

# 15 “The City of Hadrian and not of Theseus”

## A cultural history of Hadrian’s Arch

*Anna Kouremenos*

Monuments are human landmarks which men have created as symbols for their ideals, for their aims, and for their actions. They are intended to outlive the period which originated them and constitute a heritage for future generations. As such, they form a link between the past and the future.

(Sert, Léger, and Giedion 1943)

### Introduction

Few monuments in Athens are as iconic as Hadrian’s Arch, located on Vasilissis Amalias Avenue in the center of the city (Figure 15.1). Known locally as Η Πύλη του Αδριανού, or, less frequently, Η Αψίδα του Αδριανού, at first glance it may not appear as imposing as some of the other ancient monuments of Athens, particularly when compared to its nearby neighbor, the magnificent ruins of the Temple of Olympian Zeus. Given its locality, it is perhaps the most accessible of all the ancient monuments in the Greek capital as well as one of the few that can be visited free of charge at all times of the day. The 2nd century CE landmark is not a canonical Roman triumphal arch but an honorary one dedicated to the emperor Hadrian by the citizens of Athens.<sup>1</sup> Of particular importance are two inscriptions engraved on the architrave above the apsidal opening on either side of the arch;<sup>2</sup> the west side facing the Acropolis proclaims, ΑΙΔ’ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ Η ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ (This is Athens the former city of Theseus),<sup>3</sup> while the east side facing the Temple of Olympian Zeus declares, ΑΙΔ’ ΕΙΣ’ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΟΥΧΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ (This is the city of Hadrian and not of Theseus). Paradoxically, if we alter a single letter in the official nomenclature of the monument through a small slip of the tongue, Η Πύλη του Αδριανού becomes Η Πύλη του Αδριανού (the city of Hadrian), echoing the message of the latter inscription.

My objective in this chapter is not to present a detailed architectural study of the arch – other scholars have done a much better job than I could.<sup>4</sup> Rather, my aim is: (a) to situate it among the wider antique monumental space in the Greek capital and explore the various interventions that resulted in the monument we see today; (b) to shed light on Hadrian’s ideology of promoting the Hellenic past during his reign and to discern the reactions of the Athenians and other Greeks to his endeavors; and (c) to explore the



*Figure 15.1* The east side of Hadrian's Arch with Lysicratous Street in the background.  
Source: (Photo: M. Gianni).

cultural history of the arch and its status as an iconic landmark in a major European capital, merging longevity and continuity. To that end, I present a diachronic study of the monument and its reception by both Greeks and non-Greeks, from its dedication in the 2nd century until the present. The arch has featured in such varied contexts as illustrations, paintings, poems, musical compositions, and, more recently, has served as a symbolic space for generating awareness for various social causes. Yet an enduring mystery that has puzzled scholars until the present is why it has survived in such good condition through twenty centuries. A survey of its cultural trajectory and erstwhile utilitarian functions will provide some answers.

### **The emperor and the arch: Hadrian as a new Theseus?**

Modern Greeks have long felt uneasy about their country's Roman past and have harbored a particular dislike for Roman rulers, but there is an exception to the latter: they are generally fond of Hadrian and the surviving monuments bearing his name or built during his reign, especially those located in Athens, namely the ruins of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, his eponymous

library, the remains of an aqueduct that supplied the city with water until the middle of the 20th century,<sup>5</sup> and, of course, Hadrian’s Arch. As many ancient ruins are located in the center of the city, these Roman-period markers blend in with other well-known antique monuments of Athens. It is, therefore, not surprising that if one were to conduct an informal survey on the streets of the capital today and ask people to name the period in which the aforementioned monuments were built – and the epoch in which Hadrian lived – the answers would almost always be the Classical or Hellenistic period, or, less likely, the Byzantine. This is an ironic turn in collective historical perception since the emperor himself was, in many ways, striving to live like a Hellene of the Classical period and endeavored to promote an ideal type of Hellenism based on Classical prototypes during his reign (117–138) (Figure 15.2).<sup>6</sup> No other city benefited more from his reverence and promotion of the Greek past than Athens.

Today Hadrian is regarded as the great philhellenic emperor in Greece and elsewhere, but, as I have argued elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> scholars tend to bypass the significance of the fact that he was an Athenian citizen and *eponymous archon* of the city before he became emperor in 117.<sup>8</sup> Granted citizenship in c. 111 (or perhaps earlier) and enrolled in the southern Attic deme of Besa,<sup>9</sup> he did

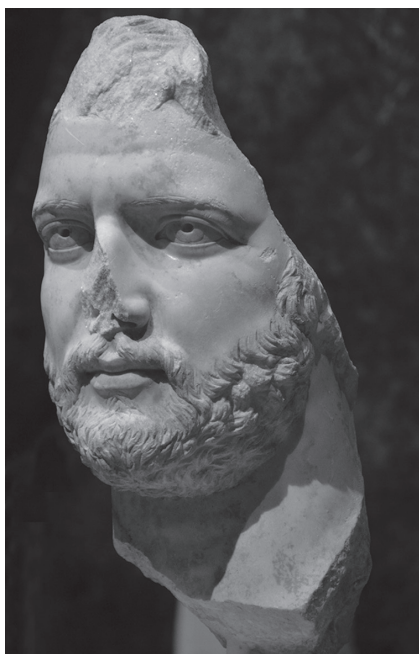


Figure 15.2 Fragmentary portrait of Hadrian from the agora of Athens. Thasian marble, c. 130–138 CE. National Archaeological Museum, Sculpture Collection, inv. no. Γ 632.

Source: (Photo: C. Raddato. With kind permission of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archeological Resources Fund).

not relinquish his rights as an Athenian after ascending the throne. Thus, Athenianness became part of his avowed identity as emperor and drove many of his imperial policies, including his building program. By the time the arch was dedicated, he had been a citizen of the Greek *polis* for two decades. This factor raises an important question in discerning the motivation behind the inscriptions on the arch: were the Athenians who dedicated it in his honor exalting him as a fellow Athenian or as a Roman? As an Athenian *and* a Roman? Since the west inscription mentions only his *cognomen* in Greek (ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ) without his *praenomen*, *nomen*, and titles, the dedicators were probably first and foremost honoring their own citizen and benefactor rather than Hadrian the Roman emperor. The location of the arch and the setting of the inscription above the apsidal opening overlooking directly at the Acropolis cannot have been chosen arbitrarily since they implicitly link the emperor to two of the most important sites of the city. Pausanias relates that he saw a statue of Hadrian next to Athena's inside the Parthenon,<sup>10</sup> an extraordinary honor for a mortal and one that testifies to the reverence of the Athenians for him as well as to his close connection with the goddess, whom, as I have argued, he adopted as one of his patron deities.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the ancient road that led to the arch from the west (modern Lysicratous Street) has been identified as the probable location of the *prytaneion*,<sup>12</sup> said to have been founded by Theseus and also to have served as the official residence of the Athenian *archons*;<sup>13</sup> the structure would have been fully visible from the eastern side of the archway, the side mentioning the emperor. Thus, when the setting of the arch and its inscriptions are considered against the wider monumental space and the emperor's citizenship status, it follows that Hadrian was viewed by the citizens as a new founder of Athens and honored first and foremost as an Athenian who was also the Roman emperor.

