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P O R T R A I T S O F H A D R I A N

Andreas Pangerl, Wayne Kimber

Introduction of the Book by the Editors

Andreas Pangerl

Hadrian – Emperor of a Golden Age for Rome

Hartwin Brandt

Hadrian and the Greeks.

Dave Michaels

Hadrian and the Roman Army

Andrew Birley

Hadrian and Britannia: Hadrian’s Visit and His Wall’s Legacy from Roman to Modern Britain.

Werner Eck

Hadrian and Bar Kochba – The War in Judea.

Carole Raddato

Hadrian as Traveler.

Hans Christoph von Mosch

The Restless Mint. On the Trail of the So-Called Alpheios Master

Wayne Kimber & Andreas Pangerl

Hadrian’s Journeys and Focus on Provincial Development Reflected in the “Provinces Series”.

Fae Amiro

Imperial Women in Hadrian’s Reign

Richard Abdy

Hadrian as Generous Benefactor? LOCVPLETATORI ORBIS TERRARVM

Peter Franz Mittag

Roman Medallions

Charlotte Mann

The Fruits of Victory: Visions of the *Pax Augusta* on Hadrian’s Imperial Coinage

Hadrien Rambach

Rejuvenated hadrian *aurei* of the *divis parentibvs* types, and the illustration of an unidentified example on a seventeenth-century manuscript

Charlotte Mann

Dr. William Gale and the Gale Collection of Hadrianic Coinage at the Australian Center for Ancient Numismatic Studies.

Wayne Kimber

The Eric ten Brink Collection of the coins of Hadrian

Wayne Kimber & Andreas Pangerl

Hadrian Coinage in the Rick Beleson Collection

Wayne Kimber

Memoirs of a Hadrian Collector



1 Hadrian, with Traian's titles appropriated, AR denarius, Antioch/Eastern mint, *RIC II.3 no. 2959*



2 Hadrian, with Traian's titles appropriated, AR denarius, Antioch/Eastern mint, *RIC II.3 no. 2959*



3 Hadrian, with Traian's titles appropriated, AR denarius, Antioch/Eastern mint, *RIC II.3 no. 2959*



4 Hadrian, with Traian's titles appropriated, AR Denarius, Rome *RIC II.3 no. 9*



5 Hadrian, with Traian's titles appropriated, AR Denarius, Rome *RIC II.3 no. 15*



6 Hadrian, with Traian's titles appropriated, AR Denarius, Rome *RIC II.3 no. 22*



7 Hadrian, with Traian's titles appropriated, AV Aureus, Rome *RIC II.3 no. 28*



8 Hadrian, COS, Titles corrected, AR Denarius, Rome, *RIC II.3 no. 53*



9 Hadrian, with Traian's titles appropriated, AR Denarius, Rome *RIC II.3 no. 54*



10 Hadrian, COS, Titles corrected, AR denarius, Rome, *RIC II.3 no. 60*



11 Hadrian, COS, Titles corrected, AR Denarius, Rome, *RIC II.3 no. 65*



12 Hadrian, COS DES II, AR Denarius, Rome, *RIC II.3 no.81*



13 Hadrian, COS DES II, AR Denarius, Rome, *RIC II.3 no. 88*



14 Hadrian, COS II, AR Denarius, Rome, *RIC II.3 no. 108*



15 Hadrian, COS II, AR Denarius, Rome, *RIC II.3 no. 114*



16 Hadrian, COS II, AR Denarius, Rome, *RIC II.3 no. 117*



17 Hadrian, COS II, AR Denarius, Rome, *RIC II.3 no. 125*



18 Hadrian, COS II, AR Denarius, Rome, *RIC II.3 no. 129*



19 Hadrian, COS II, AR Denarius, Rome, *RIC II.3 no. 134*



20. Hadrian with Traian's titles appropriated, AR Denarius, Antioch/Eastern mint, *RIC II.3 no. 2960*. Portrait type II with full beard/anulus hair hair was used on coins in parallel to type I (with free chin/anulus hair)



Figure 3a1: View on ruins of the double temple from the Eastern 'Venus' side.

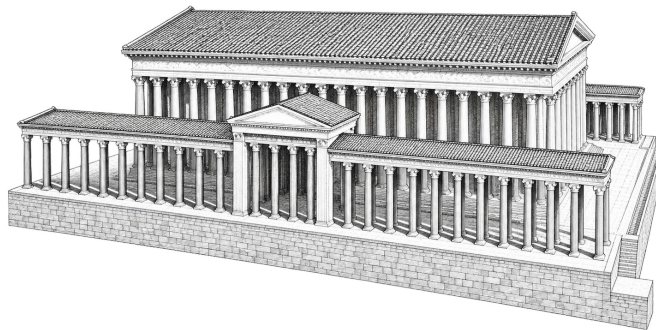


Figure 3a2: Reconstruction of the Roma and Venus Temple from the South.



