

THE CULT OF ANTINOUS AND THE RESPONSE OF
THE GREEK EAST TO HADRIAN'S CREATION OF A GOD

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Table of Contents

Introduction	2
The Pincian Obelisk	3
The Boy Antinous	4
The Death and Deification of Antinous	7
Antinoopolis and Panhellenism	13
Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli	24
The New God Antinous and the Cities	28
Osiris, Hermes-Thoth and the Underworld Antinous	29
Hermes and the Divine Shepherd Antinous	31
The Dionysian Antinous	36
The Apollonian Associations of Antinous	41
Asclepius, Osiris and the River God Antinous	43
Integrating Antinous and City Identities	45
The Spread and Survival of the Antinous Cult	51
Who, then, made Antinous?	54
Illustrations	56
Bibliography	91

Introduction

In the early 2nd century CE the Roman emperor Hadrian created one of the most unique Roman deities with one action on the Nile in Middle Egypt; he deified an imperial favorite- a youth from the Greek East called Antinous. While this action alone was uncommon enough to warrant the nearly 2000 year-long discussion of the emperor Hadrian and his boy lover Antinous, what makes the discussion so compelling is the survival of the god Antinous past Hadrian's reign and lifetime. The *ephebe*'s image spread through the Roman Empire with Hadrian's declaration of his apotheosis in Egypt, but the question is: Why, after the death of Hadrian, did a Greek boy deified without the consent of the Roman Senate keep his place in Rome's pantheon of deities? What about Antinous gave his image longevity and what about him was useful to those who participated in some aspect of his cult? Hadrian's personal life has been defined by his relationship with Antinous, and so naturally Antinous has in turn been defined entirely by his relationship with Hadrian. But considering the strange cult's survival past Hadrian's lifetime, the legitimacy of that assumption, in my mind, comes into question. If the god Antinous was merely a creation of Hadrian's, what use would he be on Bithynian coins in the reigns of Commodus (fig. 1-2) or Caracalla (fig. 3)?¹ What importance could his city Antinoopolis possibly have on late Roman culture, and what about him prompted

¹ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," *Journal Internationale D'Archeologie Numismatique* 6 (Spring/Summer 1914): Plate II. See xviii-xix for coins with portraits of Commodus on the obverse, and Plate II, xxi for a coin with a portrait of Caracalla on the obverse.

hostility from Christian writers through the Byzantine era?² To explore these questions, an analysis of extant evidence regarding Antinous and his cult is warranted. However, we must first answer the question of how an emperor managed to deify an unknown, provincial Greek teenager.

The Pincian Obelisk

An Egyptian style obelisk (fig. 4), which currently sits on the Pincian Hill in Rome, is (regrettably) one of our best primary sources for information about Antinous, as the inscription is assumed to have been composed by Hadrian. It seems to be a funeral monument to Antinous- the boy and the deity, though the lack of consensus on the piece's provenance makes it unclear whether the obelisk stood, for instance, near a mausoleum, in a sanctuary, or simply in a public space. The confused lettering and phrasing of the hieroglyphs is generally used to support the idea the author knew very little of the language.³ The column has a dedication on each side, one of which is in honor of Hadrian. The other three sides proclaim Antinous as the new deity Osirantinous and praise him as he is depicted on each face before Thoth, Amun, and an indistinguishable Egyptian deity.⁴ Respectively, each face contains information

² H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 30 (1940): 145–146. For instance, see 5th century author Prudentius' criticism of Antinous in *Contra Symmachum* 2.270-277.

³ D.R. Cartlidge, D.L. Dungan, *Documents for the Study of the Gospels* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 195; A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor* (London: Routledge, 1997), 155. Though in several sources I found derogatory remarks about the author's/epigrapher's grasp on the hieroglyphic language, Birley seems to find the obelisk a specimen demonstrating the skill of Egyptian priests in their local lore.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 195–6.

about the attributes of the new Osirantinous, his cult and offerings and ties to Thoth, and his city, which we know as Antinoopolis.⁵ The dedicator's poor grasp on Egypt's sacred language, coupled with the age of the obelisk, has meant that deciphering and translating the inscription remains problematic, so it is important not to overestimate what has been deciphered. Fortunately, texts from other somewhat contemporary sources such as Cassius Dio, Aulus Gellius and Pausanias sometimes overlap with or confirm the obelisk inscriptions.

The Boy Antinous

Antinous was a Greek provincial of unremarkable descent, born during a November in Bithynion-Claudiopolis in the province Bithynia in Roman Asia.⁶ As Lambert puts it, even Antinous' name "is not without significance".⁷ Antinous was the name of Penelope's most beautiful and arrogant suitor in Homer's *Odyssey*.⁸ However, another more likely origin for Antinous' name may exist. The people of Bithynion-Claudiopolis traced their heritage back to Mantinea in Achaea; they claimed to have been settled as an Arcadian colony of that metropolis.⁹ The second founder of

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* 69.11.2; Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio* 8.9.7. The Pincian obelisk, or at least the extant inscriptions contained on its sides, leave little mention of Antinous' origins or his age at the time he came into Hadrian's company.

⁷ R. Lambert, *Beloved and God: The Story of Hadrian and Antinous* (New York: Phoenix Grant, 1984), 19.

⁸ Homer, *Odyssey* 4.627-628; Apollodorus, E.7.37.

⁹ Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio* 8.9.7. It is impossible to know whether Bithynian heritage actually stemmed from the Mantineans because under Hadrian, and

Mantineia was a woman called Antinoe and her tomb was on public display in the city in the 2nd century CE.¹⁰ Another character called Antinous was a 2nd century BCE military figure from Epirus who, with his colleague Theodotus was blamed and credited with staving off Rome's conquest of their Macedonian city.¹¹ Even in his name, Antinous carried with him characteristics with which many citizens of the empire, especially the Greek East, could identify; his name as it appears in the *Odyssey*, a piece of literature present in any common 2nd century CE education, comes with ideas of beauty and romance, but also death.¹² Moreover, the connection with Mantineia's founder Antinoe carries with it connotations of *virtus* and heroism, and this is also true for his counterpart, the Epiroan Antinous, who was a symbol of courage and heroism to the people of Epirus. Antinous possessed in his name the history of the Greek East as well as the domination of Roman forces both in his connection to the Epiroan Antinous and in his position as a non-Roman favorite of the Roman emperor.¹³

specifically with his inception of the Panhellenion in the years after Antinous' death, it was to a city's great advantage to claim Greek heritage no matter how factual it was.

¹⁰ Ibid., 8.9.4-5.

¹¹ Livy, *Historiae Romanae* 45.26. By blamed I mean from a dominant Roman perspective, whereas local provincials would be those who credit him and Theodotus.

¹² Homer, *Odyssey* 22.1-67.

¹³ C. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 19. By "in his position as a non-Roman favorite of the Roman emperor," I am referencing the social custom of pederasty in imperial Rome where foreigners and slaves were the subordinate partners, just as the non-Roman cities were subordinate partners to Rome. Cassius Dio in his *Historia Romana* (69.11.2), and Origen in his

Antinous would have been a young boy of six or seven when Hadrian made an imperial visit to Bithynia in 117 CE on his way from Ancyra to the Danube.¹⁴ There is no evidence the two met during this trip and it would be unlikely. It is generally agreed Hadrian would have seen Antinous during his 123 CE visit, when Antinous would have been approaching his entry into the public sphere, and Hadrian probably took Antinous into his company at this time.¹⁵ Part of the epitaph on the Pincian obelisk gives us a clue as to when Antinous entered Hadrian's company; a mutilated phrase "he grew up to be a beautiful youth," suggests Antinous was already an *ephebe* and established in his home before he left with Hadrian.¹⁶ The cause for so much speculation on Antinous' relationship with Hadrian is the lack of extant evidence for exactly where Antinous was during those years from 123-130 CE; the first explicit mention of Antinous is in Pancrates' *Lion Hunt* poem from 130 CE.¹⁷ We have a depiction of the two hunting together on one or more of the Hadrianic tondos on

Contra Celsum (3.36-38) both refer to Antinous as *paidika*, which has connotation of subordination and specifically slavery. It is important to note there is no evidence that Antinous was a slave, and the inscription on the Pincian Obelisk certainly implies he was a free person.

¹⁴ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 158.

¹⁵ Ibid., 157; R. Lambert, *Beloved and God: The Story of Hadrian and Antinous*, 24.

¹⁶ D.R. Cartlidge, D.L. Dungan, *Documents for the Study of the Gospels*, 195; R. Lambert, *Beloved and God: The Story of Hadrian and Antinous*, 60.

¹⁷ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 241; T. Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 173.

Constantine's Arch.¹⁸ In addition, we know Antinous was with the imperial party at the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries in 128/9 CE; he and Hadrian, likely along with the rest of the imperial party, were probably initiated into the cult of Eleusis.¹⁹ This, and other circumstantial evidence has led many scholars to accept Antinous' relationship with Hadrian as his favorite to have lasted from 127 CE to Antinous' death on the Nile in October of 130 CE.²⁰ What matters here is that there is a miniscule body of evidence for or about Hadrian and Antinous' actual relationship. Hadrian was said to have enjoyed writing love poems about his passions and also to have written an autobiography in his last years, but none of these texts survives.²¹

The Death and Deification of Antinous

After visiting Eleusis during the celebration of the Mysteries, the imperial party remained in Athens until midway through 129 CE. Hadrian spent his time there with the intent to re-establish Athens as the cultural center of the Greek (now Graeco-Roman) world.²² From there he proceeded to visit the provinces of the Greek East, funding the construction and repair of numerous buildings both secular and sacred

¹⁸ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 242, Plate 26.

¹⁹ Ibid., 215; R. Lambert, *Beloved and God: The Story of Hadrian and Antinous*, 48.

²⁰ E. Speller, *Following Hadrian: A Second-Century Journey through the Roman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 47.

²¹ SHA, *Hadrian* 14.9; Ibid., 14.1.

²² M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 144.

along his way, as well as dedicating some altars and temples to his own image.²³ Lambert counts altars to Hadrian as a *living* god (meaning they were established during Hadrian's actual reign) at 91 cities in Asia, 76 of which included games or festivals in his honor.²⁴ The imperial party travelled in the direction of Antioch, then through Judaea, where Hadrian founded a new temple to Jupiter (Greek Olympian Zeus) on the ruins of the Jerusalem temple and renamed the city Aelia Capitolina, tying his own name to Jupiter's.²⁵ Therefore, in his travels to and through Egypt, he intended to strengthen the Hellenistic influences in this far corner of his empire- a place whose history predated that of the Greeks. After travelling through Syria to inspect the aftermath of the earthquake of 115 CE, the imperial party travelled through Gaza, where he founded a Hadrianic festival, and into Egypt via the Nile River by midway through 130 CE.²⁶ Thorston Opper provides a timeline for the events that followed.²⁷ On 22 October the traditional annual festival of the Nile was being held at Hermopolis. Part of this festival included the commemoration of the death and rebirth of Osiris in the Nile on 24 October; Osiris was an Egyptian god who by tradition was believed to drown in the Nile again each year. Antinous died on this day in October

²³ SHA, *Hadrian* 19.2.

²⁴ R. Lambert, *Beloved and God: The Story of Hadrian and Antinous*, 110.

²⁵ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 232-3.

²⁶ Ibid., 233-4; Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* 69.11.1; T. Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, 173.

²⁷ Ibid., 174.

130 CE, the coincidence of which engendered suspicion in ancient authors, the nature of which will be discussed presently.

Upon Antinous' death, Hadrian bypassed the Roman Senate, who traditionally possessed the official right to officially deify a person, and encouraged people near Hermopolis to worship Antinous as Osiris incarnate. Opper asserts the possibility the Egyptians could have made this suggestion to Hadrian; it was a long held belief that people who died in the Nile underwent the same journey as Osiris and were eventually resurrected. Then, on 30 October, less than one week after Antinous' tragic drowning, Hadrian founded a new city he called Antinoopolis in honor of the dead *ephebe* at the very spot he died. There was Classical precedence for this- since ancient Greece, tomb-building and town-settling had traditionally gone hand-in-hand. However, the founding of Antinoopolis was likely equal parts grief and political prowess on Hadrian's part; Hadrian needed a new port along the Nile and a new location that would serve to solidify Roman authority in the further reaches of the province. As evidence of this, the site of Antinoopolis already had an established port. The city's placement balanced the other Greek Egyptian powers of Naucratis and Alexandria, and the city's constitution was modeled directly on that of Naucratis.²⁸

Antinous' death- the timing, the place, the occasion- all aroused suspicion throughout the Roman empire, as shown in surviving texts from the 2nd century CE onward. One of Hadrian's major personal interests was in the magic and cults of other

²⁸ Ibid.

cultures, ones whose traditions were foreign to those of the Romans.²⁹ According to Cassius Dio, Hadrian in his writings (now lost) claimed Antinous' death as a tragic accident. However, according to Dio, the truth of the matter is Antinous' death was purposeful; Hadrian needed Antinous to die to affect some sort of youth spell.³⁰ Dio goes as far as to say Antinous willingly gave up his life for Hadrian's sake even though he explains the death was also compulsory.³¹ In this way, Dio explains the reason for Antinous' deification on the Nile, as well as Hadrian's naming of Antinoopolis, as a mixture of Hadrian's love, guilt and eccentricity. Another text, the *Historia Augusta*, written explicitly in the tabloid-like style of Suetonius, records the existence of rumors that Antinous was likely a sacrificial victim whether or not it was voluntary, and Aurelius Victor states outright that Antinous' death was a willing one.³² Only adding to these suspicions of Antinous' death as a murder is part of the epitaph on the West face of the Pincian Obelisk, where Antinous is depicted approaching the Egyptian underworld god Thoth, which describes Antinous' death as willing and heroic.³³

²⁹ Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* 69.11.3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 69.11.2-4.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² SHA, *Probus* 2.6-8; *Ibid.*, *Hadrian* 14.5-7; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 14.5-7; A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 248.

