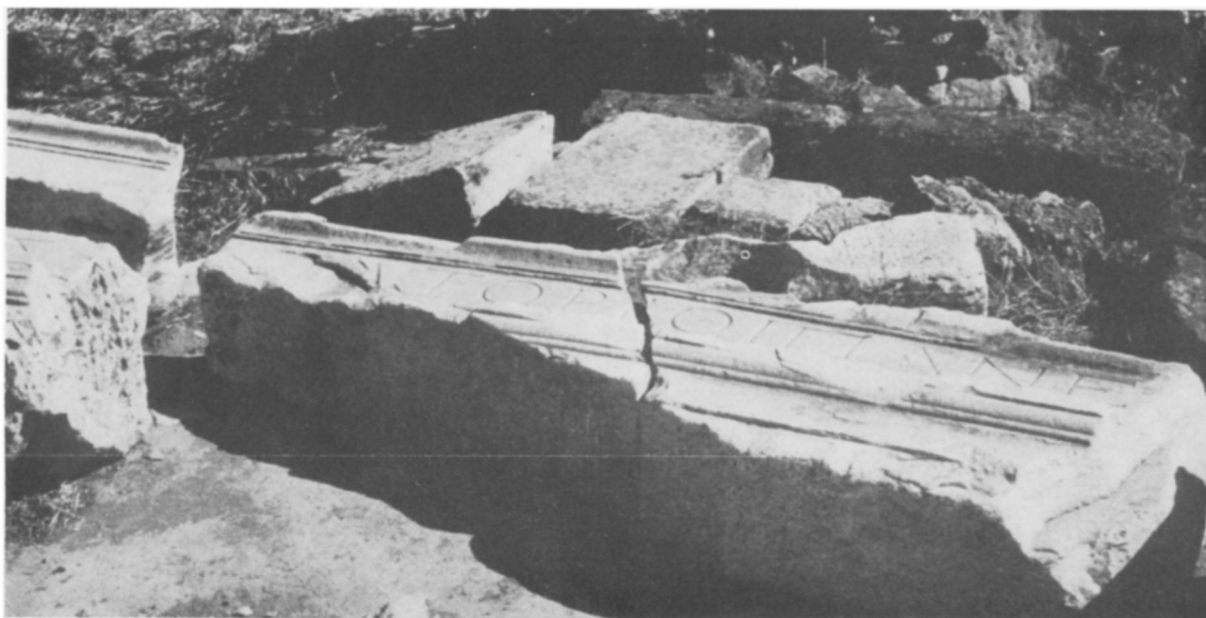


(3)

(1) THE SUPPOSED SITE OF THE PANHELLENION. *Photo S. Walker.* (2) THE WEST ENTRANCE TO HADRIAN'S LIBRARY: THE FLUTED COLUMN IS OF PHRYGIAN MARBLE. *Photo S. Walker.* (3) THE NORTH WALL OF THE BASILICA TO THE EAST OF THE 'ROMAN AGORA'. *Photo S. Walker.*



(1)



(2)

(1) ARCHAISING DOUBLE HERM IN THE PANATHENAIC STADIUM. *Photo S. Walker.* (2) PART OF THE PANHELLENIC DEDICATION ON THE FRIEZE OF THE ARCH AT ELEUSIS. *Photo S. Walker.*

late 170s or early 180s, does not support the view of a connection between the late Antonine *aparchai* and Hadrian: they may, for instance, have been instituted only at a later date.

The other evidence for the links between the Panhellenion and Eleusis clusters in the same period. Leaving until last the league's role as a patron of building there, we note the base for a statue of Marcus, set up in the sanctuary by the Cyrenaican city of Apollonia, through the agency of the Panhellenene M. Iulius Praxis. The inference from this dedication seems to be that Apollonia at this date was a member of the Panhellenion, and Praxis one of the city's Panhellenes.¹⁶⁴

In the reign of Marcus, Eleusis was closely associated with the family of Flavius Xenio of Gortyn, archon of the Panhellenion, it seems, in 165–9.¹⁶⁵ Xenio was a benefactor of his native city, bequeathing it an endowment on his death between 177 and 182.¹⁶⁶ A recently published inscription shows that the Panhellenes honoured him at Eleusis with a portrait-herm on his retirement from office. Xenio is called here [τὸν] ἄριστον πολειτ[ε]ρήν, an expression unparalleled in the context of the league and evidently describing exceptional service by Xenio in the *politeia* of the Panhellenion.¹⁶⁷

