Temples of Hadrian, not Zeus

Barbara Burrell

THE EMPEROR HADRIAN was notably generous toward the cities of his Empire, and in return, they gave him the highest honors of which they were capable, including temples to his worship. I consider here three cities of the province Asia—Kyzikos, Smyrna, and Ephesos—each of which Hadrian allowed to build such a temple and to take the title *neokoros*, "temple warden." This was a title that could be granted to cities of the Hellenic East in which their provincial organizations (*koina*) had built a temple to the living emperor; Augustus had first allowed such temples, and later emperors had furthered this facet of the imperial cult.[1]

Recent studies, however, have assumed that wherever Hadrian was worshipped, it was along with, or in the guise of, Zeus *Olympios*, as he possibly was in Athens.[2] Scholars have reattributed Kyzikos' provincial imperial temple to Zeus, called Ephesos' temple "the Olympieion of Hadrian," and assumed from the example of the other two that Smyrna's was also a temple of Zeus. This phenomenon has even been taken as a manifestation of Hadrian's modesty: he diverted worship offered to himself into cults of Zeus.[3] In this paper I argue that the primary sources on Kyzikos, Smyrna, and Ephesos show that Hadrian was worshipped in those places neither with nor

[1] I deal with provincial temples to the emperors more fully in *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (Leiden, forthcoming).

[2] For Athens, see M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton 2000) 144–157.

[3] S. Schorndorfer, *Öffentliche Bauten hadrianischer Zeit in Kleinasien* (Münster 1997) 60–62.

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as Zeus: the enormous temples built in these three cities were all dedicated to the worship of Hadrian himself, who showed no undue modesty in accepting such tributes.

Kyzikos

Kyzikos' temple to Hadrian was likely the first to be offered: John Malalas mentions an earthquake which prompted Hadrian's interest in aiding the city, and it may have occurred around 120 C.E.[4] The *Chronicon Paschale* dates Hadrian's visit to the stricken city to 123 (though Halfmann prefers 124), and states that he founded a temple there, and paved a marketplace with marble.[5] Even if Halfmann's later date is correct, Kyzikos' temple was thus founded before Hadrian visited Athens in 124/5 and took on the Athenian Olympieion as a project, and certainly before 128, when he was first hailed as *Olympios* or *Panhellenios.* In fact, as late as 125 the emperor was apparently thinking of Delphi's Amphictyony, not of Athens, as a possible center for a panhellenic council.[6]

A scholion to Lucian's *Icaromenippus* compares the Olympieion in Athens to the temple in Kyzikos in being uncompleted for over three hundred years because of lack of money, and states that neither of them would have been finished had not Hadrian taken up the work with public, that is, imperial, funds.[7] It is interesting that Kyzikos' temple is assumed to be the better-known case; but how far is the comparison between

[4]Malalas 11.16 (279 Dindorf). On earthquakes and chronology in Malalas, see E. Jeffreys, "Chronological Structures in Malalas' Chronicle," in E. Jeffreys, ed., *Studies in John Malalas* (Sydney 1990) 111–166, esp. 155–160, 166. This earthquake was conflated with others by E. Guidoboni with A. Comastri and G. Traina, *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the Tenth Century* (Rome 1994) 233–234 no. 112.

[5]*Chronicon Paschale* 475.10 Dindorf; H. Halfmann, *Itinera Principum* (Stuttgart 1986) 191, 199; also J. Lehnen, *Adventus Principis* (Frankfurt 1997) 87.

[6]A. Spawforth, "The Panhellenion Again," *Chiron* 29 (1999) 339–352, esp. 341–342; A. Birley, *Hadrian: the Restless Emperor* (London 1997) 186–187, 218–220; D. Willers, *Hadrians panhellenisches Programm* (Basel 1990) 99–100.

[7]Schol. Lucian *Icaromen.* 24: H. Rabe, *Scholia in Lucianum* (Leipzig 1906) 107, attributed to Arethas of Cappadocia (tenth century).

the two to go? The figure of three hundred years seems to refer to the Athenian project, probably the interval between the start of its construction on Peisistratid foundations in 174 B.C.E. and its final dedication by Hadrian in 131/2 (see nn.2, 6, and 9). If we apply a similar lapse to the temple in Kyzikos, it too would have been founded in the second century B.C.E., and so would necessarily have been originally dedicated to another god.[8] But it seems too much of a coincidence to believe that Kyzikos, just like Athens, had a huge Hellenistic temple (and of Zeus; see below) lying unfinished. What is more, we have the remains of both temples; and while the one at Athens has been found to be substantially Hellenistic, excavations at Kyzikos have revealed its temple's foundations as completely Roman, with vaulted substructures of cement and agglomerate.[9] The scholion to Lucian, then, may refer to a renowned period of incompletion of a temple funded by Hadrian at Kyzikos, but it need not be exactly three hundred years; late scholiasts, after all, are not always impeccable in their accuracy.

Malalas called the Kyzikos temple "a very large temple, one of the wonders." Cassius Dio called it "the largest and most beautiful of all temples," writing that "in general, the details were more to be wondered at than praised."[10] His further statement that each column was a single block is not to be believed, especially as he gave their proportions as four *orguiai* (about 24 feet) thick, though this was presumably their circumference, and fifty cubits (about 75 feet) in height. Remarkably, these measure-

[8] Note that Birley (*supra* n.6: 162, 164) infers that the temple of Hadrian was originally a temple of Zeus begun by the kings of Pergamon.