The arch, made entirely of Pentelic marble, measures 18 meters in height, 13.5 meters in width, and has a depth of 2.3 meters. It contains two distinct parts that make its design unique among extant Roman arches: a lower segment resembling a canonical Roman triumphal arch, and an upper part, known as the attic, that features three partitioned sections with the middle one in the form of an *aedicula*. The capitals of the columns are in the Corinthian order which was the most common type for Roman arches across the Empire. Since the marble appears to be of lower quality and contains many inclusions, it has been surmised that, perhaps, there was a rush to complete the monument before Hadrian's arrival in c. 131.<sup>14</sup> The architect of the monument is unknown, but given its location, it is likely that he was either an Athenian or a resident alien. Originally the attic would have been decorated, with the three sections containing either paintings or painted reliefs depicting Theseus and Hadrian. The presence of statues, or perhaps of painted reliefs in combination with statues, is also a possibility given the parallels with the likely sculptural decoration of the attics of the two arches at Eleusis.<sup>15</sup> Since older illustrations of the arch depict the two inscriptions above the apsidal opening as darker than they appear today due to the effects of weathering and pollution, it is likely that the letters were originally painted in a dark



Figure 15.3 Traces of orange-brown paint on the attic of Hadrian's Arch.

Source: (Photo: [www.wandertoets.com](http://www.wandertoets.com)).

color or even gilded with metal, perhaps bronze, as was the case with Hadrian's Gate in Antalya. Traces of orange-brown paint on the attic suggest that at least a portion of it was painted red ochre (Figure 15.3),<sup>16</sup> a color that symbolized victory and fortitude in antiquity. Whether these remnants of paint reflect the original Hadrianic-period color scheme or later repainting in the Byzantine period (see below) is difficult to ascertain. Unfortunately, since the monument is situated in one of the busiest avenues of the city, it has accumulated a great deal of pollution and has been cleaned and restored on more than one occasion;<sup>17</sup> therefore, future attempts at conducting analysis via UV-VIS spectrometry – a non-destructive method of pigment examination – or other means to verify its color scheme will prove rather difficult.

The exact date of the dedication of the arch is unknown as references to it from antiquity are lacking. Given its location near the Temple of Olympian Zeus and the linking of Hadrian to Theseus in the second inscription, it is likely that it was built sometime before the later months of c. 131, when the emperor arrived in Athens to inaugurate the Temple of Olympian Zeus and the *Panhellenion*.<sup>18</sup> Honorary arches were constructed when emperors were reigning and rarely posthumously;<sup>19</sup> this was surely the case with two other surviving arches (or gates) dedicated to Hadrian in the eastern part of the Empire, namely those at Antalya and Jerash,<sup>20</sup> which seem to have been roughly contemporaneous with the one in Athens. Earlier suggestions that the emperor commissioned the arch for himself must be rejected since his biographer in the *Historia Augusta* states that, with a single exception, he did not put his name on the monuments he built.<sup>21</sup> Nonetheless, it is obvious that

the Athenians intended Hadrian to see the arch and its inscriptions during his visit, so a post-Hadrianic (posthumous) date for its construction must be ruled out. Comparisons with the two arches of similar design erected at Eleusis and dedicated to “the two goddesses and the emperor” – probably Hadrian – by the Panhellenes,<sup>22</sup> have led some scholars to assume that the arch in Athens was dedicated by this same group, but if that were indeed the case, why is the group’s name omitted from the inscriptions on the monument? I think that the absence of a dedicator makes the case for the citizens of Athens being the dedicators of the arch convincing.

The *Historia Augusta* asserts that the emperor named a part of Athens Hadrianopolis.<sup>23</sup> However, Hadrian’s direct involvement in the naming is questionable. In his entry on the Olympieion (Temple of Olympian Zeus), Stephanus of Byzantium references a passage from *Olympiads*, written by the emperor’s freedman Phlegon of Tralles, who stated that the Athenians built the temple with funds provided by Hadrian and called the area νέας Ἀθήνας Ἀδριανᾶς (the new Athens of Hadrian).<sup>24</sup> Thus, the impetus for the new nomenclature of part of the city originated with the citizens and not the emperor even if he may have indirectly encouraged the venture. Consequently, some earlier scholars surmised that the inscriptions on the arch were carved in such a way as to reflect the boundary between old Athens and this new Athens of Hadrian. Significantly enough, parallels to the orientation of the inscriptions may be drawn from the Greek past. A passage in Plutarch’s *Life of Theseus* states that the legendary king set up a pillar on the Isthmus containing two inscriptions that delineated the boundaries between Athenian and Peloponnesian territory; the east side of the pillar stated “This is not Peloponnesus but Ionia”, and on the west was written “Here is the Peloponnesus, not Ionia”.<sup>25</sup> Might the dedicators of the arch have intended to link Hadrian with Theseus by emulating the phrasing of the inscriptions on the aforementioned pillar and naming both the emperor and the legendary king on the monument? Since the part of Athens east of the arch already contained built quarters, and many of the other Hadrianic-period monuments are technically located within the older city of Theseus, this theory has been questioned by some scholars,<sup>26</sup> but it is worth re-examining it.

Excavations around the Temple of Olympian Zeus since the 19th century have brought to light the remains of houses, baths, and other structures of the 2nd century CE,<sup>27</sup> indicating that this area was augmented in the time of Hadrian.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, based on the omission of ΑΘΗΝΑΙ in the east inscription of the arch, one could presuppose that the reference to the “city of Hadrian” implies that the city (or at least a part of it) was now known as Hadrianopolis. Nevertheless, the positioning of this inscription suggests that the former city of Theseus – which it overlooks – now also belongs to Hadrian,<sup>29</sup> a notion which is strengthened by some additional evidence. Both Pausanias and archaeological discoveries testify to the great number of statues of the emperor that abounded in various parts of the city, including in the agora, theatre of Dionysus, Kerameikos, and other locations.<sup>30</sup> The Athenians named an unprecedented thirteenth tribe of their polis Hadrianis.<sup>31</sup> It seems

that since the inauguration of the *Panhellenion* in c. 131 CE, the city had become a “theme park” for the worship of *Hadrianos Olympios Panhellenios*.<sup>32</sup> Interestingly, Pausanias makes no reference to an area of the city termed Hadrianopolis, although he describes a district known as “the Gardens” which seems to have been located to the east of the Temple of Olympian Zeus.<sup>33</sup> This suggests, therefore, that the inscriptions on the arch do not ultimately designate it as a strictly physical boundary between an ancient and a newer, Roman quarter of Athens (Hadrianopolis), even if there was indeed an area of the city known by the emperor’s name. Rather, the arch celebrates Hadrian the Athenian citizen as a founder and ruler who equaled or even surpassed the legendary Theseus.