Figure 3: Coins: a–c On the occasion of the opening of the new Venus and Roma double temple in Rome, Hadrian had coins and medals minted with the reverse sides “ROMAE AETERNAE” and “VENERIS FELICIS”. The facade of the temple was also presented, the construction of which was begun by Hadrian and completed by Antoninus Pius.

b. AE Sestertius showing the facade of the Temple of Venus and Roma, Rome, AD 137–138, *RIC II.3 no. 2427*.

c. ROMAE AETERNAE, sitting Roma holds Palladium in her hand; AR Denarius, Rome, AD 137–138, *RIC II.3 no. 2341–2*.

d. VENERIS FELICIS, sitting Venus holds Victory (?) in her hand; AV Aureus, Rome, AD 137–138, *RIC II.3 nos. 2365–2366*.

Hadrian's Golden Age:

3. Hadrian's Religious Building Activity in Rome: The Venus and Roma Temple

The emphasis on the founding myths of Rome and Rome's religious traditions is also evident in Hadrian's building program, especially in the city of Rome. Hadrian's largest and most important religious structure there is new double temple of Venus and Roma (fig. 3b).¹² Hadrian began this grand construction, which could only be completed by his successor Antoninus Pius.¹³ However, Hadrian himself probably consecrated the temple shortly before his death in AD 136–137.¹⁴ The goddess Venus played a central role in Rome's founding myths, as she was the protector of the Trojans on their flight from burning Troy to Latium in Italy.¹⁵ Venus Genetrix was the protector of the gens Julia. The Italic element of Rome's origin, in turn, embodied the goddess Roma. To honor the opening of this double temple, Hadrian issued special coins for VENUS FELICIS and ROMAE AETERNAE. These dedications were first issued by Hadrian in Roman numismatics. Roma Aeterna (also Roma Felix) and Venus Felix¹⁶ were then further depicted on coins of his successor Antoninus Pius.¹⁷ Hadrian also showed the facade of the Temple of Venus and Roma (fig. 3b) on coins. As mentioned above, it is recorded that Hadrian emphasized the Italic element of Rome's origins by erecting statues of the ancient Laurentine kings in front of the temple side of Roma.¹⁸ These statues were certainly bearded, just like now Hadrian and later Antoninus Pius.

In addition to this new monument, Hadrian restored numerous temple buildings in Rome. The Pantheon, originally built by Marcus Agrippa¹⁹, is a well-known example in this context. The new construction of Hadrian shows an unusual phenomenon on the day of Rome's mythical birthday: at noon on April 21, the month of Venus, and on the birthday of Rome, as well as of Numa, the sun shines through the oculus in the dome directly onto the entrance of the temple. This too is an indication of Hadrian's connection with the origins of Rome.

It is also important to remember Hadrian's construction activities in the east of the empire. In addition to countless buildings in Greek cities Hadrian initiated in the East, he also promoted Roman gods there, for example building the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem), which may have been one of the causes of the bloody Bar Kokhba revolt.²⁰



Hadrian as Caesar, AV Aureus. Rome or Antioch? *RIC III no. 1926*;
Background the dome of the Pantheon in Rome rebuilt by Hadrian



Hadrian, FELICITATI AVGVSTI on sail; S C in field; COS III P P in exergue; Ship r. under full sail. AE Sestertius, Rome, 129–130, *RIC II.3 no 1341*. Ex Magnaguti and Mazzini collections.



Figure 84: The Nile at the First Cataract near Philae.

Aegyptus

“During a journey on the Nile, he [Hadrian] lost Antinoos, his favorite, and for this youth he wept like a woman.”¹⁸⁰

Hadrian visited Egypt in 130–131 during his second great journey through the eastern provinces. His Egyptian tour, one of the best documented episodes of his travels, lasted several months and took him from the Mediterranean coast deep into the Nile Valley. Accompanied by Sabina and a large imperial entourage that included officials, intellectuals and poets, Hadrian traveled through Middle and Upper Egypt, reaching at least as far as Thebes. The journey combined imperial inspection with Hadrian’s characteristic interests in Greek culture, ancient monuments, religion and intellectual inquiry, but it was overshadowed by the death of Antinoos in the Nile near Hermopolis Magna in October 130 and the subsequent foundation of Antinoopolis.

The imperial party approached Egypt from Gaza in Iudaea, entering the province at Rhinocoloura on the edge of the Sinai desert before continuing westwards along the coast¹⁸¹. Egypt was governed at the time by the prefect Flavius Titianus, whose unusually long tenure extended through much of Hadrian’s reign. From the Mediterranean coast, Hadrian’s itinerary took him to Alexandria and subsequently into the Nile Valley, where his documented or probable des-

tinations included Heliopolis, Memphis, Hermopolis Magna and Thebes, as far as the First Cataract and the southern frontier at Philae (fig. 84). Visits to celebrated monuments such as the pyramids and the Labyrinth are plausible but not securely documented. Among the members of the imperial entourage was the poet Julia Balbilla, whose verses inscribed on the Colossus of Memnon provide an extraordinary contemporary record of the imperial visit to Thebes.