In the light of this inscription, Oliver's interpretation of the so-called Eleusinian endowment can be modified. Some forty years ago, Oliver studied a fragmentary dossier from Eleusis concerning a private endowment to the sanctuary.¹⁶⁸ Its revenues were to pay for distributions of coin, probably at celebrations of the mysteries, to the members of the Areopagus and a group of priests, priestesses and other personnel from the Eleusinian and other Athenian cults. Xenio himself heads the list of beneficiaries. He is also named earlier in the dossier, in the fragmentary opening document. Oliver identified this as emanating from the Areopagus. But, now that Xenio's connection with the Panhellenion has been revealed, the view of earlier editors that it contains references to this league should be reinstated.¹⁶⁹ Because the same document seems to refer to an accumulation of surplus revenue at the time it was drawn up,¹⁷⁰ Oliver thought that the dossier was concerned with the re-organization of an existing endowment, the donor of which he identified as a forbear of Xenio. But the accumulation of revenue (if in fact there had been one) need not mean that the endowment was an old one. It could also have come about, for instance, if payments from the income had been suspended in the immediately preceding period (one thinks here of the likely effects on the sanctuary of the raid of the Costoboci in 170, the year after Xenio's archonship expired). Xenio's Eleusinian portrait-herm implies a connection with the sanctuary arising from his term of office; and the reference on this monument to his exceptional achievement perhaps acknowledged his activity while archon as a benefactor of Athens. The Eleusinian endowment, then, could be attributed to Xenio himself.¹⁷¹

An Athenian inscription records that a kinsman of Xenio, Flavius Zenophilus, set up a dedication honouring a boy called Flavius Xenio, following his service at Eleusis as 'hearth-initiate'.¹⁷² This Xenio was an Athenian citizen and bears the predicate ὁ κρᾶτιστος, in this case perhaps indicative of senatorial rank (see above, p. 86). Oliver took him to be the Xenio of the Eleusinian endowment; Follet, however, attractively suggested that he should be seen as a homonymous grandson of the archon, owing his Athenian citizenship and Eleusinian tie to his grandfather's activities while archon.¹⁷³ This dedication, together with the fact that the elder Xenio was among the beneficiaries of his own endowment, suggests that he and his family came to be domiciled in Athens.

¹⁶⁴ Oliver, no. 8, dated to 172–5.

¹⁶⁵ Date: Follet, 127.

¹⁶⁶ *Inscr. Cret.* IV, no. 300.

¹⁶⁷ Oliver, no. 12; K. Clinton, *AE* (1971), 116–17, no. 10.

¹⁶⁸ Oliver, *Hesperia* XXI (1952), 381–99, republishing *IG* II², 1092.

¹⁶⁹ So Follet, 127. See S. N. Dragoumis, *AE* (1900), 75, restoring [τῶι] σ]εμνοτάτ[ωι] συν]εδρίωι [τῶν Παν]ελλήνων] and [τῶν Παν]ελλ[ή]νων] in (as it became)

IG II², 1092, ll. 2–3 and 6.

¹⁷⁰ Oliver, *ibid.* (n. 168), 382, ll. 25–6: μεθ' οὗς ἔι τι] πε]ριττεῦσι καθάπερ τι] καὶ ἐπε]ριττε]υσεν ἡδη.

¹⁷¹ So Follet, 127 (cautiously).

¹⁷² *IG* II², 3676 = Oliver, *ibid.* (n. 168), 396–7, with Follet, 127 no. 7. For the 'hearth-initiates', see K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (1974), 98–114.

¹⁷³ Follet, 127.

Architectural Developments at Eleusis under the Antonines

A considerable amount of rebuilding and development of the Eleusinian sanctuary may be dated to the Antonine period.¹⁷⁴ Developments may be considered in two areas: outside the sanctuary and around the *Telesterion*.

1. *Outside the sanctuary*

The outer courtyard was repaved and a fountain was built along the east side of it to allow pilgrims to cleanse and refresh themselves before entering the sanctuary.¹⁷⁵ The supply of water to the fountain is imperfectly understood, but the contemporary construction of baths in the adjacent settlement gives some weight to the notion of a water supply built at about the same time as Hadrian's aqueduct to Athens.¹⁷⁶ Under Hadrian, the road between Eleusis and Athens was improved with a new bridge across the Kephisos.¹⁷⁷

Two arches were constructed at the south-west and south-east corners of the court.¹⁷⁸ In scale and decoration they were clearly intended as replicas of Hadrian's Arch at Athens (above, p. 93). The south-east arch, better preserved than its companion, led to a road which ran alongside the Cimonian wall of the sanctuary. The wall was strengthened in Roman times. The road gave access to buildings offering temporary accommodation to initiates. The south-east arch bore an inscription even more gnomic than that of its model in Athens: τοῖν θεοῖν καὶ τῷ Ἀυτοκ[ρ]άτορι οἱ Πανέ[λλη]νες (Pl. III, 2).¹⁷⁹ The unnamed emperor is usually identified as the deified Pius, to whom statues were dedicated in the vicinity of the arch.¹⁸⁰ But there is no reference to his status as a god in the inscription, which could equally refer to Marcus Aurelius in the years 169–76 or even to Commodus. In view of other activity undertaken at Eleusis by Marcus (below), a date in the 170s seems preferable, and would accord with the style of the architectural elements.¹⁸¹

