

POST-HERULIAN ATHENS

Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens
A.D. 267–529

Edited by
Paavo Castrén

HELSINKI 1994

Arja Karivieri

The So-Called Library of Hadrian and the Tetraconch Church in Athens¹

One of the most impressive buildings to be built by the Emperor Hadrian in Athens is the so-called Library of Hadrian to the north of the Roman Agora. (Figs. 1–4) The building has been regularly identified as the Library of Hadrian because of the passage in Pausanias where the author mentions a large building with one hundred columns of Phrygian marble and space to preserve books.² This general opinion is also upheld by Homer A. Thompson,³ who states that: “The identification of this building, the Library of Hadrian, is now securely established (...) The Library was... the last fine building to be erected in Athens in Classical antiquity and the most splendid of all ancient libraries known to us.”

¹ I would like to thank Professors Paavo Castrén, Jaakko Frösén and Gunnar af Hällström, Mr. Erkki Sironen and Ms. Tua Korhonen, who read drafts of this paper and greatly improved its presentation. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Julia Burman for many useful suggestions. I am indebted to Dr. Judith Binder for remarks on a draft of this paper. I have also benefited from a conversation with Professor Paul Zanker in 1991 during his visit in Finland. Finally, I wish to thank John Calton for reading my manuscript and correcting my English. The errors which remain are, of course, my own.

² Pausanias I.18.9 (ed. Spiro (1903)).

³ Thompson (1981), 15. Most recently, in his publication of Hadrian's Panhellenic programme, Willers has followed the traditional interpretation and identified the Hadrianic complex as a library and a *museion* (Willers (1990), 14–21).

But is the function of this building⁴ so utterly beyond dispute? I should like to resurrect the issue of the purpose of the 'Library of Hadrian' and ask: "What other functions did this building have? What relation did the Early Christian tetraconch, built in the middle of the complex, have to the Hadrianic building?"

Wolfram Martini threw doubt on the traditional opinion of the function of the architectural units in the Hadrianic construction at Athens by drawing attention to the fact that all the libraries we know nowadays were placed in the secondary rooms of the building complexes, the Library of Celsus at Ephesus being the only exception.⁵ If the library was situated in the secondary rooms of the building as Martini argues, what was the role of the large central hall of the 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens?

I. Interpreting Pausanias' Text and the Different Identifications Given to the Building

The problem of identifying the central hall of the 'Library of Hadrian' as a library or as a construction with some other function arises from the interpretation of Pausanias' text (I.18.9). The text has been variously interpreted and these different translations have elicited various theories about the identification of the complex:

Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίοις, ναὸν Ἡρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου καὶ θεοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερὸν κοινόν, τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἑκατὸν εἰσι κίονες Φρυγίου λίθου· πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ τοῖχοι. καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ὀρόφῳ τε ἐπιχρῦσθαι καὶ ἀλαβάστρῳ λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμημένα καὶ γραφαῖς· κατὰκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία.⁶

T. Leslie Shear Jr. compares the 'Library of Hadrian' with the Forum Pacis at Rome,⁷ suggesting that the central position in the design of the Athenian building was occupied by the library. He uses the following translation to support his argument:

"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."

Peter Levi's⁸ interpretation gives a slightly different picture:

-
- ⁴ Select bibliography: Sisson (1929); Travlos (1950); Frantz (1966); Knithakes and Symboulidou (1969); Kokkou (1970), 162–165; Travlos (1971), 244–252, 579; De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 171–188; Makowiecka (1978), 67–74; Thompson (1981), 14–16; Shear (1981), 356–377, esp. 374–377; Boatwright (1983); Martini (1985), 188–191, pl. XXII; Spawforth and Walker (1985), 96, 98; Kleinbauer (1987), 285–286; Willers (1990), esp. 14–25.
- ⁵ Martini (1985), 189–190. However, Willers considered Martini's argument invalid, because Martini is referring to Hellenistic Greek libraries, and the Library of Hadrian would represent Roman libraries (Willers (1990), 17).
- ⁶ Ed. Spiro (1903), 46.
- ⁷ Shear (1981), 375–376.
- ⁸ Pausanias 53 (transl. Levi (1988)).

"Hadrian built other things in Athens, a shrine of Panhellenic Zeus and Hera, and a temple of all the gods: but his most famous things are the hundred columns of Phrygian marble, with walls built just like the columns, and pavilions with gilded roofwork and alabaster, decorated with statues and paintings. Books are kept in them."

Daria De Bernardi Ferrero, who identified the 'Library of Hadrian' as the Hadrianic temple of all the gods, used the following interpretation for her new identification of the building complex:

"...Adriano procurò agli Ateniesi anche altri edifici... ed un santuario comune a tutti gli dei, in cui la cosa più sorprendente sono cento colonne di marmo frigio, del quale son fatti anche i muri dei portici; e vi sono ambienti col soffitto dorato, ricoperti di alabastro e di più ornati di simulacri e pitture, in cui sono conservati libri..."⁹

First of all, if we look at Levi's interpretation, we notice how he speaks about pavilions (*in the plural*) where books were preserved, according to the original text. This could already throw new light on the traditional opinion which has it that the central hall served as the main store-room of Hadrian's library. Secondly, Levi uses a colon to differentiate the complex sentence beginning with "but" from the expression "a temple of all the gods". The most evident combination of the Sanctuary of all the gods and the complex sentence describing the library and artistic decoration of the Hadrianic building comes from the translation used by De Bernardi Ferrero: "un santuario comune a tutti gli dei, *in cui*...". We might even note the special construction the translator had used. There are two comparable complex sentences, the first beginning with "ed un santuario comune a tutti gli dei...", the second beginning with "e vi sono ambienti...", and both include a specified account beginning with "in cui...". That is, the Sanctuary of all the gods is combined with the description of the 100 columns and the walls of the building, and, on the other hand, the description of statues, paintings, gilded roofwork and alabaster is combined with the rooms where the books were kept. However, Jaakko Frösén¹⁰ has pointed out that the second δέ in Pausanias' text (I.18.9) makes it impossible to connect the Sanctuary common to all the gods with the description of the building embellished with 100 columns. This means that the temple of all the gods in Pausanias' text, contrary to De Bernardi Ferrero's interpretation, would not be the same building which includes 100 columns, that is to say the Hadrianic building identified as the 'Library of Hadrian'.

It has been suggested that a large Hadrianic building located to the east of the 'Library of Hadrian' and the Roman Agora, which was partly excavated in the 1960's,¹¹ could have been the 'Pantheon', the Sanctuary of all the gods mentioned by Pausanias.¹² In their recent criticism of this interpretation A. J. Spawforth and Susan Walker¹³ state that the excavated remains of the building do not justify its identification as a temple; they prefer to identify this building as a basilica, the meeting-place of the *Panhellenion*, where

⁹ De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 172.

¹⁰ I am indebted to Professor Frösén for his explanation of this passage.

¹¹ Dantas (1968); *id.* (1969a); *id.* (1969b); Kokkou (1970), 159–161; Travlos (1971), 439–443; Shear (1981), 375; Boatwright (1983), 175–176.

¹² Compare figs. 2 a and 3, the 'Hadrianic Building' to the east of the 'Library of Hadrian' and the Roman Agora.

¹³ Spawforth and Walker (1985), 97–98.

Hadrian Panhellenius was honoured along with Zeus Panhellenius and Hera Panhellenia. Spawforth and Walker however suggest that the Sanctuary of the Panhellenion was located to the south of the Olympieion,¹⁴ where a small temple surrounded by a peristyle court was partly excavated in the 1960's by John Travlos,¹⁵ who identified this temple as the Sanctuary of Panhellenion.¹⁶ The large Hadrianic building, the 'Pantheon', reconstructed as a three-aisled podium temple, could, according to Dietrich Willers, be a temple, but he suggests that the other possibilities would be a large basilica (as Spawforth and Walker proposed) or a stoa with strengthened side wings.¹⁷ Unlike Spawforth and Walker, Willers sees no evidence for a separate meeting-place of the *Panhellenes*, because Pausanias mentioned only the temple of Zeus Panhellenius in his text. Therefore, he prefers to locate the centre of the Panhellenion in the Ilissus area by the Olympieion.¹⁸

Recently, even Wolfram Martini has argued that the 'Library of Hadrian' is the Sanctuary of all the gods mentioned by Pausanias.¹⁹ He noticed though that J. G. Frazer and E. Meyer had translated the first δέ (I.18.9) as "but" and separated the description of the building from the Sanctuary common to all the gods.²⁰ Martini reminds us of Pausanias' text (I.5.5)²¹ which demonstrates the functional relationship between the Forum Pacis and the Sanctuary of all the gods at Athens:

"All the sanctuaries of the gods he himself [that is Hadrian] has built, and the ones he has improved with furnishings and dedications, and all his gifts to Greek cities, and when they asked him, to barbarian cities as well, have been inscribed at Athens in the common sanctuary of all the gods."²²

Martini identified the 'Library of Hadrian' as the Sanctuary of all the gods seen by Pausanias by comparing the architectural elements of the complex especially with the Forum Pacis, and other Imperial Fora at Rome, the Gymnasia at Ephesus and the Building M at Side.

The Polish scholar E. Makowiecka, who has studied the architectural evolution of the Roman library, suggested that the great central chamber in the 'Library of Hadrian' served as a store-room and a reading-room. She pointed out that in the library at Asklepieion at Pergamum and in the Celsus Library at Ephesus the library was surrounded by a narrow corridor serving as isolation from the humidity.²³ She uses this as an argument in favour of the identification of the central hall of the Forum Pacis at Rome as a library, since the central unit had a double wall on both sides of the hall. But it seems to have escaped her notice that the same argumentation could be used for the

¹⁴ *Id.*, 94.

¹⁵ Travlos (1971), 429–431.

¹⁶ Compare also Kokkou (1970), 157–159.

¹⁷ Willers (1990), 22–23.

¹⁸ *Id.*, 24–25, 54–67.

¹⁹ Martini (1985), 188–191, pl. XXII.