³³ D.R. Cartlidge, D.L. Dungan, *Documents for the Study of the Gospels*, 195.

Antinous' age and the nature of his relationship with Hadrian also aroused suspicion. He would have been nearly 20 years old and growing out of his youthful, adolescent appearance.³⁴ Even though Hadrian no doubt associated his relationship with Antinous with the older Greek social custom of the *erastes-eromenos* relationship, the nature of their affair was decidedly Roman. Antinous was acceptable as a favorite because he was not a Roman and he was not from anywhere or anyone important. Craig Williams points out as well the main criticism of Hadrian's contemporaries in his relationship with Antinous was his intense emotional reaction: "he wept like a woman."³⁵ However, the nature of all of the evidence surrounding Antinous' death is entirely circumstantial, and while those circumstances certainly had implications for the foundation of Antinous' cult, the real "truth" of how Antinous died is not the critical issue. The result of these events spanned only one week on the Nile: Osiris was celebrated, Antinous died, Hadrian made a new god, and then founded a city. Thus, the critical issue is the opportunism Hadrian used to demonstrate his inclinations, both political and religious. Firstly, the imperial party was participating in a foreign cult, one which Hadrian was familiar with and celebrated in Rome, that of Isis and Osiris.³⁶ Secondly, Hadrian's foundation of Antinoopolis served

³⁴ For instance, the contemporary Aurelius Victor finds the age difference suspicious: *De Caesaribus* 14.7.

³⁵ SHA, *Hadrian* 14.5; C. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, 64.

³⁶ G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (London: Princeton University Press, 1961), 15; E. Orlin, "Octavian and Egyptian Cults," *The American Journal of Philology* 129 (July 2008): 234–6. That is the cult of Isis, Osiris' sister-wife. Additionally, there was likely a cult to Serapis at Rome as well. This is because of the

to solidify Graeco-Roman influence in the area. Thirdly, the (perception of) personal sacrifice of Antinous and the very demonstrative grieving of his lover brought to mind the fatal, heroized relationships of Greek heroes like Achilles and Patroclus.

Moreover, the foundation of Antinoopolis around a tomb and temple of Antinous was an extremely condensed version of the process by which Greek towns tended to be established around the tombs of heroes.³⁷

As to the deification of Antinous, according to Dio, the impropriety with which Hadrian effected Antinous' deification resulted in ridicule from the political sphere.³⁸

The biographer of the *Historia Augusta* tells us upon Hadrian's request the Greeks deified and worshipped Antinous, and writes that oracles were given through the new deity, which were in fact written by Hadrian.³⁹ A contemporary Christian author Justin Martyr, wrote, "And it is not out of place, we think, to mention here Antinous, who was alive but lately, and whom all were prompted, through fear, to worship as a god, though they knew both who he was and what was his origin."⁴⁰ Tertullian of Carthage,

similar themes underlying Greece's Eleusinian Mysteries (of Demeter and Kore) and the myth of Isis and Osiris. The similarities were first pointed out by Herodotus in the 5th century BCE, who looked to Egypt for the origins of the Mysteries. Egyptian deities had long been incorporated into Roman religion; even Augustus, who was seen as hostile towards foreign rites, restored temples of Isis and Serapis during his reign.

³⁷ T. Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, 174.

³⁸ Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* 69.11.2-4.

³⁹ SHA, *Hadrian* 14.5-7.

⁴⁰ Justin Martyr, *Apologia* 1.29.

in the 3rd century CE, took the deification of Antinous as proof of Rome's moral degradation he attributed to paganism, and Origen claims the Egyptians were taught to worship Antinous by Hadrian.⁴¹ In the 4th century CE, Athanasius, like Justin Martyr, attributed the deification and worship of Antinous to a collective Egyptian and Greek fear of Hadrian's passions for the boy.⁴² However, from Justin to Athanasius, all these authors carry with them a Christian bias against the nature of Hadrian's relationship with Antinous. One Christian author, Athenagoras, makes a compelling claim when he writes that Antinous was a creation borne out of the emperor's concern for the common people.⁴³ No matter the speculation on Hadrian's motives for deifying Antinous or the cities' motives for worshipping Antinous, the fact remains Antinous *was* deified and his cult *did* successfully spread through the Eastern Empire. These developments to some extent are a result of Hadrian's own political stratagem, one of which was to build his deceased companion a city.

Antinoopolis and Panhellenism

The city of Antinoopolis sat on the Nile in Middle Egypt on the East bank nearly opposite Hermopolis on the West bank- an Egyptian city of mysticism that was home to the moon god Thoth, a chthonic deity of knowledge with whom (we will see)

⁴¹ Tertullian, *Ad Nationes* 2.10; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.37.

⁴² Athanasius, *Contra Gentes* 1.9.

⁴³ Athenagoras, *A Plea for Christians* 30.

Antinous was sometimes associated.⁴⁴ Antinoopolis was first “rediscovered” by Napoleon in 1798, and had one of his men draw plans of the city when it was in much better condition; unfortunately today few of the structures remain.⁴⁵ Also, today cemeteries surround the North, South and East sides of the city, suggesting that even after its dilapidation the city was still a site of after-death mysticism.⁴⁶ Antinoopolis was laid out on a Greek orthogonal plan but in Egyptian form was assumed to lie on the North-South plane just as was the Nile.⁴⁷ As a result the town followed the shape of the river at that point.⁴⁸ The city was set up as a grand Hellenistic cultural center, an intent evident in the 20m wide remains of the *cardo* and *decumanus*.⁴⁹ There were Roman baths, a theatre, temples, and huge columned crossways and vistas.⁵⁰ Flanking the North side of the *cardo* is a building often assumed to be the tomb of Antinous,

⁴⁴ E. Speller, *Following Hadrian: A Second-Century Journey through the Roman Empire*, 163.

⁴⁵ J.M. Johnson, “Antinoe and Its Papyri: Excavation by the Graeco-Roman Branch, 1913-14,” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1 (July 1914): 168.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 169.

⁴⁷ H.I. Bell, “Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt,” 135.

⁴⁸ J.M. Johnson, “Antinoe and Its Papyri: Excavation by the Graeco-Roman Branch, 1913-14,” 170.

⁴⁹ H.I. Bell, “Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt,” 135. The widest roads at Pompeii are only 9m. Even accounting for the colonnades running along each side the open space would have spanned 16m.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* According to Bell, extant papyri records the theatre as still under construction in 138 CE.

and outside the city and to the East was a circus or hippodrome used for Antinous' games.⁵¹ Back inside the city, besides the temple to Antinous, which must have existed in his city, there was also a temple to Isis, reinforcing Antinous as the New Osiris in pairing him with Osiris' sister-wife Isis.⁵²

Parts of the epitaphs on the Pincian Obelisk in Rome are our best source for reconstructing Antinous' city. The South face describes the city as populated by "the...soldiers of the Greeks and those of the Egyptian temples."⁵³ Here we see Hadrian's interest in and inclusion of foreign religious figures in his own actions. The South face describes Antinous' temple, which had apparently been built in the form of a colossal Greek temple like the famed Temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

A temple of this god is therein, his name is "Osiris Antinous the Holy." It was built from beautiful limestone, with sphinxes around it and statues and many columns like those that in olden times had been made by the ancients and likewise as had been made by the Greeks."⁵⁴

The North face records the hippodrome built at Antinoopolis and describes it as being "for the brave, who are in this land and the helmsmen and... of the whole land and likewise all people, who know the place where Thoth is."⁵⁵ The epitaph also reports

⁵¹ Ibid.; J.M. Johnson, "Antinoe and Its Papyri: Excavation by the Graeco-Roman Branch, 1913-14," 170. Johnson in his excavation report is much more confident in identifying the building as Antinous' tomb than is Bell in his 1940 research on the town.

⁵² H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," 136.

⁵³ D.R. Cartlidge, D.L. Dungan, *Documents for the Study of the Gospels*, 196.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

there were daily offerings given to Antinous in his temple there, and that he was specifically honored by the sacred artists of Thoth.⁵⁶ The close ties to Thoth Hadrian expresses on the obelisk are interesting because of Thoth's close syncretism to Hermes in his underworld guise (his patron city in Egypt was even renamed Hermopolis under Greek rule). Other primary sources that add to our knowledge of this new deity's city are Clement of Alexandria, who wrote "But now there is a grave for Hadrian's lover, as well as a temple and a city of Antinous", and Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* mentions Antinous' city and the honors paid him there.⁵⁷ Even at its inception then, the cult of Antinous was designed to be easily incorporated into other parts of the empire. Fittingly, the last line of inscriptions on the face of the obelisk where Antinous is approaching an unidentifiable figure, reads "Each God and each Goddess gives to him [Antinous] the breath of life and he breathes in a new youthfulness."⁵⁸

There were several advantages to the city's placement which Hadrian must have taken into consideration in his quest to found a new Greek city in Egypt. The site already included a quality harbor and a ruined temple to Ramses II, accompanied by a small native population.⁵⁹ In keeping with Greek custom the city was given the same

⁵⁶ D.R. Cartlidge, D.L. Dungan, *Documents for the Study of the Gospels*, 196.

⁵⁷ Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 4; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 4.8.2, both from *Ibid.*, 198.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 196.

⁵⁹ J.M. Johnson, "Antinoe and Its Papyri: Excavation by the Graeco-Roman Branch, 1913-14," 169.

rights of local autonomy given the other Graeco-Egyptian powers of Alexandria, Naucratis, and Ptolemais.⁶⁰ It was set up in quarters and smaller blocks so that addresses included two numbers by which one could effectively locate a building.⁶¹ Despite these standardized aspects of the city, it proved unique in other traits such as its population. Cities like Naucratis and Alexandria had mixes of Greek and Egyptian locals, but Hadrian populated this new city exclusively with Egyptian Greeks and priests from other temples.⁶² Several variables had compounded to create an Egypt that was far more Hellenized in the North than in the South, and because Hellenism diffused into local culture to some extent, the farther one travelled south, away from the Ptolemies' old capital of Alexandria, the less Hellenistic influence marked local cultures. Antinoopolis balanced Ptolemais in the South and Naucratis and Alexandria in the North.⁶³ In this way, Hadrian's foundation of a Hellenistic center populated by Hellenistic peoples worshipping a Hellenistic god, but with local Egyptian flare, strengthened hold of Hellenistic culture on Roman Egypt.

Hadrian separated the new population of Antinoites into tribes and demes by giving them all names, the format he modeled after 5th century BCE Kleisthenes'

⁶⁰ Ibid., 171; M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 191.

⁶¹ J.M. Johnson, "Antinoe and Its Papyri: Excavation by the Graeco-Roman Branch, 1913-14," 170.

⁶² Ibid., 171; H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," 136.

⁶³ H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," 136; M.T Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 190. By the 2nd century CE Egypt had been under foreign rule, Greek then Roman, for over four centuries.

reforms at Athens.⁶⁴ In doing so, he essentially provided us with a list of the people most important to him and how he perceived those characters. Importantly, these names, especially those we will see that are to do with Antinous, also shed light on how Hadrian viewed Antinous and/or how Hadrian wanted Antinous to be viewed. There were tribes named for Hadrian's dynastic family members including Nerva, Trajan, Sabina, Paulina and Matidia.⁶⁵ The remaining five tribes revolved around Hadrian, Antinous and Greece. The Hadrianian tribe's demes included *Zenios*, *Olympios*, *Kapitolieus*, *Sosikosmios*, and *Mousegetaios*- associations that aligned Hadrian with supreme Graeco-Roman deities as well as made him benefactor to the human race.⁶⁶ Hadrian's second tribe, the Aelian tribe included the demes of *Dionysieus* and *Polieus*, the first of which poses Hadrian as the New Dionysos, the second of which associates him to Zeus Poleis, protector of Athens.⁶⁷ Hadrian's third tribe, the Sebastian, honors Hadrian under the title of Augustus; its *Kaisarieos* deme honors Hadrian under the title of Caesar. The *Asclepius*, *Dioskourios* and *Heraklios*

⁶⁴ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 254; P. Lond. Inv. 1895 (*Aegyptus* 13, 525 ff.) and 1896 (*Aegyptus* 13, 522 ff.), in which the applicants refer to themselves as Antinoites.