[9] Athens: Willers (*supra* n.6); R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Das Olympieion in Athen* (Cologne 1994); C. P. Jones, "The Panhellenion," *Chiron* 26 (1996) 29–56, esp. 33. Kyzikos excavations directed by Prof. A. Yaylalı, with many new finds, especially of architectural fragments: see yearly reports in *XIII–XVIII Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (1990–1996).

[10] Cassius Dio epit. 70.4.1–2 (reign of Antoninus Pius, probably early in 161). Bonsignori (see n.21 *infra*) observed that the columns were not, as Dio stated, monolithic.

ments have been found by the excavations to be not far off the mark; the temple was about as big as Ephesos' Artemision or Apollo's temple at Didyma. Dio's epitomators Xiphilinos and Zonaras agreed on the figures, though Zonaras commented parenthetically, "if these things should not appear incredible to anyone."[11] Both stress the huge size of the temple, though Xiphilinos is not specific about its identification.[12]

That it was not wise to build such a large monument in a proven seismic zone soon became apparent. Dio mentions the temple only because during the reign of Antoninus Pius another earthquake shook Kyzikos and threw down that "largest and most beautiful of all temples." The earthquake should date shortly before Pius' death in March 161, because in a letter Fronto mentions that Pius' successor Marcus Aurelius gave a speech before the Senate and asked for aid to be sent to the stricken Kyzikenes, probably in August of that same year.[13]

Yet in 166 or 167 Aelius Aristides delivered a panegyric in Kyzikos that included the great temple as one of its main themes.[14] The forty-three year gap between Hadrian's original grant and this oration does recall the testimony of the scholion to Lucian, though it cannot compare with the three centuries' delay there implied; and considering that the Kyzikos temple

[11] John Zonaras *Epit.* 12.1 Dindorf.

[12] John Xiphilinos the Younger 257.15–24 Stephan.

[13] Fronto *Ep.* 1.2.4 (ed. van den Hout 86–91); M. van den Hout, *A Commentary on the Letters of M. Cornelius Fronto* (Leiden 1999) 231, on 89.3, dates the letter to October 161; E. Winter, *Staatliche Baupolitik und Baufürsorge in den römischen Provinzen des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (*Asia Minor Studien* 20 [Bonn 1996]) 102–103, puts the earthquake in 160 and the speech in 162. Guidoboni (*supra* n.4: 236–237 no. 116) gives a date no more exact than the mid-second century, and again associates diverse seismic events (this at Kyzikos, and another at Ephesos and Nikomedia). There were many earthquakes in the area, doubtless affecting some cities repeatedly, during this period: Eus. *Hist.Eccl.* 4.13.

[14] *Or.* 27 (ed. B. Keil [Berlin 1898] 125–138); transl. C. Behr, *Aristides, the Complete Works* II (Leiden 1981) 98–106, with commentary 379–382; T. Heinze, "Ailios Aristeides. Festrede in Kyzikos anlässlich der Einweihung des Kaisertempels," in E. Winter, ed., *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien* 3 (*Asia Minor Studien* 16 [Bonn 1995]) 63–100.

had been damaged by earthquake only five or six years before, it would be a true wonder if such a huge work now stood fully finished. It is unfortunate for us that Aristides' oration is not more specific about the temple's cult or past history; it is even uncertain whether the occasion was the dedication, as is often assumed. In fact, Aristides never states that the work his oration celebrates was fully finished. A Byzantine list of wonders refers to it as "the (temple) of Hadrian in Kyzikos, unfinished (ἀτέλεστος)," so it is possible that the temple was brought into use without actually being complete in all its parts.[15] This was not infrequent: the temple of Apollo at Didyma was almost proverbially under construction, and some columns of the temple of Artemis at Sardis were never actually erected.[16] If so, that could also explain the scholion to Lucian a bit better; the temple at Kyzikos may not only have been still incomplete three hundred years after Hadrian founded it, it may never have been completed at all.

Aristides' speech is generally hyperbolic, stating that the Kyzikos temple competes with mountains, that there was more marble in it than was left behind in the quarry of Prokonnesos, and that navigators sailing to Kyzikos would no longer need beacon fires but could use it to guide them. More precisely, however, in his praise of the current rulers Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Aristides mentions that "written on the temple was the name of the best of rulers up to that time," which

[15] *Vat.gr.* 989 f.110 (last page, bound into a collection of works ascribed to Xenophon): B. Keil, "Kyzikenisches," *Hermes* 32 (1897) 497–508, esp. 503 n.1; A. Corso, *Prassitele: Fonti epigrafiche e letterarie* III (Rome 1991) 158–163, dates the list to the 12th–13th century. A. Barattolo, "The Temple of Hadrian-Zeus at Cyzicus," *IstMitt* 45 (1995) 57–108, esp. 71, emended ἀτέλεστος to τέλεστος for no compelling reason, since it is uncertain why this or any temple should be referred to as "fulfilled" on such a list.

[16] Suetonius (*Gaius* 21) included the completion of the Didymeion in a list of semi-impossible projects that Caligula intended to undertake. On the temple at Sardis, C. Greenewalt, Jr., and M. Rautman, "The Sardis Campaigns of 1996, 1997, and 1998," *AJA* 104 (2000) 643–681, esp. 673–675.

should mean Hadrian.[17] Admittedly, a name on a temple is as likely to be the dedicator's as the cult object's; but as we shall see, the *koinon* of Asia, not Hadrian or his successors, dedicated this temple.