²⁰ Ed. Frazer (1898), 26; ed. Meyer (1954), 70; Martini (1985), 190. However, in the next sentence Martini accepts the opinion of his colleague, E.-R. Schwinge, that the building description cannot be combined with the Pantheon.

²¹ Pausanias I.5.5 (ed. Spiro (1903), 13):

ὅποσα δὲ θεῶν ἱερὰ τὰ μὲν ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπεκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασι καὶ κατασκευαῖς ἢ δωρεὰς πόλεσιν ἔδωκεν Ἕλληνίσι, τὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῖς δεηθείσιν, ἔστιν οἱ πάντα γεγραμμένα Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν θεῶν ἱερῷ.

²² Pausanias 23 (transl. Levi (1988)); Martini (1985), 190.

²³ Makowiecka (1978), 48–49, 64–65.

flanking units of this hall, too, because the corridor 'protected' those in the same way. In other words, she forgets this argument when she discusses 'Hadrian's Library'²⁴ and locates the library in the central hall there; the central hall in the Hadrianic complex at Athens did not have any isolation from the humidity. De Bernardi Ferrero argued²⁵ that the rooms opening through columns to the courtyard could not have been used as libraries because of the preservation of the book archives. She suggested that the books would have been stored in the lateral rooms to the eastern side of the 'Library of Hadrian' because these rooms could be closed.²⁶

If De Bernardi Ferrero is right in her argument that the rooms flanking the central hall would have been used for the library or for the archives, the book archives in the 'Library of Hadrian' could have been located in the large enclosed end rooms²⁷ and in the small rooms against the eastern wall, and the square rooms adjoining the central hall might have been reading-rooms (fig. 4 a). But if the library and archives had a secondary role in the 'Library of Hadrian', what then was the role of the central hall, if not the Sanctuary of all the gods as Martini and De Bernardi Ferrero had suggested?

II. The 'Library of Hadrian' as an Imperial Forum?

Recently T. Leslie Shear Jr. has argued that the Emperor Hadrian founded the 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens as an imperial forum, furnished with gardens and a longitudinal water-pool in the middle of the great public square which was embellished with statues and other works of art. The eastern end of the building had a suite of rooms which, according to Leslie Shear Jr., included lecture halls and a library in the central position.²⁸ The model for Hadrian's cultural centre at Athens, would have been the *Templum Pacis* of the Emperor Vespasian at Rome.²⁹

Other arguments in support of this interpretation might be adduced by considering the proposition made by Helmut Kyrieleis:³⁰ he outlined six requirements for the Imperial Fora at Rome.³¹ Firstly, they were situated in a densely-built area, but the constructions were closed from the outer world by high walls and the centre of the building was surrounded by peristyle halls. Secondly, the porticoes formed an important part of these constructions. Thirdly, the Imperial Fora were not used as market-places and no through traffic was allowed. Fourthly, the Fora of Caesar and Augustus at Rome were important for the administrative life of Rome. Fifthly, literary activities had an important role in the

²⁴ *Id.*, 67–69.

²⁵ De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 173–175.

²⁶ Compare with fig. 4 a.

²⁷ The 'auditorium' found in the north-eastern room and its possible counterpart in the south-eastern room may either belong to the original construction or could have been built first in connection with some later renovation. Sisson could have been right when he suggested that in view of their inferior quality the foundation walls for the cavea may have been built later than the original structure (Sisson (1929), 62; Martini (1985), 191, note 20). Most recently, Willers, following the latest results of the documentation of the north-eastern auditorium (Knithakes and Symbolidou (1969)), combined these auditoria with the original structure (Willers (1990)).

²⁸ Shear (1981), 374–377.

²⁹ *Id.*, 374–376. Willers, on the contrary, did not consider the typological similarity of the *Templum Pacis* and the 'Library of Hadrian' an important enough proof to allow the comparison of the two structures or their functions (Willers (1990), 17–18).

³⁰ Kyrieleis (1976), 431–438.

³¹ *Id.*, 433–434 (with the exception of the Forum Transitorium).

function of the Imperial Fora. And finally, the decoration of the building had a propagandist function with works of art from different parts of the Empire; an imperial forum was 'a political museum of art'. Kyrieleis points out that the libraries and the works of art had an important role in the Imperial Fora, which served as *temene* for political representation, and later even for administrative and literary purposes.³²

The 'Library of Hadrian' fulfils all but one (the fourth³³) of Kyrieleis' requirements. It is closed off from the surroundings, situated in the centre of Athens near the Ancient Agora and the Roman Agora (figs. 1–2). The main entrance in the west led to the large open courtyard surrounded by porticoes (fig. 4 a). The Hadrianic complex was not used as a market-place and the only entrance to the complex was originally in the west. A large library was situated at the eastern end of the building which was decorated with gilded roofwork, alabaster, statues and paintings. In other words, if we use the requirements listed by Kyrieleis as criteria, the 'Library of Hadrian' could be counted in amongst the imperial fora. The way Pausanias pictures the complex would suit the description of a forum where a library had an important role. A forum was such a natural part of a Roman town that perhaps Pausanias did not consider it necessary to give the building a specific name.

It seems quite possible that Hadrian wanted to build an imperial forum at Athens, in the cultural centre of the Eastern Mediterranean. When the Emperor Hadrian had become an honorary citizen of Athens and Athens acquired the role of the second capital of the Roman Empire,³⁴ Hadrian wanted to embellish the city and could have emphasised its role as the centre of philhellenes by building a new imperial forum. This forum may have been destined to be the cultural centre of the city with its library '*miri operis*',³⁵ and it could have included a 'Hall of Honour' for the Emperor.

And it is even more natural that Hadrian would have built this forum on the same axis and on the same scale as the Market of Caesar and Augustus, the Roman Agora (figs. 1–2). Similarly, the Imperial Fora at Rome were built on axial symmetry.³⁶ Hadrian's architects used the Imperial Fora at Rome, especially the Forum Pacis, with their monumental porticoes and centred sanctuaries as a model for this building. One important western comparison is the so-called Trajaneum of Italica, a large porticoed enclosure with a central temple in Hadrian's home town in Spain. On the other hand, the *exedra/palaestra* units of imperial bathing complexes and other buildings of the courtyard type in Asia Minor served as a model for the new Hadrianic forum which, in its turn, could have been a model for later constructions. The nearest parallels in Asia Minor are the so-called Building M at Side, the Marble Court-palaestra group in Sardis and the Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius at Ephesus, all three somewhat later than the Athenian building.³⁷

³² *Id.*, 436.

³³ We do not have any evidence for the administrative role of the building. However, official records could have formed a part of the archives of the Hadrianic complex, if the inscription found on the pavement of a nearby church would attest the removal of the official abstracts to Thessalonica after the edict of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus in A.D. 305 as Sisson suggested (*IG* II/III², no. 1121; Sisson (1929), 66).

³⁴ Compare Oliver (1981), 419.

³⁵ Jerome: "*Hadrianus cum insignes et plurimas aedes Athenis fecisset, agonem edidit bibliothecamque miri operis extruxit.*" Jerome, *Chronicon CCXXVII. Olymp.*, XVI (ed. Helm (1956)); Aristides, *Oratio* I.354 (ed. Lenz and Behr (1976), 125; transl. Behr (1986), 71; Sisson (1929), 64).

³⁶ See von Blanckenhagen (1954).

³⁷ Willers pointed out that the Athenian building represents the tradition of the work-shops of Asia Minor: the acanthus decoration has direct parallels in the Library of Celsus at Ephesus and in the Trajaneum at Pergamum (Willers (1990), 20, note 74).

The *Principia* in Novae,³⁸ the Religious and Political Centre of *Legio I Italica*

A good comparison for the architectural setting and function of the 'Forum of Hadrian' at Athens is provided by the *Principia* of Novae (Nova Italica) in Moesia inferior. The large *Principia*³⁹ (103 x 59 m.) in the centre of the fortress *Legio I Italica*, which originally dates back to the Flavian period (A.D. 69–96), consisted of a courtyard with a transverse hall and a suite of official rooms at the southern end of the building. The porticoed court was separated from the 16 metre broad transverse hall by a monumental arch. Along the short sides of the transverse hall were *tribunalia*. The suite of rooms behind the transverse hall had a monumental façade decorated with six to eight pilasters. Opposite the main entrance to the *Principia* from the crossroads of *via principalis* and *via praetoria*, in the centre of the official rooms was situated the main sanctuary of the fortress (*aedes principiorum*) with two small treasuries (*aeraria*).⁴⁰

The sanctuary in the central hall of the Novae building was built slightly higher than the courtyard and was entered from the transverse hall by four steps. The area in front of the entrance to the sanctuary was paved with limestone slabs beside which bases for statues and altars were found. In front of the sanctuary entrance was a hollow filled with ash and some bone remains from ritual banquets. At the rear of the *aedes* were bases for standards and others for small altars and statues, as for a half-lifesized cuirassed statue of Caracalla. The statue of Caracalla belonged to a collection of statues representing deified emperors, and fragments of an inscription, a dedication to an emperor from the late second to early third century A.D., were found in the same hall.⁴¹

The *Principia* of Novae was destroyed during the fourth century, an event which has been linked to the rivalry between Constantine and Licinius. Owing to the sudden nature of the destruction, hundreds of fragments of bronze items belonging to the decoration of the building were found in the treasuries and other rooms of the *Principia*.⁴² Most bronze pieces come from destroyed imperial statues, such as cuirassed and equestrian statues. Some fragments belong to representations of gods and goddesses. Many of these statues could be identified with the help of inscriptions and the decorative style of the bases. At least five imperial statues from the *Principia* have been identified: Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Caracalla, Geta and Severus Alexander. The inscriptions gave evidence for six statues of deities: Jupiter, Mars,⁴³ Victoria, Genius of the Legion, the Roman Wolf and Bonus Eventus. The altars inside the building would add to this list Urbs Roma,⁴⁴ Liber Pater and Luna. The statues of the deities can be dated between A.D. 184 and 227.