Pausanias mentions several other Hadrianic monuments in Athens, including a magnificent library, a gymnasium, a temple to all the gods (Pantheon), and a temple of Zeus and Hera.<sup>34</sup> However, he is curiously silent about the arch itself. One would at least expect a passing reference to it in the passage where he describes the entrance to the Temple of Olympian Zeus and the contents within the precinct:

Πρὶν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἰέναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνες Ἀδριανοῦ δύο μὲν εἰσι Θασίου λίθου, δύο δὲ Αἰγυπτίου· χαλκαῖ δὲ ἐστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν κίωνων ἅς Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἀποίκους πόλεις, ὁ μὲν δὴ πᾶς περίβολος σταδίων μάλιστα τεσσάρων ἐστίν, ἀνδριάντων δὲ πλήρης· (...) Ἀπὸ γὰρ πόλεως ἐκάστης εἰκὼν Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνάκειται, καὶ σφᾶς ὑπερεβάλοντο Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κολοσσὸν ἀναθέντες ὅπισθε τοῦ ναοῦ θεᾶς ἄξιον.

Before the entrance to the Temple of Olympian Zeus stand statues of Hadrian, two of Thasian stone, two of Egyptian. Before the columns stand bronze statues which the Athenians call “colonies.” The whole circumference of the precinct is about four stades, and they are full of statues; for every city has dedicated a likeness of the emperor Hadrian, and the Athenians have surpassed them in dedicating, behind the temple, the remarkable colossus.

Clearly, Pausanias describes the precinct in some detail, drawing attention to the great number of statues of the emperor, but why has the arch seemingly gone unnoticed by him? It is fairly reasonable to assume that Pausanias omits any reference to it because it was strictly a monument of the Roman period, much like the temple of Augustus and Roma on the Acropolis which he also conveniently overlooks, and his book is concerned with highlighting the ancient Greek monuments of Athens. However, one could argue that the Library of Hadrian and the aforementioned structures were also monuments of the Roman period and the periegete mentions them all. I suggest that the omission of a reference to the arch may be explained by the fact that, given its location in front of a magnificent temple with hundreds of statues and antiquities and probably serving as some type of passage to the gate of the precinct, it failed to impress Pausanias enough to single it out for referencing.

He also did not have to remind the reader that Hadrian was considered the new founder of Athens since he implies this in several passages throughout his book on Attica. Consequently, since Pausanias admired the multitude of statues and discusses the magnificent temple in detail, the arch may have been the least impressive of the monuments in this area and simply an extension of the precinct, thus not warranting a mention.

In the 1960s, Travlos noticed that the arch lines up with an ancient road onto which modern Lysicratous Street was built, ending at the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates (Figure 15.4).<sup>35</sup> Therefore, individuals walking in the direction of the Temple of Olympian Zeus would have observed the inscription ΑΙΔ' ΕΙΣΙΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ Η ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ with the probable image(s) of Theseus on the attic, which beckoned them to read the back as well since the statement seems to leave the thought sequence incomplete. The questions on the individuals' minds would have probably been "What about now? Whose city is it"? Furthermore, the west inscription's setting on the architrave above the apse as well as the symmetry of the arch itself would presuppose that there would be another inscription on the back. Therefore, the two inscriptions were composed in such a way as to be read as a pair, and when done so, it becomes clear that the citizens of Athens are honoring



*Figure 15.4* Hypothetical reconstruction of the east side of the arch with a painting depicting Hadrian in the central section of the attic. The Parthenon and the road onto which modern Lysicratous Street was built are visible through the archway.

Source: (Reconstruction by D. Tsalkanis, C. Kanellopoulos, and L. Tsatsaroni; reproduced with permission from [www.AncientAthens3d.com](http://www.AncientAthens3d.com) and the authors).





Figure 15.5 Hypothetical reconstruction of the Temple of Olympian Zeus from the northeast, with the colossus of Hadrian behind the temple and Hadrian's Arch on the right.

Source: (D. Tsalkanis, C. Kanellopoulos, and L. Tsatsaroni 2019, 175; reproduced with permission from the authors).

Hadrian, who has joined Theseus as the founder/ruler of the city. This assertion is strengthened further by the fact that the visitor heading to the temple from the west side of the arch would have been confronted with a view of the colossus of Hadrian towering over the precinct's wall in the back of the temple, as noted by Pausanias, and as can be witnessed in a recent hypothetical reconstruction of the temple and its surrounding area (Figure 15.5). Thus, the overall message becomes evident when the arch is considered against the backdrop of its built environment and the periegete's testimony.

### **From antiquity to the 19th century: Hadrian's Arch in the Byzantine and Ottoman periods**

The cultural history of the arch from antiquity to modernity begins with its dedication in c. 131 and especially after the death of Hadrian in July 138. Unlike many other antique buildings in Athens, the arch survived the Herulian sack in 267 intact,<sup>36</sup> while the nearby Temple of Olympian Zeus and Hadrian's Library were damaged extensively.<sup>37</sup> The monument is not mentioned in the extant writings of the later Roman period, but there is a curious *scholium* of unknown date in a manuscript of Aelius Aristides' *Panathenaicos* which seems to refer to the monument and its two inscriptions:<sup>38</sup>

διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐλθὼν, καὶ μείζονα ποιήσας τὸν περίβολον, ἔνθα μὲν ἦν πρὸ τείχους τὸ πεζὸν, ἔγραψε· τοῦτο ὁ Θησεὺς ἔκτισε, καὶ οὐκ Ἀδριανός· ἔνθα δὲ αὐτὸς ἔκτισεν, ἔγραψε· τοῦτο Ἀδριανός, καὶ οὐ Θησεὺς, ὠκοδόμησεν.

accordingly Hadrian too came, and enlarged the city walls, and where the people walked in front of the wall he wrote: “this Theseus founded, and not Hadrian” – and where he himself has founded (a city) he wrote: “this Hadrian built, and not Theseus”.

If the *scholium* does indeed refer to the inscriptions on the arch, it appears to be a non-verbatim reading and it is uncertain whether the *scholiast* was writing from having personally observed them, or if he never visited Athens and is simply conveying the transcription of an earlier writer. Be that as it may, this statement has been understood to refer to the arch’s function as a gate to an ancient city wall, a hypothesis that was disproven in the 20th century when excavations did not produce any evidence for such a structure.<sup>39</sup>

Given the absence of references to the arch until the late Middle Ages, one wonders why it was not torn down if it was otherwise considered unimportant. One of the reasons for its survival may be related to the general attitude toward the emperor and his buildings. Intellectuals and politicians in the eastern part of the Empire generally regarded Hadrian as a benevolent pagan ruler whose treatment of the Christians during his reign was rather lenient compared to other pagan emperors.<sup>40</sup> These factors, along with his literary output in the Greek language, may have served to endear the monuments he built to the authorities and intellectuals of cities in the Byzantine Empire. There is, however, some convincing evidence which suggests that the arch possessed a religious function at some unspecified point in the Middle Ages that may ultimately explain its survival into the present.