It was probably the temple's prodigious size, as emphasized by Dio, Aristides, and Malalas, that put it on a number of later lists of wonders. Some of these do not specify which temple at Kyzikos is meant.[18] But an epigram dating to the reign of Anastasius (491–513) calls it "the blameless temple of king Hadrian, close-joined with enormous stones," listing it after the Roman Capitolium and Pergamon's grove of Rufinus, and before the pyramids, the colossus of Rhodes, and the lighthouse at Alexandria, among the canonical wonders of the world (*Anth. Gr.* 9.656). In the opinion of an eleventh-century writer, Hadrian's sanctuary in Kyzikos was the "seventh of the wonders";[19] and we have already noted the twelfth- or thirteenth-century *Vaticanus gr.* 989 fragment that makes it eighteenth on an anonymous list of thirty things "most beautiful and worth seeing."

In 1431, when the traveler Cyriacus of Ancona saw the temple at Kyzikos, thirty-one of its columns were still standing, but the splendid ruin was being used as a stone-quarry for nearby Bursa.[20] He tried to convince the governor of the province to put

[17] *Or.* 27.22. Barattolo (*supra* n.15: 73) overinterpreted Aristides (who does not state that the work came to an end "thanks to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus," but only in their time) and assumed that the co-emperors would have "naturally" put their portrait busts on the temple with Hadrian's; see n.24 *infra.*

[18] Two lists in *Anecdota Graeca, Codex Ambrosianus*, and the wonder-list of George Kedrenos: K. Broderson, *Reiseführer zu den Sieben Weltwundern* (Frankfurt 1992) 130, 133 nos. 21, 22a, 22b.

[19] Niketas of Herakleia, in J. K. Orelli, *Philonis Byzantini Libellus de septem orbis spectaculis* (Leipzig 1816) 144.

[20] E. Bodnar and C. Mitchell, *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean 1444–1445* (Philadelphia 1976) 28; F. Scalamonti, *Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani*, C. Mitchell and E. Bodnar, edd. (Philadelphia 1996). *Cf.* B. Ashmole, "Cyriac of Ancona and the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus," *JWarb* 19 (1956) 179–191; P. Lehmann, "Cyriacus of Ancona's Visit to Samothrace," in P. Lehmann and K. Lehmann,

a stop to the stone-robbing, but when he returned in 1444, two more columns had disappeared. In view of this, Cyriacus described, measured, and sketched what remained of the temple. His judgment was good. Fifty-four years later Bonsignore Bonsignori saw only twenty-six columns, whose drums were being used to make cannonballs.[21] By the nineteenth century the temple's superstructure was gone, plundered down to the platform. So Cyriacus' careful account, preserved in several copies, provides information about the temple's original state that would otherwise be unobtainable. Excavations and current research restore the temple as a massive Corinthian octastyle, with fifteen or seventeen columns on its flank, each column over seventy feet tall (close to Cassius Dio's estimate).[22] It stood in the western part of the city, facing east and turning its south flank towards one of Kyzikos' two main harbors. From over a large and magnificent door, possibly that leading into the cella itself, Cyriacus copied the architect's inscription, which tells us that the temple was built by "all Asia," that is, by the *koinon*, making it a provincial temple (though Hadrian's generous gift may have provided some or all of the funds).[23] Thus it is certainly the temple that first earned Kyzikos the title *neokoros.*

In writing of the temple, Malalas observed that Hadrian "set up a marble portrait, a large bust of himself, there in the roof of the temple, on which he wrote 'of the god Hadrian', as it is still." And though Malalas is not ordinarily the most dependable of sources for buildings or events outside Antioch, it is

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Samothracian Reflections (Princeton 1973) 45–50; A. Schulz and E. Winter, "Historisch-archäologische Untersuchungen zum Hadrianstempel von Kyzikos," in E. Schwertheim, ed., *Mysische Studien* (*Asia Minor Studien* 1 [Bonn 1990]) 33–82; Barattolo (*supra* n.15).

[21] A. Schulz, "Bonsignore Bonsignori in Kyzikos," in E. Winter, ed., *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien* 3 (*Asia Minor Studien* 16 [Bonn 1995]) 113–125.

[22] *Supra* nn.9, 10, and Barattolo (*supra* n.15).

[23] *IGRR* IV 140: "from level earth, [with] all Asia [contributing?], with no lack of hands, godlike Aristenetos erected me." P. Herrmann, "5. Epigramm am 'Hadrianstempel' in Kyzikos," *EpigAnat* 20 (1992) 69–70.

not impossible that he himself had seen the temple at Kyzikos.[24] Cyriacus of Ancona also described (probably) pedimental sculpture, in 1431 as "different very splendid statues of the gods in the front," but later in 1444 as "those splendid and very beautiful marble statues of the gods in its noble and wonderful façade, preserved unhurt, with the best Jove himself as their guardian and with the protection of their lofty height."[25]

This last passage is the chief reason why this temple, which all of our evidence so far has agreed to be for the emperor Hadrian, was recently reassigned. Simon Price took Cyriacus' statement to refer to a specific statue of Zeus in the pediment, and so contended that this was not a temple of Hadrian alone, but of Zeus and Hadrian. Schulz and Winter took him up enthusiastically; and subsequent scholars have followed.[26] Their conclusions allowed Schorndorfer to extrapolate cults of Zeus at the temples to Hadrian at Ephesos and Smyrna as well.[27]

First, we may question whether a single statue in one pediment, even if larger than the rest, is always that of the temple's cult object. On the east pediment of the Parthenon, the tallest figure was that of Zeus, not Athena; on the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the central, dominant figure was Apollo. Moreover, some of the friezes of the temple at Kyzikos have in fact been found: they include battles of Romans with easterners (a suitable subject for the age of Lucius Verus' Parthian conflict, and thus in accordance with Aristides' panegyric) and possibly an imperial apotheosis, which would

[24] B. Croke, "Malalas, the Man and His Work," in Jeffreys (*supra* n.4) 1–25, esp. 6. Pace Barattolo (*supra* n.15) there is no mention of busts of subsequent emperors.