³⁸ Novae was the easternmost Roman legionary fortress from the Claudian period until the beginning of the second century A.D. After Trajan had captured Dacia, Novae was still an important strategic point on the Danube. The site was originally occupied by the *Legio VIII Augusta* which was overtaken by *Legio I Italica* in ca. A.D. 70. The area occupied by the old fortress, Canabae, got the name Canabae Novae, since the old settlement Canabae Veteres was destroyed. The city was later even called Nova Italica as the home town of Maximinus Thrax. (Press and Sarnowski (1990), 225, figs. 1–5.)

³⁹ Press and Sarnowski (1990), 228 and 230–235, figs. 4, 5, 8 and 9.

⁴⁰ *Id.*, 230–231, figs. 8–10, 13.

⁴¹ *Id.*, 231–234, figs. 8, 9, 14 and 15.

⁴² *Id.*, 234–235, figs. 10–13, 16 and 17.

⁴³ *Id.*, fig. 18 (a statue base for Mars Victor).

⁴⁴ *Id.*, fig. 32 (an altar base for Urbs Roma).

Most of the statues and altars were dedications made by representatives of the highest rank of the legion (*primipili*).⁴⁵

The archaeological material from the *Principia* of Novae evidences the active use of the central hall as a sanctuary for the veneration of the emperors and other gods, especially during the late second to early third century A.D. On the other hand, as compared with the Novae building, at least two bases of statues for the Emperor Hadrian⁴⁶ and four altars dedicated to Hadrian⁴⁷ have been found within the precincts of the 'Library of Hadrian', which might attach weight to my supposition that the Emperor was honoured in the Hadrianic Forum at Athens.

As in the 'Library of Hadrian', in Novae the suite of rooms opposite the main entrance had a monumental façade. The importance of the *aedes* in Novae was further emphasised by a monumental arch in front of the entrance to the sacred hall. The other rooms flanking the central sanctuary served the political and administrative life of *Legio I Italica*. Some of the rooms flanking the central hall of the Hadrianic complex at Athens had probably the same function; the Hadrianic Forum could have served political, administrative and literary purposes. The architectural setting of the *Principia* in Novae resembles the Athenian building even in its overall solution: anyone entering the building had to walk through a porticoed courtyard to visit the suite of rooms and the monumental central hall opposite the main entrance.

The Imperial Forum or the 'Trajaneum' of Italica

That the 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens was an imperial forum could be attested by means of another comparison, the forum or the so-called Trajaneum of Italica in Spain,⁴⁸ which was discovered during the excavation campaign of 1980 in Italica, the home town of the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian.⁴⁹ The remains of the building are fragmentary, but even so they provide evidence of the splendour of this construction.

The monumental building was situated in the centre of Italica adjacent to the *Cardo Maximus*, the *Decumanus Maximus* and the *Decumanus II*, with the main façade extending along the *Cardo Maximus*. The lengths of the longer and shorter flanks were 107.6 metres and 80.1 m. respectively.⁵⁰ The main entrance of the construction at the crossroads of the *Decumanus III* and the *Cardo Maximus* was emphasised by a monumental stairway in the eastern flank. The façade of the main entrance measured 31.1 by 6.8 metres and the staircases of the shorter sides provided access to the central courtyard of the large enclosure.⁵¹

⁴⁵ *Id.*, 235.

⁴⁶ For the statue bases, see *IG* II/III², no. 3288 and *CIL* III, no. 7283 (a dedication from Antioch, Pisidia); Benjamin (1963), nos. 6 and 46; Willers (1990), 50–51.

⁴⁷ For the altars, see Benjamin (1963); Willers (1990), 66, note 349.

⁴⁸ I am grateful to Professor Paul Zanker for drawing my attention to this important comparison.

⁴⁹ León Alonso (1982). The construction has traditionally been identified as a forum, but Pilar León Alonso has suggested an identification as a Trajaneum for the building and reconstructed the building as an enclosure with a central temple which Hadrian dedicated to the Imperial Cult of Trajan (León Alonso and Rodríguez Oliva (1993), 42–43, figs. on pages 39 (plan) and 40 (air-view)). Unfortunately, I was not able to consult the 1988 publication of León Alonso which presents the results of the later excavations on the site and gives a more thorough description of the archaeological remains (León Alonso (1988)).

⁵⁰ The 'Library of Hadrian' was 122 x 82 m.

⁵¹ León Alonso (1982), 105–107, 111.

The construction was based on double walls which surrounded an open courtyard. Columns were placed on the inner basement wall thus creating a porticoed gallery with columns looking onto the courtyard and pilasters against the outer walls of the building. The space between the pilasters was probably decorated with marble panels, since fragments of decorated panels were found during the excavations. Water channels were situated adjacent to the inner walls, that is, along the *peristasis*.⁵² Three outer walls of the porticoed enclosure had three exedrae each, two of which were semicircular and one rectangular in the middle, with the exception of the rectangular exedra of the southern flank that was replaced by a large basement of *opus caementicium* which is possibly a podium for an aedicula, a base for a large statue or a nucleus for an altar as J. M. Luzón suggested.⁵³

A special detail in the construction of Italica was a hydraulic infrastructure.⁵⁴ The exact nature of the hydraulic construction could not be revealed during the campaign of 1980, but it seems reasonable to suppose that it could be combined with a garden or water pools in the courtyard. The building technique is typical of Hadrianic architecture in Italica as represented in the amphitheatre and in the baths: *opus caementicium* and *opus latericium* as well as bricks with their characteristic dimensions. Both white and coloured marble, especially *cipollino*,⁵⁵ were used as building material in this construction. The architectural decoration represents typical features of Hadrianic architecture with Corinthian capitals.⁵⁶

The director of the research, Pilar León Alonso dates the construction as a representative of Trajanic and Hadrianic architecture belonging to the first half of the second century A.D. The building has definitely been influenced by the Hellenistic style and León Alonso gives as comparisons the Forum of Trajan at Rome, Villa Adriana in Tivoli, the Library of Hadrian at Athens and the Templum Pacis at Rome. Of all these, however, she considers the most important comparison to be with the Forum of Trajan at Rome planned by Apollodorus of Damascus with its combination of exedrae.⁵⁷ In support of León Alonso's arguments it should be added that the combination of two semicircular and one rectangular exedra in the middle bears direct comparison with the 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens (compare with fig. 4 a) and another similar architectural setting was used in the *Porticus Liviae*⁵⁸ at Rome.

Two inscriptions (which may shed more light on the function of the monumental construction in Italica) were found during the excavations of the *Cardo Maximus* in front of the building. The first one is a dedication to the Genius of Italica made by a priest of the Imperial Cult of Trajan. The other one, also from the second century A.D., is a dedication to the goddess Victoria Augusta.⁵⁹

A. Canto suggested that the second inscription is proof of the existence of a temple within the porticoed enclosure, possibly in the centre of the courtyard which went unexcavated in 1980. The sanctuary would have been dedicated to Victoria Augusta, who

⁵² *Id.*, 114.

⁵³ *Id.*, 102, 115–116, 132.

⁵⁴ *Id.*, 112.

⁵⁵ *Cipollino* was also used in the 'Library of Hadrian', for example in the shafts and pedestals of the columns decorating the main façade of the building (the columns still standing to the north of the entrance). Compare Sisson (1929), 54, 57.

⁵⁶ León Alonso (1982), 112–114.

⁵⁷ *Id.*, 112, 114–115.

⁵⁸ For the *Porticus Liviae*, see for example Sjöqvist (1954), 103 (fig. 8), 107.

⁵⁹ León Alonso (1982), 116–118.

is mentioned in another inscription from Italica, now displayed in the Archaeological Museum of Sevilla. Canto is inclined to connect this temple with the celebration of Victoria Dacica and further, to the embellishment of Italica initiated by Trajan, thus dating the monumental complex to the period of Trajan.⁶⁰ I would like to add to his argument that the first inscription from the *Cardo Maximus* is a dedication to the Genius of Italica by a priest of the Imperial Cult of Trajan. On the basis of the evidence of these two inscriptions it seems likely that two cults were celebrated there: the cult of Victoria Augusta and the Imperial Cult.

In other words, the so-called Trajaneum in Italica, which resembles the Hadrianic Forum at Athens in several architectural details, was probably dedicated to the Imperial Cult. The celebration of Victoria Augusta in Italica could have had a counterpart at Athens: a colossal statue of Augustan vintage representing Nike on a sphere was found in 1988⁶¹ at the western end of the Hadrianic building, built into a Byzantine wall. This statue could originally have decorated the Roman Agora,⁶² and was later perhaps transferred from its original location to the Hadrianic building.

The architectural and functional similarities of these two buildings may not be a mere coincidence. We could shed some further light on their function by going into some Eastern comparisons more thoroughly, given that the architecture of the 'Trajaneum' of Italica and the 'Library of Hadrian' clearly show Hellenistic influence. Another important reason may be adduced from the interest which Trajan and Hadrian, the emperors from Italica, showed towards the Eastern Mediterranean art and architecture.

III. The Palaestra/*Porticus* Combined with the Imperial Cult

The 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens represents a special architectural construction with a peristyle arrangement, a large rectangular enclosure with porticoes. The courtyard type of building, the palaestra, usually formed one part of a gymnasium and the palaestra's sides included exercise rooms and school rooms. Such porticoes even belonged to the Hellenistic ruler cult sanctuary, which Caesar adopted in the Kaisareia at Alexandria and Antioch and which the Julio-Claudian emperors were to develop further.⁶³ To gain a better understanding of this association, the palaestra/*porticus* combined with the Imperial Cult, we can consider other examples of this kind of building construction in the Roman Empire.

In the first place, W. E. Kleinbauer has suggested that the palaestra at Perge could have created a context for the presentation of the Imperial Cult.⁶⁴ According to Fikret K. Yegül the palaestra at Perge was built as a private Claudianum because an inscription records a dedication to the Emperor Claudius by C. Iulius Cornutus and his wife and freedman.⁶⁵ This provides the first association of a palaestra with the Imperial Cult.

Arif Müfit Mansel identified the so-called Building M at Side, near Perge, as a State Agora and the central hall on the north-east side of Building M as a *Kaisersaal* or

⁶⁰ *Id.*, 132.

⁶¹ *Eleftherotypia* 15.10. 1988; Catling (1989), 10.