In the mid-20th century, Orlandos, following references in earlier works,<sup>41</sup> noticed traces of religious paintings, crosses, and graffiti on the monument,<sup>42</sup> and further remnants were discovered by conservators during its cleaning and restoration between 2002 and 2004.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, a comprehensive study of these did not follow. While it is difficult to ascertain the exact nature and function of these religious vestiges given their very fragmentary and now-invisible state, it follows that at some point in the Byzantine period the arch may have been incorporated into – or closely associated with – a monumental structure. Orlandos notes that in 1578, Symeon Kavasilas, a Byzantine travel writer, wrote an epistle to Martinus Crusius, a professor of rhetoric at the University of Tübingen, in which he mentioned the west inscription of the arch but not the east one.<sup>44</sup> Given this information, it has been suggested that the east inscription was covered because the east side of the arch may have formed the interior part of a church or monastery,<sup>45</sup> although traces of such a structure have not been found in subsequent excavations, making this hypothesis questionable.

With the remains of the hagiographies on the attic in mind as well as the monument’s symmetrical shape, I think that a more likely function of the arch in the later Middle Ages was that of a free-standing bell tower to a

church or monastery that would have been built close to it. A letter from Pope Innocent III to the Catholic archbishop of Athens dating from February 13, 1209 refers to “beati Nicolai de Columnis”.<sup>46</sup> Although this church has been identified by Travlos in the ruins of a building assumed to have been a basilica located about 110 meters to the east of the arch,<sup>47</sup> it is likely that this structure or one of its building extensions was closely linked to it. Since the shape of the arch bears some resemblance to bell towers of the later Byzantine period, and the sections of the attic preserve deep grooves about a meter from the top that could have supported wooden or metal rods (observe one such groove in Figure 15.3), it is likely, in my opinion, that at some point in the Byzantine period the attic of the monument held *semantra* or bells,<sup>48</sup> thus serving as the bell tower to the aforementioned basilica complex or another unidentified religious structure. Consequently, any painted or sculptural decoration from the Hadrianic period would have been removed and replaced with religious art long before the 13th century. Evidently, four columns on the lower part of the arch and another four on the attic were robbed sometime between Late Antiquity and the later Byzantine period, presumably to be used as *spolia* elsewhere, perhaps even for a building within the vicinity of the monument.

The earliest confirmed non-Greek reference to the arch and its two inscriptions is in Cyriac of Ancona’s *Commentaria*,<sup>49</sup> who mentions it briefly.<sup>50</sup> By the Ottoman period – if not earlier – any decoration on the arch of a religious nature seems to have been removed and covered over. This may explain the omission of references to the arch’s religious function in the so-called Vienna Anonymous, dated by most scholars to the years shortly following the Ottoman conquest of Athens in 1456. The author of this Greek text states: “[...] there is a very big and beautiful arch bearing the names of Hadrian and Theseus. Inside [...] was a royal residence supported from below by very many columns [...]”<sup>51</sup> That the monument is termed an arch at this date indicates that it was free-standing and that both inscriptions were clearly visible. The reference to a “royal residence” with many columns cannot refer to any other structure but the Temple of Olympian Zeus nearby.

Several extant illustrations from the 17th and 18th centuries reveal that two of the three sections of the attic were covered with strips of stone arranged horizontally and vertically and that the monument was completely devoid of decoration. These illustrations also reveal that the base of the arch lay underground up to two meters and that vegetation was growing rampant throughout the entire monument. In one of the best-rendered of these, we see the arch marked as “Portail du Palais d’Hadrian” behind the “Restes du Palais d’Hadrian” in the foreground (Figure 15.6),<sup>52</sup> but neither building is drawn to scale; in the legend of the same map, the monument is labeled as “portail de la ville neuve d’Hadrian”.<sup>53</sup> At this time, the local population seems to have referred to the Temple of Olympian Zeus as the “Palace of Hadrian” as it was common to link various monuments around the city – often erroneously – with illustrious individuals from antiquity; the Library of Hadrian, for example, was known locally as the “Palace of Themistocles”, Hadrian’s aqueduct as the

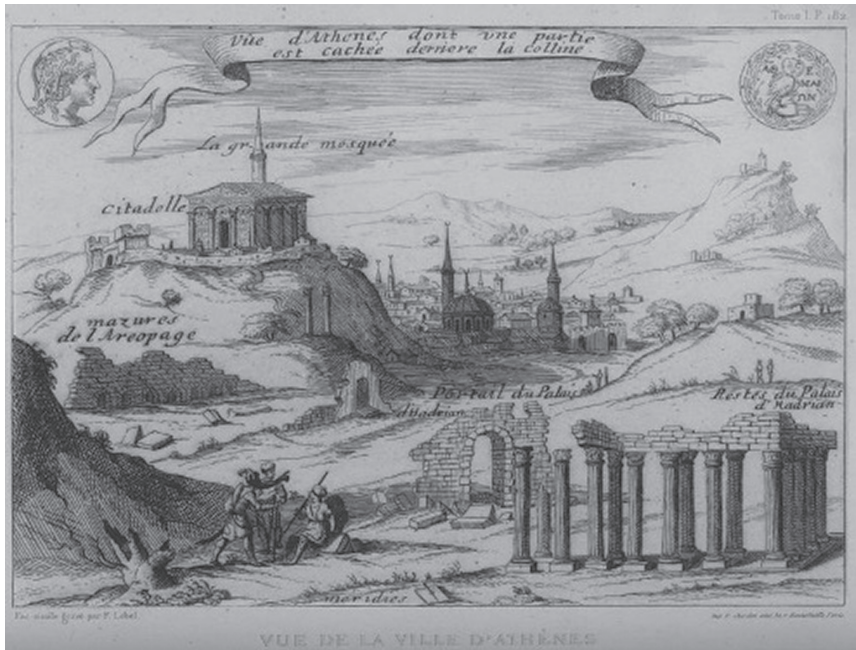


Figure 15.6 View of Athens published by Jacob Spon in 1674.

Source: (Laborde 1854).

“School of Aristotle”, while the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates was termed the “Lantern of Diogenes”. The inscriptions on the arch seem to have produced some confusion regarding its true nomenclature; an illustration by Le Roy drawn in the 1750s asserts that it was known colloquially as the “Arch of Theseus” rather than the “gate to the palace of Hadrian” (Figure 15.7). How did the monument, then, receive its present and correct appellation when until the 18th century it was known under various names?

In the 1750s, when Stuart and Revett visited Athens and subsequently returned to England to publish illustrations of the ancient ruins they had seen in their travels in their *Antiquities of Athens*, the arch became one of the most recognized monuments of the city. They were the first to identify it correctly under its current name, but they erroneously suggested that the arch functioned as a gate to an ancient city wall surrounding the precinct, and that Hadrian may have rebuilt an earlier “Arch of Aegaeus” (the father of Theseus),<sup>54</sup> clearly misrepresenting the overall message of the two inscriptions. Nevertheless, their drawings brought the arch to the attention of foreign intellectuals and artists; most of these individuals had never visited Greece and were thus dependent on paintings and engravings as well as the writings of learned travelers for descriptions of the city’s ancient ruins.

The prominence of Hadrian’s Arch among the antique monuments of Athens is evident in several of the illustrations in Stuart and Revett’s



Figure 15.7 Illustration depicting Hadrian’s Arch, known colloquially at that time as the Arch of Theseus.