Hadrian’s first recorded act in Egypt took place at Pelusium, where he found the burial place of Pompey the Great in a state of neglect. Pompey had been murdered there in 48 BC after his defeat by Julius Caesar at Pharsalus, and his body was buried near the shore in a modest tomb. By Hadrian’s time, the monument had become covered with sand and the statues erected in Pompey’s honor had been damaged or removed. Hadrian cleared the site, restored the tomb and re-erected the statues. The restoration is recorded by several ancient sources, including Cassius Dio, the *Historia Augusta*, and Appian, himself an Alexandrian. Dio preserves a striking verse Hadrian uttered while offering sacrifice to Pompey: “Strange lack of tomb for one with shrines overwhelmed!”¹⁸², while the *Historia Augusta* states that he rebuilt Pompey’s tomb on a more magnificent scale¹⁸³. The restoration of Pompey’s tomb was both a gesture of respect for a great Roman general and statesman and a demonstration of Hadrian’s concern

with commemorating the past. It may also have carried a political dimension, honoring a figure closely associated with the establishment of Roman power in the eastern Mediterranean. Such concern for the physical remains of celebrated figures from the Greek and Roman past is evident elsewhere during Hadrian's travels, notably at Troy, where he restored the tomb of the Homeric heroes Ajax and Hector.

The imperial party then proceeded to Alexandria, one of the three Greek poleis of Roman Egypt, alongside Naucratis and Ptolemais. Hadrian's arrival was celebrated on Alexandrian coinage of his fourteenth regnal year with the legend ADVENTVI AVG ALEXANDRIAE ("For the arrival of the Augustus at Alexandria"), showing the togate emperor greeted by the personification of the city (fig. 85). Other issues associated Hadrian and Sabina with the principal Alexandrian deities Serapis and Isis¹⁸⁴, while a coin of 132–133 depicts Hadrian and Serapis together within a temple, with the emperor touching a small shrine with the inscription ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ (Hadrianon) (fig. 86)¹⁸⁵. The coinage thus gave conspicuous expression to Hadrian's relationship with Alexandria and its religious traditions.

Hadrian's visit came little more than a decade after the Jewish Diaspora Revolt of 115–117, which had caused considerable destruction in Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt and Cyrenaica. Later tradition explicitly associated Hadrian with the city's recovery: Jerome states that "Hadrian restored Alexandria, which had been destroyed by the Jews."¹⁸⁶ Hadri-

an's precise contribution to the reconstruction of the city is difficult to determine, however. It has been suggested that he restored the great Serapeum on the hill of Rhacotis, which may have suffered during the revolt, although the extent and even the nature of Hadrianic reconstruction remain disputed¹⁸⁷ (fig. 87). Evidence for Hadrian's close association with the sanctuary is provided by a magnificent life-sized statue of the Apis bull in black granite, dedicated in the Serapeum to Serapis and the *synnaoi theoi* (the gods worshipped together in the temple) for the safety of the emperor. Its inscription invokes "...the Great God Serapis and the gods worshipped in the same temple, for the safety of the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus..." (fig. 88). The dedication therefore provides important evidence for Hadrianic patronage of the Serapeum, even if it cannot by itself demonstrate that Hadrian was responsible for rebuilding the sanctuary. A substantial rebuilding of the sanctuary appears instead to belong to the later second or early third century, after it suffered a fire, specifically during the reign of Commodus¹⁸⁸. Hadrian also visited Alexandria's celebrated Mouseion, the celebrated institution of learning founded in the early Ptolemaic period and closely associated with the Library of Alexandria. Dedicated to the Muses, it supported scholars engaged in literary, philosophical and scientific study and remained one of the most prestigious intellectual institutions of the ancient Mediterranean. The *Historia Augusta* preserves a brief but revealing account of Hadrian's visit: "In the Museum at Alexandria,



Figure 85: *RIC II.3 no. 1555*. AV Aureus, Rome, ADVENTVI AVG ALEXANDRIAE.



Figure 86: Hadrian and Serapis within a temple, Alexandrian Drachme 132–133. Hadrian stands on the right, holding a scepter and extending his hand towards a small shrine labelled HADRIANON, while Serapis is seated opposite. The type reflects Hadrian's close association with Egyptian cult and his patronage of Alexandria. *RPC III no. 5845*. (© Universität zu Köln, Münzsammlung, inv. AL 1084)



Figure 87: The remains of the Serapeum, the monumental sanctuary of Serapis on the hill of Rhacotis in Alexandria, with surviving columns and foundations of the temple complex.



Figure 88: Life-sized statue of the Apis bull in black granite, dedicated to Serapis and the synnaoi theoi (the gods worshipped together in the sanctuary) for the safety of Emperor Hadrian. From the Serapeum at Alexandria.