[25] Bodnar/Mitchell (*supra* n.20) 28 lines 248–251.

[26] S. Price, *Rituals and Power* (Cambridge 1984) 153–154, 251–252; Schulz/Winter (*supra* n.20); Birley (*supra* n.6); M. T. Boatwright, "Italica and Hadrian's Urban Benefactions," in A. Caballos and P. León, edd., *Italica MMCC* (Seville 1997) 115–135, esp. 126–130. Barattolo (*supra* n.15) seems to accept this in his title, but not necessarily his text, where Price is not mentioned.

[27] Schorndorfer (*supra* n.3) 53–37, 79, 146–153.

certainly suit a temple to an emperor who had died before the sculptural program was completed.[28]

More importantly, a wider consideration of Cyriacus' works shows that he did not mean what Price thought he meant in mentioning "the best Jove." Other parts of Cyriacus' journals use "Jove" to mean the Christian God, with phrases like "with the auspicious power of Jove best and greatest and of the kind blessed Virgin and of the most holy John the Evangelist"; even Christmas is "the birthday of incarnate Jove."[29] Cyriacus was not describing a statue of Zeus, but saying that the statues in the pediment were protected by God's power and their great height, which made them unreachable to stone-plunderers. This conforms with both Cyriacus' sense of mission as a preserver of the past and his tendency to conflate his Christianity with a romanticized view of the ancient world. In fact, Cyriacus himself thought that the giant temple was to Persephone, a shrine known primarily from coins.[30]

Owing to the respect his scholarship has justly earned, Price's reattribution of the Kyzikos temple to Zeus has been widely followed; but in this one case his arguments were not firmly based, and are contradicted by the ancient evidence. Those sources that identify the temple at Kyzikos by anything but its size (Malalas, the epigram in the *Greek Anthology*, and the wonder lists of Niketas of Herakleia and the *Vat.gr.* 989) all call it the temple of Hadrian; and the church historian Socrates affirms that Hadrian was worshipped at Kyzikos as "the thir-

[28] H. Laubscher, "Zum Fries von Hadrianstempels in Kyzikos," *IstMitt* 17 (1967) 211–217; M.-H. Gates, "Archaeology in Turkey," *AJA* 101 (1997) 241–305, esp. 294.

[29] Bodnar/Mitchell (*supra* n.20) 57 lines 1069–1071, 1051; similar examples pp.32, 37, 50, 58. Cyriacus himself defended this practice in a letter of 15 March 1423: Scalamonti (*supra* n.20) 166–180 App. 1.

[30] Keil (*supra* n.15); A. Barattolo, "Ciriaco de' Pizzicolli ed il tempio di 'Proserpina' a Cizico: per una nuova lettura della descrizione dell' Anconitano," in G. Paci and S. Sconocchia, edd., *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanismo* (Reggio Emilia 1998) 103–140.

teenth god."[31] This is not to deny that there was a temple of Zeus elsewhere in the city; Pliny the Elder mentioned an ivory statue of Zeus in a temple in Kyzikos,[32] but as Pliny famously died in the eruption of Vesuvius in 79, that temple was already standing fifty years before Hadrian ever came to Kyzikos to grant the city a temple and the title *neokoros.*

Smyrna

Hadrian was the first emperor to allow more than one city in the same *koinon* to build a provincial temple to his own cult: what he first gave to Kyzikos, he soon granted to Smyrna as well, though both were in the *koinon* of Asia. On a visit to Smyrna in 124, Hadrian encountered one of the most renowned orators of his time, Marcus Antonius Polemon.[33] Born in Phrygian Laodikeia, Polemon came to Smyrna's schools of rhetoric as a youth, and as he rose in his profession he used his talents for the benefit of his adopted home. One of those talents was in pleading causes before the rulers of the Empire. So it was that, according to Philostratus, on one magnificent day Polemon persuaded Hadrian to spend "ten million" on Smyrna, from which the city built a grain market, the most magnificent gymnasium in Asia, and "a temple that can be seen from afar, the one on the *akra* that seems to oppose Mimas" (*VS* 1.25.1–4).

An inscription from Smyrna lists public and private contributors and the sums they gave to build and adorn the very gymnasium mentioned by Philostratus; toward the end of this

[31] *Hist.Eccl.* 3.23.59, ed. G. Hansen (Berlin 1995) 224.

[32] *HN* 36.22.98: a golden tube or thread inset into the stones of a temple which holds a marble statue of Apollo crowning an ivory Zeus. Kosmas of Jerusalem, in the eighth century, added this reference to his rather garbled list of wonders, as a temple formerly of Apollo, now dedicated to the Virgin: Broderson (*supra* n.18) 122; for other citations of the Kyzikos temple, Broderson 66, 68, 84, 96, 106 (again explicitly naming the temple of Hadrian at Kyzikos), 122, 130, 132, 136, 140 (Cyriacus' translation of Niketas), 142, 144.