Source: (Le Roy 1770, 16).

publication. Perhaps the most striking of these depicts local residents grazing their sheep and cattle and using the arch as a passageway (Figure 15.8). While the scene reflects an idealized vision of a rather bucolic Athens, what is evident from this and other illustrations is that the area around the arch lacked extensive occupation at this time, which allowed residents and their animals to roam freely around it.

Along with other Athenian antiquities, the arch must have made quite an impression in England since, shortly after the publication of Stuart and Revett’s book, a full-sized copy of it was commissioned for the gardens of the Shugborough estate of the Anson family in Staffordshire (Figure 15.9).<sup>55</sup> Built entirely out of local sandstone in the 1760s, the embellished copy of Hadrian’s Arch features stone medallions with naval scenes on either side of the apsidal opening. The left and right sections of the attic are decorated with stone sarcophagi topped with busts of the Admiral Anson and his wife, while the central section displays a naval trophy.<sup>56</sup> Fortunately, the original Greek inscriptions were not reproduced in this copy of the arch or even arrogated and altered to reflect the estate’s owners as “founders”. Moreover, this is an unambiguous example of cultural appropriation of an ancient monument repurposed for the present (the 18th century in this case), a strategy which the Romans also employed frequently when they copied many of the Greek monuments and sculptures and altered them to fit their own contemporary vision.

By the late 1770s, Hadrian’s Arch was incorporated into the newly-constructed Wall of Hadji Ali Haseki, built by the Ottoman governor of Athens

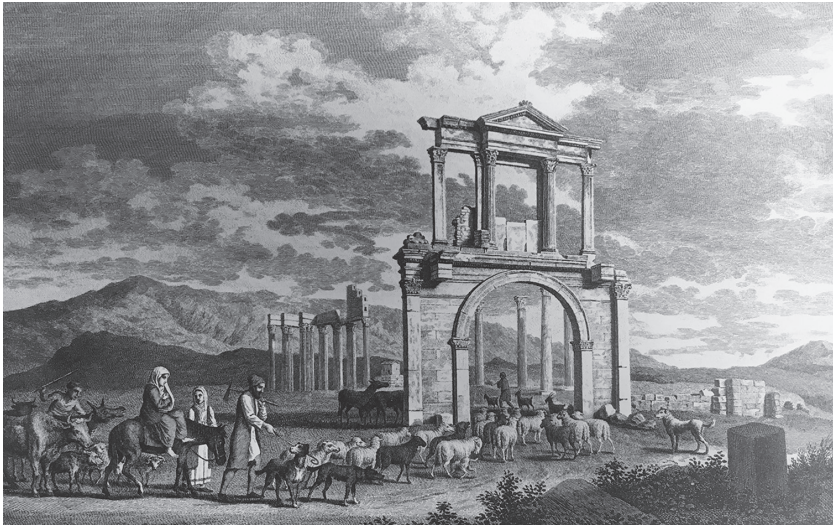


Figure 15.8 Shepherds and their flocks passing through Hadrian's Arch.

Source: (Stuart and Revett 1762, Chapter II, pl. 16).

allegedly to keep Albanian attackers at bay.<sup>57</sup> At around this time, in Friedrich Hölderlin's epistolary novel *Hyperion oder Der Eremit in Griechenland* (1797 and 1799), the gate featured prominently as a reminder of the good old days before its integration into the city wall:<sup>58</sup>

am meisten aber ergriff mich das alte Tor, wodurch man ehemals aus der alten Stadt zur neuen herauskam, wo gewiß einst tausend schöne Menschen an Einem Tage sich grüßten. Jetzt kömmt man weder in die alte noch in die neue Stadt durch dieses Tor, und stumm und öde steht es da, wie ein vertrockneter Brunnen, aus dessen Röhren einst mit freundlichem Geplätscher das klare frische Wasser sprang.

But most of all, I was struck by the ancient gate, through which once you could leave the old town and enter the new one, where back then certainly a thousand beautiful people greeted each other in one day. Now you can enter neither the old nor the new city through this gate, and it stands there mute and desolate, like a dried-up well from whose pipes the clear fresh water once flowed with a friendly splash.

Illustrations and testimonies from this period indicate that the wall contained a total of seven gates, of which Hadrian's Arch, known locally as Πόρτα της Βασιλοπούλας (Princess Gate) or Καμαρόπορτα (Archway), served as one. The gate incorporated an opening about halfway down the archway which is clearly visible in illustrations from the late 18th and early 19th century, including a composition by J.M.W. Turner from c. 1830 that became the cover of *Byron's Life and Works* (Figure 15.10).<sup>59</sup> The



*Figure 15.9* “Hadrian’s Arch” at Shugborough, Staffordshire, England. Tixall sandstone. Built in the 1760s.

Source: (Photo: S. Craven).

illustration is entitled “The Gate of Theseus, Athens” and depicts the arch in the center with the Acropolis in the background covered in a plume of smoke. The foreground displays fallen columns and fragments of metopes from the Parthenon while a seated woman on the right contemplates the environment around her. The presence in the composition of a man leading a two mule-drawn carriage toward the exit confirms the arch’s function as a passageway in the early 19th century. The subject of the illustration is meant to evoke the atmosphere of Athens in Byron’s time, a city steeped in ancient ruins whose population is suffering under foreign occupation. That Hadrian’s name has been omitted from the title of the painting and replaced with that of Theseus – even if the view is from the east – may have been deliberate, as many European intellectuals of this period disliked the Roman past of Greece and seem to have regarded the emperor as simply another foreign conqueror and oppressor. Interestingly, Byron mentions the arch in his poetry along with other antique monuments of Athens, and also produced one of the most well-known translations of Hadrian’s famous “deathbed poem”.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, the sculpted monument to



Figure 15.10 J.M.W. Turner. *The Gate of Theseus, Athens*. c. 1830. Watercolor over pencil. Private collection, UK.

Source: (Photo: [www.clayton-payne.com/artworks/9428/](http://www.clayton-payne.com/artworks/9428/)).

Byron bearing the title “*Ἡ Ἑλλάς τῶν Βύρωνά*” was erected in the late 19th century less than one hundred meters away from Hadrian’s Arch, perhaps not coincidentally.

### Modern reception

After the formation of the Modern Greek state in 1830, a “purification” program was established to purge the country of non-Greek cultural and linguistic remnants of the past.<sup>61</sup> While the vast majority of buildings of the Ottoman, Venetian, and Frankish periods were torn down, the vestiges of the Roman period did not suffer the same fate and were incorporated into the fabric of the newly independent city. By 1835, the Wall of Haseki was demolished and Hadrian’s Arch became free-standing once again.<sup>62</sup> Legend has it that after its “freedom” from the wall, some of the heroes of the revolution, along with King Otto and other renowned individuals, were the first to walk through the archway,<sup>63</sup> thus giving it a prominent position among the



monuments of central Athens. Queen Amalia ordered the removal of the remaining pieces of stone in the two sections of the attic as she felt that they diminished the aesthetic appeal of the monument, thus imparting its present appearance.