Within the courtyard a temple to Artemis of the Portals and to Father Poseidon was set on a concrete podium.¹⁸² The superstructure was built in the Doric order of Pentelic marble, with porches at front and rear. The concrete podium indicates a Roman date. The temple is mentioned by Pausanias (I, 38, 6), and was thus completed by about A.D. 160. Two altars served the temple. A sacrificial pit, constructed in brick, is probably to be associated with the later Antonine repaving of the court.¹⁸³

The sanctuary was endowed with a new monumental entrance, which took the form of the central section of the Mnesiclean propylon of the Athenian acropolis.¹⁸⁴ The architrave was inscribed Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC, and the pediment was decorated with a Roman *imago clipeata* representing Marcus Aurelius.¹⁸⁵ The emperor's cuirass was decorated with a gorgoneion, later recut with a Christian cross.¹⁸⁶ On the exposed shoulder plate a snake-footed giant was carved. A bust of Marcus Aurelius found near Marathon is similarly decorated; both are thought to refer to the emperor's defeat of the Marcomanni and may therefore date to the year A.D. 172–3.¹⁸⁷ The gorgoneion, also represented on the pediments of early Greek temples, may have had apotropaic significance of especial relevance to Eleusis in the years following the raid of the Costoboci.¹⁸⁸ The decoration of

¹⁷⁴ For a summary of Roman building activity at Eleusis, see G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (1961) and Mylonas, s.v. 'Eleusis' in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed. R. Stillwell, W. Macdonald, M. McAllister (1976), 296–8. His identifications of buildings are not always reliable.

¹⁷⁵ A plan of the Roman sanctuary and its entrance is given by Travlos, ΠΑΕ 1960, 14, fig. 2. On the fountain see A. K. Orlandos, 'Ἡ κρήνη τῆς Ἐλευσίνος' in *Studies presented to Edward Capps* (1936), 282 ff.

¹⁷⁶ Kordellas, op. cit. (n. 140); L. Curtius-G. Kaupfert, *Karten von Attika* (1896).

¹⁷⁷ Kokkou, art. cit. (n. 85), 171–3.

¹⁷⁸ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 166–7; see also H. Kähler, *RE* VII, A1 (1939), no. 6, s.v. 'Triumphbögen'.

¹⁷⁹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 167.

¹⁸⁰ K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusis* (trans. O. Broneer, 1936), 38. Heilmeyer, op. cit. (n. 93), 73.

¹⁸¹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 166. On the architectural decoration see Heilmeyer, and Walker, art. cit. (n. 87), 122–3.

¹⁸² Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 167–8.

¹⁸³ id. 168–9.

¹⁸⁴ id. 162–5.

¹⁸⁵ O. Deubner, 'Zu den grossen Propyläen von Eleusis', *AM* LXII (1937), 73–81. For the inscription, not fully published, see p. 73 and n. 4.

¹⁸⁶ id. 75 and Taf. 39.

¹⁸⁷ The bust from Marathon is now in the collections of the Musée du Louvre. See Deubner, art. cit. (n. 185), 75–6.

¹⁸⁸ id. 78.

the pediment was thus intended to express imperial protection of the sanctuary.¹⁸⁹ The austere style is in striking contrast to the ornately decorated inner propylon, vowed by the Roman consul Appius Claudius Pulcher over two hundred years previously.¹⁹⁰

2. *Around the Telesterion*

The Sacred Way was repaved as far as the *Telesterion*. The hall of initiation, containing a shrine with sacred relics, was burned by the Costoboci and subsequently rebuilt. The length of the hall was increased by just over two metres, but in other respects the elements of the Periclean building were faithfully reproduced.¹⁹¹

To the south, overlooking the *Telesterion* from an artificially constructed terrace, are two Roman buildings. Building L is a temple set on a podium in the Roman manner. Building F has been identified by Travlos as a treasury.¹⁹²

Travlos argued that the façade of this building *in antis* reproduced the west front of the Parthenon at one third of the size of the original.¹⁹³ However a recent detailed study has shown that only some of the pedimental figures were derived from the west pediment of the Parthenon. Moreover, the architectural elements cannot be made to fit such a model. Other figures from the pediment of the Eleusinian building show that the central scene portrayed the Rape of Persephone.¹⁹⁴