[33] W. Stegemann, "Polemon (10)," *RE* 21 (1952) 1320–1357; M. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton 1995) 21–29.

catalogue we find: "and as many things as we gained from the lord Caesar Hadrian on account of Antonius Polemon: a second decree of the Senate, by which we became twice *neokoroi*; a sacred festival; immunity; *theologoi*; *hymnodoi*; one and a half million" (not Philostratus' ten); then follow numbers and types of imported columns.[34] Here the emperor's gifts for the gymnasium follow his more important gifts to the city as a whole; the new temple itself is not included, as it was technically to be built by Asia, though the title, personnel, and privileges mentioned all accrued to it. The gifts were Hadrian's, but the credit was also Polemon's, as it was he who had won the emperor's favor and had made the request. The sacred festival, immunity from taxes, and *theologoi* and *hymnodoi*, that is, those who performed encomia and hymns to the cult object, were all granted in connection with the new imperial temple; and thereafter several inscriptions refer to "*hymnodoi* of the god Hadrian" at Smyrna.[35]

Hadrian's gifts to Smyrna were given in 124; as at Kyzikos, the establishment of Smyrna's provincial cult and temple of Hadrian antedated his association with Zeus *Olympios* and the Olympieion at Athens. The temple for which Smyrna became *neokoros* was to Hadrian, not to Zeus. This is borne out not only by the *hymnodoi* "of the god Hadrian," where Zeus is not mentioned, but also by coins and inscriptions which henceforth call Smyrna "twice *neokoros* of the Augusti," specifically identify the temple of Hadrian among the three for which Smyrna was eventually *neokoros*, and show only an armored imperial figure as the cult image within the temple.[36]

[34] *I.Smyrna* 697. On columns as specifically imperial gifts, see J. Fant, "Ideology, Gift and Trade: a Distribution model for the Roman Imperial Marbles," in W. Harris, ed., *The Inscribed Economy* (Ann Arbor 1993) 145–170, esp. 156.

[35] *I.Smyrna* 595, 697 = *IGRR* IV 1436, 1431.

[36] Coins of Caracalla showing three temples, one labeled "(H)ad(rianos)," and declaring Smyrna "three times *neokoros* of the Augusti": *BMC Mysia* 403, 404 ; *SNG von Aulock* 2220. Milestones dated to 201/2, calling Smyrna "most illustrious, first of cities of Asia and twice *neokoros* of the Augusti": *I.Smyrna* 814, 815.

Philostratus is our only source for the appearance or placement of the temple that Hadrian's money built: it is "a temple that can be seen from afar, the one on the *akra* that seems to oppose Mimas." From the word *akra* (which Philostratus uses elsewhere to mean either a height or a cape on the seacoast)[37] some scholars have conflated this new temple with a different shrine documented at Smyrna, a temple of Zeus *Akraios*.[38] But the temple of Zeus *Akraios* was already in existence before Hadrian made his grant: the god had been named on Smyrna's coinage as early as Vespasian, and in 79/80 an aqueduct was built leading up to his temple; an inscription concerning repairs to this aqueduct was found on Mt Pagos, the akropolis of Smyrna.[39] Yet none of our sources states that Hadrian's grant was used to rebuild an extant civic shrine of Zeus *Akraios*; and even had that been so, it would not have given Smyrna a second *neokoria.* It is more likely that a new provincial temple for the emperor's worship was built, also on an *akra*. Whether this means a hilltop or a cape, Smyrna offers a plenitude of both.

What can be known, then, about the temple that made Smyrna twice *neokoros*? If Philostratus is correct, it was built out of Hadrian's donation; though as with Kyzikos' or any provincial temple, all the cities of the relevant *koinon* should have contributed money or labor as well. It could be seen from afar;

[37] Though C. P. Jones, "Cities, Villages and Sanctuaries in the Reign of Hadrian," *JRA* 14 (2001) 651–654, believed that the word as used here denoted a height, not a promontory, its basic meaning is "extremity" (up or out). Philostratus used it both of height, as for the mountain Nysa (*VA* 2.8.5), and of extension into the sea (*VA* 5.1.4, 6: the pillars of Hercules and the cape of Libya, Abinna).

[38] G. Weber, "Die Wasserleitungen von Smyrna II," *JdI* 14 (1899) 167–188, esp. 167–174; C. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna* (Oxford 1938) 202, 248, 254 n.4; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 584, 615, 1445 n.46, 1474 n.15; Price (*supra* n.26) 258; Boatwright (*supra* n.2) 157–162.

[39] Coins: D. Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1987) 26–27. Aqueduct: *I.Smyrna* 681b. An aqueduct did lead to the west end of Mt Pagos: F. Hasluck, "The 'Tomb of S. Polycarp' and the Topography of Ancient Smyrna," *BSA* 20 (1913–1914) 80–93, esp. 92; Cadoux (*supra* n.38) 177, 248, 254.

this implies great size and/or prominent position on its *akra*. The temple also seemed to "oppose Mimas," the mountainous heights of Kara Burun, the headland that closes off Smyrna's gulf on the west.[40] Almost anything in Smyrna would be "opposite" Mimas, but the verb implies a challenge, likely in size, though again prominent position, especially one close to the gulf, would add emphasis to it.

Remains of an appropriate temple were found on Değirmentepe, a height (though by no means mountainous) which is also directly over the gulf, and so may be called an *akra* and visible from afar; it is also in the western part of the city, that closest to Mimas. There, in 1824/5, Graf Anton Prokesch von Osten observed the foundations of a large east-facing temple with ten Corinthian columns on its short side and perhaps twenty-three on its long (dimensions comparable to those of the Olympieion in Athens), which he dated to the Hadrianic or Antonine period.[41] A building on such a scale not only would be suitable for what we know of provincial temples of Hadrian like that at Kyzikos, but may well be said to have challenged Mimas. Again, the building's marble superstructure was rapidly being plundered for building stone; about a century later, only a fragment of a fluted column drum could be found.[42] Note, however, that there was no sign to identify this ruin as the temple of Hadrian except its size, location on what could be called an *akra*, and assigned date. As for the last, it is important to remember that in the late 170s Smyrna was largely destroyed by another great earthquake. Aelius Aristides called on Marcus Aurelius and his new co-Augustus, Commodus, for aid, and

[40] G. Bean, *Aegean Turkey* (London 1966) 41; map, 23.