Excavations were carried out shortly after the demolition of the Ottoman wall to reveal the base of the arch, and by the late 19th century the precinct of the Temple of Olympian Zeus was cleared of architectural remnants of the Ottoman period, including a cemetery and a mosque.<sup>64</sup> The area around the arch and the ruins of the temple became the heart of the city in the later 19th century, where Athenians took their strolls and celebrated holidays like the carnival and Easter.<sup>65</sup> Two small cafés operated within the precinct, affording their customers ample views of the arch and the Acropolis in the background. In 1938, the arch served as the site of the burning of books written by intellectuals who were believed to be communist sympathizers; one contemporary scholar observed that it was ironic that Hadrian’s Arch was chosen as the site for such a destructive activity since the emperor was a well-known patron of letters.<sup>66</sup>

Throughout the 20th century the elegant monument served as an inspiration for various artists. Two of the most evocative representations of the arch in art can be observed in the paintings of Greek artists active in the early decades of the 20th century. The earliest of the two is by Pavlos Mathiopoulos (Figure 15.11), whose paintings are notable for depictions of people strolling through rainy cityscapes and the usage of a soft color palette in the style of the Belle Époque. One of his paintings, *Hadrian’s Gate*, recalls a Parisian street scene where the Roman-period arch seems almost as imposing as the Arc de Triomphe.



Figure 15.11 Pavlos Mathiopoulos. *Hadrian’s Gate*. c. 1915. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

Source: (Photo: [www.elniplex.com](http://www.elniplex.com)).

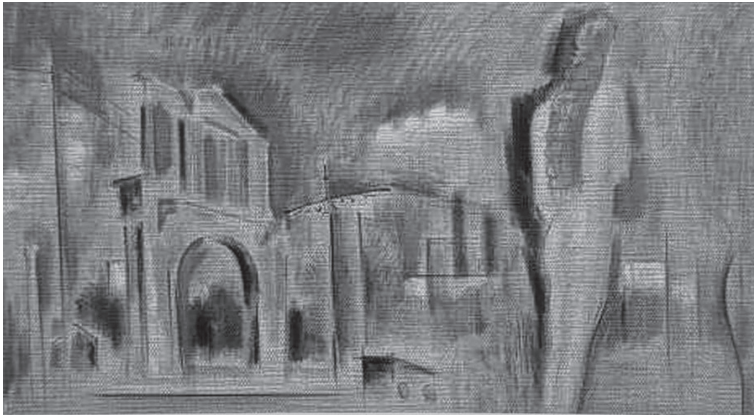


Figure 15.12 Konstantinos Parthenis. *The Walk of the Caryatid*. 1938. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

Source: (Photo: Sotheby's *The Greek Sale Catalogue*).

Influenced by Cubism and Art Nouveau, Konstantinos Parthenis painted *The Walk of the Caryatid* in 1938, where the antique figure is depicted in the urban environment of downtown Athens (Figure 15.12).<sup>67</sup> The Caryatid “departed” her ancient abode in the Erechtheion and went to explore the city with its juxtaposition of ancient ruins, modern buildings, and technological innovations like the tram and electric poles and power lines. The overall message of the painting is that ancient sculptures and monuments are as much part of the urban fabric of Athens as the non-descript modern buildings in the background.

In a painting by Giorgos Bakirtzis (a former student of Parthenis) completed in 1977 (Figure 15.13), the arch appears as a majestic monument in a celebration of freedom. The shape of the painting was clearly chosen deliberately to imitate the arch’s apsidal opening.<sup>68</sup> The scene takes place at night and is teeming with symbolism: five figures, four of which recall individuals from antiquity, have climbed to the attic and decorate each of the sections. The revelers below come from all walks of life and surround the arch on all sides. Bakirtzis attempted to evoke the atmosphere of a real historical event, when thousands of Greeks lined Vasilissis Amalias Avenue to celebrate the end of the German occupation of Athens in World War II. The artist featured the monument in a second painting of a similar genre entitled *A Quarter to Four*, but in that work the central section of the attic features a large clock marking the time of the event. Both paintings emphasize the significance of the arch as a monument of the past integrated into the urban fabric of present-day Athens and, given that the two artworks were painted three decades after the actual event, they evoke a feeling of continuity and collective historical nostalgia.

Only a year after Bakirtzis completed his painting featuring the arch, Manos Hatzidakis composed the music to the song “At Hadrian’s Gate”, set



Figure 15.13 Giorgos Bakirtzis. *The Freedom of the Greeks*, 1944-1945.1977. Mixed media on canvas. National Gallery, Athens.

Source: (Photo: T. Kimbari).

to the lyrics of Michalis Bourboulis.<sup>69</sup> It is worth examining the words briefly in order to discern the importance of the landmark in the song:

Στην πύλη τ' Αδριανού

Στην πύλη τ' Αδριανού  
κοντά στου Μακρυγιάννη  
τα πρώτα τριαντάφυλλα  
σου φόρεσα στεφάνι.  
Κι όταν σου πήρα το φιλί  
κάτω από τις κολώνες  
χτυπούσε η σάλπιγγα βραχνά  
μέσ' τους παλιούς στρατώνες.  
Έγιν' η νύχτα πυρκαγιά  
η αγάπη ανατριχίλα  
και μεις αρπάξαμε φωτιά

σαν τα ξερά τα φύλλα.  
 Στην πύλη τ' Αδριανού  
 κοντά στου Μακρυγιάννη  
 μέσ' τις φωτιές μας ρίξανε  
 μια νύχτα τ' 'Αϊ Γιάννη.  
 Σαν ήρθε το πρωί  
 χειμώνας κι είχε κρύο  
 σαν τα πουλιά σκορπίσαμε  
 μακριά από το Θησείο.

*At Hadrian's Gate*

At Hadrian's Gate  
 near Makryianni  
 I put the first blooming roses  
 on your head as a crown.  
 And when I stole a kiss from you  
 under the columns  
 the bugle rang hoarsely  
 in the old barracks.  
 The night turned to fire  
 love into horror  
 and we caught fire  
 like the dry leaves.  
 At Hadrian's Gate  
 near Makryianni  
 they threw us into the fires  
 on the night of St. John's feast day.  
 Once morning arrived  
 in winter when it was cold  
 we scattered like the birds  
 away from Theseio.

(Translated by A. Kouremenos)

This wistful song implies that Hadrian's Arch served as a meeting location for two lovers in the middle of January, on St. John's Feast Day. Once again, we perceive the significance of the importance of the monument's setting in the city's center, near some of the most popular neighborhoods (Makryianni, Theseio), exemplified by its function as a rendezvous spot for the lovers who kiss under the columns – presumably not those of the arch itself but of the nearby Temple of Olympian Zeus. The enigmatic lyrics imply that the two lovers were caught in the act and used the arch and its surroundings to consummate their union, but opposition ensued, forcing them to leave the area in the early morning.

In the 21st century, particularly after Athens hosted the Olympic Games in 2004, the arch took on an even greater function as a rendezvous spot whilst the number of tourists visiting the capital exploded. The catchphrase “Let's

meet at Hadrian’s Gate” is a common expression that both locals and tourists utter to establish a suitable – and identifiable – location for meeting with others and exploring the city from there. In recent years, the landmark has been illuminated on various days of the year in vibrant colors in order to generate awareness for various causes, including pink for breast cancer and blue for autism. On March 16 and 17, 2020, for the first time ever, the capital chose to illuminate an ancient monument – Hadrian’s Arch – green in honor of St. Patrick’s Day.<sup>70</sup> The central location and size of the arch thus make it an ideal landmark for bringing awareness to important local and international causes through annual light shows which attract the attention of many pedestrians and vehicles that line the avenue on which the monument stands.