The reproduction and adaptation at Eleusis of classical buildings on the Athenian acropolis may have been intended to suggest unity between the cults of Demeter and Athena, and to provide an appropriate Athenian setting for the city's prestigious mystery cult. It has also been suggested that the *phaidyntai* of Eleusis wished to give physical expression to their descent from Pheidias, a condition of office for *phaidyntai* at Olympia. This attractive suggestion cannot be supported without further epigraphic evidence for the identity of individual donors of buildings at Eleusis.¹⁹⁵

Here building activity was naturally spurred by the devastating raids of the Costoboci in A.D. 170. A vivid account was given by Aelius Aristides.¹⁹⁶ The priest 'Ιούλιος fled to Athens, thereby leaving the sanctuary undefended but saving the sacred relics.¹⁹⁷ 'Ιούλιος survived to initiate Marcus Aurelius, who apparently patronized the reconstruction of the sanctuary as Hadrian had guaranteed the fortune of Athens. The choice of form for the gates at Eleusis may reflect the links between the two imperial sponsors.

CONCLUSION

In the absence of clear statements from contemporary writers, any attempt to assess the aims and impact of the Panhellenion is bound to be tentative. The available evidence suggests that the league's activities cannot be readily placed in a single category. Such concerns as the administration of a cult and festival at Athens and the validation, through the admissions procedure, of claims to Greek origins by overseas communities may be defined as 'cultural'. But the issuing of testimonials for a Greek notable, the arbitration of an Athenian civil dispute, and (so we have suggested) correspondence with the emperor about Christians are more readily interpreted as 'political' activities.

While the corporate role of the league remains somewhat opaque, its impact at the level of the individual emerges more clearly from the evidence. For at least three generations, service in the Panhellenion offered a prestigious outlet for the *philotimia* of

¹⁸⁹ Among numerous references to other propylaia in which the donors are commemorated, Deubner cites that of the Asklepieion at Pergamon given by A. Claudius Charax, *ibid.* 78.

¹⁹⁰ H. Hormann, *Die inneren Propyläen von Eleusis* (1932), 46 = *CIL* III, 547.

¹⁹¹ Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 161. On the early *Telesterion* and its history in the fifth century B.C., see now T. Leslie Shear Jr., 'The Demolished Temple at Eleusis', *Hesperia* Suppl. 20 (1982), 128–40.

¹⁹² Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 180. See n. 174 above for problems over methods of identification of Roman buildings

at Eleusis.

¹⁹³ Travlos, *ADelt* XVI (1960), Chron. 55–60.

¹⁹⁴ R. Lindner, 'Die Giebelgruppe von Eleusis mit Raub der Persephone', *JdI* xcvi (1982), 303–400.

¹⁹⁵ *id.* 393–4. K. Clinton, *op. cit.* (n. 172), 36, suggests a contemporary expression of such unity in the order of priestesses in procession.

¹⁹⁶ Aelius Aristides, *Logos Eleusinius*.

¹⁹⁷ Clinton, *op. cit.* (n. 172), 38–9, no. 25. 'Ιούλιος may have been the grandson of Flavius Pantaenus: see *id.*, 30, no. 19 and Oliver, *art. cit.* (n. 108).

upper-class Greeks; some seventy years after the league's foundation, notables from neighbouring provinces were still willing to serve in Athens as archons (Table 2, nos. 10–11). The league's personnel included magnates from the élites of the Greek cities, who tended to dominate the organization's high offices; but its council also provided an arena for Greeks of lesser status. Service in the Panhellenion offered an opportunity for association with a Roman institution at a time when equestrian and senatorial careers—despite the ever expanding intake of provincials—remained attainable for only a few. The case of M. Ulpius Apuleius Eurycles shows how an ambitious Panhellene could exploit his association with the league in the interests of his future career.

According to Pausanias (1, 36, 3), only the Megarians failed to respond to the benefits of Hadrian's personal interest in Greece. The physical appearance of Athens was literally transformed by his gifts of magnificent buildings. By his foundation of new festivals and of the Panhellenion, Hadrian also fundamentally altered the relationship between Athens and the other cities of the Greek world; this change is reflected, *inter alia*, in the increased number of foreign notables visiting Athens in the post-Hadrianic period. The surviving evidence strongly suggests that, by the later Antonine period, Eleusis too was enjoying the fruits of Athens' earlier flowering. Here the role of the Panhellenion as a channel for Greek beneficence, embracing not only the *aparchai* but also gifts of buildings, deserves emphasis.

The enhancement of Greece's prestige in the post-Hadrianic period was not simply an Attic phenomenon. No less than the travels of Pausanias, the activities at Plataea and Sparta of the Synnadan Tib. Claudius Attalus Andragathus are indicative of the cultural attraction of Antonine Greece for overseas Greeks. In a second paper we intend to consider the impact of Hadrian's initiatives, notably his creation of the Panhellenion, on certain localities outside Attica.

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