⁶⁵ H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," 141.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 140; A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 254. Bell explains the vocabulary of these associations where *Zenios*, *Olympios*, and *Kapitolieus* all associate Hadrian with the supreme gods of the Greeks and Romans, and *Sosikosmios* as proclaiming Hadrian as the savior of the human race. Birley translates *Sosikosmios* to "savior of the universe." The deme of *Mousegetaios* translates to "leader of the Muses," which is a clear reference to Apollo.

⁶⁷ H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," 140.

demes recall the Eleusinian Mysteries and Hadrian's fascination with them; Asclepius, the Dioscuri and Herakles had all been initiated into the Mysteries.⁶⁸ Thus, through the demes of Hadrian's self-named tribes for Antinoopolis we can see his tendency to compare himself to powerful figures like Zeus, but also youthful and heroic figures like Dionysos and Herakles. All of these associations as well have Greek overtones characteristic of Hadrian and this new Greek city he placed in the middle of Egypt.

Two other tribes at Antinoopolis inform us of Hadrian's initial use of and identification with Antinous, the city's patron god. There was an Osirantinoan tribe that honored Antinous as the New Osiris. The deme names included *Bithynieus*, which referred to Antinous' Asian heritage, and another two- *Kleitorios* and *Parrhasios* also refer to his Bithynian heritage through Arcadia.⁶⁹ Importantly, one Osirantian deme was that of *Hermaieus*, which assimilated Antinous to Hermes, and a (separate?) *Mousegetios* deme associated Antinous with Apollo who was leader of the Muses.⁷⁰ Therefore, even though in his own city Antinous' name was only over one tribe, we

⁶⁸ Ibid. Each deme is named for a character (or in the case of the Dioscuri, characters) who was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 141. The Bithynians claimed to be descended from Arcadian settlers. See also, A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 255. *Kleitorios* refers to the son of an Arcadian king who founded an eponymous city and *Parrhasios* refers so a son of Ares who ruled Arcadia.

⁷⁰ H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," 141; A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 255. In Bell's 1940 publication he seems to have no knowledge of a *Mousegetaios* deme in the Hadrianian but does assert the presence of one in the Osirantinoan tribe. Conversely, Birley does not include a *Mousegetaios* deme in his discussion of the Osirantinoan but asserts the presence of a deme of that name in the Hadrianian tribe.

can still gather information about how Hadrian viewed his new god. We learn a wealth of information from these six names; Hadrian associated Antinous primarily with Osiris, Hermes and Apollo and he also confirmed the importance of Antinous' Greek heritage with the two Arcadian demes. The last Antinoite tribe expands on Hadrian's Hellenistic interests. The Athenian tribe's deme names were *Artemisios*, *Eleusinos*, *Erichthonios*, *Marathonios* and *Salaminios*, which bring to mind, among other things, the huntress Artemis, the Eleusinian Mysteries, and the legendary military successes of Athens at its height of power.⁷¹ So we see as with the origins of Antinous' name that even labels are important in deciphering exactly *what* the god Antinous' identity was or was supposed to be.

In addition to planning the city in a grand, traditional manner that was no doubt designed to attract Greek Egyptian residents, Hadrian passed a prolific amount of legislation giving incentives to new settlers of the city. Antinoites were exempt from liturgical duties outside the city, exemption from poll taxes (which gave men the ability to serve in the legions) and had the right of intermarriage with Egyptians, a right unique to this Greek Egyptian city.⁷² In addition, all Antinoite citizens were exempt from acting as legal guardian to any non-Antinoite minor, and they also did not have to pay the 10% sales tax on land or slaves. An Antinoite who owed debts could bring the debtor to Antinoopolis to settle the matter, and the Antinoite council

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., 142; J.M. Johnson, "Antinoe and Its Papyri: Excavation by the Graeco-Roman Branch, 1913-14," 171.

had the right to seize the property of a debtor who failed to pay dues.⁷³ Material incentives existed as well; at least some of the new settlers were allotted land parcels, and a certain extant papyrus tells us Antinoite children received Hadrian's munificence meaning children were supported with imperial funds until a certain age, a privilege previously limited to Italy.⁷⁴

Antinoopolis' civic legislation was based largely on that of Naucratis, Egypt's oldest Greek city. Because this legislation included the adoption of a dual Egyptian-Milesian calendar, Hadrian's use of Naucratis as the exemplar for Antinoopolis' administration seems to have much to do with his antiquarianism.⁷⁵ Antinoopolis also by default became *metropolis* of the Antinoite nome, and so like Alexandria and Ptolemais was relatively autonomous in its government- it had both an independent council and independent municipal officers who had the authority to deal with local matters. At the same time, the Antinoite nome was taken from part of the Hermopolite nome, so the town was still in truth run by Roman officials at Hermopolis.⁷⁶ The city's constitution, much like the calendar, was also taken from Naucratis. Bell, in his 1940 publication on Antinoopolis makes the comment that Hadrian's beneficence towards

⁷³ H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," 143.

⁷⁴ Ibid.; P. Lond. Inv. 1905 (*Aegyptus*, 13, 518 ff), dated 9 February, 151 CE.

⁷⁵ H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," 139. Naucratis was originally a colony of Miletus in Asia. According to Bell, by this time the Milesian calendar was not even in use at Miletus.

⁷⁶ J.M. Johnson, "Antinoe and Its Papyri: Excavation by the Graeco-Roman Branch, 1913-14," 171.

the city and its new inhabitants was so great that many people were compelled to move to the city not as permanent residents but as vacation or second residences; they could take advantage of all of Hadrian's incentives without actually having to uproot their households.⁷⁷ To me, this suggests Hadrian was never able to effect a booming influx of Greeks he so wanted into his new city.

Within months of the city's establishment Hadrian commenced the inaugural games of Antinous, the Great Antinoan, which were held before any buildings on the sites were finished. We know the major highway leading to the Red Sea from Antinoopolis took six years to complete based on an inscription, and with its lavish temples, prolific collection of sculptures of Hadrian and Antinous, and a good connection to the Red Sea via a highway with overnight stops, the city became famous long before walls went up around the *pomerium*.⁷⁸ Antinoopolis is another example of the strategies Hadrian used to materialize his aspirations; if anything the establishment of this city was the single action that encompassed all of Hadrian's interests: Antinous, Hellenism, keeping peace and unifying the provinces, local cultures and foreign mysticism. Hadrian hastily threw up a planned, organized city immediately following the accidental/suspiciously coincidental death of his beloved on the Nile on Osiris' resurrection day. The political implications (and later results) of this new anchor for Greek influence in Egypt make it clear that Antinoopolis was not founded out of pure

⁷⁷ H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," 139.

⁷⁸ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 254; E. Speller, *Following Hadrian: A Second-Century Journey through the Roman Empire*, 163.

grief by a mourning lover. Hadrian took his own personal tragedy in the death of Antinous and turned it into a political opportunity in more ways than one, others being the deification and establishment of festivals to Antinous. What Hadrian did next in his travels through the empire was to encourage the worship of Antinous and establishment of his cult and games in the Greek cities of the empire.

Hadrian's initiatives regarding Antinoopolis were no doubt motivated in part by Hadrian's dream of a Greek revival throughout the Roman Empire, an intention he made official with his founding of the Panhellenion league in 131 CE with its head at Athens, the same year he founded games for Antinous at Tarsus.⁷⁹ The Panhellenion was another way Hadrian meant to revive Greek customs and legacy; to become a member, cities had to prove Greek heritage. Panhellenes did not need to be Roman at all, but they needed a history of good relations with Roman imperial power.⁸⁰ As with titles of city status, becoming a member of the Panhellenion was an important for indicating rank in Hadrian's favored cities. Cibrya in Asia, and, Boatwright asserts, there were certainly others, even fabricated a Greek heritage to gain membership into Hadrian's new league.⁸¹ In this way, Hadrian found another method of privileging Greek culture while also asserting the dominance of Roman power over that culture. Antinous may not have been an actual jumping off point for Hadrian's Greek revival,

⁷⁹ Ibid., 167.

⁸⁰ M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 149.

⁸¹ Ibid.

but it is certain the boy in both life and death embodied the parts of Greek culture that so fascinated Hadrian.

Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli

The last set of Hadrian's actions relating to the god Antinous that are relevant to a discussion of his influence on the cities' perceptions of Antinous as a deity regard his expansion and decoration of the imperial villa at Tivoli outside Rome. An important complex on the road leading to the villa, the Antinoeion (fig. 5), seems to have been a place of honoring Antinous though its exact use is disputed. The Antinoeion of Hadrian's Villa was discovered in 1998. Originally, the assumption was that this complex was a *nymphaeum* because of the large *exedrae*, however, the excavation revealed significant amounts of Egyptian style sculpture among other cultic imagery including many statues of Greek and Roman gods and goddesses. The complex itself is on the last stretch of highway before the grand entrance to the villa, so would have made a statement to any guests arriving. One theory holds that this complex may have been Antinous' tomb: a huge mausoleum. Still, others find it more likely that the complex included a cenotaph and a temple, two things that material evidence at the site seems to support. Excavators also found a small foundation in the center of the complex that may have held the obelisk of Antinous (Pincian obelisk), dedicated by Hadrian to his deified lover.⁸² We have already discussed Antinous'

⁸² Z. Mari, S. Sgalambro, "The Antinoeion of Hadrian's Villa: Interpretation and Architectural Reconstruction," *The American Journal of Archaeology* 111 (January 2007): 83.

syncretism to Osiris and his association with Hermes through Thoth that Hadrian used in his conception of this monument to this new deity.

The Antinoeion's position along the road leading to the villa at Tibur is typical of funerary monuments outside of city limits, as well as dynastic mausoleums attached to imperial homes. Two large stone plinths project from the center of the exedra; it is probable there were two telamons supporting them, somewhat like the caryatids at the Erechtheion on the Acropolis in Athens. Numerous statues were found in the complex, a significant number being depictions of Antinous as various deities, often Egyptianized, but there were also many statues of other gods found.⁸³ White, red, and black stone busts and portraits of Antinous as Pharaoh and Osiris surrounded the central courtyard, as well as accompanying figures of Egyptian priestesses, no doubt worshippers of the new cult of Hadrian's deified Antinous. For instance, there is a portrait head of Antinous in a Pharaoh's headdress and uraeus that is built of Egyptian red sandstone but sculpted in an entirely Roman style.⁸⁴ As for evidence of the construction of this sanctuary during the reign of Hadrian, the stamps on the bricks date to 130 CE, which would have been directly after Antinous drowned in the Nile down in Egypt. Further, excavators believed that the actual construction of the

⁸³ C. Vout, "Antinous, Archaeology and History," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 95 (2005): 94.

⁸⁴ C. Vout, *Antinous: The Face of the Antique* (Leeds: The Henry Moore Institute, 2006), 76–77.

building showed haste and less quality than the other buildings of Hadrian's Tibur villa.⁸⁵

There are a few specific pieces from Hadrian's Tibur villa that will be useful in our discussion of who Antinous was to Hadrian, especially when we consider the prevalence of Egyptianized Antinous sculptures here as opposed to the rest of the empire (save Egypt, of course). For instance, the Braschi Antinous (fig. 6) is a colossal statue found in the 1792-3 excavations at Hadrian's villa.⁸⁶ He wears a crown of ivy leaves and berries with a diadem at the top, though we do not know what it originally held. Typically a pharaoh headdress with a uraeus and/or diadem is used in Graeco-Roman sculpture to connote Osiris. According to the Vatican Museums, where this sculpture currently resides, the pose and those original attributes suggest a Dionysos-Osiris assimilation.⁸⁷ A bust of Antinous wearing a nemes and a uraeus with a serpent (fig. 7) simultaneously assimilates Antinous to Egyptian royalty and divinity through Pharaoh and Osiris imagery.⁸⁸ There is also a white marble statue of Osirantinous from the Serapeum (fig. 8), and a head that is a portrait of Antinous crowned with an

⁸⁵ Z. Mari, S. Sgalambro, "The Antinoeion of Hadrian's Villa: Interpretation and Architectural Reconstruction," 99.

⁸⁶ C. Vout, *Antinous: The Face of the Antique*, 39, figure 15.