### **Conclusion: Hadrian’s Arch between past and present**

Ancient ruins are as much vestiges of the ancient heritage of Athens as a part of its present. Being tangible relics of the past, they add visceral immediacy to individuals and groups that have inhabited or visited the city since antiquity. Despite its incomplete state, Hadrian’s Arch is a true survivor, a representative of accretive continuity,<sup>71</sup> linking the Roman past with the Modern Greek present and illuminating the values of previous generations that chose to alter or conserve it in order to suit the needs of their own times. But unlike the neighboring Temple of Olympian Zeus, whose site, according to Pausanias, could lay claim to much greater antiquity,<sup>72</sup> the arch is strictly a monument of the Roman period. Nonetheless, the references to Theseus on it were inscribed deliberately in order to connect the legendary king to the emperor, to link the Greek past to the Roman present. Significantly, the cultural history of the arch shows that the survival and utilization of ancient monuments reveals more about the needs of successive “presents” than the intentions of its originators. At certain periods in history, the meaning and value of such monuments is lost entirely due to ideological differences and/or individual apathy, and they may succumb to a mere utilitarian function, as the arch did during part of the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. But although they are proverbial survivors from the ravages of time, environmental disasters, and human activities, their value may still be appreciated by future generations who see the past not as static but rather as a dynamic embodiment of the present. Moreover, although ancient monuments usually serve as a source of revenue for Greece, Hadrian’s Arch is one of the few antiquities in Athens that is both iconic and easily accessible yet free to all who desire to take a closer look at it, a consequence of its location on a busy avenue.

It is safe to state that since its dedication in the 2nd century CE, generations of people living in Athens generally regarded the arch positively. For the Athenians of the 2nd century, the arch commemorated a beloved emperor, benefactor, and citizen of their *polis* who exceeded the *kleos* of the legendary Theseus. In the Byzantine period, the arch may have been seen as a relic of the Roman period but one that could be repurposed to suit a religious function. From the Ottoman period until the 19th century, European travelers also saw it as a nostalgic remnant of a bygone era but were, curiously, slow to recognize

that the arch commemorated Hadrian; it was not until the 18th century that its correct identification was conferred by Stuart and Revett. In the late 1700s, the Ottoman governor incorporated it into a city wall, a relatively short-lived venture since less than fifty years later Athens became independent, the wall was torn down, and the arch was “freed” once again. By that time, the landmark – like most of the antiquities of Athens – had acquired a more majestic meaning, aided by the Classicizing movement in the West which helped to raise its profile among the city’s antique ruins. The appearance of the arch in many paintings and photographs helped cement its status as Athens’ much older equivalent to the Arc de Triomphe, and references to it in literature, poetry, and songs enhanced its significance as a landmark in the center of the city. At the turn of the millennium, the arch had become one of the most recognizable monuments of Athens, thus securing a place on the itineraries of nearly every tourist and visitor to the capital.

Today, Hadrian’s Arch is viewed as an antiquity and part of Athens’ ancient heritage, even if the average citizen is not aware of the exact era of its dedication and is likely to assume that, like other antiquities in the city’s center, it dates to the Classical period. Nonetheless, the monument enriches present-day experience *vis-à-vis* its past, and more specifically its Roman past, since traces of post-Roman re-use are barely visible and known only to a few specialists. For this reason, tourist guides and educational material focus on the arch as a strictly Roman monument, rarely mentioning its later phases. Nonetheless, despite the temporal distance of twenty centuries, the landmark is a living link between the 2nd century and the present. And just as references to Hadrian and Theseus on the two inscriptions emphasized the links of the Roman present to the deep Greek past, so the monument today serves the needs of the Modern Greek present by way of establishing a visceral continuity with the Roman past of Athens, denoting that it is not a closed chapter of history but very much alive and part of the capital’s contemporary cityscape.

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### **Notes**

- 1 For an overview of Roman arches in the Mediterranean, the most comprehensive study is still Kähler 1939, who, interestingly, does not mention Hadrian’s Arch; see also Kleiner 1989.

- 2 *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 5185.
- 3 Note that Η ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ has been variously translated as “the ancient city”, “once the city”, and “the former city”. I prefer the latter translation.
- 4 See especially Stuart and Revett 1762; Tsalkanis, Kanellopoulos, and Tsatsaroni 2019; Le Roy 1758; Kokkou 1970; Travlos 1971; Adams 1989.
- 5 The aqueduct transported water from the foot of Mt. Parnitha to a reservoir on the hill of Lycabettus in the center of the city; the Latin inscription on the epistyle that mentions Hadrian is now located in the National Gardens. See Kordellas, Aggelopoulos, and Protopoulos 1899; Kokkou 1970, 169–171; Travlos 1971, 242–243; Leigh 1998; Tsouli 2018; Koutsogiannis 2018; Chiotis 2018.
- 6 HA, *Hadr.*, 1.5; Epit. de Caes., *Hadr.*, 2.6. For his promotion of Hellenism in the West, see especially Birley 1997; Boatwright 2000; Calandra and Adembri 2014; Seebacher 2020; Cortés Copete in this volume.
- 7 Kouremenos forthcoming.
- 8 Kapetanopoulos 1992–1998, 217–218 argues on good grounds that Hadrian was probably *eponymous archon* of Athens for a second time in 124–125. Holding the archonship for more than one year was extremely rare before the 3rd century, and the Athenians may have justified a second archonship on grounds that Hadrian held it as a private citizen in 112–113 and as emperor in 124–125.
- 9 *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1764 and 1832.
- 10 Paus 1.24.7.
- 11 Kouremenos forthcoming.
- 12 Although several buildings would have likely served as the *prytaneion* at different times in antiquity, Paus. 1.18.3 places its location near the Temple of Olympian Zeus. For its probable setting on modern Lysicratous Street, see Schmalz 2006. Note also that HA, *Hadr.*, 26.5 states that Hadrian named one of the areas of his villa at Tibur *prytaneum* after the Athenian structure.
- 13 Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 3.5; Thuc., 2.15.
- 14 Adams 1989, 15.
- 15 Clinton 1989; see also Konstantinidis in this volume.
- 16 On architectural polychromy in antiquity, see especially Zink 2014; Siotto *et al.* 2015.
- 17 The most recent cleaning and restoration of the arch took place over a period of twenty months between 2002 and 2004. See below.
- 18 Hadrian completed the Temple of Olympian Zeus after the original, begun by Peisistratus in the 6th century BCE, was left unfinished. See Cass. Dio 69.6.1; HA, *Hadr.*, 13.6. Although most scholars agree that the temple was consecrated in c. 131, a minority argue for its consecration taking place during the emperor’s visit in c. 128 based mainly on the sequence of events described in the HA. However, an inscription from Epidaurus (*IG IV<sup>2</sup>*, 1 384) makes it clear that the Temple of Olympian Zeus and the *Panhellenion* were inaugurated in the same year (ἔτους γ τῆς καθιερώσεως τοῦ Διὸς[ς] τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ Πανελληνίου). The *Panhellenion* was a federation of cities of purported Greek origin founded by Hadrian, with currently attested member cities deriving from at least seven provinces; it is certain that more cities will be added to the list as additional information comes to light. By c. 131, Hadrian had assumed the titles *Olympios* and *Panhellenios* among others. See especially Spawforth and Walker 1985; 1986; Jones 1996; Romeo 2002; Doukellis 2007; Kouremenos forthcoming.
- 19 Cassibry 2018.
- 20 On the gate at Antalya: Kähler 1939; Akurgal 2011; Akyol and Kadioglu 2013; Jerash: Stinespring 1934; Detwelier 1938; Browning 1982.