⁶² I am grateful to Dr. Judith Binder for pointing out this possibility to me.

⁶³ Hanson (1959), 54.

⁶⁴ Kleinbauer (1987), 278–279.

⁶⁵ *IGRR* III, no. 789; Yegül (1982), 19, note 63.

Imperator Salonu dedicated to the Imperial Cult.⁶⁶ This Antonine complex, the Building M at Side, featuring a large rectangular enclosure with a suite of three halls at the eastern end of the building, provides a good comparison for the 'Forum of Hadrian' at Athens. The large central chamber of Building M opens through a row of Corinthian columns to the eastern colonnade of the building. The flanking units of the central hall may have been libraries. The central unit resembles the *exedra/palaestra* units of contemporary bath-gymnasium complexes, especially with the architecture of the central hall with its aedicular façades on two storeys, above a podium.⁶⁷ Inside the first-storey niches of the back walls of this chamber there stood larger than lifesized statues of deities, *inter alia* Ares, Heracles, Apollo, Hermes, Persephone, Asclepius, Hygieia, Nike and Nemesis. Inside the second-storey niches smaller scale figures were visible, copies of famous works of art from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Cornelius C. Vermeule believes that a part of the statues represented members of the Imperial House as divinities, the imperial figure in the cuirassed statue in the central niche being Lucius Verus. Vermeule dated the sculptural decoration and the Building M to the Antonine period.⁶⁸

Most recently Dietrich Willers,⁶⁹ following the argumentation of Elzbieta Makowiecka, wished to recognise a library hall in the central hall of the Building M, thus using it as the basis for claiming that the central hall of the Hadrianic complex at Athens is a library hall. Makowiecka⁷⁰ interpreted the niches in the Building M as niches for bookshelves. However, she admitted that the niches are arched at the top, which is unusual, and that the niches in the central hall are too deep to serve as bookcases. Even though she interprets the central hall as a library she concedes that "the majority of niches had to be used for statues not for books". Her interpretation gives the specifications '*museion*' and '*exedra-auditorium*' for the central hall of the Building M; the library proper would have been situated in the two adjacent halls. The '*museion*', according to Makowiecka, would have been a kind of art gallery, where the statues represented objects of art. It is possible that she is right, but the analogous structures of Asia Minor from the same period suggest that central halls of this kind would have been dedicated to the Imperial Cult.

Daria De Bernardi Ferrero evidenced the relation between the 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens and the Building M at Side with several analogies. For example, both present an impressive pronaos with columns in front of the central hall and this is surmounted by a tympanum to underline the cultic destination of the complex. At Side as well as at Athens the flanking units of the central hall opened onto the peristyle through columns.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Mansel (1963), 109–121; Mansel (1978), 169–86, figs. 184–204.

⁶⁷ Yegül (1982), 19, note 63.

⁶⁸ Vermeule (1977), 91–93; 99, note 8. The other identification usually given to the cuirassed statue is Antoninus Pius. Vermeule believes that the Building M was constructed in honour of Lucius Verus, when he spent some time at Side on his way to or from the Parthian War, *ca.* A.D. 165 (Vermeule (1977), 92). Proof of this visit is in the form of a coin (Nollé (1990), fig. 13, no. 67) which represents the god Apollo between the Emperors Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius. While Apollo reaches his hand to cuirassed Lucius Verus, who carries a sword, togaed Marcus Aurelius stands separately on the right side of the composition. This coin representation, where Lucius Verus is equipped for the Parthian War, is commemorative of the emperor's visit at Side. (Nollé (1990), 252, 256.)

⁶⁹ Willers (1990), 17.

⁷⁰ Makowiecka (1978), 69–73.

⁷¹ De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 174.

The formal layout of the Building M at Side and the Forum Pacis at Rome, as well as the Hadrianic Forum at Athens,⁷² could be compared with the Marble Court-palaestra group in Sardis. The Roman Bath-Gymnasium complex in Sardis includes a large courtyard surrounded by colonnades in the east and a bathing complex in the western half of the building. A large central hall, the "Marble Court" with its façade architecture of alternating aediculae on two storeys and a double-storeyed central group with a pediment broken by an arch, opens through a row of columns onto the western end of the great courtyard, the palaestra.⁷³ According to Fikret K. Yegül, the Forum Pacis and the Marble Court-palaestra group in Sardis, even the Building M in Side, represent "peristyle arrangements in which one side is emphasized by a centrally located, prominent rectangular hall flanked by identical, square units. In both, the central hall opens into the large peristyle courtyard through a colonnaded front and contains an apse for the cult image terminating the main axis of the composition."⁷⁴

It seems evident that even the 'Library of Hadrian' could be numbered among the group. Unfortunately, the exact architectural setting of the Pergaeon palaestra has not been preserved, so we are not able to show its possible architectural connection with the other buildings under discussion.

There are several examples of rectangular halls in Asia Minor with a façade architecture of alternating aediculae on two storeys, incorporated into the imperial bathing complexes, three of them in Ephesus. This architectural type was well established in Asia Minor by the second century A.D.⁷⁵ It seems reasonable to suppose therefore that in particular the marble hall of Sardis with the 100 columns of the courtyard and the Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius in Ephesus (fig. 5) with the suite of rooms on the western side of the great palaestra could be compared with the 'Library of Hadrian'.

These constructions in Asia Minor give some evidence for the association with the Imperial Cult. The first storey of the Marble Court in Sardis carries an inscription which dedicates the building to Caracalla and Geta together with their mother Julia Domna as well as to the Roman Senate and the people. An altar to Hadrian was found in the Middle Gymnasium at Pergamum, but the architectural context is unclear. There is epigraphical evidence from the same building which could be connected with the Imperial Cult: an inscription with a dedication to *theoi Sebastoi* Augustus and Livia along with Heracles and Hermes in the exedra of the gymnasium and an architrave inscription in another hall honouring the god-emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.⁷⁶ In the Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius (fig. 5) at Ephesus an imperial altar and a statue of the donor Publius Vedius Antoninus were found inside the marble hall (figs. 6–8):⁷⁷ the altar in front of the central apse and the statue inside the apse. According to the Austrian

⁷² De Bernardi Ferrero, following Crema (1959), 367, was convinced that the 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens, with its similar arrangements and having the Forum Pacis as a model, could be counted in the same series with the Building M. (De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 174.)

⁷³ Yegül (1982), 7, 20.

⁷⁴ *Id.*, 19, note 67.

⁷⁵ *Id.*, 7–8.

⁷⁶ For the inscription in the Marble-Court, see Hanfmann (1961), 40–43; *id.* (1962), 46–48; *id.* (1963), 37–38; *id.* (1964), 25–30; *id.* (1965), 21–27; Yegül (1982), 10–11. For the altar of Hadrian, see Hepding (1907), 309, no. 29; Yegül (1982), 12. For the dedication to Augustus and Livia, see *IGRR IV*, no. 318; Schazmann (1923), 37–38; Yegül (1982), 12. For the dedication to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, see Fränkel (1895), no. 553; Schazmann (1923), 12, 56–58; Yegül (1982), 12.

⁷⁷ I wish to thank Dr. Maria Aurenhammer for providing me with the photographs of the *Kaisersaal* of the Gymnasium of Vedius and of the altar there.

excavators, a statue of Antoninus Pius would originally have been situated inside the apse and they gave for the first time the name *Kaisersaal* to this kind of great representative hall.⁷⁸ Among the other statues found in the *Kaisersaal* of the Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius were Androclus, Hygieia, Asclepius, the so-called Vesta Giustiniani and the so-called Aspasia.⁷⁹ (Fig. 9) There were even statues of such figures as Discobolus and an athlete, which undermines the argument Elzbieta Makowiecka⁸⁰ used to attest that the central hall of the Building M at Side is a library. She believed that statues of heroes could not be represented together with sculptures of deities and the emperor in a centre of the Imperial Cult. However, the sculptural decoration of the *Kaisersaal* in the Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius as well as the statues found in the central hall of Building M at Side show explicitly that statues of athletes and heroes and copies of famous classical originals could be used for the decoration of the *Kaisersäle*.

The central apse of the *Kaisersaal* was the proper place for the statue of the emperor emphasising his position in the centre of this space and, at the same time, in the centre of the Roman world.⁸¹ A special architectural setting was created for the purposes of imperial propaganda; Fikret Yegül suggests that the architectural imagery invested in the *scaenae frons* of the Roman theatre could have been adopted for the decoration of the *Kaisersaal* with a comparable ideological content associating Dionysus and the Roman emperor as the New Dionysus.⁸² The same architectural setting, a façade architecture of alternating aediculae in two storeys, was later used in the central hall of the Hadrianic Forum at Athens. The connection of some of the Roman emperors with the cult of Dionysus is securely established; the third-century emperors made particular use of this association. In Side, Hadrian himself started Imperial mysteries, *Agon Mystikos*, that were celebrated in honour of Dionysus, Demeter and the Emperor.⁸³ In Ephesus, Hadrian was identified with Dionysus in cult performances.⁸⁴ Besides, the association of the Imperial Cult and the cult of Dionysus could be seen in two buildings in Asia Minor: the Dionysiac theme played an important role in the decoration of the *Kaisersäle* of the Vedius Bath-Gymnasium in Ephesus and the Marble Court in Sardis.⁸⁵

Fikret K. Yegül points out that the *Kaisersaal* was not the official seat of the cult as a *neokorate* temple, but a kind of "Hall of Honour" for the emperor and the imperial family where the cult ritual could be conducted at a popular and private level.⁸⁶ This seems to have been the situation in Athens where the Imperial Cult of Hadrian was concentrated upon the Temple of Olympian Zeus,⁸⁷ if we presume that the central hall of the Hadrianic Forum was a *Kaisersaal* dedicated to the Imperial Cult and the lateral rooms of the eastern end of the building housed a library and archives. The large monumental central hall of the 'Forum of Hadrian' was the centre of the whole complex, probably a sanctuary where

⁷⁸ Keil (1929), 34 f.; Yegül (1982), 12–13.

⁷⁹ For the reconstruction, see Manderscheid (1981), 44–45, fig. 15.