⁸⁷ http://www.museivaticani.va/3_EN/pages/x-Schede/MPCs/MPCs_Sala07_01.html

⁸⁸ http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=16646&langue=en

ivy wreath (fig. 9), linking him again to Dionysos.⁸⁹ However, besides these major associations at Hadrian's villa, there are a few which demonstrate that even to Hadrian Antinous was a deity who could not be tied down to one or two associations. For instance, an inscription that likely accompanied a statue asks the reader, "If Antinous and Belenus are alike in age and beauty, why should Antinous also not be what Belenus is?" where Belenus is a Celtic deity analogous to Apollo.⁹⁰ On the Albani Relief (fig. 10), which also came from the Tibur villa, Antinous is depicted as the minor agrarian/seasonal deity Vertumnus.⁹¹ Lastly, there is a strange statue at the Louvre (fig. 11) that appears to be a sculpted Antinous head completed on a body of Herakles.⁹² This flexibility in Antinous' identity just within Hadrian's home begs the question of what Hadrian's intentions were with this new cult considering the creative responses made by the cities of the empire.

⁸⁹ T. Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, 174–5, figure 156; See also, http://www.museivaticani.va/3_EN/pages/x-Schede/MEZs/MEZs_Sala03_01_10_011.html; http://dpc.uba.uva.nl/cgi/i/image/image-idx?sid=9448deae4e0c467520d5644e4b68a242;lang=nl;med=1;c=apmcat;q1=antinous;rgn1=apmcat_all;size=20;lasttype=boolean;view=entry;lastview=thumbnail;subview=detail;cc=apmcat;entryid=x-314066381-lt-br-gt;viewid=16167_20A_20GIPS_20COPY;start=1;resnum=1

⁹⁰ C. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, 65; F.W. Walbank, "Nationality as a Factor in Roman History," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76 (1972): 162; CLE 879= CIL 14.3535: "Antinoo et Beleno par aetas formaque si par,/ cur non Antinous sit quoque qui Belenus?"

⁹¹ C. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, 86, Plate XI.

⁹² http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=27455&langue=fr

The New God Antinous and the Cities

While Hadrian certainly provided a set of references for his new god Antinous and exactly *who* he was in Rome's pantheon, what the cities did subsequently was unprecedented and certainly unique in Rome's history: the cities adapted a newly minted god to a variety of different and unrelated gods that could be related back to individual cities. As Hadrian wrote on Antinous' obelisk: "Each God and each Goddess gives to him the breath of life and he breathes in a new youthfulness", and this sentiment, which we have already seen him enact in his private collections of Antinous imagery, gave the cities a way to insert parts of their religious and/or historical identities into the Roman pantheon.⁹³ The cities in the West tended to remain quiet on the matter of Antinous' cult, but in the East his cult flourished as Antinous became more and more important to local histories through divine associations that went far past those prototypes provided by Hadrian. Most often, Antinous is said to have been associated with the gods Dionysos, Hermes and Osiris, and when analyzing evidence from Hadrian's villa that seems to hold true.⁹⁴ However, especially in the minting of coins, Antinous was associated with numerous local deities, founders and heroes. In addition, at least during Hadrian's reign, Antinous' name and image was often evoked along with a city's claim to a special status like *neokoros* (meaning the city had been awarded/granted an imperial cult and a warden to oversee its maintenance) or *metropolis* (meaning "mother city" of colonies but by this

⁹³ D.R. Cartlidge, D.L. Dungan, *Documents for the Study of the Gospels*, 196.

⁹⁴ C. Vout, "Antinous, Archaeology and History," 90.

time is only titular in nature).⁹⁵ Cities also employed cult and temple imagery to communicate their acceptance and participation in Hadrian's new cult. In the following discussion of these various associations and their implications, we will begin to explore not only what Antinous meant to the cities of the empire, but how he was used by local figures and towns to facilitate interaction with and munificence from the Roman emperor.

Osiris, Hermes-Thoth and the Underworld Antinous

Let us first explore Antinous' "original" association, that of Osiris. Because Antinous drowned in the Nile, an Egyptian belief held he would be resurrected like Osiris, and because Antinous drowned *on* Osiris' resurrection day he was seen as the New Osiris, or Osiris incarnate.⁹⁶ We have a colossal marble head from Frascati, near Rome (fig. 12), the crown of which assimilates Antinous to Dionysos-Osiris, but most references to Antinous as Osiris tend to come from Antinoopolis, his patron city.⁹⁷ At the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, a canopic tondo from Mallawi (fig. 13), near

⁹⁵ Under Hadrian, the city status titles of *metropolis* or *colonia* carried little legislative difference- the prestige of attaining the title of *metropolis* was what mattered to the city. The title of *neokoros*, meaning the city was awarded a temple warden for the imperial cult, was used in such a way as well. The city undertook obligations to maintaining its imperial cult while proclaiming to the other cities its own importance to Hadrian through the title of *neokoros*. Contemporary writer Aulus Gellius in *Noctes Atticae* (16.13) discusses a Roman view of the differences between city status under Hadrian. Boatwright as well in *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (41–51) gives a thorough overview of the practical differences between each "type" of city.

⁹⁶ T. Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, 174.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 184, figure 167.

Antinoopolis, depicts in high relief Antinous as Serapis/Osiris.⁹⁸ It is interesting to note, however, that there were other ways in which Antinous was incorporated into the canon of Egyptian underworld gods in his circulation through Egypt. For instance, there is a terra cotta figurine of a woman with her hands tied back and nails through her eyes, genitals, mouth, ears, mouth and chest which was found in Egypt. Inside the figurine was a spell, the remnants of which call on Anubis, Thoth and Antinous for assistance. Though the text is largely unreadable, the form and style of the object suggest it was for a love spell, but more importantly we see Antinous invoked alongside Egyptian gods of the underworld.⁹⁹ In a similar chthonic association, Alexandria minted several commemorative coins that depicted Antinous astride a horse as Hermes-Thoth (See fig. 14 for one type), a syncretic deity with underworld associations- after all, Hermopolis was a central city of mysticism in Egypt.¹⁰⁰

Antinous' underworld associations did not remain purely Egyptian, especially in his identity as a type of guardian for underworld travelers. There is an inscription from Mantinea in Arcadia in which a father implores Antinous to watch over his dead son:

Doxa's son, Isochyrus, whom the god Antinous himself loved dearly as one enthroned with the immortals, Epitynchanus, his father, made in the form of a

⁹⁸ <https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/architectural-tondo-with-canopic-image-151306>

⁹⁹ E. Speller, *Following Hadrian: A Second-Century Journey through the Roman Empire*, 273.

¹⁰⁰ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate V, i, iv-v; E. Speller, *Following Hadrian: A Second-Century Journey through the Roman Empire*, 163.

bronze image there and erected a statue of his son by the decree of his fatherland.¹⁰¹

In addition, there was a funeral association at Lanuvium that worshipped Diana alongside Antinous. They met six times per year at a newly built temple and inscribed the cult rules on the inside walls. The group met on Antinous' birthday, Diana's birthday, and birthdays of four major local officials. Each member- slave or free- was expected to pay a fee that was then used to guarantee burial for any member who died away from home.¹⁰² Additionally, Antinous was worshipped alongside other deities with underworld associations, such as Demeter at Eleusis and Apollo at Delphi.¹⁰³ One can see then, how with only one theme, this time "the underworld," Antinous proved adaptable to several associations. What interests me specifically is the presence of this guardian role that follows his underworld associations, as it seems to speak to Antinous' use as a tool of or intermediary for the common people, in this case in death.

Hermes and the Divine Shepherd Antinous

Antinous is associated with guardians through Hermes in other ways as well, most often dressed as a shepherd or traveler. Via this association with Hermes in his shepherd guise, the cities of the empire generated several other agrarian associations,

¹⁰¹ *IG V.2.312.*

¹⁰² M. Beard, J. North, S. Price, *Religions of Rome, a History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 272.

¹⁰³ K. Clinton, "The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors, Second Century BC to AD 267," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 2 (1989): 1523; C. Vout, *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 108.

which to me only add to Antinous' identification as a deity of the people of the cities. Additionally, all of these associations are tied closely to Antinous' Bacchic/Dionysian representations, which will be discussed later. Where Antinous is assimilated to Hermes on coins he is often depicted as holding a caduceus or *pedum*, though at his hometown of Bithynion-Claudiopolis he is also assimilated using Hermes' *petasos* and mantle, both of which bring to mind Hermes' place as god of travelers (See fig. 15 for one type).¹⁰⁴ At Corinth, in Achaëa, a priest of Antinous called Hostilios Markellos minted a commemorative coin, the reverse of which depicts Antinous standing, leaning against a bearded herm and holding a caduceus (fig. 16).¹⁰⁵ Several aspects of this coin are interesting. Firstly, the presence of Markellos' name and title on the obverse confirm there was an operating cult of Antinous at Corinth in the mid-second century CE. The reverse depiction of Antinous carries with it several implications; Antinous' caduceus tells us he is being assimilated to Hermes, but additionally the herm and Antinous' pose are important. The presence of the herm harkens to Hermes' attributes as the god of traveling or crossroads, and Antinous' leaning stance is common of the divine youths of Classical Greek sculpture, with which Hermes is also associated. In one coin then, we see multiple ways a city could communicate to the emperor its interests in this new god Antinous and what he meant to that city.

¹⁰⁴ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate II, xvi. The *petasos* is a wide-brimmed hat worn by travelers in Graeco-Roman iconography.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., Plate I, xiii.

Alexandria's coins depicting Antinous carrying a caduceus and riding a horse as Hermes-Thoth on the reverse have already been presented for their underworld contexts, but it is important here to note that Antinous' Egyptian connections to Hermes-Thoth had much to do with Hermes' associations with underworld mysticism and Antinous' death nearly across from Egyptian Hermopolis, whose patron deity was Thoth.¹⁰⁶ Another city that used the caduceus to communicate to the viewer Antinous' guise as Hermes was Smyrna, one of Hadrian's favored cities who rivaled Ephesus for the emperor's attentions.¹⁰⁷ The politician and sophist Polemo, who was often involved in business with Hadrian and served as an intermediary between Smyrna and the emperor, minted several coins that memorialized Antinous. In one mint the obverse contains a nude bust of Antinous and proclaims as ANTINOOC HPΩC (Antinous Hero), while the reverse names Polemo as the minter and depicts a ram with a caduceus in front (fig. 17).¹⁰⁸ Once again, the caduceus tells us that Antinous is being assimilated to Hermes, and the ram may serve to tell the viewer exactly *which* Hermes Antinous is being depicted as, which in this case is the shepherd guise.

In Roman iconography the *pedum* was also used to communicate an association with Hermes, however both the *pedum* and the shepherd's staff also carry with them a general association of a divine herdsman, some of which will be discussed

¹⁰⁶ E. Speller, *Following Hadrian: A Second-Century Journey through the Roman Empire*, 163.

¹⁰⁷ M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 23, 93, 96–8. Boatwright covers Hadrian's numerous benefactions to the city.

¹⁰⁸ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate II, viii.

shortly.¹⁰⁹ On one coin type from Bithynion-Claudiopolis, minted during the reign of Caracalla, the reverse depicts Antinous with a cloak and mantle, holding a *pedum* in front of a grazing animal (fig. 3).¹¹⁰ A coin type from Tion, also in Bithynia, depicts Antinous sitting on a low, ornate altar with a *pedum* in one hand above the city's name (fig. 18).¹¹¹ The presence of an altar on the reverse of a Tian coin would suggest this city, too, had a local cult to Antinous, though it may be a representation of a regional altar considering Bithynia was Antinous' homeland. In another coin type from Bithynion-Claudiopolis, the obverse proclaims ANTINOON ΘΕON Η ΠΑΤΡΙΚ (His Homeland Honors the God Antinous), while the reverse depicts Antinous in a similar scene to that of the Caracalla coin, but this scene includes reed plants and a star above Antinous' head (fig. 19).¹¹² According to Vout, the star signals Antinous' divinity, and is most likely meant to represent the star Dio refers to in his writings on Antinous' cult.¹¹³ Vout puts forth the idea that while this coin may be depicting Antinous as a divine shepherd or as Hermes, it may also be a representation of Aristeus, an agrarian god of Arcadian origins who protected herdsmen and was credited with teaching men

¹⁰⁹ The *pedum* is a hooked pastoral staff. At least on coinage, the image of a shepherd's staff differs from the *pedum* because it is gnarled and has no hook.

¹¹⁰ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate II, xxi.

¹¹¹ Ibid., Plate III, vi.

¹¹² Ibid., Plate II, xiv–xv.

¹¹³ C. Vout, *Antinous: The Face of the Antique*, 61; Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* 69.11.4.

to hunt.¹¹⁴ This would be an especially interesting assimilation considering Antinous' association with Diana, the Divine Huntress, at Lanuvium and Bithynia's claim to Arcadian origins. Once again it becomes evident the minting of these coins and the images themselves held important information the cities used to communicate and, especially in this guise as Aristeus, were used to portray this "watcher" or guardian-like theme in expressions of Antinous' divinity.