- 21 The sole exception to this was the temple of the deified Trajan in Rome; see HA, *Hadr.*, 19.9. Wallace-Hadrill 1990, 146 argues that inscriptions on Roman arches in general point to non-imperial agents as the dedicators of such monuments.
- 22 Mylonas 1961, 166–167; Clinton 1989; Willers 1996; Konstantinidis in this volume.
- 23 HA, *Hadr.*, 20.4.
- 24 Steph. Byz., *Ethn.* (edited by August Meineike 1849): <https://topostext.org/work/241>. Accessed April 13, 2021. See also Zahrnt 1979 and Fuchs 2016 for commentary.
- 25 Plut., *Thes.*, 25.3.
- 26 See e.g., Zahrnt 1979; Adams 1989; Willers 1996, 15; Fuchs 2016.
- 27 For a concise list of the structures uncovered in this area, see Karvonis 2016, 151–154 with bibliography. See also Greco *et al.* 2011.
- 28 This includes the part of the city around Zappeion, the National Gardens, and Syntagma. See Graindor 1934; Travlos 1971; Lagogianni-Georgakarakos and Papi 2018; Worthington 2020.
- 29 Adams 1989; Karivieri 2002.
- 30 Paus. 1.3.2; 1.5.15.
- 31 Graindor 1934, 19–21; Notopoulos 1946; Boatwright 2000, 144–145.
- 32 For the worship of Hadrian in Achaia in general, see Camia 2016 and in this volume; Cortés Copete 2017.
- 33 Paus. 1.19.2.
- 34 Paus. 1.18.9. See also Neville 2015.
- 35 Travlos 1971.
- 36 Extant ancient sources on the Herulian sack include HA, *Gallienus*, 13.8; Zos., *Historia Nova*, I.39; Sync., *Extract of Chronography*, 381–382; Zonar., *Epitome Historiarum*, XII.26.
- 37 Thompson 1981; Frantz 1988; Willers 1990; Karivieri 1994; Castrén 1994; Eleftheratou 2008; Monaco 2014.
- 38 *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 5185; see Dindorf 1829 for the critical edition of Aristides' text.
- 39 Travlos 1971; Adams 1989; Fuchs 2016.
- 40 For a list of Byzantine sources discussing Hadrian, see especially Rizzi 2010; Destephen 2019.
- 41 Chandler 1776; Pittakis 1835.
- 42 Orlandos 1968 claims to have seen remnants of four paintings in the attic, the largest of which depicted a figure with a halo, probably representing the archangel Michael.
- 43 Papastamatiou 2005.
- 44 Martinus Crusius 1584, 461; Orlandos 1968.
- 45 Chandler 1776, 74; Pittakis 1835, 173; Breton 1862, 263.
- 46 Migne 1560–1561; Orlandos 1968.
- 47 Travlos 1949, 43; Orlandos 1968.
- 48 For the usage of bells and semantia in Byzantium, see Miljković 2018.
- 49 The work was published in 1436 in six volumes but was later destroyed; abridged copies of it have survived mostly in libraries in Germany and Italy.
- 50 Bodnar 1960; Adams 1989.
- 51 Di Branco 2005, 114–115; Di Branco 2006, 237; Tanoulas 2019, 52.
- 52 For another rendering from the late-17th century, see Coronelli 1688; see also Tsouli 2018, 168–169 for commentary.
- 53 Spon 1678; the name also appears in Wheeler 1682 as “Gate of Hadrian”.



- 54 Stuart and Revett 1762, 22.
- 55 Other Athenian monuments that were copied on the estate were the Tower of the Winds and the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates. See Roscoe 1987.
- 56 Roscoe 1987.
- 57 Tsouli 2018, 169. For the history of the wall, see especially Miller 1921; Skouzes 1948; Travlos 1981; Vryonis 2002; Stathi 2014.
- 58 See Hölderlin, repr. 1997.
- 59 Finden and Brockedon, 1832.
- 60 For the so-called “deathbed poem”, see HA, *Hadr*, 25.9; see also Bowie 2002, 184–185 who questions Hadrian’s authorship of the poem, *contra* Cameron 1980 and Birley 1994. For Byron’s translation, see Poole and Maule 1995, 509.
- 61 See especially Travlos 1981; Hamilakis 2007; Kouremenos 2019; Albani 2019.
- 62 Biris 1966; Travlos 1981, 394; Kominis 2008.
- 63 <https://www.mixanitouxronou.gr/se-pious-simantikous-ellines-epetrapi-na-perasoun-kato-apo-tin-pili-tou-adrianou-to-emvlimatiko-ergo-pou-ikodomisan-i-athinei-gia-na-timisoun-ton-filellina-aftokratora-pou-anikodomise-tin-poli/>. Accessed April 20, 2021.
- 64 For the presence of a Muslim cemetery and mosque within the precinct, see especially Sayer 1759. For the excavations of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, see Travlos 1971, 1981; Cohen 2018.
- 65 For examples of engravings and paintings depicting celebrations around the ruins of the Temple of Olympian Zeus and Hadrian’s Arch, see e.g., <https://www.taathinaika.gr/i-kathara-deftera-tou-1844-stous-stylous-olympiou-dios/>; [http://www.nhmuseum.gr/el/fakelos-sylogon/antikeimena/11976\\_el/](http://www.nhmuseum.gr/el/fakelos-sylogon/antikeimena/11976_el/). Accessed April 30, 2021.
- 66 Panourgiá 2009.
- 67 Lydakís 1976, 27 and 53.
- 68 It should be noted that the artist painted a few other canvases in apsidal shape whose subjects feature apsidal buildings other than Hadrian’s Arch.
- 69 Since the late 1970s the song has had many renditions. Perhaps the finest of these is from the 1980s in the album *Alexandra*: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iXU0nFAZbCs&list=RDIXU0nFAZbCs&start\\_radio=1](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iXU0nFAZbCs&list=RDIXU0nFAZbCs&start_radio=1). Accessed March 21, 2021.
- 70 <https://www.dfa.ie/irish-embassy/greece/news-and-events/latestnews/st-patricks-day-greening-in-athens---hadrians-arch.html>. The arch was lit green again in March 2021, together with the Panathenaic stadium. Accessed May 20, 2021.
- 71 For the meaning of accretive continuity and its application to antique monuments, see Lowenthal 2015.
- 72 Paus. 1.18.8.

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