⁸⁰ Makowiecka (1978), 71–72.

⁸¹ Yegül (1982), 20–21.

⁸² *Id.*, 26–27.

⁸³ Nollé (1986), 204–206; Nollé (1990), 258, fig. 18, 98. In Athens, Hadrian founded three new agonistic festivals, the *Panhellenia*, the *Hadrianeia* and the *Olympieia*, and granted the Panathenaea the status of a 'sacred contest', thus transforming Athens into the agonistic centre of the Greek world (Spawforth and Walker (1985), 90–91).

⁸⁴ *GIBM* III.2, no. 600; Yegül (1982), 28.

⁸⁵ Yegül (1982), 26–27.

⁸⁶ *Id.*, 30–31.

⁸⁷ Most recently, Willers has published an exhaustive study of the Panhellenic programme of Hadrian, the Imperial Cult of Hadrian and the role of the Temple of Olympian Zeus (Willers (1990)).

Hadrian was honoured along with other deities. The flanking rooms could have been used as a library and maybe for administrative purposes. The book archives were most likely stored in the lateral rooms and in the small rooms located against the eastern wall. The rolls could be studied in these rooms or in the large open rooms flanking the sanctuary which may have served even as reading rooms. The porticoes served for perambulations and disputations.

A counterpart for the 'Hall of Honour' of the 'Library of Hadrian' could have been in the Library of Pantainos at Athens.⁸⁸ This building was dedicated to the Emperor Trajan by Titus Flavius Pantainos and it probably included a shrine to the Imperial Cult, a kind of 'Hall of Honour' for Trajan, since parts of a statue of Trajan and a base for a second statue were found in the ruins.⁸⁹ The base recorded a dedication of a statue of Trajan by his priest Herodes Atticus Marathonios, the father of Herodes Atticus. This attests that even the Library of Pantainos was much more than a store-room of books; the building very likely incorporated a small imperial shrine.

The importance of the so-called Library of Hadrian is evident by comparing it with the Ancient Agora and the Roman Agora at Athens: both the Hadrianic complex and the Roman Agora are built in the same architectural fashion, to show their equality with the Ancient Agora (figs. 1–3). Wolfram Martini even goes a step further and argues that all the architectural units of the Hadrianic complex evidence its importance; this kind of monumentalism would have been too ostentatious for a library or a scientific institution.⁹⁰ All the Imperial Fora in Rome had a temple for the centre of the architectonic complex and this might have been in Hadrian's mind when he built the monumental complex for his second home town and second capital, Athens, as a new imperial forum with a *Kaisersaal* for the Imperial Cult. Both the Hadrianic Forum at Athens and the 'Trajaneum' of Italica in Hadrian's home town repeat architectural features which could be seen in the Forum Pacis at Rome. Even the 'State Agora' of Side, the Building M, could have been designed as an imperial forum by someone familiar with the Forum Pacis and the 'Forum of Hadrian' at Athens with its *Kaisersaal*.

IV. The 'Library of Hadrian' in Late Antiquity

Scholars are agreed that the Hadrianic complex had been destroyed by the Herulians in A.D. 267 and was rehabilitated in the beginning of the fifth century, that is, over a hundred years later, when the Prefect of Illyricum, Herculius repaired the complex.⁹¹ Excavations made in the area before 1980⁹² suggested that the peristyle was rebuilt with new columns and the chambers at the east end of the building were remodelled. A tetraconch building that was erected in the middle of the area, where a large water-pool

⁸⁸ For the location of the Library of Pantainos, see our fig. 3, beside the western flank of the Post-Herulian Wall.

⁸⁹ I wish to thank Julia Burman for drawing my attention to this feature in the Library of Pantainos. For the statue, the statue base and the possible shrine for the imperial cult, see Camp (1986), 190 and *id.* (1990), 136.

⁹⁰ Martini (1985), 190–191.

⁹¹ *JG II/III*², no. 4224 (no. 31 in Sironen's paper) on the left side of the entrance to the Hadrianic Forum, a dedication to Herculius, has a central role in the interpretation of the later history of the Hadrianic complex. See below for further discussion.

⁹² Catling (1983), 9. Later work in the 1980's has revealed more building material belonging to the second phase of the peristyle. See, for example, Knithakes and Tinginaka (1981), 4–5, pl. 9; Knithakes and Tinginaka (1985); Knithakes and Tinginaka (1986).

was located previously (compare figs. 4 a and 4 b), was connected with the same building programme. Sherds attributed to the late fourth century were found in the fill between this elongated rectangular pool and the foundations of the tetraconch,⁹³ which suggested a date some time in the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

Was this important building, the supposed Forum of Hadrian, which formed a part of the Post-Herulian Wall (fig. 3), actually out of use for over a hundred years? Do we have any evidence from the period between the Herulian raid and the activity of Herculus? We know that the Hadrianic complex continued to serve the public needs in the same form at least until the Herulian Sack in A.D. 267. If the archives survived that event, which the building did, the official abstracts that could have formed a part of the archives in the Hadrianic building were moved, according to Sisson, to Thessalonica after the edict of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus, in A.D. 305.⁹⁴ Thereafter, however, the function of the Hadrianic complex as a sanctuary and as a library could have continued. Moreover, the rebuilding financed by Herculus in the beginning of the fifth century could perhaps have taken place after (and because of) the destruction of the city by Alaric and the Goths in A.D. 396.

There is some evidence to suggest that Hadrian's Forum was in use during the fourth century. First of all, when the Post-Herulian Wall was built, the complex formed a part of the new wall so that the interior of the peristyle enclosure was inside the new defended area and the original entrance of the building formed one of the gates of the Post-Herulian Wall⁹⁵ (fig. 3). Spawforth and Walker suggest that the 'Library of Hadrian' was left untouched when the defensive wall was built, and it could have housed a garrison occupied perhaps by the local militia.⁹⁶ They believe that the administrative activity in this area may have proof in the existence of the tetrarchic decree of A.D. 305. Contrary to Sisson's⁹⁷ opinion, Spawforth and Walker did not see the inscription as an indication that the 'Library of Hadrian' originally served as an archive. They proposed that the Roman Agora and the larger Hadrianic building, the 'meeting-place of the Panhellenion', could have housed the administrative centre of Athens in the late third and fourth centuries.

Another piece of evidence of the fourth-century use of the 'Forum of Hadrian' comes from a late fourth-century portrait head which was found in the beginning of this century near the north-western corner of the complex.⁹⁸ The statue may come from the Hadrianic complex and this would mean that the probable sanctuary in the building was in use at the end of the fourth century A.D. This head, which has usually been identified as a representation of the Emperor Julian wearing a polos,⁹⁹ could indicate that the 'Library of

⁹³ Travlos (1950), 49, note 1; *id.* (1986), 346 (Travlos dated the tetraconch in this later publication to the middle of the fifth century A.D.). I am grateful to Dr. Judith Perlzweig Binder, who pointed out to me that these sherds have probably been dated much too early, because this date was given before she had revised the chronology of the Athenian lamps following her work on the Alaric destruction fill in Athens, and before John Hayes published the revised chronology of Late Roman pottery after going through the pottery from the most important deposits of the Agora.

⁹⁴ Sisson (1929), 66, referring to an inscription found in the pavement of a church near the 'Library of Hadrian', *JG II/III*², no. 1121.

⁹⁵ Travlos (1988b), 136–137, 139.

⁹⁶ Spawforth and Walker (1985), 98 and note 139.

⁹⁷ Sisson (1929), 66.

⁹⁸ Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 2006. The portrait published and identified first as a representation of the Emperor Julian by Kastriotou (1923), 118–123. See also Datsoule-Stavride (1985), 91–92, pl. 136.

⁹⁹ Even if the portrait represents an Athenian priest and not Julian, as some scholars have suggested (for example, most recently Meischner (1990), 320–324, fig. 12), it may still have a connection with the sanctuary of the Hadrianic Forum.

Hadrian' was still an imperial forum in the second half of the fourth century A.D. where, in my opinion, the statue of the emperor could have been situated in an apse in the middle of the great hall of the eastern side, in the *Kaisersaal*. Cornelius C. Vermeule¹⁰⁰ has pointed out that this portrait head, which was fashioned for insertion in a draped statue, is related to archaic Greek types used for Zeus and has been based on a likeness of Antoninus Pius. The iconography of the portrait emphasises equality with Zeus and other gods and at the same time resembles the iconography of the representations of the second-century emperors. These characteristics would even be suited for a statue of an imperial priest which was placed in the sanctuary of the 'Forum of Hadrian', if the portrait represents a priest and not the Emperor Julian, as Jutta Meischner¹⁰¹ has suggested.

The Kaisareion in Antioch-on-the-Orontes

A construction analogous to the 'Library of Hadrian' could have been the Kaisareion in Antioch-on-the-Orontes, originally established by Caesar in 47 B.C. According to John Malalas¹⁰² it seems to have been a courtyard type of building with four enclosing porticoes, one of which contained an apse in the centre originally embellished with the statues of Caesar and Roma. This structure was restored by the Emperor Valens in A.D. 371, where, as Malalas describes,

"...he built there first the forum, planning it as a large project. He broke up the 'basilica', the earlier so-called Kaisareion, close to the water-clock and the baths of Commodus..., and renovated the apse of the monument... And he built another 'basilica' on the other side of the baths of Commodus and adorned the four 'basilicas' with large columns of Salona marble, decorating their ceilings with inlaid work, multicoloured marble and mosaics, thus finishing his forum by paving with marble the vaulted substructions over the river Parmenius. The four 'basilicas' were further adorned with various decorations, and statues were erected and in the middle he raised a very large marble column crowned with a statue of the Emperor Valentinian, his brother. In the Senatus of the apse he placed a marble statue and in the centre of the 'basilica' of the apse he put up another seated statue of precious stone, dedicated to the same most divine ruler Valentinian."¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Vermeule (1968), 357, 404–405, no. 2.

¹⁰¹ Meischner (1990), 320–324, fig. 12.

¹⁰² John Malalas (ed. Dindorf (1831), 216, line 17 f.; 287, line 1 f.); Sjöqvist (1954), 91–95.