We have already seen Antinous' worship alongside Diana at Lanuvium, but here we also find a bas-relief of Antinous as Silvanus (fig. 20), which seems to have come from an altar base considering the inclusion of a dedicatory inscription.¹¹⁵ Additionally, other portraits of Antinous in an agrarian guise are cast in bronze: two vessels from Egypt depict Antinous' top half dressed in a fawn skin (fig. 21a-b).¹¹⁶ Many more agrarian associations exist, however these also stem from Dionysian imagery and so will be discussed along with that evidence. The significant aspect of this Hermes/shepherd Antinous is his place as a beautiful youth who guards livestock or people or roads; it can all be seen as a reflection of Hadrian's relationships the cities. Hadrian constantly presented himself as "savior" and "restitutor," and in this

¹¹⁴ C. Vout, *Antinous: The Face of the Antique*, 61.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 37, figure 14; *CIL* 14.2112, "Antonianos of Aphrodesias."

¹¹⁶ <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=677438&viewType=detailView>; http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=465096&partId=1&searchText=antinous&page=1

way he took on the role of *the* guardian and keeper of the empire.¹¹⁷ If Hadrian constructed his own image as this larger guardian of Rome's cities, the use of Antinous as this smaller guardian of the peoples of the cities places him as another type of mediator between Hadrian and the people, like an ambassador of sorts.

The Dionysian Antinous

Perhaps the most well-known of Antinous' assimilations is the Greek god Dionysos (Roman Bacchus). It helps that several cultures had deities that were easily syncretized with Dionysos, as we have already seen with Hadrian's assimilation of Antinous to Osiris. Another example of this is a coin type from Adramyttium in Asia minted by one Gessius, on which Antinous is proclaimed as IAKXOC ANTINOOC (Iacchos Antinous) (fig. 22), assimilating him to the minor Dionysian deity Iacchos, who also has connections to the Eleusinian Mysteries.¹¹⁸ Some scholars speculate the minter, Gessius, had been a patron of the Mysteries, though I have not been able to find the direct evidence for this.¹¹⁹ Regardless, Gessius' inclusion of his own name on the reverse of the coin serves as another example of how the provincial elite were the ones representing their cities in their dealings with the imperial power. Regarding Dionysian imagery, Tmolus in Asia minted one unique coin type that seems to depict Antinous as a Bacchic reveler (fig. 23). The obverse names Antinous as HPΩC (Hero)

¹¹⁷ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 113, 164, 189, 213, 266, 164, 178, 181, 187.

¹¹⁸ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate III, x.

¹¹⁹ T. Oppen, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, 190, figure 173.

while the reverse depicts a man in a cinched tunic carrying a long staff with ribbons and a piece of fruit on top. With his left hand he holds a basket on his head.¹²⁰ Mount Tmolus for centuries had been directly associated with Dionysos and his celebrations, so here Tarsus used this coin as an opportunity to connect Antinous with local history and religion.¹²¹

Antinous is shown as Dionysos in both sculpture and coinage. For instance, the colossal marble head uncovered near Frascati in Italy that depicts Antinous as Dionysos-Osiris was discussed earlier under Antinous' underworld associations (fig. 12).¹²² The long, tied hair is characteristic of depictions of divine youths like Dionysos and Apollo. Due to its size, it would have sat atop a statue of wood with marble extremities, which is a technique characteristic of cult images like Phidias' Athena Parthenos at the Athenian Acropolis in Greece. A series of drilled holes in the hair attest a metal headdress would have completed the ivy crown, an attribute marking this Antinous as Dionysos. However, a large hole at the center of the crown strongly suggests the presence of an Egyptian-type crown, meaning this cult statue assimilated Antinous to Dionysos as well as Osiris, which reflects their close ties in the Graeco-Roman and Egyptian pantheons.¹²³ Also found in Rome is another Antinous portrait

¹²⁰ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate IV, iii.

¹²¹ *Orphic Hymns*, To Sabasius, 47.

¹²² T. Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, 184, figure 167.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 184; C. Vout, "Antinous, Archaeology and History," 90.

with Dionysos' ivy wreath crown, this time a life-size marble bust located in the British Museum (fig. 24).¹²⁴

In Achaia, 2nd century traveler Pausanias describes Antinous' honors as Dionysos at Mantinea:

Antinous was also considered by them [the Mantineans] to be a God. The temple of Antinous is the newest of the temples in Mantinea. He was a favorite of the emperor Hadrian. I never saw Antinous personally, but I did see him in statues and pictures. He has sacred honors in other places, and an Egyptian city on the Nile is named after him. He holds the sacred honors in Mantinea for these reasons. Antinous was a native of Bithynia, beyond the Sangarius River. The Bithynians are Arcadians and Mantineans by descent. On account of this, the emperor founded his worship in Mantinea, and mystic rituals are held for him each year as well as sacred games in his honor every fifth year. There is a building in the gymnasium of Mantinea that has statues of Antinous. The building is marvelous to see because of the jewels with which it is decorated and especially because of its pictures. Most of them are of Antinous who is pictured to look like Dionysos.¹²⁵

Further East, the mint at Sala in Lydia released a coin type with an obverse depicting Antinous' portrait, denoted as HPΩC (Hero), and a reverse showing Dionysos, who leans against a column and holds his *diota* in one hand and a bunch of grapes in the other (fig. 25).¹²⁶ A coin type from Sardis with a similar obverse contains a scene with Silenus sitting on an altar with the baby Dionysos on his left knee and a *diota* in this

¹²⁴ http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/gr/b/bust_of_antinous.aspx

¹²⁵ Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio* 8.9.7-8a, from D.R. Cartlidge, D.L. Dungan, *Documents for the Study of the Gospels*, 197.

¹²⁶ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate III, xiii. For the same type, see also: <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/explorer/index.php?oid=175453>. The *diota* is a Dionysian drinking cup, referred to as the *kantharos* in Greek.

right hand on its reverse (fig. 26).¹²⁷ Sardis' choice of imagery was surprisingly convenient, as the myth detailing how so much gold came to rest in the land around the ancient city revolved around Dionysos and his satyr guardian Silenus' drinking.¹²⁸ By connecting Antinous' face with the image of Silenus raising Dionysos, the city of Sardis could be seen as raising Antinous, a deity in his infancy, making the city seem more familiar to or closer with Hadrian in his raising the boy to the gods through deification. Sardis minted at least one other coin type with this Silenus and baby Dionysos imagery (fig. 27).¹²⁹ Back at Smyrna, Polemo minted another coin type that featured Antinous as ΗΡΩC (Hero) on the obverse, and on the reverse depicted attributes of Dionysos; a female panther stands grasping a thyrsus with her right paw (fig. 28).¹³⁰

In Bithynia, Bithynion-Claudiopolis minted another coin type proclaiming itself as birthplace of the god Antinous, and a bust of Dionysos with long hair tied back faces left on the reverse (fig. 29).¹³¹ The ivy crown and the hair recall the colossal Antinous sculpture as Dionysos-Osiris from Frascati earlier discussed. The

¹²⁷ Ibid., Plate III, xvi.

¹²⁸ Ovid, *Metomorphoses* 11.

¹²⁹ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate III, xvii. For the same type, see also: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1317363&partId=1&searchText=antinous&page=1

¹³⁰ Ibid., Plate II, vii and Plate II, ix.

¹³¹ Ibid., Plate III, i.

city of Tion in Eastern Bithynia minted a coin commemorating Antinous that featured a nude Dionysos holding a thyrsus and vase with a panther turning towards him on its reverse (fig 30).¹³² In Cilicia, Tarsus also minted several coin types that featured female panthers and Dionysian objects on the reverse (fig. 31a-c), as well as a couple other types that associated Antinous with Dionysos through altar imagery (fig. 32a-b).¹³³ What is most notable about these Dionysian coins from Tarsus are the reverse legends, all of which display Hadrian's name and the city's titles of *metropolis* and *neokoros*. The city was using Antinous to communicate to Hadrian and to the empire that it had Hadrian's favor and that as a *metropolis* it was necessarily ahead of the game compared to cities who had no such title. Other cities used legends on coinage to boast their Hadrianic statuses as well, but more on this later.

A final extant sculpture that ties Antinous to Dionysos is important both for its geographical provenance and its context. At the Archaeological Museum in Tripoli there is a marble statue of Apollo from the gymnasium of the Hadrianic Baths at Leptis Magna (fig. 33), the face of which was re-carved into a portrait of Antinous, and a Dionysian wreath was added to the head, making Antinous into a Dionysos-Apollo.¹³⁴ Vout attributes the statue's unique history to a race to erect dedications to

¹³² Ibid., Plate III, v.

¹³³ Ibid., Plate IV, v–viii, xi.

¹³⁴ T. Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, 188; C. Vout, *Antinous: The Face of the Antique*, 28, figure 3.

the dead boy once he died on the Nile in 130 CE.¹³⁵ It is relevant to note that here, too, Dionysos was a patron god of the city, this time along with Herakles.¹³⁶

The Apollonian Associations of Antinous

Antinous' priest at Delphi, Aristotimus, also minted a coin with a reverse image that arguably represents a local cult statue to Antinous (fig. 34). In support of this identification, the obverse proclaims Antinous as "Hero of the Gates."¹³⁷ In fact, Aristotimus and the mint at Delphi produced several other coin types that gave Antinous the same title and included Apollonian imagery on the reverse (fig. 35), most notably the tripod.¹³⁸ As for the possible cult statue depicted on the first Delphi coin discussed, a marble statue of Antinous as Apollo, crowned with a laurel wreath, was discovered west of the Temple of Apollo in 1894 excavations (fig. 36).¹³⁹ So even at Delphi, perhaps the most famous and well-established sanctuary in the Graeco-Roman world and home to the god Apollo, Antinous was brought into the fold, and may have even had an oracle there.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ C. Vout, *Antinous: The Face of the Antique*, 28.

¹³⁶ Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* 77.16.3; S.L. Tuck, "The Expansion of Triumphal Imagery Beyond Rome: Imperial Monuments at the Harbors of Ostia and Lepcis Magna," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes* 6 (January 2008): 338.

¹³⁷ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate I, x.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, Plate I, vii–ix.

¹³⁹ C. Vout, *Antinous: The Face of the Antique*, 84–5.

¹⁴⁰ C. Vout, *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome*, 108.

Antinous was associated with the eclectic deity in other places as well, and this association with Apollo seems to me to fall within the framework of the guardian theme in Antinous syncretisms. Apollo was the beautiful and youthful god of prophecy and healing who also tended to gather various domains like poetry or music.¹⁴¹ Moreover, he was originally a Greek deity. At Chalcedon in Bithynia, Antinous is depicted as a young deity ascending on a griffin on the reverse of one coin type (fig. 37).¹⁴² Apollo was associated with the griffin in Roman imagery, for instance on the breastplate of the Prima Porta Augustus, but it is also intriguing that a scene of Apollo riding a swan was a common reverse image in Chalcedonian imperial coinage. At Nikopolis an obverse portrait naming Antinous backs to a reverse image of a young figure who is arguably Apollo, sitting on a tree trunk or a rock and holding his bow (fig. 38a-b).¹⁴³ Nikopolis was none other than the legendary site of Actium where Augustus finally defeated Antony and Cleopatra's forces, all under the watchful eye of Apollo at his grand temple there.

At Tarsus in Cilicia, another coin type depicted a covered tripod with an entwined serpent and a laurel branch to the left (fig. 39) - all objects of Apollonian imagery.¹⁴⁴ In fact, Tarsus had a temple of Apollo; he was the most highly honored Olympian deity at the city because both had connections to the local Mithras cult.

¹⁴¹ Livy, *Historiae Romanae* 1.56; Apollodorus, *Epitome* E3.

¹⁴² G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate III, ix.

¹⁴³ Ibid., Plate I, i.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., Plate IV, xii.

Mithras had close connotations to Helios, the sun god and father of Apollo in the Graeco-Roman pantheon.¹⁴⁵ At Corinth, Antinous' priest Hostilios Markellos minted a coin with a nude Helios galloping in his chariot depicted on the reverse. The obverse contained a portrait of Antinous and the legend names Markellos as his priest (fig. 40).¹⁴⁶ The Leptis Magna statue of Antinous as Apollo and Dionysos has already been discussed, as has its presence in a gymnasium- a central social space in Graeco-Roman societies. Therefore, in assimilating Antinous to Apollo, a person or a city could make several implications about their appreciation of mysticism, Hellenism, history and religion.

Asclepius, Osiris and the River God Antinous

Asclepius, in Roman mythology a son of Apollo, is another deity associated with healing, as well as snakes. He was a god specially featured in the Eleusinian Mysteries and had himself been initiated into the Mysteries, and at Antinoopolis in Egypt there was a deme named after him.¹⁴⁷ At Rome, Asclepius, whose snakes arrived on a boat sailing up the Tiber, was closely associated with the river and his temple was located on Tiber Island.¹⁴⁸ To add a further dimension to Asclepius'

¹⁴⁵ D. Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries: Cosmology and Salvation in the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 44.