[41] A. Prokesch von Osten, "Smyrna," *Jahrbücher der Literatur* 68 (1834), Anzeige-Bl. 55–86, esp. 62–63; *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* I (Stuttgart 1836) 522.

[42] O. Walter, "Antikenbericht aus Smyrna," *ÖJh* 21/2 (1922/4) Beibl. 223–259, esp. 232.

soon hailed them as the new founders of Smyrna.[43] Likely all Smyrna's temples were rebuilt extensively at that point, so the remains that Prokesch von Osten dated to the Hadrianic or Antonine period could have been those of any major temple of the city. The temple of Hadrian at Smyrna cannot be proved to have been found; but there is no ancient evidence associating it with the cult of Zeus *Akraios* or any other Zeus.

Ephesos

Hadrian granted an unprecedented third provincial temple in Asia when he allowed yet another temple to his cult to be built, this time in Ephesos. Yet when Philostratus described Hadrian's encounter with Polemon (*VS* 1.25.2), he wrote that "Hadrian, who had previously favored the Ephesians, (Polemon) converted to the Smyrnaean cause." Since the emperor granted a provincial imperial temple to Ephesos after his grant of one to Smyrna, likely Philostratus was overinterpreting. In fact, Hadrian never seems to have frowned on the Ephesians. He visited Ephesos on at least two and probably more of his journeys through the East, and in one inscription (*I.Ephesos* 274) was hailed as "founder" for various benefactions even before he made the city twice *neokoros.* The date of that grant can also be established from the inscriptions: the last to call Ephesos simply *neokoros* dates to 130/1 (*I.Ephesos* 430), whereas the first to call it twice *neokoros* is dated to 132 (*IG* II^2 3297). In fact, the latter is a statue base which Ephesos set up in Athens' Olympieion; alone of the three cities under discussion here, Ephesos built its provincial temple after Hadrian had set his panhellenic program at Athens in motion. In any case, it may be that

[43] Aristides' monody for Smyrna is *Or.* 18, the letter to the emperors *Or.* 19. Commodus became Augustus in mid-177, at least before June 17: D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*^{2} (Darmstadt 1996) 147–150. C. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (Amsterdam 1968) 112 n.68, however, preferred to date the earthquake shortly after January 177. Eus. *Chron.* 209c dated it to 179, and stated that because of it ten years' tribute was remitted; while the *Chronicon Paschale* 262 dated it to 178. See Guidoboni (*supra* n.4) 237–238 no. 117.

Hadrian visited Ephesos and made the city twice *neokoros* in 131, but the grant need not have been made in connection with any particular visit.[44]

The moving spirit behind the second *neokoria* was Tiberius Claudius Piso Diophantos, "chief priest of the two temples in Ephesos, under whom the temple of the god Hadrian was consecrated, who first asked for (it) from the god Hadrian and obtained (it)" (*I.Ephesos* 428). We know little else of Diophantos; if his request won approval from Hadrian, that connoisseur of orators, he was probably an accomplished speaker. His memory may have lasted long in the city's annals, if not in ours, since a bronze statue of him was perhaps re-erected in Ephesos as late as 405 C.E.; but we should not assume that his inscription dates after the death and deification of Hadrian, since in the East it was common to refer to the living emperor as a god.[45] Diophantos was likely rewarded for securing the new temple by being made chief priest (of Asia) when the temple of Hadrian was to be consecrated, thus becoming the first chief priest of two provincial temples in Ephesos.[46] But note that even though this must have been after Hadrian had been associated with Zeus *Olympios* at Athens and elsewhere, the temple itself is only called that "of the god Hadrian," not of Hadrian *Olympios* or of any form of Zeus.[47]

The last chief priest of Asia of the temple (singular) in twice

[44] Halfmann (*supra* n.5) 194, 199–201, 204, 208; Lehnen (*supra* n.5) 86–87, 90, 257, 260, 265.

[45] Both D. Knibbe, "Die statuarische Wiederauferstehung des Kaiserpriesters Ti. Claudius Piso Diophantus unter dem christlichen Statthalter Fl. Anthemius Isidorus," in D. Knibbe and H. Thür, edd., *Via Sacra Ephesiaca* II (Vienna 1995) 100–102, and P. Scherrer, "Am Olympieion vorbei…?" in P. Scherrer, H. Taeuber, and H. Thür, edd., *Steine und Wege: Festschrift für Dieter Knibbe* (Vienna 1999) 137–144, esp. 139, interpreted the reference to Hadrian θεός as being posthumous, thus after 138; but see S. Price, "Gods and Emperors. The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult," *JHS* 104 (1984) 79–95.

[46] M. Campanile, *I sacerdoti del koinon d'Asia* (Pisa 1994) no. 77.

[47] Also noted by H. Engelmann, "Das Grab des Androklos und ein Olympieion," *ZPE* 112 (1996) 131–133.

neokoros Ephesos served in 134/5.[48] Yet the new temple probably came into use within Hadrian's lifetime: an inscription (*I.Ephesos* 814) honors a chief priestess of Asia of the (plural) temples in Ephesos and mentions "the temple of lord Hadrian Caesar"; the uninflated titulature should place it before his death in 138. Inscriptions also document *hymnodoi* "of the god Hadrian's temple" in Ephesos (*I.Ephesos* 921; also see 742). Again, no mention of Zeus.