¹⁰³ John Malalas (ed. Dindorf (1831), 338, line 19 f.):

Καὶ ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ πόλει, τερφθεὶς τῆς τοποθεσίας καὶ τῶν ἀέρων καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, πρῶτον τὸν φόρον, ἐπιβαλόμενος μέγα κτίσμα, λύσας τὴν βασιλικὴν τὴν λεγομένην πρῶην τὸ Καيسάριον, τὴν οὖσαν πλησίον τοῦ ὥρολογίου καὶ τοῦ Κομμοδίου δημοσίου, τοῦ νυνὶ ὄντος πραιτωρίου ὑπατικοῦ Συρίας ἄρχοντος, ἕως τοῦ λεγομένου Πλεθρίου, καὶ τὴν κόγχην ἀνανεώσας αὐτῆς καὶ εἰλήσας ἀψίδας ἐπάνω τοῦ λεγομένου Παρμενίου χειμάρρου ποταμοῦ, κατερχομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους κατὰ μέσον τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας. Καὶ ποιήσας ἄλλην βασιλικὴν κατέναντι τοῦ Κομμοδίου καὶ κοσμήσας τὰς τέσσαρας βασιλικὰς κίονι μεγάλῳι Σαλαωνιτικοῖς, καλαθώσας δὲ τὰς ὑποροφώσεις καὶ καλλωπίσας γραφαῖς καὶ μαρμάρῳι διαφόροις καὶ μουσώσει, μαρμαρώσας δὲ ἐπάνω τῶν εἰλημάτων τοῦ χειμάρρου πᾶν τὸ μέγαυλον ἐπλήρωσε τὸν φόρον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς τέτρασι βασιλικαῖς διαφόροις ἀρετὰς χαρισάμενος καὶ ἀνδριάντας στήσας, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ στήσας μεγάλην πάνυ κίονα, ἔχουσαν στήλην Βαλεντινιανοῦ βασιλέως, ἀδελφοῦ

Could something similar have happened in Athens in the second half of the fourth century A.D.? Could any of the late fourth-century emperors have allowed his own statue or a statue of a priest of the Imperial Cult to be erected inside an earlier Hadrianic building which might have been embellished with statues of the imperial family before?

If the answer is positive, it would mean that the Hadrianic complex continued its existence throughout the fourth century as a cultural centre with a *Kaisersaal* for the Imperial Cult. This possibility becomes even more important when we take up our second problem, the relation of the tetraconch church to the Hadrianic complex (fig. 4 b).

V. What Was the Role of the Tetraconch Built in the Middle of the 'Library of Hadrian' in the Fifth Century A.D.?

Our second problem is the role of the tetraconch building situated in the middle of the courtyard of the Hadrianic complex at Athens. (Figs. 4 b, 2 a, 3) The Athenian tetraconch has commonly been dated to the first or second decade of the fifth century A.D. or later by its wall constructions and the simple polychrome mosaics¹⁰⁴ which can be compared with other Late Roman remains in Athens. In 1986, John Travlos, who first identified the quatrefoil building as a secular construction, published¹⁰⁵ results from the excavations of 1980 that uncovered remains of a colonnaded atrium (fig. 4 b). The atrium and a *synthronon* in the eastern apsis belonging to the original quatrefoil building disproved the earlier arguments for the tetraconch as a secular building.

It has been suggested that the tetraconch was the earliest church building recorded in Athens. As we know from the inscription (*IG II/III*², no. 4224) on the left side of the entrance to the 'Library of Hadrian', the Prefect of Illyricum, Herculus (407/8–412) rebuilt the Hadrianic complex.¹⁰⁶ Scholars have argued about his relationship to the construction of the tetraconch but it now seems evident that the tetraconch was constructed later. Furthermore, the inscription beside the library entrance was dedicated to Herculus by the sophist Plutarchus, who probably was pagan, and accordingly most likely would not have honoured the builder of a Christian church. Therefore, the construction of the tetraconch must have taken place after the sophist Plutarchus made his dedication to Herculus, in other words after the year A.D. 412.

αὐτοῦ καὶ στήλην δὲ μαρμαρίνην ἐν τῷ Σηνάτῳ τῆς Κόγχης καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς ἐν τῇ Κόγχῃ βασιλικῆς ἄλλην στήλην διὰ τιμίου λίθου ἀνέθηκε καθεζομένην τῷ αὐτῷ θειοτάτῳ βασιλεῖ Βαλεντινιανῷ.

Transl. Sjöqvist (1954), 93. Sjöqvist pointed out that Malalas probably used the word *basilica*, as occasionally happened in the East, for a public building connected with royal or imperial activities, not as a *basilica forensis* in the Vitruvian sense. In this particular passage Malalas, according to Sjöqvist, used the word *basilica* for a portico or a colonnade (Sjöqvist (1954), 91–92, 94).

¹⁰⁴ For the date of the mosaics, see for example: Spiro (1978), 14–26, pls. 10–23. She followed the first identification which Travlos gave to the tetraconch; Travlos saw it as a secular structure. Therefore Spiro connected the tetraconch to the building activities of Herculus (see below) and dated the mosaics to the first decade of the fifth century.

¹⁰⁵ Travlos (1986), 343–347, pls. 54–57.

¹⁰⁶ See no. 31 in Sironen's paper. For Herculus, see *PLRE II*, s.v. Herculus 2; Frantz (1969); *ead.* (1965), 192 note 30, 196 note 53–54; *ead.* (1966), 379–380; *ead.* (1988), 20, 63–67, 77, 79.

I would date the tetraconch to the second quarter of the fifth century, because most of the mosaics in the tetraconch¹⁰⁷ have a more complicated design than the other Athenian mosaics¹⁰⁸ with similar geometric motifs. The mosaics of the quatrefoil building even include a representation of a vase and floral motifs. The other three Athenian mosaics with similar patterns to these represented in the northern *ambulatorium* of the tetraconch seem to be older in style and could perhaps be dated to the first quarter of the fifth century.¹⁰⁹

Further Arguments for Dating the Tetraconch

The motif represented in the southern *ambulatorium* of the tetraconch, a panel of intersecting circles forming quatrefoils has a counterpart in the rebuilt Metroön in the Ancient Agora. The mosaic in the Metroön, which even represents a similar ivy tendril in the border, has been dated by numismatic evidence to around A.D. 400, which suggests a fifth-century date for the tetraconch along with the inscription *IG II/III*², no. 4224. The more developed iconography of the tetraconch mosaics would suggest a slightly later date, possibly the second quarter of the fifth century A.D. as Frantz¹¹⁰ has proposed.

Other well-dated comparisons can be found at Stobi; the best comparison is provided by the mosaics decorating the Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi.¹¹¹ The archaeological evidence indicates that the old basilica was built in two phases. The first church was decorated with mosaic laid out in square and rectangular fields featuring geometric and floral ornaments. A square field with a representation of a crater flanked by four birds was placed in front of the entrance to the *presbyterium*.¹¹² Ruth Kolarik suggested that the first church may have been built before the end of the fourth century, since at least one coin sealed beneath the floor of the south aisle¹¹³ dates to the 360's or 370's, which makes impossible the Constantinian date suggested earlier by Blaga Aleksova.¹¹⁴

In the second phase the apse of the first church at Stobi was demolished and a new *presbyterium* with an apse was built as an extension toward the east. The space in front of the new *presbyterium* was covered with a new mosaic, and a crater with an inscription mentioning a bishop Eustathius was placed in the central field. The other fields are decorated with geometric and floral motifs. The later mosaic was carried out with greater skill, the geometric and floral patterns laid out with precision and with symmetrical composition.¹¹⁵ Similar fields with the pattern of an octagon surrounded by squares with lozenges in the corners flank the inscription panel distinguished by a vine-filled crater.

¹⁰⁷ For the latest description of the mosaics, see Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (with Pelekanidou) (1987), no. 61, p. 118–121, pls. 174–177. The author, like Spiro, dates the mosaics to the first decade of the fifth century using the inscription dedicated to Hercules as an argument. I am following the date suggested already by Frantz (Frantz (1988), 73).

¹⁰⁸ That is the mosaic in the central hall of the 'House of Proclus' on the southern slope of the Acropolis, the mosaic in a large villa in the southern part of the National Garden and the mosaic from Euripidou Street 67 now placed in the courtyard of the Byzantine Museum.

¹⁰⁹ There is more about these mosaics in my article "The 'House of Proclus' on the Southern Slope of the Acropolis: a Contribution".

¹¹⁰ Frantz (1988), 73.

¹¹¹ I refer to the recent studies on the Stobi mosaics by Aleksova (1982–1983) and Kolarik (1987).

¹¹² Aleksova (1982–1983), 55–56.

¹¹³ Kolarik (1987), 297, note 13 (coin no. 78–632).

¹¹⁴ Aleksova (1982–1983), 56–57.

¹¹⁵ *Id.*, 57, 59.

Each octagon features a square filled with a circle containing an interlaced knot. The filling motifs are geometric or geometrised floral patterns: knots of Solomon, heart-shaped leaves, quatrefoils, spindle shapes combined with peltae or curving lines on either side. A smaller adjoining panel on the east is filled with quatrefoils formed by intersecting circles in the southern field.¹¹⁶ These two fields were framed with a wave pattern, a second framing border was introduced bordering the base of the chancel screen, an acanthus rinceau on the north and an ivy rinceau on the south. The central inscription panel was framed by a two-strand guilloche.¹¹⁷ The fields of mosaics bordering the new presbytery of the Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi have symmetrical decoration. The two fields to the east of the chancel screen have patterns with rows of intersecting circles forming quatrefoils alternating with rows of tangent circles forming curvilinear squares. The fields further east have intersecting circles forming quatrefoils and concave squares in the centre of each circle.¹¹⁸

The second-phase mosaics in the Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi get a *terminus post quem* from the Episcopal Basilica which was built over the early basilica sometime after A.D. 425–450, as attested by the two coins¹¹⁹ sealed beneath its floor. Kolarik suggested a date in the first half of the fifth century for the second-phase mosaics and compared them to the mosaics laid in the west end of the main room of the Synagogue Two at Stobi sometime between the installation of the first mosaics of the synagogue in the second half of the fourth century, and the destruction of the synagogue before the construction of the Central Basilica above the ruins of the Synagogue Two that has a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 457–474 provided by a coin of Leo.¹²⁰

These mosaics have parallels in the secular buildings at Stobi.¹²¹ The second-phase mosaics of the Old Episcopal Basilica can be compared with the mosaics of the House of Parthenius: both include patterns of a large octagon surrounded by squares and lozenges, and the central octagon is inscribed with a square and tangent triangles. Both have waves, a simple guilloche and geometrised ivy tendril as border designs. It should be emphasised that both have similarities with the tetraconch mosaics: the octagon design, the border designs,¹²² even the filling motifs as knots of Solomon, interlaced knots, curving lines and intersecting circles.¹²³ These similarities indicate that the three sets of mosaics cannot be far removed from each other in date.