¹⁴⁶ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate I, xv.

¹⁴⁷ K. Clinton, "The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors, Second Century BC to AD 267," 1525; H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," 140.

¹⁴⁸ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.622-745.

compatibility with Antinous' imagery, like Osiris he was closely associated with death and resurrection in his mythology.¹⁴⁹ A statue of Antinous as Asclepius, with an *omphalos* at his feet, stood in the Sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis (fig. 41), probably in the courtyard of the Great Propylaea, where sacrifices were given in his honor.¹⁵⁰ Clinton finds this association appropriate, as a courtyard statue should bid health and fortune. Clinton also points out a special day of the Eleusinian Mysteries was traditionally set aside for Asclepius in honor of those who arrived late at the Initiations. Since this is the only day Asclepius is honored at the Mysteries, this Antinous syncretism could reference Antinous being a latecomer to the cult but nevertheless welcome.¹⁵¹ Elsewhere in Achaëa, Nikopolis minted a coin depicting Antinous on the obverse and Asclepius, standing and holding his serpent-entwined staff, on the reverse (fig. 42).¹⁵² Antinous' assimilations to Apollo and his son, Asclepius, add another dimension to the guardian role of Antinous seen in his shepherd imagery.

Much like the body of agrarian deities with whom Antinous was associated, he was attached to other watery deities aside from Asclepius at Eleusis and Nikopolis, or Poseidon at Tion. Already, Antinous' "original" syncretism was to the Egyptian

¹⁴⁹ Hyginus, *Fabulae* 49; Diodorus Siculus, 4.71.1-4.

¹⁵⁰ K. Clinton, "The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors, Second Century BC to AD 267," 1523.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 1525.

¹⁵² G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate I, iii.

Osiris, whose identity rested in the sacred Nile River. Once his image began circulating throughout the empire, cities like Amisos and Tarsus used Antinous' river associations to create ties between him and the city. At Amisos one coin type was minted that bore Antinous' portrait on the obverse with his star above his head. The reverse contained the Thermodon reclining over waves with his various attributes; the legend identifies the figure as the Asian river god (fig. 43).¹⁵³ The Thermodon was a river in modern-day Turkey that ran into the Black Sea. At Tarsus, the reverse of one coin with an obverse that bears Antinous' image and name depicts a beardless Kydnos reclining on a rock over waves (fig. 44), and represented the god of the river Kydnos, which flowed into the Mediterranean near Tarsus.¹⁵⁴ In these cities tying Antinous to their local imagery, it has become evident, I would argue, that in the [East] Roman Empire the deity Antinous did not possess a personality or authority over a certain aspect of nature, he instead continually adopted those of other deities. What made those assimilations Antinous (as opposed to the god whose guise he was wearing) was his unmistakable face, and that face's unmistakable connection to the imperial power at Rome.

Integrating Antinous and City Identities

We have already seen Tmolus and Smyrna in Asia and Leptis Magna in Tripolitania tie their local history to Hadrian's new deity by placing his portrait opposite the local cult imagery. Several other cities followed suit as well, linking

¹⁵³ Ibid., Plate II, xii.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., Plate IV, ix–x.

Antinous to founders and city imagery. Other cities depicted gods who were worshipped locally or resided as patron god of that city, and still other cities, who felt the need to be more straightforward, touted their official Hadrianic name and/or status on the reverse legends of coins with obverses bearing Antinous' portrait. Arcadia minted several coins that linked Antinous to their local history; Blum has three coin types all depicting a trotting horse on the reverse (fig. 45a-b).¹⁵⁵ As previously discussed, the Bithynians in Asia traced their heritage back to the Arcadians at Mantinea. Importantly, the ties to Antinous do not end there. Arcadia was known for its horses and mules, but the myth of Poseidon's rape of Demeter played out on Arcadian soil as well.¹⁵⁶ Arcadia was also home to the god Pan, who was interchangeable with Hermes in his associations with Antinous.¹⁵⁷ Other vague historical connections include what seem to be founder personifications from commemorative Antinous coins minted at Argos (fig. 46a-b) and Keos (fig. 47) in Achaia.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., Plate I, xviii–xix, xxi.

¹⁵⁶ Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio* 8.25.7.

¹⁵⁷ R. Jenkyns, "Virgil and Arcadia," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 79 (January 1989): 28.

¹⁵⁸ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate I, xi–xii, Plate IV, i. These figures are clearly meant to be understood by the viewer, however, lack any combination of attributes we would recognize as identifying the figure with a Graeco-Roman deity. In iconography, entities such as cities and councils were anthropomorphized in a similar manner to the gods.

Elsewhere in Achaëa, a coin type already discussed, minted by Antinous' priest at Corinth, depicts a nude figure leaning against a herm or altar on its reverse (fig. 16). Along with its obverse legend identifying a priest of Antinous called Hostilios Markellos, it seems the coin is depicting the presence of the Antinous cult within the city, the idealized image of Antinous representing a local altar and/or cult statue.¹⁵⁹ Another unique coin minted to honor Antinous, which came from Ancyra in Anatolia, shows a bust of Antinous as "Theos" on the obverse, and a man dressed in Phrygian pants, tunic and hat holding a scepter and an anchor (fig. 48).¹⁶⁰ The reverse legend names one Julius Saturninus, who we can assume was the minter of the coin, signaling once again the use of coin types to further not only the interest of a city but the interest of its elite, and considering Saturninus' geographical disadvantage to that of Polemo at Smyrna, the minting of these coins was no doubt one way in which the two could publicly vie for Hadrian's attentions towards Asia.

At Ephesus Antinous was honored as the legendary founder Androclus both on coins and in sculpture.¹⁶¹ A cult statue depicting Antinous came from a gymnasium in the Baths of Vedius (fig. 49), specifically the gymnasium's imperial hall. Antinous is depicted as Ephesus' legendary lion tamer in a cape, advancing with his arm outstretched.¹⁶² We see Antinous as Androclus as well on an Ephesian coin type, the

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., Plate I, xiv.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., Plate IV, ii.

¹⁶¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 5.14. Gellius marks his version of the Androclus myth as a redaction of Apion's lost story.

obverse of which depicts Antinous' portrait and titles him as "hero," and the reverse of which shows Antinous as Androclus carrying a spear, advancing to the right with a dead boar at his feet. The reverse legend names Antinous as the "Ephesian Androclus" (fig. 50).¹⁶³ It is interesting here to take note of Androclus' ties to hunting and wild animals, namely the lion whom he helped and the boar depicted on this coin type. Antinous is known to have accompanied Hadrian on at least one lion hunt recorded by Pancrates in a poem, and it is probable he is the companion depicted with Hadrian on a tondo from the Arch of Constantine that shows the emperor hunting a boar (fig. 51).¹⁶⁴ Again, at Ephesus we have a city tying Hadrian's new god to its own local history using some of the cues Hadrian had given the cities, but with its own local spin. Amorium, a city in Galatia, minted a coin assimilating Antinous to another legendary hero: Herakles, who is depicted on the reverse nude and leaning on his club (fig. 52).¹⁶⁵ These ties to ancient heroes served not only to pull Antinous closer to the city but also to pull Antinous into the myth and legend of the old Greek countryside that so interested Hadrian.

Other cities in the Greek East syncretized Antinous to deities who were locally important to either the commissioner of the dedication or the city itself. At

¹⁶² <http://library.clevelandart.org/node/232410>. In Androclus' myth, he calms a raging lion by removing a thorn from its paw.

¹⁶³ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate II, x.

¹⁶⁴ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 241; *Ibid.*, 242, Plate 26; T. Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, 173.

¹⁶⁵ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 50, figure 1.

Philadelphia, Antinous' obverse portrait sits opposite a reverse depiction of the goddess Tyche holding a rudder and cornucopia (fig. 53).¹⁶⁶ At Adramyttium, Gessius' minting of the coin discussed under Antinous' agrarian imagery, where Antinous is depicted as Iacchos (fig. 22) connects Antinous to Dionysian and Eleusinian imagery; it seems Gessius may have been a patron or sponsor of the Mysteries at some point.¹⁶⁷ It is important here to note the connections to both Dionysian imagery and the Eleusinian Mysteries, with both of which Antinous was associated in other places. At Kyme, Antinous was depicted opposite an advancing Athena on two coin types (fig. 54), and at Tion opposite a depiction of Poseidon in his chariot, followed by a Victory (fig. 55).¹⁶⁸ This group of Antinous commemorations displays the flexibility in Antinous' identity and usage was not only in variety of deities but also hierarchy. Here we see Antinous linked to Zeus' brother, his daughter, and the god of the sun. This, to me, says more about Antinous total assimilation into the mosaic of Graeco-Roman deities than it does about the intent of the cities in who they chose to syncretize Antinous with. We keep coming back around to Hadrian's "prophecy" on the Pincian Obelisk that all the gods breathe life into Antinous and he in turn breathes new life back.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., Plate III, xiv.

¹⁶⁷ T. Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, 190; G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate III, x.

¹⁶⁸ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate II, i–ii; Ibid., Plate III, vii.

Some cities preferred a more straightforward means of using coinage to communicate their adoration of Hadrian and his new god while also integrating them into the identity of the city- adopting Hadrian's name. Keos, in Achaea, was one city that added the title ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΙ (Hadrianoi) to its own [ΚΙΑΝΟΙ] on the reverse of its coinage honoring Antinous (fig. 47).¹⁶⁹ In Asia, Stratonicea changed its official name to Hadrianopolis-Stratonicia and included this new name in its coinage bearing Antinous' name and portrait (fig. 56).¹⁷⁰ Another city, Hadrianotherai, minted commemorative coins depicting Antinous on the obverse, with the legend ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟC ΗΡΩC ΑΓΑΘΟC (Antinous Hero Agathos) (fig. 57a-b) could be assimilating Antinous to the good vineyard spirit Agathos Daimon.¹⁷¹ The reverse depicts a bear head and its legend, which names the city [ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΘΗΡΙΤΩΝ], reminds Hadrian that *he* was the object of veneration even though it was not his portrait on the coin. Of course, Bithynion-Claudiopolis as well had not always carried the “-Claudiopolis” on its end. The city tended to include ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ (Hadrianon) in its reverse legends on Hadrianic coinage (fig. 29).¹⁷² Cities could also use other titles to portray to the emperor and the empire their place among Hadrian's favored peoples. Nikomedia in Bithynia was one city that issued coins with reverse legends including

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., Plate IV, i.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., Plate IV, iv.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., Plate III, xi-xii.

¹⁷² Ibid., Plate III, i.

the title of *metropolis* (fig. 58a-b).¹⁷³ Tarsus in Cilicia, on their coinage, took the opportunity to add Hadrian's name, their title as *metropolis* and as *neokoros* to their name on the reverse of several necessarily large coin types (fig. 31-2).¹⁷⁴

The Spread and Survival of the Antinous Cult

With all of this coinage circulating throughout the empire, and the numerous cult statues being commissioned for both private and public spaces, what evidence is there for exactly who in the empire honored Antinous? Aside from his patron city Antinoopolis in Egypt and the cult to Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium in Italy, evidence for Antinous' cult is widespread only in the East. As mentioned, Pausanias records the worship, celebration of mysteries, and celebration of games of Antinous at Mantinea in Achaia. As well, it is safe to assume Antinous had cults at Ancyra, Corinth and Delphi given that his priests named themselves on extant coins. At Argos, one inscription contains the names of officials of the local cult to Antinous.¹⁷⁵ At Eleusis, two inscriptions record ephebic games established in Antinous' honor, and we have already seen the syncretic statue of Antinous as Asclepius that sat in the courtyard of the sanctuary.¹⁷⁶ In Bithynia, Antinous' hometown, which no doubt housed a temple or altar to Antinous, also established the Hadrianeia Antinoeia

¹⁷³ Ibid., Plate III, ii-iv.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., Plate IV, v-viii.

¹⁷⁵ *IG* IV 590, lines 11-13.

¹⁷⁶ G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, 155. For the inscriptions, see *IG* II² 2120 and 2201.

festival.¹⁷⁷ It seems there may have been an altar to Antinous at Tion in Bithynia as well, since one coin type honoring Antinous portrays the boy sitting on a low, ornate altar holding a *pedum* and covered in draping (fig. 18).¹⁷⁸ Alexandria in Egypt had the Megala Antinoeia games established, and at Cyrene on the North Coast of Africa he was honored as a priest of the imperial cult, as suggested by an extant over life-sized statue depicting Antinous in this guise (fig. 59).¹⁷⁹

Regarding the longevity of Antinous' cult, there is a small body of evidence to say worship of this new Roman god continued at least through the 3rd century CE, and we know the city of Antinoopolis remained a cultural center for several centuries after its establishment.¹⁸⁰ Additionally, Antinous' hometown of Bithynion-Claudiopolis, being the birthplace of a god once Hadrian deified the boy in Egypt, adopted Antinous in much the same way a city would adopt a patron god or a mythical founder. We have already seen Bithynion-Claudiopolis use Antinous coins to declare itself as his birthplace or homeland. However, three coin types from the reigns of later emperors imply the significance of Antinous' identity to the city's status in the empire continued past Hadrian's death. Two of these types were minted during the reign of Commodus (180-192 CE), evident from his crowned head depicted on the obverse with his

¹⁷⁷ M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 99.