The temple itself has now been identified as part of a mid-imperial expansion of Ephesos to the west and north, built on landfill near, or perhaps in, the former harbor.[49] Though no actual proof beyond size and a Hadrianic date of construction has been offered, the identification is not unreasonable. A huge colonnaded *temenos* held a south-facing, perhaps Corinthian, temple, which is unlikely to have been any larger than decastyle, though the excavators have been inconsistent about its exact measurements, and have restored it with anywhere between twelve and nine(!) columns on the façade.

It is unfortunate that the Ephesos publication team has chosen to name this temple complex "the Olympieion of Hadrian," perhaps because Ephesos publications had already named a small streetside shrine the "temple of Hadrian," almost certainly incorrectly.[50] Despite the fact that at Ephesos,

[48] *I.Ephesos* 279; Campanile (*supra* n.46) no. 70.

[49] S. Karwiese, "Koressos—ein fast vergessener Stadtteil von Ephesos," in W. Alzinger and G. Neeb, edd., *Pro Arte Antiqua* II (Vienna 1985) 214–225, has incorrect architectural details and measurements; corrected by H. Vetters, "Ephesos: vorläufiger Grabungsbericht für die Jahre 1984 und 1985," *Anz Wien* 123 (1986) 84–85. See also S. Karwiese, "The Church of Mary and the Temple of Hadrian Olympios," in H. Koester, ed., *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia* (Valley Forge 1995) 311–319, and *Gross ist die Artemis von Ephesos* (Vienna 1995) 102–103; P. Scherrer, *Ephesos: der neue Führer* (Vienna 1995) 186; F. Hueber, "Zur städtebaulichen Entwicklung des hellenistisch-römischen Ephesos," *IstMitt* 47 (1997) 251–269, esp. 259–261; H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger, edd., *100 Jahre österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos* (Vienna 1999) pl. 1 (nine columns on the façade).

[50] E. Bowie, "The 'Temple of Hadrian' at Ephesus," *ZPE* 8 (1971) 137–141; M. Wörrle, *AA* 88 (1973) 470–477; Price (*supra* n.26) 149–150, 255–256; Scherrer (*supra* n.49) 120. Even Schorndorfer (*supra* n.3) 162–165 and U. Outschar,

as everywhere in the Greek-speaking world after 128, Hadrian was often assimilated to Zeus *Olympios*, there is no evidence connecting Ephesos' temple of Hadrian, the new complex, and an Olympieion; for Ephesos already had an Olympieion located elsewhere.

Ephesos is one of the few eastern cities where Zeus *Olympios* had a pre-Hadrianic cult; his festival was celebrated as age-old in the city, and the god himself had appeared on coins of Ephesos since the reign of Domitian.[51] Pausanias, in the great aside on the Ionians that leads into his guide to Achaea (7.2.8–9), mentioned the tomb of Androklos founder of Ephesos as being still visible at the city, beside the road from the shrine (of Artemis) past the Olympieion to the Magnesian gate. This was a well-established route, as evidenced by the famous procession endowed by Gaius Vibius Salutaris in 104, which went from the Artemision around the east side of Panayirdağ to enter the city at the Magnesian gate.[52] The hypothesis that the Olympieion described by Pausanias is the new temple complex actually sends this road through the city, the longest possible way, and takes several sharp turns, while downplaying Pausanias' association of it with the Magnesian gate, whose position is not in doubt.[53] The real Olympieion would have been outside the city's

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"Zur Deutung des Hadrianstempels an der Kuretenstrasse," in Friesinger/Krinzinger (*supra* n.49) 443–448, still use the name, though they attribute the temple to other civic cults.

[51] For the Ephesian *Olympia*, see H. Engelmann, "Ephesiaca," *ZPE* 121 (1998) 305–311; for the coins, A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and I. Carradice, *Roman Provincial Coinage* II (London/Paris 1999) 167 no. 1073.

[52] G. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos* (London 1991) 80–126. The sophist Damianos (Philostr. *VS* 2.23) later monumentalized and covered the road: D. Knibbe, "Via Sacra Ephesiaca," in Friesinger/Krinzinger (*supra* n.49) 449–454. Earlier levels of this road date back at least to the beginning of the first century C.E.: H. Thür, "'Via Sacra Ephesiaca,'" in Scherrer/Taeuber/Thür (*supra* n.45) 163–172, esp. 168.

[53] H. Thür, "The Processional Way in Ephesos as a Place of Cult and Burial," in Koester (*supra* n.49) 157–199. C. P. Jones, "The Olympieion and the Hadrianeion at Ephesos," *JHS* 113 (1993) 149–152, in the main still holds, and is supported by Engelmann (*supra* nn.47, 51), despite the objections of H. Thür,

walls, far from the new temple complex, which still is only tentatively identified as what was called "the temple of lord Hadrian Caesar" or "the temple of the god Hadrian." Any "Olympieion of Hadrian" is a purely modern agglomeration.

The Evidence of Festivals

Lastly, let us consider the agonistic festivals celebrated in honor of these three cults.[54] At first glance, they may seem to associate Hadrian with Zeus *Olympios* by occasionally being called *Olympia.* At Kyzikos, for example, the contest appears to have been founded in 135, and was called either *Hadrianeia Olympia*, *Hadrianeia, Olympia,* or perhaps once *Hadrianeia Olympia Koinon Asias*.[55] But *Hadrianeia Olympia* cannot be assumed to indicate that Hadrian shared his temple at Kyzikos with a separate deity, Zeus *Olympios*; in a similar case in another city, when Trajan actually did share his temple and festival with Zeus *Philios* at Pergamon, the festival was called *Traianeia Deiphileia*, never *Traianeia Phileia*; the god's name is explicitly mentioned.[56] This is not the case in Kyzikos. More likely, *Olympia* either refers to the epithet associated with Hadrian himself after 128, or indicates that the festival was

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"Der ephesische Ktistes Androklos und (s)ein Heroon am Embolos," *ÖJh* 64 (1995) 63–103, esp. 77–80, and Scherrer (*supra* n.45) 137–144.