The first-phase mosaics laid in the Episcopal Basilica above the Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi, represent a more developed geometric design with exquisite patterns compared to the mosaics from the second phase of the Old Episcopal Basilica, the House of Parthenius and the tetraconch at Athens. They have a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 425–450 provided by the two coins attributed to the reign of Valentinian III and Theodosius II sealed beneath the floor,¹²⁴ which may help to date the mosaics in the tetraconch.

¹¹⁶ The small adjoining panel in the northern field represents combinations of stars of eight lozenges with perpendicular squares and smaller diagonal squares.

¹¹⁷ A good illustration of the panel with the inscription in Aleksova (1986), 34, fig. 8.

¹¹⁸ A detailed description of the mosaics in Kolarik (1987), 297, 303; figs. 6 and 8.

¹¹⁹ Coins 74–428 and 75–104, cross-in-wreath type issued by Theodosius II and Valentinian III. Kolarik (1987), 303.

¹²⁰ *Id.*, 303, note 21.

¹²¹ Compare *id.*, 304 for further bibliography.

¹²² Ivy tendril, waves, two-strand guilloche, even the bead-and-reel design which can be seen in the tetraconch and in the House of Parthenius.

¹²³ In the Old Episcopal Basilica and in the tetraconch.

¹²⁴ See Kolarik (1987), 304.

The second-phase mosaics of the Old Episcopal Basilica and the mosaics in the tetraconch have one important common feature. Both are without figural decoration except for the vine-filled crater placed in a significant location in the mosaic decoration of the church. In the Old Episcopal Basilica it is placed just in front of the entrance to the presbytery,¹²⁵ whereas in the tetraconch it decorates the central panel in the southern *ambulatorium*. The geometric mosaics in both churches continue the new non-figurative ideal in the mosaic decoration which was in favour from the second half of the fourth century until at least the mid-fifth century A.D. The figure of the crater with vines in the church mosaics, however, could indicate, as Ruth Kolarik states that: "when fewer and fewer figural scenes appeared in floors in the late fourth century, those that were chosen were carefully considered." She suggests that the crater with vines gained in popularity, because it could be interpreted symbolically when located in a meaningful spot.

The conclusion to be drawn from the comparisons in Athens and Stobi is that the mosaics in the tetraconch could probably be dated to the first half of the fifth century, maybe to the second quarter of the fifth century. In the beginning of the fifth century another great building, the 'Palace of the Giants', was erected in the Ancient Agora at Athens.¹²⁶ (Figs. 2 a, 16) The architect of this building used the same architectural elements as those used a little later by the architect of the tetraconch: namely, peristyle, atrium, rectangular and semicircular exedrae. It is possible that the same architect planned both complexes. As Thompson already pointed out without associating the tetraconch with the Palace: "At a time when very few substantial buildings other than churches were being erected in Greece it would be strange if the gifted architect who was responsible for our Palace had not also designed some churches."¹²⁷ The 'Palace of the Giants' and the tetraconch represent similar wall constructions.¹²⁸ In both, the walls consist for the most part of unworked stone set in mortar, and the masonry is interrupted at intervals by courses of red brick, in single or double courses. Bricks were used extensively to reinforce corners and door openings, and in both many ancient blocks were employed. The walls in both buildings could have been plastered, yet the walls show no trace of plaster.

VI. The Church-Peristyle Complexes

To know more about the function of the Athenian tetraconch we have to compare it with analogous buildings and try to shed some light on the origin of the aisled tetraconch structure. As far as we know, all recorded examples of aisled tetraconch buildings were erected as church buildings.

One of the oldest of the kind may be the tetraconch-peristyle complex at Perge in Pamphylia. Because a tetraconch was built on the central axis of the Pergaeon palaestra, the palaestra must have been well preserved and still in use during the time of its construction. But according to W. E. Kleinbauer, the function of the building may have changed during Roman times. Kleinbauer believes that the tetraconch at Perge was

¹²⁵ Compare *id.*, 305–306.

¹²⁶ Thompson (1988), 95–116.

¹²⁷ *Id.*, 114.

¹²⁸ For the wall construction in the 'Palace of the Giants', see Thompson (1988), 98–99, and in the tetraconch, see Sisson (1929), 66–71. The possible connection of the tetraconch and the 'Palace of the Giants' discussed previously by Travlos (1986), 346; Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), 120, note 122; Fowden (1990), 498–500.

constructed no earlier than the fourth century A.D.¹²⁹ The Pergaeon tetraconch could have used the old palaestra as an atrium since it was connected to the northern perimeter wall of the palaestra by a flight of stairs.¹³⁰ On the other hand, when it is compared to the Athenian tetraconch, the quatrefoil building in Athens had an atrium *and* a peristyle surrounding the tetraconch-atrium complex (fig. 4 b). In both cases, the Christian church makes efficient use of the architectural setting of an imperial audience hall complex. We might recall that the Pergaeon palaestra was dedicated to the Emperor Claudius, thus indicating a connection of the Pergaeon tetraconch and the Imperial Cult, on the condition that the palaestra was still in use in its original form when the church was built. It is possible to go a step further and suggest that in Athens the power and the divine nature of the quatrefoil building as the first church of the growing Christian community was emphasised by situating it in the middle of an imperial forum, the 'Forum of Hadrian'.

A similar situation occurred in Alexandria where a church was built in the middle of the Sebasteion/Kaisareion of Julius Caesar which was built in 48 B.C. and was described by Philo of Alexandria (around A.D. 40): "(...) It is full of offerings of paintings and sculptures and decorated all round with silver and gold. It is a very large enclosure adorned with porticoes, libraries, club rooms, gardens, propylaea, open terraces, courtyards under the open sky and provided with everything that could contribute to value and beauty."¹³¹ The church in Alexandria was constructed in the middle of the fourth century A.D. and was later mentioned by the bishop of Constantia, Epiphanius, as being originally an Arian church, but completed by Athanasius.¹³²

Even the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople¹³³ and the Golden Octagon in Antioch¹³⁴ were surrounded by a peristyle. But what is special with the Athenian complex is that it even included an atrium inside the surrounding peristyle. The atrium as an architectural form was first used in secular architecture and, according to Richard Stapleford, all the secular atria from the time of Constantine, whose use and form are analogous to those in Constantinian churches, formed a part of the imperial semi-public audience hall complexes, where the emperor made official public appearances.¹³⁵ The atrium combined with the pediment was the architectural setting for imperial *adventus*, connected with the idea of triumph and imperial presence. In this way the 'Forum of Hadrian', with its new church and atrium, could have emphasised the divine nature of the emperor and at the same time the cosmic power of Christianity,¹³⁶ since the emperor was God's representative on earth.

¹²⁹ Kleinbauer (1987), 279.

¹³⁰ *Id.*, 278.

¹³¹ Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* XXII.151 (ed. Smallwood (1961), 93; transl. Sjöqvist (1954), 87). See also Yegül (1982), 18.

¹³² Epiphanius, *Adversus octoginta haereses* 69.2 (in *PG* 42, cols. 204–205); for translation and commentary, see Sjöqvist (1954), 88.

¹³³ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.58 (ed. Winkelmann (1975), 111). Stapleford (1978), 7; Krautheimer (1983), 58.

¹³⁴ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.50 (ed. Winkelmann (1975), 104–105); Stapleford (1978), 7.

¹³⁵ Stapleford (1978), 12–13.

¹³⁶ Compare *id.*, 17.

The Archetype of the Tetraconchs

W. E. Kleinbauer prefers the theory that the archetype for aisled tetraconchs was a church building, arguing that “a pagan archetype may be ruled out of consideration, for church officials would have objected to it on religious grounds”!¹³⁷ However, this would seem to be a knock-down argument if we bear in mind the origin of the Christian church buildings.¹³⁸ Recently, Jan Vaes has shown in his excellent article how the Christians found different prototypes for church architecture in pagan architecture.¹³⁹ According to Jan Vaes, the prototype for the double-shell structure of the tetraconchs can be traced back to the quatrefoil building in Piazza d’Oro at Tivoli.¹⁴⁰

However, Kleinbauer tried to reconstruct the archetype of the tetraconchs by examining S. Lorenzo at Milan, usually dated to the second half of the fourth century.¹⁴¹ The church contained galleries, a design element used in the Eastern Mediterranean, and this is the main argument for Kleinbauer to identify in S. Lorenzo an eastern model as for the double-shell structure, because the only other example in the Latin West comes from S. Leucia at Canosa in Apulia.¹⁴² I would like to draw attention to another similarity between S. Lorenzo and the Athenian quatrefoil building: like the Athenian tetraconch S. Lorenzo had a monumental portico in front of the entrance and the main entrance was arched. The architect of the Athenian tetraconch easily acquired this element by using the original entrance of the Hadrianic complex. But while S. Lorenzo was built outside the city walls, the quatrefoil building at Athens was constructed in the centre of the city.