¹⁷⁸ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate III, vi.

¹⁷⁹ http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=17175&langue=fr

¹⁸⁰ H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," 144.

imperial title as the legend. On one type the reverse contains the city's name surrounding a portrait of Antinous with draped shoulders, and the other type gives him a caduceus as well (fig. 1-2).¹⁸¹ Another type was minted during the reign of Caracalla (198-217 CE) and contains a youthful portrait of the intimidating emperor, and again the reverse depicts Antinous. Here he is dressed in a cloak and carrying a *pedum* against one shoulder with an animal grazing behind him (fig. 3). Like the caduceus, the *pedum* was an attribute used for Hermes or Pan, and the general imagery of the coin recalls Antinous as a "divine shepherd" on earlier coins.

Crucial to understanding the significance of these coin types are the implications of their existence. What these coins say is that nearly a century after the death of Hadrian, Antinous' face and imagery could still be used to communicate ideas about Bithynion-Claudiopolis to anyone in the empire. After all, coins were the only democratic means of mass communication in the empire; everyone, slave to imperial family member, used coins on a daily basis.¹⁸² Thus, a general assumption that the god Antinous was made by Hadrian and survived only through and because of Hadrian seems to disagree with the evidence. Antinous was worshipped long after Hadrian was gone, and his image and identity are recognized upon first glance to this day. I initially intended in this paper to ask the question of *how* Hadrian made his

¹⁸¹ G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," Plate II, xviii–xix.

¹⁸² G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos." Most of the coins and medallions Blum gathered were struck in bronze, one of the cheapest and most common metals in Roman currency, meaning that the masses of middle and lower class subjects would indeed have seen and used these coins.

teenage boyfriend into a god whose image has lasted through millennia. How did Hadrian convince an empire to worship this provincial boy? However, when one looks at the extant evidence, it seems the legitimacy of that question is contestable given the amount of evidence for participation in Antinous' cult post-138 CE, the year Hadrian died. So instead I have asked the question of *who* made an emperor's teenage boyfriend into a god whose image has lasted through the millennia.

Who, then, made Antinous?

While Hadrian set the stage for who the god Antinous would be, it is clear that the cities completed the character and decided his uses and purposes. The cities minted coins and made trinkets, spread his image to the borders and incorporated him into their local histories. Provincial citizens used Antinous as a tool to communicate with the emperor. Even the Christians used Antinous in their own ways. A theme emerges when analyzing these commemorative coins the cities independently minted to honor Antinous; the legends or iconography used in the designs are meant to evoke not only ideas about Antinous and Hadrian, but also ideas about the agency of the cities in the projection of their identities. I would argue this ability of a city to place Antinous within its local religious framework allowed the city to place part of the imperial "body" in their own identity while also communicating something to the emperor about the city's history and identity as that city saw itself. This ability to stand in between Hadrian and the cities while also being a part of each, I argue, is what really made Antinous special because it means that as a socio-political tool he could be employed not only by the emperor but by his subjects as well. Antinous thus appears

to have been an incarnation of the reciprocity characteristic of Hadrian's relationships with the cities of the Empire.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1. Commemorative coin minted by Bithynion-Claudiopolis.
 OBV: Commodus, with legend AVTKMAVPKOMMO | ΔOCANTΩNINOC
 REV: Antinous, with legend BEIΘVNIEΩN AΔPIANΩN,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 44, #11, Plate II, xviii.



Figure 2. Commemorative coin minted by Bithynion-Claudiopolis.
 OBV: Commodus, with legend AVTKMAVPKOMMO | ΔOCANTΩNINOC
 REV (shown): Antinous with a caduceus, with legend BEIΘVNIEΩN AΔPIANΩN,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 44, #12, Plate II, xix.



Figure 3. Commemorative coin minted by Bithynion-Claudiopolis.
 OBV: Caracalla, with legend AVKMAVP | ANTΩNINOC
 REV: Antinous dressed in a cloak and mantle, carrying a pedum, animal grazing behind, with legend BEIΘVNIEΩN AΔPIANΩN,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 45, #13, Plate II, xxi.

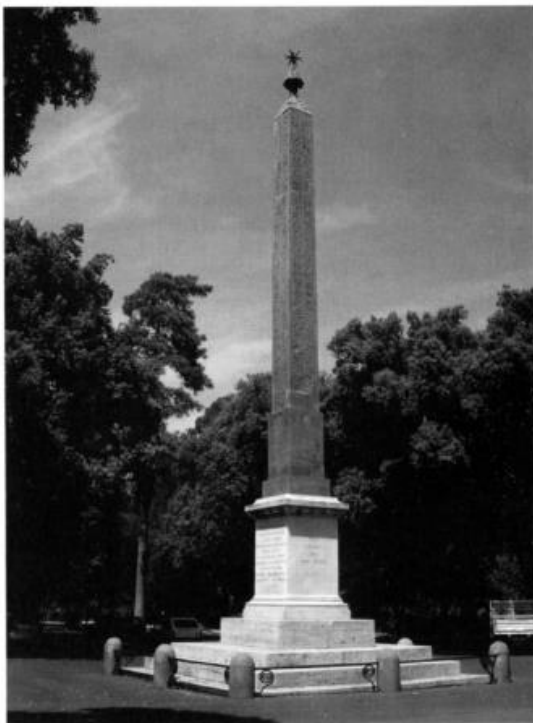


Figure 4. The Pincian Obelisk/Obelisk of Antinous, unknown provenance,
 in Z. Mari, S. Sgalambro, "The Antinoeion of Hadrian's Villa: Interpretation and Architectural Reconstruction," 102, fig. 29.

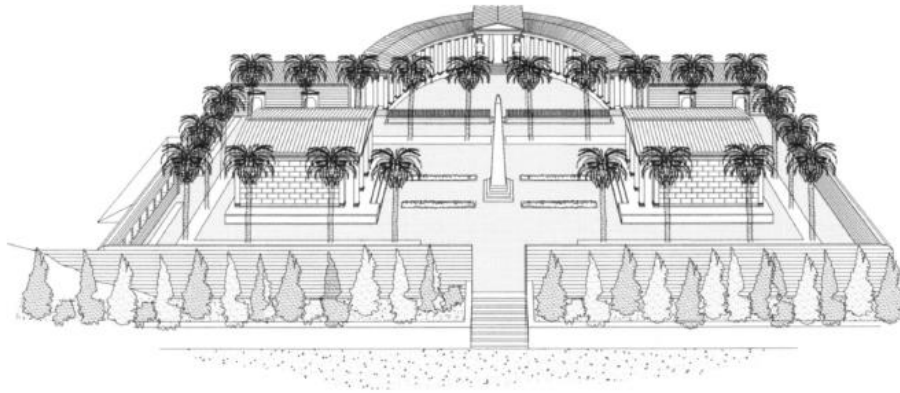


Figure 5. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Antinoeion at Hadrian's Villa based on excavations, in Z. Mari, S. Sgalambro, "The Antinoeion of Hadrian's Villa: Interpretation and Architectural Reconstruction," 96, fig. 18.



Figure 6. The Braschi Antinous from Hadrian's Villa. Antinous as Dionysos-Osiris, in the Vatican Museums: http://mv.vatican.va/3_EN/pages/x-Schede/MPCs/MPCs_Sala07_01.html



Figure 7. Bust of Antinous in Pharaoh dress, from Hadrian's Villa, in the Louvre:

http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=16646&langue=en



Figure 8. Statue of an Egyptianized Antinous/Osirantinous, from Hadrian's Villa, in the Vatican Museums: http://www.museivaticani.va/3_EN/pages/x-Schede/MEZs/MEZs_Sala03_01_10_011.html



Figure 9. Bust of Antinous depicted as Dionysos, from Hadrian's Villa, in the Allard Pierson Museum: http://dpc.uba.uva.nl/cgi/i/image/image-idx?sid=9448deae4e0c467520d5644e4b68a242;lang=nl;med=1;c=apmcat;q1=antinou s;rgn1=apmcat_all;size=20;lasttype=boolean;view=entry;lastview=thumbnail;subview=detail;cc=apmcat;entryid=x-314066381-lt-br-gt;viewid=16167_20A_20GIPS_20COPY;start=1;resnum=1



Figure 10. The Albani Relief depicting Antinous as Vertumnus, from Hadrian's Villa, in C. Vout, "Antinous, Archaeology and History," 97, Plate XI.



Figure 11. Statue of Antinous depicted as/completed on a body of Herakles, from Hadrian's Villa, in the Louvre:
http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=27455&langue=fr



Figure 12. Colossal head of Antinous depicted as Dionysos-Osiris, from Frascati, Italy, in T. Oppen, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, 184, fig. 167.



Figure 13. Canopic tondo with a bust of Antinous as Pharaoh/Osiris in high relief, from Mallawi, Egypt, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts:
<https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/architectural-tondo-with-canopic-image-151306>



Figure 14. Commemorative coin minted by Alexandria.
 OBV: Antinous with lotus (?) in hair, with legend ANTINOOV | HPΩOC
 REV: Antinous as Hermes on horseback, carrying a large caduceus, legend dates coin to 134/5 CE,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 53, #1, Plate V, i.



Figure 15. Commemorative coin minted by Bithynion-Claudiopolis.

OBV: Antinous, with legend HPΩC | ANTINOOC

REV (shown): Antinous in a traveler's hat (*petasos*), a bundle of plants in each hand, bull standing behind, with legend BEI | ΘVNIEΩN... AΔPIANΩN, in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 44, #10, Plate II, xvi.



Figure 16. Commemorative coin minted by Hostilios Markellos at Corinth.

OBV: Antinous, with legend OCTIAIOCMAPKEΛΛOCIEPEVCTOV | ANTINOOC[V]

REV: Antinous nude, leaning against a herm, holding a caduceus, with legend TOICAXAIOIC | ANEΘHKEN, in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 35, #1, Plate I, xiii.



Figure 17. Commemorative coin minted by Polemo at Smyrna.
 OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINOOC | [HPΩC]
 REV (shown): Ram with caduceus in front, with legend ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ, ANE | ΘΗ |
 ΚΕCMVP | ΝΑΙΟΙC,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 40, #4, Plate II, viii.



Figure 18. Commemorative coin minted by Tion.
 OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINONONΩΙ | HPΩΙ
 REV: Antinous reclining on an altar with a pedom in one hand, with legend ΤΙΑΝΟΙ,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 46, #2, Plate III, vi.



Figure 19. Two coin types minted by Bithynion-Claudiopolis.

OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINOON | ΘΕΟΝ Η ΠΑΤΡΙC

REV (shown): Antinous dressed in a cloak and mantle, holding a *pedum*, bull grazes behind, reed plant in front and a star above his head, with legend ΒΕΙΘΥΝΙΕΩΝ | ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ,

in G. Blum, “Numismatique D’Antinoos,” 43, #7 and 44, #8, Plate II, xiv-xv.



Figure 20. Relief of Antinous as Silvanus, from Lanuvium, Italy, in C. Vout, *Antinous: The Face of the Antique*, 37, fig. 14.



Figure 21a. Bronze portrait vessel of Antinous dressed in a fawn skin, from Egypt, in the Berlin State Museums: <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=677438&viewType=detailView>



Figure 21b. Bronze portrait vessel of Antinous dressed in a fawn skin, from Egypt, in the British Museum: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=465096&partId=1&searchText=antinous&page=1



Figure 22. Commemorative coin minted by Gessius at Adramyttium.
 OBV: Antinous as Iacchos, with legend IAKXOC | ANTINOOC
 REV: draped female figure sits on stool wearing an oriental cape and long sleeve *chiton* (linen garment), holding a scepter, with legend ΓΕCIOC ANEΘΗΚΕ | ΑΔΡΑΜΥΘΗΝΟ | ΙC,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 47, #1i, Plate III, x.



Figure 23. Commemorative coin minted by Tmolus.
 OBV: Antinous, with legend ΗΡΩC | ANTINOOC
 REV: Antinous as a Bacchic reveler(?). Figure standing, wearing a tunic tied at the waist, carries gnarled staff topped with a piece of fruit, holds a basket on his head.
 Legend illegible,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 51, #1ii, Plate IV, iii.



Figure 24. Bust of Antinous as Dionysos, from Rome, in the British Museum:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/gr/b/bust_of_antinous.aspx



Figure 25. Commemorative coin minted by Sala in Lydia.