[54] On agonistic festivals in general, M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (Munich 1988); among his many other works, L. Robert, "Inscription agonistique d'Ancyre, concours d'Ancyre," *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 350–368, and "Discours d'ouverture," *Praktika tou 8. Diethnous Synedriou Hellenikes kai Latinikes Epigraphikes* (Athens 1984) 35–45; L. Moretti, *Iscrizione agonistiche greche* (Rome 1953), and "ΚΟΙΝΑ ΑΣΙΑΣ," *RivFil* N.S. 32 (1954) 276–289. On the agglutinative and ephemeral nature of festival names, especially those associated with emperors, P. Herz, "Die musische Agonistik und der Kunstbetrieb der Kaiserzeit," in J. Blänsdorf, ed., *Theater und Gesellschaft im Imperium Romanum* (Tübingen 1990) 175–195, esp. 177–178, 189 n.21.

[55] Moretti (*supra* n.54: 1953) 266; M. Malavolta, "Ludi III–V," *Diz.Epigr.* IV (1977) 2025–2097, esp. 2056–2057. The date of inception hinges on *IGRR* IV 162, a document of the eleventh Olympiad. From *IGRR* IV 160, Moretti (*supra* n.54: 1954) 276–289, 283 n.3, 286 n.1, concluded that the *koinon Asias* in Kyzikos began in 139, and was a separate festival from the *Hadrianeia Olympia.*

[56] *I.Pergamon* I 269 (= *CIL* III 7068; *IGRR* IV 336).

isolympic, its contests modeled on the Olympic games in Greece. Several inscriptions show that Smyrna, unlike Kyzikos, only called its festival *Hadrianeia* or (great) *Hadrianeia Olympia*, never simply *Olympia*, because Smyrna already had a different Olympic festival.[57] Ephesos too had an earlier *Olympia*, and so generally calls its festival the (great) *Hadrianeia.*[58] The latter was probably founded around 136, as its second pentaeteria was celebrated early in the reign of Antoninus Pius.[59] In these two cities, it is more likely that the *Olympia* was celebrated for Zeus Olympios, while the *Hadrianeia (Olympia)* festival, as at Kyzikos, could have been named either for Hadrian's own epithet or for the model of its contests.

Summary

The idea that Zeus was worshipped in the three provincial temples of Kyzikos, Smyrna, and Ephesos is quite recent. One scholar attributed the temple at Kyzikos to Zeus out of a misunderstanding of a traveler's tale, and others then elaborated upon the theme, until it came to seem a deliberate policy which could be attributed to Hadrian. Yet the actual written and material evidence gives no basis for the idea. The enormous temple at Kyzikos was called in all pre-Renaissance sources the "temple of Hadrian," while Smyrna had "*hymnodoi* of the god Hadrian," not of Zeus and Hadrian. Even Ephesos, which did become *neokoros* after the emperor began to be called *Olympios*, records only its "temple of the god Hadrian" or "temple of the lord Hadrian Caesar"; its Olympieion was a separate shrine,

[57] Malavolta (*supra* n.55) 2063–2064. Among the documents for these festivals are *I.Smyrna* 644, 659–661, 668, and *I.Ephesos* 1131, 1615. Artemidorus *Oneir.* 1.64 (70 Pack) also mentions "the sacred contest of Hadrian" at Smyrna, a reference I owe to Kent Rigsby.

[58] Malavolta (*supra* n.55) 2057–2058. M. Lämmer, *Olympien und Hadrianeen im antiken Ephesos* (diss. Cologne 1967) is not dependable. Among the documents for the *Hadrianeia* are *I.Ephesos* 730, 1083, 1084A, 1085A, 1087A, 1114– 1118, 1121, 1132, 1133, 1153, 1604, 1615, 4113, and *I.Smyrna* 659. For the Ephesian *Olympia*, see Engelmann (*supra* n.51) .

[59] *I.Ephesos* 618, dated *ca* 140.

predating Hadrian and located far from the temple now tentatively identified as his. These temples were part of the provincial cities' dialogue of gift and gratitude: the Hellenes of the East were not too proud to worship Hadrian without proxy, and the emperor was not so modest as to decline that worship.

Indeed, the three temples for Hadrian discussed here all appear to have ranged in size from very large to enormous. The temple at Kyzikos is known from both archaeology and historical sources as an octastyle of huge size and prominent placement, visible from far across the sea. In fact it may have resembled Ephesos' Artemision not only in being dipteral, but also in numbering among the wonders of the world. Though the ruins of Hadrian's temple at Smyrna have not been surely located, ancient descriptions noted the same features of great size, obvious placement, and visibility from afar. What has been identified as the temple of Hadrian at Ephesos also has a large foundation, though not as huge as the others; but its precinct is enormous, its location is prominent, and it too would certainly have been seen by all ships entering the harbor. So many massive and expensive dedications are more an argument for Asia's great devotion to Hadrian than for the emperor's own modesty.[60]

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Dept. of Classics
Univ. of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, OH 45221
barbara.burrell@classics.uc.edu

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