Kleinbauer has identified the cathedral at Antioch as the prototype for the tetraconchs,¹⁴³ using Eusebius’ description of the building as the main argument in support of this identification. This church building was planned by Constantine the Great in A.D. 327 and finished by his son, the Arian Emperor Constantius. Being the patriarchal church of Oriens the cathedral of Antioch could have provided a model for other cathedrals under its jurisdiction. Kleinbauer argues that ὀκτάεδρος, the word used by Eusebius for specifying the shape of the Antiochian cathedral, does not necessarily refer to an octagon. In other words, he is inclined to believe that Eusebius’ text refers to a double-shelled building,¹⁴⁴ which would make it possible that the word could refer to a tetraconch structure.¹⁴⁵

Kleinbauer connects the aisled tetraconchs of the upper Balkan peninsula to Constantinople and suggests that the archetype was a church building at Constantinople, but, in my judgment, he incorrectly connects even the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem to

¹³⁷ Kleinbauer (1987), 286.

¹³⁸ Duval emphasised the mutual relationship of pagan and Christian central-plan buildings: “Les rotondes, les polygones, les tétraconques, les structures carrées du type baldaquin ont, quel que soit leur usage à l’époque chrétienne, leurs prototypes exacts dans l’architecture impériale.” (Duval (1978), 520–521.)

¹³⁹ Vaes (1984–1986), 305–367, esp. 342–343 and figs. 80, 81.

¹⁴⁰ *Id.*, 346, note 108; figs. 80A, 10 and 80B, 10.

¹⁴¹ Kleinbauer (1987), 287, note 39. According to Krautheimer, this church dates back to the years between A.D. 375–376 and 378 and was erected as the cathedral of the anti-Nicene faction at Milan with the help of imperial backing (Krautheimer (1983), 81–92).

¹⁴² Kleinbauer (1987), 287–288.

¹⁴³ Compare however Krautheimer (1986), 75–78, 81, 465–467.

¹⁴⁴ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.50 (ed. Winkelmann (1975), 105); Kleinbauer (1987), 288–289.

¹⁴⁵ Krautheimer, however, is not convinced that this reconstruction is correct (Krautheimer (1986), 465, note 20).

this archetype.¹⁴⁶ The architectural connection with Constantinople supports the possibility that the Athenian tetraconch had an imperial foundation. The tetraconch was built in the middle of the city (figs. 2–3), just as in Constantinople the cathedral Hagia Sophia was situated in the most important part of the city, near the palace and the civic centre.

VII. The Empress Eudocia, the Founder of the Tetraconch?

C. Delvoye, Daria De Bernardi Ferrero and, most recently, Garth Fowden¹⁴⁷ have expressed the idea that the Empress Eudocia founded the tetraconch as a church building in her home town Athens. Eudocia, formerly Athenais, was the daughter of the Athenian sophist Leontius and the sister of Gessius who became the Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum after Eudocia's marriage. Athenais married the Emperor Theodosius II on June 7, A.D. 421 in Constantinople, took the name Eudocia and was baptised. It is quite possible that she wanted to embellish Athens with a magnificent church building to show respect and gratitude to God and, at the same time, to show the Athenians that Christianity was the official religion of the Empire and of the court, including herself. Eudocia could have emphasised the importance of this church building by placing it in the middle of the Hadrianic Forum, the old cultural centre with the *Kaisersaal* dedicated to the Imperial Cult, to show that the emperor and the Imperial Court had a definite relation with God. If the centre of the Hadrianic complex had been the image of the emperor, now the architectural and ideological centre of the large complex was moved to the tetraconch, to the liturgical centre of the church, that is the eastern apsis with its altar (fig. 10). The main entrance to this building was from the western side through an atrium. Two other entrances flanking the main apse in the east (figs. 4 b and 10) were directly connected to the eastern suite of rooms in the courtyard building, thus connecting the tetraconch with the auditoria, the library and the main hall dedicated to the emperor.

The position of the tetraconch is peculiar in another respect: even though it was the first Christian church in Athens, as has been suggested, it was built inside the Post-Herulian Wall, inside the city walls.¹⁴⁸ (Figs. 2 a, 3) In Rome, the Christian emperors of the fourth century were not allowed to build churches within the city walls: Constantine the Great was obliged to build all the churches on the outskirts of the city and outside the walls and *only* on his private land, *res privata*.¹⁴⁹ He wanted to avoid conflicts with the old aristocrats and pagan families who constituted the most important members of the Senate. He placed all his churches far away from the old administrative centre, temples, theatres, baths and suchlike, all of which were public buildings, *opera publica*. Throughout the Empire these buildings belonged to the jurisdiction of the local municipality or the provincial authority. At Rome the jurisdiction was used by the Senate and the Roman people, *Senatus Populusque Romanus*.¹⁵⁰

As late as the 380's, when the three emperors financed the construction of San Paolo fuori le Mura at Rome, they needed to obtain permission to work from the Senate and the Roman people, because they were going to build the church on a road which belonged to

¹⁴⁶ Kleinbauer (1987), 291–292.

¹⁴⁷ Delvoye (1967), 67; De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 184–185; Fowden (1990), 498–500.

¹⁴⁸ If we presume that the northern wall of the 'Library of Hadrian' was the outer defensive wall.

¹⁴⁹ See Krautheimer (1983), 25–32.

¹⁵⁰ For *opera publica*, see *CTH* XV; Krautheimer (1983), 29–30.

the *opera publica*.¹⁵¹ In the same way, it may have been necessary to have permission to build the tetraconch at Athens in a public area which included *opera publica* as a library and, possibly still in the beginning of the fifth century, a sanctuary. This permission was easy to obtain if relatives or friends of the imperial family were in office, as was the case when Eudocia's brothers or friends of his family were in office, especially when her brother Gessius was the Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum. The tetraconch church was built in the middle of the peristyle courtyard so the 'Forum of Hadrian' preserved its religious nature, this time in the service of the Imperial family, who brought the idea of a supreme God to the Athenians.

As we know, as early as about A.D. 402–407 Eudocia's mother-in-law the Empress Eudoxia had shipped an architectural plan to Gaza for the church building which was to replace the Marneion.¹⁵² This and Eudocia's keen interest in religious affairs indicates that Eudocia could have done the same thing as her mother-in-law did in the first decade of the fifth century. Another proof of Eudocia's contacts with Athens is the honorary inscription for the Empress Eudocia from the Athenian Agora published by my colleague Erkki Sironen.¹⁵³ According to him, the monument in question was the base for a statue of Eudocia erected by (the Emperor?) Theodosius. It possibly commemorated the building of the 'Palace of the Giants' (fig. 16),¹⁵⁴ previously called the 'Gymnasium of the Giants',¹⁵⁵ because fragments of the statue base were found in front of this complex. Our historian, Mrs. Julia Burman, discusses in greater detail the problem of Eudocia's contacts with Athens elsewhere in this publication.

A Political Purpose?

Daria De Bernardi Ferrero argues that the central hall of the 'Library of Hadrian' was a Sanctuary common to all the gods, dedicated to the cult of the emperor and all of the gods. She believes that this central hall, *Kaisersaal*, was preserved after the construction of the tetraconch with regard to the emperor and the ancient religion as practised in Side, where the statues were still in the *Kaisersaal* of the Building M. De Bernardi Ferrero suggests that the church was built in the middle of the courtyard of the Hadrianic complex to bring the new state religion into the traditional pagan and cultural centre and in this way to strengthen the new religion.¹⁵⁶ She based her argumentation on several edicts of *Codex Theodosianus*.¹⁵⁷ These edicts prohibited the destruction of the temples of high artistic value, even if the ceremonies and sacrifices were prohibited.

As Fikret K. Yegül asserted, the cult of the emperor with its pagan rites could not be contained in a Christian world; the altars and altar ceremony had to go: "The entire iconography of architecture and the language of symbols... were placed at the service of

¹⁵¹ Günther (1895), 46 f.; Krautheimer (1983), 30, 130, note 22.

¹⁵² Mark the Deacon, *Vita Porphyrii* 75–76, 78–79 (ed. Soc. Philol. Bonn. (1895); transl. in Mango (1972), 30–32); Kleinbauer (1987), 289–290, note 60.

¹⁵³ Sironen (1990).

¹⁵⁴ Thompson and Fowden follow Sironen's suggestion and presume that the statue would have some connection with the Palace (Fowden (1990), 498, note 25).

¹⁵⁵ Thompson (1988), 95–116.

¹⁵⁶ De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 184.

¹⁵⁷ *CTh* (ed. Mommsen and Meyer (1962)) XVI.1.30; XVI.1.33; XVI.10.15 (A.D. 399); for the reconstruction of the temples to public purposes: *CTh* XVI.10.3 (1 November, A.D. 342); the prohibition of the cult: *CTh* XVI.10.20 (A.D. 415); XVI.10.21 (7 December, A.D. 415); XVI.10.23 (8 June, A.D. 423). (De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 184.)

the new Christian emperor as God's elect and were assimilated into the Christian context. The pagan settings in which the cult was observed were for the most part retained and kept up; (...) once purged of their heathen connections, they could speak for the new ruler, regime, and ideology with the same eloquence and effectiveness as they had done for the old."¹⁵⁸

The very same process could have taken place in Athens. After the Sack of Alaric and the Visigoths in A.D. 396, the Hadrianic building was repaired by the Praetorian Prefect Herculius some time between the years A.D. 407 to 412. It is quite possible that the Empress Eudocia founded the tetraconch church building in the middle of the courtyard in the second quarter of the fifth century, and in this way the 'Forum of Hadrian' could have been placed at the service of the Emperor Theodosius II and his family as God's elect.¹⁵⁹

I believe that the importance of the tetraconch and the 'Forum of Hadrian' was furthered in the middle of the fifth century when long porticoes were built along the new road¹⁶⁰ leading from the Ancient Agora to the entrance of Hadrian's complex and the tetraconch (fig. 2 a). This could even be evidence for the disappearance of the Panathenaic Festival, since the Panathenaic Way had lost its original function as the processional road leading to the Acropolis and the road to the new main church of Athens was used in Christian processions.

¹⁵⁸ Yegül (1982), 28–29. There is a possibility that the Hadrianic Forum with its Imperial Hall was temporarily used for the Imperial Cult of the Emperor Julian in the 360's, if the portrait found nearby represents Julian and if the portrait comes from the Hadrianic building (the head was found outside the north-western corner of the complex).

¹⁵⁹ Compare De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 185.

¹⁶⁰ Compare Shear (1971), 264–265; Frantz (1988), 15, 79.