OBV: Antinous, with legend HPΩC | ANTINOOC

REV: Dionysos leaning against a column, holding his drinking cup (*diota*) in one hand and a bunch of grapes in the other, with legend ΕΠΙΓ | ΟΥΑΔΑΝΔ | ΡΟCΑΔΗΝΩΝ, in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 50, #1i, Plate III, xiii.



Figure 26. Commemorative coin minted by Sardis.

OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINOOC | HPQC

REV: Silenus sits on an altar with baby Dionysos on his knee and a *diota* in one hand.

Legend illegible,

in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 52, #1i, Plate III, xvi.



Figure 27. Commemorative coin minted by Sardis.

OBV: Antinous, with legend HPQC | ANTINOOC

REV: Silenus stands, lower body draped, holding baby Dionysos and a bunch of grapes, with legend CAPAI | ANQN,

in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 51, #2i, Plate III, xvii.



Figure 28. Two coin types minted by Polemo at Smyrna.
 OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINOOC | HPΩC
 REV (shown): female panther grasping a *thrysos*, with legend
 ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ | CMVP | ΝΑΙΟΙC,
 in G. Blum, “Numismatique D’Antinoos,” 41, #14, Plate II, vii and ix.



Figure 29. Commemorative coin minted by Bithynion-Claudiopolis.
 OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINOON | ΘΕΟΝ Η ΠΑΤΡΙC
 REV: Dionysos with ivy crown tied back over hair, with legend ΒΕΙΘΥΝΙΕΩΝ |
 ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ,
 in G. Blum, “Numismatique D’Antinoos,” 43, #2, Plate III, i.



Figure 30. Commemorative coin minted by Tion.

OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINOOC | HPΩC

REV: Dionysos nude, holding *thyrsus* and vase, panther behind, with legend TIANOI, in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 47, #5, Plate III, v.



Figure 31a. Commemorative coin minted by Tarsus.

OBV: Antinous, dressed in mantle, braided thong in hair with a uraeus between two horns and a star above, with legend HPΩC | ANTINOOC

REV: Dionysos (or Antinous?) riding a female panther, carrying a *thyrsus*, braids in hair, with legend ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗCΤ | ΑΡCΟVΜΗ | ΤΡΟΠΟΛΕ | ΩCΝΕΟΚΟΡΟV, in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 52, #1, Plate IV, v.



Figure 31b. Commemorative coin minted by Tarsus.

OBV: Antinous, star above head, with legend ANTINOOC | HPΩC

REV: female panther grasping a *thyrsus*, with legend ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗCΤΑΡCΟΒΜΗΤΡΟ | ΠΟ.... | ΝΕΟΚΟΡΟΒ,

in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 52, #2, Plate IV, vii.



Figure 31c. Commemorative coin minted by Tarsus.

OBV: Antinous, star above head, with legend ANTINOOC | HPΩC

REV (shown): female panther leaning on a tipped vase, with legend ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗCΤΑΡCΟΒΜΗΤΡΟ | ΠΟ.... | ΝΕΟΚΟΡΟΒ,

in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 52, #3, Plate IV, viii.



Figure 32a. Commemorative coin minted by Tarsus.

OBV: Antinous, star above head, with legend HPΩC | ANTINOOC

REV: Bacchic cist between three *thyrsus* decorated with ribbons and bands, with legend ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗCΤΑΡCΟΒΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩCΝΕΟΚΟΡΟΒ | ΝΕΩΙΑΚΧΩ, in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 52, #4, Plate IV, vi.



Figure 32b. Commemorative coin minted by Tarsus.

OBV: Antinous, with legend HPΩC | ANTINOOC

REV (shown): vase in a shrine on a pediment, four columns tied together and separated by screens, with legend ΑΔΡ[ΙΑ]....ΤΑΡ | CΟΒΜ | ΗΤ | ΡΟΠΟ.... | ΝΕΟΚΟΡΟΒ | ΝΕΩΙΑΚΧΩ, in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 52, #5, Plate IV, xi.



Figure 33. Statue of Antinous from a gymnasium in the Hadrianic Baths at Leptis Magna. Originally a statue of Apollo, the face was recarved to resemble Antinous and a Dionysian ivy crown was added to the head, in C. Vout, *Antinous: The Face of the Antique*, 28, fig. 3.



Figure 34. Commemorative coin minted by Aristotimus at Delphi.
 OBV: Antinous as Hero of the Gates, with legend
 [O]IAMΦΙΚΑΝΤΙΝΟ[ON]HPΩΔΠΡΟΠΥΛΑΙΟΝ
 REV: Antinous standing nude on a base in contrapposto pose, with legend
 [A]PICTO[TI]MOC....,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 34, #4i, Plate I, x.



Figure 35a. Two coin types minted by Aristotimus at Delphi.

OBV: Antinous, similar legends: [O]IAMΦIKANTINO[ON]HPΩAΠPOΠVΛAION

REV: tripod, similar legends: APICTOTIMOCANEΘHKE[IEPEYC],

in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 34, #1-2, Plate I, vii-viii.



Figure 35b. Commemorative coin minted by Aristotimus at Delphi.

OBV: Antinous, legend illegible

REV: crested bird surrounded by a laurel wreath crown, with legend [APICTO]TI | MOCANEΘ[HKE],

in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 35, #6, Plate I, ix.



Figure 36. Antinous in the style of the Tiber Apollo, found West of Apollo's temple, in the Archaeological Museum at Delphi.



Figure 37. Commemorative coin minted by Chalcedon.
 OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINOOC | HPΩC
 REV: young figure ascending on a griffin, holding grapes by his face, with legend XΑΛΚΑΔΟ | ΝΙΟΙC | ΠΠΠΩΝ,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 47, #1, Plate III, ix.



Figure 38. Commemorative coin minted by Nikopolis.
 OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTIN[OOC]
 REV: virile figure (Apollo?) sitting on a tree trunk or rock holding a bow, with legend [N]EIKO | [ΠΟΛ]EWC,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 33, #1, Plate I, i.



Figure 39. Commemorative coin minted by Tarsus.
 OBV: Antinous, star above head, with legend ΗΡΩC | ANTINOOC
 REV (shown): tripod entwined with serpents, laurel branch to left, with legend ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗC ΤΑΡCΟV ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC ΝΕΟΚΟΡΟV | ΝΕΩΙΑΚΧΩ,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 53, #9, Plate IV, xii.



Figure 40. Commemorative coin minted by Hostilios Markellos at Corinth.
 OBV: Antinous, with legend OCTIAIOCMAPKEAAOCIEPEVCTOV | ANTINOO[V]
 REV: Helios, nude, on his two-horse chariot, holding a whip, with legend KOPIN | ΘΙ... | ANEOHKE,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 36, #3, Plate I, xv.



Figure 41. Antinous represented as Asclepios, likely sat in the courtyard to the sanctuary of Demeter, in the Archaeological Museum of Eleusis.



Figure 42. Commemorative coin minted by Nikopolis.

OBV: Antinous, legend illegible

REV: Asclepius standing, holding his serpent-entwined staff, with legend NEIKOΠIOAEWC,

in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 34, #3, Plate I, iii.



Figure 43. Commemorative coin minted by Amisos.

OBV: Antinous with a star in front, with legend HPΩC | ANTINOOC

REV: Thermodon reclining over waves, holding a leafy branch in one hand and a double axe in the other, an urn behind, with legend AMICOV[EAEVΘEPACET] PIE | ΘEPMΩΔΩN,

in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 42, #1, Plate II, xii.



Figure 44. Commemorative coin minted by Tarsus.

OBV: Antinous with draped shoulders, wearing a diadem and uraeus, star above and in front, with legend ANTINOOC | HPΩC

REV: Kydnos reclining on a rock over waves, holding a shrub with berries, wearing a crown, tower rising at his feet, reed stands behind, with legend ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗCΤΑΡCΩΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕ | ΩCΝΕΟΚΟΡΟΝ | ΚΥΔΝΟC, in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 53, #10-11, Plate IV, ix-x.



Figure 45a. Two coin types minted by Arcadia.

OBV: Antinous, with legend BETOVPIOC

REV: horse advancing, with legend TOIC | APKACI, in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 37, #1-2. Plate I, xviii-xix.



Figure 45b. Commemorative coin minted by Arcadia.
 OBV: Antinous with a caduceus, with legend BE | TOVPIOC
 REV: horse advancing, with legend TOIC APKACI,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 37, #6, Plate I, xxi.



Figure 46a. Commemorative coin minted by Argos.
 OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINOOC
 REV: bearded man standing nude, wearing a helmet and boots and carrying a shield,
 with legend APΓ | EIWN,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 35, #1, Plate I, xi.



12

Figure 46b. Commemorative coin minted by Argos.

OBV: Antinous, legend illegible

REV (shown): figure of a man with a sword in one hand and a scabbard in the other, with legend AP. | EIWN,

in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 35, #2, Plate I, xii.



1

Figure 47. Commemorative coin minted by Keos.

OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINOO[C | HPΩC]

REV: nude, beardless youth stands on a rock holding a long rod, with legend KIANOI | AΔPIANOI,

in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 49, #1, Plate IV, i.



Figure 48. Commemorative coin minted by Julius Saturninus at Ancyra.
 OBV: Antinous, draped shoulder, with legend ΘΕΟC | ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟC
 REV: man standing in a sleeved tunic, eastern pants and a Phrygian cap, holding a scepter in one hand and an anchor in the other, crescent behind him, with legend ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥC | ΚΑΤΟΠΝΙΝΟC | ΑΝΚΥΡΑΝΟΙC,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 51, #1, Plate IV, ii.



Figure 49. Statue of Antinous as Androclus, from Ephesus,
 in the Cleveland Museum of Art: <http://library.clevelandart.org/node/232410>



Figure 50. Commemorative coin minted by Ephesus.
 OBV: Antinous, draped shoulder, with legend HPΩC | ANTINOOC
 REV: young figure (Antinous?) nude, cloak over his shoulders and carrying a spear, dead boar in front and a tree behind, with legend ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ | ΑΝΔΡΟΚΛΑΟΣ,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 41, #1, Plate II, x.



Figure 51. Hadrianic tondos from the Arch of Constantine.
 Hadrian's companion is thought to be Antinous,
 in T. Oppen, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, 171, figs. 152-3.



Figure 52. Commemorative coin minted by Amorium.

OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINOO | C HPOC

REV: Herakles nude, leaning on his club, with legend AMOPI | ANΩN,
in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 50, #1.



Figure 53. Commemorative coin minted by Philadelphia.

OBV: Antinous, with legend HPΩC | ANTINOOC

REV: Tyche holding a rudder and a cornucopia, with legend ΦΙΛΑΔΕ | ΛΦΕΩΝ,
in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 49, #1ii, Plate III, xiv.



Figure 54. Two coin types minted by Kyme.

OBV: Antinous, with legend HPΩC | ANTINOOC

REV: Athena on a base, advancing to right, wearing helmet and a double peplos, an aegis, a spear in one hand and a shield in the other, with legend IEPΩNVMOCANEΘH | KEKVMAIOK,
in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 39, #1-2, Plate II, i-ii.



Figure 55. Commemorative coin minted by Tion.

OBV: Antinous in a mantle, with legend ANTINOΩI | HPΩI

REV: Poseidon in his chariot carried by two seahorses, followed by a Victory, with legend TIANOI,

in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 47, #4, Plate III, vii.



Figure 56. Commemorative coin minted by Hadrianopolis-Stratonicea.
 OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINOOC | HPΩC
 REV: bull, with legend ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ C+ΕΠΙΣΤΚΑΝΔΙΔΟΥ Β,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 49, #1i, Plate IV, iv.



Figure 57a. Commemorative coin minted by Hadrianotherai.
 OBV: Antinous, draped shoulder, with legend ANTINOOC | ΡΩCΑΓΑΘΟC
 REV: bear head, with legend ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟ | ΘΗΠΙ | ΤΩΝ,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 48, #1, Plate III, xi-xii.



Figure 57b. Commemorative coin minted by Hadrianotherai.
 OBV: Antinous, with legend ANTINOOC | HPΩC | ΑΓΑΘOC
 REV: bull, crescent on flank, with legend ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟ | ΘΗΠΙ | ΤΩΝ,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 48, #2, Plate III, xii.



Figure 58a. Two coin types minted by Nikomedia.
 OBV: Antinous, with legend HPΩC | ANT....
 REV: bull, with legend ΗΜΗ | ΤΡΟΠΟΛΙC | ΝΙΚΟΜΕΔΕΙΑ,
 in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 45, #1-2, Plate III, ii-iii.



Figure 58b. Commemorative coin minted by Nikomedia.

OBV: Antinous, with legend HPΩC | ANT....

REV: Antinous in contrapposto pose, lower body draped, with legend
MHTPOΠOΛIC | NIKOMEΔEIA,
in G. Blum, "Numismatique D'Antinoos," 45, #4, Plate III, iv.



Figure 59. Statue of Antinous as a priest of the Imperial cult, from Cyrene, Africa,
in the Louvre:

http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=17175&langue=fr

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